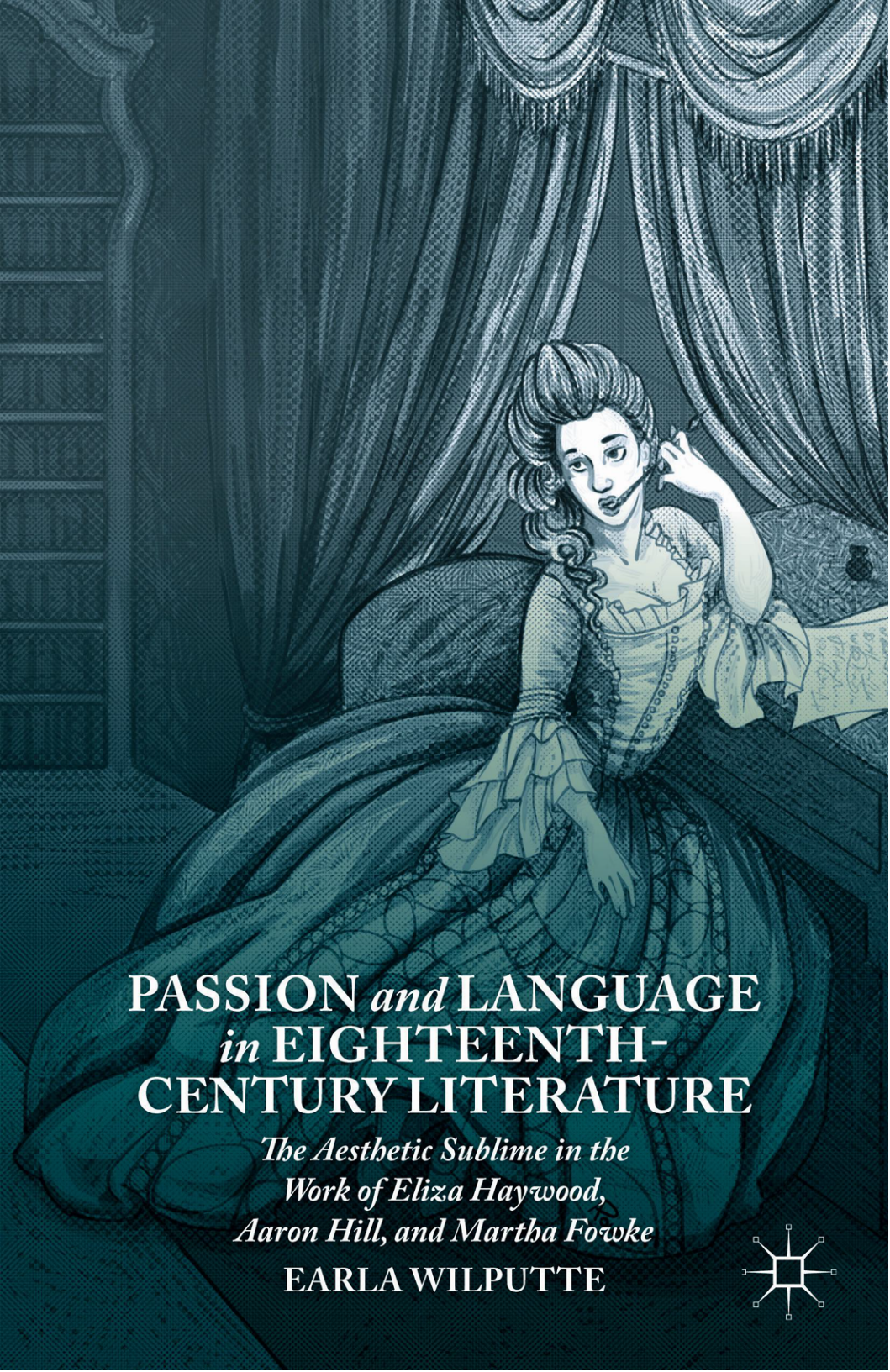

PASSION *and* LANGUAGE *in* EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

The Aesthetic Sublime in the Work of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and Martha Fowke

EARLA WILPUTTE

Passion and Language in Eighteenth-Century Literature

This page intentionally left blank

Passion and Language in Eighteenth-Century Literature

The Aesthetic Sublime in the Work of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and Martha Fowke

Earla Wilputte

palgrave
macmillan

PASSION AND LANGUAGE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-44204-8

An earlier version of part of Chapter 4 originally appeared in the essay "Eliza Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions*: Aaron Hill, Writing, and the Sublime," *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in their Lives, Work, and Culture* 6 (2011): 79–102 (AMS Press).

Part of Chapter 5 originally appeared in the essay "Midwife for the Mind: Delivering the Passions in Aaron Hill's *The Plain Dealer* (1724)," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–15.

They are used here in revised form, with permission.

First published in 2014 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN® in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-49498-9 ISBN 978-1-137-44205-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137442055

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Wilputte, Earla Arden, 1959–
Passion and language in eighteenth-century literature : the aesthetic sublime in the work of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and Martha Fowke / by Earla Wilputte.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. English literature—18th century—History and criticism. 2. Emotions in literature. 3. Haywood, Eliza Fowler, 1693?–1756—Language. 4. Hill, Aaron, 1685–1750—Language. 5. Sansom, Martha Fowke, 1689–1736—Language. I. Title.

PR448.E46W66 2014
820.9'353—dc23 2014007772

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Scribe Inc.

First edition: September 2014

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Dedicated to my parents,
Ruth and Earle Wilputte,
for all your love and support.

Contents

Acknowledgments

Writing seems like a very solitary job, but there are so many people who have helped and supported me in the making of this book.

My thanks to Brigitte Shull and Ryan Jenkins at Palgrave Macmillan for encouraging this project and patiently assisting me along the way. I am also greatly appreciative of several grants from the St. Francis Xavier University Council for Research that facilitated my work.

I am deeply grateful to the many scholars, colleagues, and friends who, over the years, have answered questions (and asked them), invited me to give talks, listened over coffee, shared databases and articles, critiqued, read, and made suggestions: Doug al-Maini, Steven Baldner, Rita Campbell, Jalisa David, Marie Gillis, Adrianna Eyking, Kathryn R. King, Edward Langille, Jayne Lewis, Paul Marquis, Juliette Merritt, Michelle Parent, Suzanne Stewart, Natasha Sumner, Donna Trembinski, and Mat von Milligen. My special gratitude to Janette Fecteau and Jo-Anne Embree, my intrepid readers, who went over every word and cheered me on and up.

Finally, and especially, I thank Jamie, Arden, and Logan Powell: for all your love and support, and your tolerance of my passions. My "words give way, like quicksand," but I hope you know how much I love you.

Chapter 1

The Need for a Language for the Passions

> Our Discourse is imperfect, unless it carry with it the marks of the Motions of our Will: It resembles our Mind (whose Image it ought to bear) no more than a dead Carkass resembles a living Body.
>
> —Bernard Lamy, *The Art of Speaking*

> [W]ords give way, like quicksand, beneath too weighty a pile of building.
>
> —Aaron Hill to Martha Fowke

The ability of discursive language to communicate the passions begins to be questioned in the early eighteenth century. Are words "a dead Carkass," lacking life, soul, and essence, "like quicksand," an easily shifting, yielding mass engulfing and entrapping meaning? Some eighteenth-century philosophers thought that, with its gradual secularization, poetic language had become emasculated and weak, bereft of its ability to express and incite the passions. Conversely, literary critics such as John Dennis theorized that "never any one, while he was wrapt with Enthusiasm or ordinary Passion, wanted either Words or Harmony."[1] A growing ambivalence over the ability of words to relate effectively one's passions, and hence one's subjectivity, develops over the eighteenth century, with some believing that literature too blithely elicits passions from readers and others contending that language has lost its efficacy. The purpose of this study is to explore how three authors—Aaron Hill, Eliza Haywood, and Martha Fowke,

making up the nucleus of the London literary group, the Hillarian circle, from 1720 to 1724—attempt to develop a language for the passions that clearly conveys the deepest felt emotions. In essence, these three authors endeavor to transcend human separateness and bind one soul to another through words.

Hill, Haywood, and Fowke and their personal and professional relationships with each other within Hill's literary circle afford an intriguing and problematic context in which to study the passions and their communication in the first half of the eighteenth century. Writers in a variety of forms (periodicals, poetry, letters, plays, essays, and novels) over a long period of productive years, Hill, Haywood, and Fowke engage in a progressive and reactionary debate over how to express and write the passions. Whereas recent criticism notes "a clear intersection between the perceived crisis in the management of the passions and the emerging mission of the novel,"[2] in the Hillarian circle we witness intelligent, passionate minds grappling with finding a language for the passions that can imaginatively convey one's innermost feelings before the novel's "agenda" of reforming and restraining those passions can be effectively put into action.

The Hillarian circle is beginning to attract serious scholarly attention in the wake of high-quality bibliographical, biographical, and critical work. Foundational studies on Hill, Fowke, and Haywood by Christine Gerrard, Phyllis Guskin, Patrick Spedding, and Kathryn R. King all reference the complex relationships among these three writers within the larger Hillarian circle and present significant scholarship to which I am especially indebted. Guskin's *Clio: The Autobiography of Martha Fowke Sansom, 1689–1736*, the first modern edition of *Clio: or, A Secret History of the Life and Amours of the Late Celebrated Mrs. S–n—m*, provides a detailed examination of Fowke's life and her role in the Hillarian coterie; Gerrard's biography *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector 1685–1750* devotes two chapters to the making and the breaking of the Hillarian circle, including the part that the Fowke–Haywood dispute played in that breakup; Spedding's *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* is indispensable for linking biographical information with the publishing history of Haywood's works; and King has authored several influential articles exploring the literary and personal relationships of Haywood with the Hillarians, including "The Case of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and the Hillarians, 1719–1725" and "When Eliza Met Aaron: A Story of Sublime Sensation," as well as, most recently, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood*. Each of these critical studies dedicates attention to the relationships and influences, the friendships and shifting alliances among the most

famous Hillarians. My intention here is to focus specifically on Hill's, Haywood's, and Fowke's experimentation with and attempts at the development of a language for the passions in their poetry and prose.

As these studies have shown, the possible relationships among Haywood, Hill, and Fowke (her married name is Sansom but she established her poetic reputation under her maiden name) are collaborative, competitive, and often eroticized. From 1720 to 1724, Haywood reveres Hill as a poet and as a man; once friends, Haywood and Fowke become bitter and vengeful enemies; Fowke and Hill engage in a clandestine extramarital affair; Fowke uses her sexuality unabashedly with men; and Haywood is scorned by the circle after publishing a scandal novel that includes a vicious personal exposé of her former friend. All three write, discuss, and theorize about the passions and their passions for each other. As a literary coterie of young men and women, the Hillarians are fascinated with the passions—excessive emotions like love, sorrow, fear, anger, envy—and how they can be best expressed in social relationships and in writing. My study of works by these three writers traces their experimentation with philosophical and linguistic theories, including the aesthetic sublime. The members of the Hillarian circle variously argue in their individual works for the validity of a language built on experience, specifically a sensory, sensual, and passionate experience. This argument aligns them with the empiricist project but insists on the place of the passions in a discussion of knowledge gained through experience. Suspended somewhere between the spiritual and the physical, the passions seem to elude any but abstract, poetic description. Hill often complains that "words give way, like quicksand" or "fall feath'ry like dew." Hill, Haywood, and Fowke seek to develop a language that ensures not only a sympathetic comprehension of the excessive emotions that we all undergo but an understanding of the three writers' own passionate subjectivity.

Eliza Haywood, author of many novels about love, lust, abandonment, and revenge, was recognized by James Sterling in 1725 as the "Great Arbitress of Passion." From 1719 with the appearance of her first novel, *Love in Excess*, Haywood had captured the attention of readers by arousing their passions and vicariously involving them in the adventures of her beleaguered heroines, sexually predatory villainesses, and intriguing—both in the sense of carrying on a secret amour or illicit intimacy and in the sense of exciting interest or curiosity—female protagonists. By the 1740s, Haywood adopted a new persona from that of the amatory novelist, with a more specific mandate: she became arbitress of *all* the passions, a philosopher of

human nature and explorer of interiority. From 1744 with her periodical *The Female Spectator*, she not only wrote about how passion could victimize individuals through society's ability to read emotions' physical manifestations but focused on the mind itself, the "secret springs" of human actions. Philosophy and reflection were what she intended to stir in her readers: encouraging a meditation on their own passions as instigators of action, on the passions of others to elicit sympathy, on human nature and what it means to be human. Her understudied novel *Life's Progress through the Passions: or, The Adventures of Natura* (1748), with its deliberate choice of a male hero rather than a female to avoid her culture's prejudicial association of the passions with women, traces the life of its main protagonist from infancy to his death at age 63, analyzing each stage and predominant passion he experiences. In addition to examining the passions as natural elements of humanity, the novel's combination of philosophical discourse and the amorous language of her early novels explores modes of self-knowledge and subjectivity, as well as exposes the inadequacy of so-called objective, religious, and philosophical discourses to fully comprehend the passions.

Aaron Hill was also known for his studies of the passions, though his later work is primarily concerned with how they could be best portrayed in stage performance through physical gesture and voice. His *Essay on the Art of Acting*, poems such as "The Actor's Epitome" and "The Art of Acting" (1746), and his 1734 theatrical periodical *The Prompter* explicitly address how an actor must conjure up the emotions and deliberately, physically, and vocally convey them to an audience. In his 1724–25 periodical *The Plain Dealer*, coedited with William Bond (chief author of a continuation of *The Spectator* [1715] that occasioned Fowke's correspondence with him), Ned Blunt the Plain Dealer and his friend, poet Tony Jyngle, devise a system of "Mind Midwifery" wherein the passions can be successfully cured or delivered. Passions are regarded here, in the language of the classicists, as a "Disease," a "Small-Pox of the Mind" in need of a "*moral Draught*."[3] Meanwhile, through the course of the periodical's publication, Mr. Plain Dealer himself, a man in his "grand Climacterick" or sixty-third year, finds himself unreasonably falling in love with Patty Amble, a young coquette in his social circle. His inability to follow his own therapy for the passions imbues his educative system with a certain irony that his readers could not fail to miss.

While Haywood's *Life's Progress* is intent on demonstrating the naturalness and humanity of the passions and the need for social sympathy with them, Hill's and Bond's *Plain Dealer* delineates the need

to moderate the passions and regulate them to accommodate society's agenda even while questioning it. Haywood and Hill appear to be at odds with one another in their passion theory; however, upon closer examination, their views do share significant similarities. Both are concerned with controlling the physical manifestations of the passions to gain the sympathy of others by communicating specific emotions or to protect the person experiencing the passions by impeding others' reading them on his or her body. Both authors are intrigued by the relation between passion and personal identity: the need to express the passions in order to express the individual. Finally, throughout their works, both Haywood and Hill are interested in how the passions can be translated into language, and both experiment specifically with concepts of the sublime to communicate to others the physical and psychological effects of personal feelings.

Martha Fowke, a poet and a free spirit, seems little affected in her work or life with the need to conform to society's demands for feminine decorum. As she details in *Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, her early poetic collaboration with William Bond, she yearns for public acclaim for her writing; she strives to be another Shakespeare, and in her autobiographical *Letter to Hillarius* (Aaron Hill), she wants to be recognized first and foremost as a talented poet, not an inspiring muse. Never one to moderate the expression of her passions to protect her reputation, Fowke uses her writing as a means to many ends—love, fame, revenge, and communicating her philosophy of life and how she perceives the world.

Eighteenth-century empiricist theory of the mind "stressed the radical individuality of perception": that all people experienced and viewed the world uniquely. Because this account of perception held the danger of "solipsistic skepticism," it was also believed that there was a "uniformity of human nature"—a community of experience shared by all. Poets, authors, and painters struggled to find the appropriate mode for communicating an individual's passions and ideas so that people could share in and understand the feelings of others. "It was a commonplace of empiricist theory that words were arbitrary counters used to represent ideas, but that pictorial images have a closer relationship to the objects they imitate."[4] Yet words, arbitrary though they may be, are the instruments of choice for authors. Where painter Joshua Reynolds could confidently state that the "internal fabrick" of men's minds and the "external form of . . . bodies" were "nearly uniform" with one another—that there was an "agreement in the imaginations as in the senses of men"[5]—writers struggling to find an adequate language for the passions so as to express and externalize

specific states of interiority were less sure. Poetry attempting to imitate the visual concreteness and precision of the pictorial arts—poems such as Aaron Hill's "The Picture of Love" and Martha Fowke's "Clio's Picture"—strive to impress how and what they felt on their readers' imaginations by using what Locke called "external sensible Signs" standing for "invisible *Ideas*."[6] Eighteenth-century science, with its increasing interest in investigating the mind and brain, is also at this time developing the field of psychology, for which a discourse for interiority had to be invented.

By examining various aspects of eighteenth-century passion theory through the cultural and literary lenses of these three members of the Hillarian circle, we can discover not only their own ruminations and speculations about the passions but examples of the passions themselves. Rather than clouding the issue, the personal and professional connections among Haywood, Fowke, and Hill intensify the discussion. The Hillarian circle was a coterie of authors pulled in by Aaron Hill's creative energies and dynamic personality. Brean Hammond has called Hill "the cultural glue" of the period because of his involvement in theater, poetry, critical correspondence, and moral and technical support for young writers, as well as his entrepreneurial ventures in business and publishing.[7] Not only Haywood and Fowke, but Richard Savage, John Dyer, James Thomson, David Mallet, and Edward Young, among others, were at times part of Hill's literary coterie, benefiting from Hill's finding subscribers for their works and his writing epilogues, poems, and essays in their support, as well as providing an intellectual and creative venue in which they could interact personally and in writing. Apart from Haywood ("Eliza"), Fowke ("Clio"), Hill's wife, Margaret ("Miranda"), and Mrs. Joseph Mitchell ("Ophelia"), the women members of the circle are known to us only by their poetic pseudonyms: "Aurelia," "Daphne," "Evandra," and "Diana." The Hillarians, almost all under the age of thirty in the early 1720s (except for Hill himself and Fowke; Haywood, by our best guess, would turn thirty in 1723), shared their works in manuscript and exchanged ideas about poetry, authorship, and aesthetics. They would meet at Aaron and Margaret Hill's home in Petty France, Westminster, and in the Temple lodgings of Arnold Sansom and his poet wife, Martha Fowke. The group served as the prototype for the fictional "Assembly, of both Sexes, very numerous and diversified" that meets twice a week in *The Plain Dealer*[8] and later in Haywood's *The Tea-Table* (1725–26). Though no detailed descriptions of any of the Hillarian circle's specific meetings have come to light, we can reconstruct some of their discussions and themes from these fictional

depictions, from the poems within Savage's *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations by Several Hands* (participants in the coterie; 1726), and from occasional references in some members' letters and poems. In a 1729 poem by Mitchell, he remembers looking forward to "enjoy[ing] the Hours of Tea / In CLIO and MIRANDA's Company,"[9] and in a letter to John Dyer, Benjamin Victor recalls "[h]ow many delightful hours [they] enjoyed with that elegant lover [Hill], and his charming Clio! how like those scenes we read in our youthful days, in Sir Philip Sidney's Pastoral Romance!"[10] As fondly remembered by its members years after the fact, the real-life circle was a crucible from which various writings, collected miscellanies, and sometimes intimate relationships were generated.

Passion was definitely in the air in the early 1720s circle—passion in our modern sense of the word: volatile, sexually charged emotions. Such was the stuff of Haywood's early novels as well as Fowke's poetry. Haywood became connected with the Hillarians probably around the time the first part of *Love in Excess* was published in 1719; Fowke, about a year later, also entered as a publicly recognized author, having published poems as early as 1711 and in 1720 *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, a poetic dialogue with Bond. Fowke was apparently friends with Haywood before their association with the circle, from the time they both attended meetings "at the house of the widely celebrated deaf and dumb celebrity fortune-teller Duncan Campbell."[11] If Haywood's *A Spy upon the Conjurer* (1724) is to be believed, the strained relationship between her and Fowke stemmed from Haywood's seeing the fortune Campbell predicted for Fowke:

> A Time will shortly come, when it will be evident you will be so [the Mistress] to a great many, and most of them Men far unworthy of your Favours;——You will at last, in spite of the Censures of all who know you, have the good luck to get a Husband.——Happy may you then be, if you can have the Power to live in any Regularity; but I much fear you will not. Whenever this Day comes think of me, and, if it be possible, prevent a Fate most terrible, which I see now hanging o'er your Head.

Haywood writes that from that moment, Fowke "began to hate me, for being Witness of what he writ, with such an Inveteracy, that I believe she neither eat nor slept in Peace the Day she did not do me some Injury."[12]

By 1721, Martha Fowke was firmly ensconced as the feminine focal point of the Hillarian circle, and she is celebrated in many of their

poems. The group's 1726 *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations by Several Hands* (known as the *Miscellany*) included poems about her, or addressed to her, by Hill, Savage, Dyer, Mallet, and by Hill's wife, "Miranda." (By the time of the *Miscellany*'s publication, Haywood was no longer a part of the circle and so was prohibited from contributing to it.) Although persuaded by her brother to wed her lover Arnold Sansom in 1720, Fowke refused to be restricted by marriage and soon embarked on a clandestine affair, at first epistolary and then physical, with Aaron Hill between 1721 and 1723. Hill encouraged a poetic alliance between Richard Savage and Fowke that resulted in their close friendship. None of these relationships is overlooked by Haywood in her works of the early 1720s.

Haywood often portrays Fowke as a promiscuous, lustful woman: reputedly in the "Discourse" appended to *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (1721); recognizably as Tortillée in *The Injur'd Husband* (1722); as "*Madam*—F—" in *A Spy upon the Conjurer* (1724); and finally as Gloatitia—meaning one whose long fixed stare is lust filled—and as the unnamed bad influence on "Riverius" (Savage) in the first part of *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1724). Rumors about the contents of that scandal novel, in which Haywood depicts Fowke as having an incestuous relationship with her father, three bastard children by various men, and numerous affairs before and after her marriage, led to Haywood being spurned by the circle in 1724. Scholars continue to wonder why Haywood wrote such increasingly malicious portrayals of Fowke, their theories ranging from the personal—Fowke stole Savage's affections from Haywood; Haywood loved Hill and was jealous of their affair; she objected to Fowke's irresponsible and flirtatious letter-writing; she envied Fowke's money and clothes; she disliked Fowke's libertine lifestyle—to the professional—she did not approve of Fowke's cheapening of the woman author figure; she did not like Fowke's mixing of the professional and personal in the Hillarian circle; she felt that Fowke's poetry was valued over her own prose. Though no definite reason for Haywood's anger with Fowke has been uncovered, the vitriolic passion remains. The Hillarians supported Fowke and scorned Haywood. The nature and variety of literary sociability within the group—ranging from evaluation and correction (of both writing and behavior), to encouragement and praise, to adulation and scorn—reveal not only how belonging to a literary culture influences writers' work but how their works are reflective of their own passions. For this reason, a study of how the three core members of the Hillarian circle discussed and experimented with a theory for a

language for the passions is particularly important for our understanding of literary group dynamics and culture.

Eliza Haywood and Martha Fowke were both rumored to have had personal attachments to the married Hill, and both were passionate women and writers. Although Haywood authored more than 72 different works during her lifetime and has recently attracted many scholarly studies and new editions of her works, we know very little about her personal life. Spedding's *Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, King's "Eliza Haywood, Savage Love, and Biographical Uncertainty," and her more recent political biography of Haywood do much to undermine old, prejudicial suppositions about Haywood's personal life as they work to uncover tangible evidence to delineate her life among her contemporaries. But it remains a difficult task. The oft-quoted reason for the lack of detail about Haywood's history is that she urged "a particular Person, who was well acquainted with all the Particulars of it, not to communicate to any one the least Circumstance relating to her; so that probably, . . . the World will still be left in the dark."[13] In a very real sense Haywood's identity is a fiction, because such a dearth of biographical detail has not stopped the speculations about her—has not stemmed the creation of fictions about her in an attempt to reassemble some facts about her life. Was she the mother of two illegitimate children, as Pope suggested in *The Dunciad*? Was one fathered by Richard Savage? Did she "ador[e] Hill as a man" as his most recent biographer suggests?[14] Was the reason she broke her friendship with Fowke over jealousy of the latter's affair with Hill? Or did the women have professional jealousies and differences? Kathryn King has effectively dismantled the "Savage Love" hypothesis that Fowke and Haywood were romantic rivals over Richard Savage to reveal Hill as "the focus of erotic energies in the coterie." Though aware that "the complexity of the passions that rocked the Hillarians . . . [involved] an intertwining of literary ambitions and sociable impulses with a volatile eroticism that was part linguistic and part physical,"[15] King does not investigate how those passions play a role in the group's experimentation with the aesthetic sublime. As we shall see, the coterie's firsthand experience of the passions often comes under their poetic scrutiny and influences the blending in their language of the sensory and the epistemological to emulate sublime feeling.

Both Jerry Beasley and Christine Gerrard have recently suggested that Haywood may have been in love with Aaron Hill. "Eliza" and "Hillarius" wrote poems to and for each other, incarnations of him figure prominently in several of her early novels, and her only collection

of poetry features several ecstatic poems about him and his writing. But their friendship came to an abrupt end when her scandal novel featured Fowke as "Gloatitia,"

> that big-bone'd [sic], buxom, brown Woman, . . . [She and her father] scrupled not to be seen in the same Bed together, and the old Goat would run into luscious Encomiums on the Beauties of her Limbs to all the young *Chevaliers* who came to his Levée . . . from one scene of Debauchery she hurries to another, and scarce a day passes, without being witness of some new Crime as extravagant as shameless . . . [S]he has lately been deliver'd of a Child which must heir the unhappy *Rutho*'s [Arnold Sansom's] Estate, tho' to which of her *Enamorato's* the little Compound does with most right belong, even the omnipotent *Jupiter*, who breath'd the Breath of Life into it, can scarce determine.[16]

Although earlier works of hers had depicted Fowke's promiscuity as verging on the iniquitous, with *Memoirs* Haywood crosses the line from propriety into reprehensible passion herself.

Lust, jealousy, anger, and revenge—extreme passions all—are elicited and enacted in the retaliatory writings among the Hillarians at that time. This study of how the eighteenth century saw the passions, and Haywood's, Hill's, and Fowke's creative attempts to convey them through language, focuses on the three writers' literary relationships within the circle and their emerging discourses on human nature. It also examines their attitudes to the passions by using Fowke, "Clio," as a prismatic point through which their attitudes and writings are focused, fictionalized, and diffracted. I have already alluded to Haywood's primary fictional portrayals of Fowke and her illicit passions. But Aaron Hill's perspective must also be considered. He writes poems to and about Fowke that appear in Savage's 1726 *Miscellany* as well as some erotically charged personal letters to her, published in his posthumous *Works* (1753). She is also probably the prototype for the animated coquette Martha "Patty" Amble who secures Mr. Plain Dealer's affections through flirtation, baby talk, and his own imagination.

Fowke and her various incarnations come to be cast as the "Other" by both Hill and Haywood—sometimes as a playful coquette who magically elicits love in an old curmudgeon (as Patty in *The Plain Dealer*), most often as that dangerously passionate, expressive individual who requires yet resists regulation (in Haywood's fiction). But Fowke is also a writer herself, struggling to convey her own passions of love, ambition, and fear through language. Her poetry, and her

prose life story attempting to explain herself and her love to Hill, must be examined for their contribution to theorizing and speaking the passions as well as eliciting Haywood's and Hill's responses.

In Haywood's later works, she considers the passions as expressions of human nature and renders a more sympathetic, compassionate evaluation of those characteristics—love, vanity, and ambition—for which she had denounced Fowke in the 1720s. In *Life's Progress through the Passions* (1748), Haywood condemns censurers of human behavior who cannot comprehend the humanity inherent in unruly passions. Throughout her career, Haywood is especially conscious of *writing* the passions: finding a language in which to express them. Moving among traditional personifications used by classical philosophers, through the rhetorician's use of allegory, metaphor, and trope, to the almost exasperated convention of exclaiming "What language . . . can reach the exalted soaring of a lovers meaning!"[17] she conveys the idea that to successfully communicate the passions of another is to empathize with that other—to know precisely how another feels through one's own feelings.

Aaron Hill's interest in communicating the passions is more professional and social than sentimental despite his personal epistolary outpourings to Fowke. Putting aside their earlier affair, upon hearing of Fowke's death at the age of 47 in 1736, Hill writes to their mutual friend Savage about "POOR C—o! It is long, since I met with an affliction more sensible, than the information, you sent me concerning her! If half what her enemies have said of her, is true, she was a proof, that *vanity* overcomes *nature* in *women*, which it could never yet do, in men: For desire of glory wants power to expel the pusillanimity, natural to some ambitious princes, and generals; while, in that amiable persuer of conquests, it prevail'd, not only against the finest reflection, but impell'd an *assum'd lightness*, over even *constitutional modesty*."[18] While over the years Haywood becomes more tolerant and understanding of passionate failings such as those Fowke suffered, Hill becomes less so, especially in relation to Fowke; indeed, in this letter to Savage, he vigilantly distances himself and his emotions from her to evaluate her coldly—Haywood might say "frigidly"—on gendered grounds. Vanity and ambition, and promiscuity over modesty, are regarded as her personal downfalls, and Hill's "sensible" affliction (i.e., viscerally experienced through all his physical senses) at news of her death arises from the loss of her femininity rather than the loss of her life. By 1736, Hill's wife, Margaret, mother of his nine children, had been dead for five years, and he had gained a more mature, objective perspective on his former friend.

Haywood's and Hill's personal interactions with and reactions to Martha Fowke and her passions color their works and our readings of them. Their evolving languages for the passions are often complicated by philosophical and social anxieties about truth and proper, or reputable, behavior. Often the question is not *how* one should communicate the passions but simply *whether* one should. As we can sense from Hill's postmortem comments on "Clio," sometimes the act of stifling expression can reveal more than the words attempting to convey passion ever could. At other times, descriptions are at best asymptotic, "earnestly reaching toward [their] goal of perfect signification, but repeatedly falling short of [their] object."[19]

By reading closely and critically a selection of early works by Haywood and Hill, and their personal and professional entanglements within their coterie but particularly with Martha Fowke, we see how these pivotal literary figures of the first half of the eighteenth century theorized about and realized the passions' effect on personal identity, poetical expressions, and humanity, especially as they attempt to wrestle the passions into a comprehensible, sympathetic language. Out of the heated soap opera of the Hillarian circle, both Hill and Haywood emerge better prepared to write about the passions, while Fowke seems to have drifted away from writing altogether after 1726. No longer immersed and embroiled in passion, Haywood and Hill believed they had become objective observers, cool anatomists of the heart and mind, capable of creating an effective literary language for the passions.

Passions Imagery: From Hippocrates to the Eighteenth Century

The language that Haywood, Hill, and Fowke attempt to develop to effectively communicate interiority emerges not only from their literary circle, their social culture, and their own engagement with the world but from a long tradition of thought on the passions. Their interest in a language for the passions evolves from a history that questions whether the passions are even useful or desirable in human nature. Regarded as threats to reason and judgment, as rendering the soul incapable of perceiving "Truth," the passions have been villainized since classical times, and the discourses used to describe them often reflect the discomfort of the philosophers who were compelled to try to manage them. Over the millennia, attitudes to the passions gradually change, as do theories about what the passions are, where they originate, and whether they require regulation or cure. This, in

turn, affects the way in which the passions are described and treated. But though theories and knowledge develop and change due to advances in philosophical thought, medicine, and culture, metaphors and tropes for the passions prove to have a much longer life-span. An overview of pre-eighteenth-century philosophical, medical, and psychological thought and traditions will help us understand how Hill, Haywood, and Fowke adapt and employ them in their language.

For the classical Greeks, the passions were rooted in the very organs of the body (heart, spleen, liver, stomach) and could also move through the body's air and blood. Hippocrates held that the four humors—blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm—the essential fluids in the body, if kept in balance with one another, would maintain one's physical and mental health. If there developed an excess of a particular humor, it would raise or lower the temperature of the brain and would induce passion, an imbalance in both the mental and physical states leading to illness and disease.[20] In this medical view, the physical mechanics of the body, an overproduction of any one of the humors, precipitates the influx of the passions.

For others, like Plato, the physiology of the passions also involves biles, which twist their way through the body in response to the heat generated in the heart by passion or slow when the lungs cool them.[21] As Plato regarded it, man's central conflict is between the immortal soul situated in the head and governed by reason and the passions that are housed in the breast, specifically the heart, and impede clear perceptions of reality. The most predominant and lasting platonic image for the relationship between reason and the passions is that of the chariot driver trying to control a team of horses. Reason, the driver, aims to balance the powerful impetuses of an obedient white horse—representing the will, reason's ally—and a dark rebellious horse, representing the passionate appetites. Plato's concern with man's dual nature and the tension between reason and passion is one that is perpetuated through the centuries, including the eighteenth century. Eliza Haywood's novels are most distinguished for their presentation of the battle between reason and passion, the mind and the heart. Her language for the struggle that love, that most powerful of passions, puts everyone through has its origins in Plato's philosophy.

The notable second-century physician Galen, whose theories were popular throughout the Middle Ages, suggested that "vital" spirits, based in the heart, and "animal" spirits, based in the brain, ferry the passions back and forth between the body and the soul through a series of hollow tubes or veins. The excitement of a passion due to an external influence like a desirable or fearful object could disrupt the

natural balance of spirits within the body by forcing the blood infused with spirits to be dispersed to or contracted away from particular exterior body parts. "Blood and spirits were thought to emanate from or retire toward the *vital heat* of the heart under the pressure of certain emotions."[22] Shame or rage caused blood and spirits to rush to the face causing reddening and a rise in body temperature, while in the case of fear, blood and spirits drained from the face and extremities, resulting in paleness and a feeling of coldness. Haywood, Hill, and Fowke recognize the power a person can have over another when able to read the physical signs of specific passions, and they often utilize physical signifiers of passion—blushing, pallor, trembling, weeping—as betrayers of one's innermost feelings that are best left undetected. Haywood and Hill, who both had extensive experience with the theater and stage performance, are quick to incorporate into their prose and poetry the physical enactment and visceral revelations of the internal passions. References to the spirits continue even after the medical discovery of the circulation of the blood and the functions of the nervous system. Simultaneous mentions of one's spirits being weak or depleted and one's nerves being agitated are not uncommon in eighteenth-century works, and especially in Haywood's and Fowke's works, one's spirits function as biological impediments to keeping a woman's passions secret.

It was long believed that women were more susceptible to the passions because of their wombs' monthly discharge of an overabundance of blood and because of their proclivity to hysteria (caused by the wandering womb) and its consequential attacks of imagination. This gender bias built into passion theory from at least the time of Plato (who held that those who failed to gain mastery over the passions would be reincarnated as women) would continue throughout the eighteenth century, as women were medically and popularly regarded as predominately passionate and men as mostly reasonable creatures.

Galen modified Hippocrates's humors by connecting them with the predominant temperaments of man: a person who has an abundance of blood, which is hot and moist, is of a sanguine temper; a hot and dry humor, the yellow bile, creates a choleric temper; an imperturbable person is governed by the cold and moist humor of phlegm; and the melancholic temper is cold and dry, governed by the black bile. Although the passions were believed to derive from the humors, emanating from the core organs of the body that influence their quantity, disposition, and destination, they were also dependent on the mind, particularly the memory and imagination, for their generation. This condition of being double-sourced presented problems

for philosophers and physicians, as the passions held the potential for being causes of both physical and mental disease. Galen advised that the passions be closely monitored and stabilized so as not to cause any detrimental imbalance in physical or mental health. As with the metaphorical application of the spirits, though medical belief in a humoral-based system gradually died out, the humors remained popular in eighteenth-century literature and language, most famously in Pope's Cave of Spleen in "The Rape of the Lock." Mr. Plain Dealer points to his sanguine humor to explain his propensity to love. Even today people may still be described as splenetic, choleric, sanguine, or phlegmatic. The appealing visceral imagery of the humors continued to provide an imaginative foundation for the eighteenth century's understanding of a balanced being.

The recurring concern with the connection between the body and the soul—the passions' ability to distract the soul with physical, sensory desires—and the passions' role in determining good and evil, pleasure and pain infused passion theory with moral or religious themes that did not necessarily help in understanding the passions' role in human nature and identity. Many of the classical and Scholastic theories regarding the passions tend to concentrate more on the cultural systems into which the passions were to fit than on the human nature from which they emerged. The impact of the passions on polite society remained a predominant concern over the centuries, and controlling one's expressions of passion to fit in was regarded as far more important than being a unique individual. Both Hill and Haywood—but not Fowke—write about the need to keep the unruly passions private; all three voice their concern that a person's mental health and stability is dependent on finding an acceptable expression of their passions.

Aristotle argued that the passions could be effectively controlled by aiming at the "mean," a midpoint between excessive emotion and a complete absence of it, thus keeping one in a healthy equilibrium. The Stoics regarded the passions as diseases of the soul, states of the psyche rather than material entities like the humors; they held that the passions, which corrupted perception and judgment, should be analyzed and then, through an understanding of them, cured. Another recurring image in passion discourse is of the passions as wild beasts or savages that could be domesticated. Not as easily managed as Plato's horses, the passions presented a particular challenge to man's control, because they were recognized as a part of man's psyche that must be subdued but not destroyed. The Stoic notion of *apatheia*—the state of being without excessive responses to unworthy objects—gradually

transformed into the extreme idea that all passions should be extirpated, an idea that most eighteenth-century writers—including Haywood, Hill, and Fowke—rejected as harmful to the human identity. However, tropes for the passions as diseases needing to be treated by physicians for the soul, wild animals requiring training to be serviceable, and slaves being shackled to prevent escape continued to be popular and were still used by the Hillarians and others in the eighteenth century.

The conflict between reason and the passions, the spiritual soul and the physical senses, was a dialectic that would also long continue. The Christian church associated the passions with the seven deadly sins (Pride, Anger, Envy, Lust, Avarice, Gluttony, and Sloth) and preached for their expulsion from the soul. It was Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century who finally argued that it was God's divine will that man's body and soul be united on this earth and thus that the passions emerging from that union were a test for the soul's ultimate benefit.

In the seventeenth century, intellectuals, physicians, philosophers, and clergymen attempted to ascertain whether the passions, which drove men to selfish, brutish acts, had a place at all in society. Human nature and the passions were widely regarded as vicious. Thomas Hobbes argued that man was governed by self-interest and self-love: passions spurred men to act for their own good based on their own desires, appetites, and aversions. Government rule was necessary to regulate the many individuals and their individual passions. On the other end of the spectrum were men like Nicholas Malebranche, who espoused an optimistic, humanizing element to the passions: man's inherent, natural compassion rendered him a social being who worked for the benefit of others. Malebranche insisted that it is "chiefly by the Passions . . . that the soul expands herself abroad, and finds she is actually related to all surrounding Beings."[23] Aaron Hill, especially in the *Plain Dealer* papers (1724–25), employs this image of the passions permitting the expansion of the soul outward into the world to experience personal and ultimately social love. In Haywood's and Fowke's works, both authors continually invoke the compassionate element of a judgmental society to exercise its sympathy to become more understanding of a wayward, passionate individual's actions.

Thinkers seemed unlikely to reach a consensus on whether the passions were good or bad; were useful or not; should be locked up or expressed; or should be moderated in our behavior or expelled from our being. Clergymen remained particularly suspicious of the passions' power to lure men into sin. Thomas Wright speculated in 1630 that the passions "inhabit the confines both of sense [the physical senses]

and reason, yet they keep not equall friendship with both."[24] Francis Bragge in 1708 regarded passion as "a Vigorous *Tendency* of our Souls towards something that we look upon as very *Good*, and Conducive to our Happiness; or as great *Aversion*, and Resolution to keep off, and fly from what we apprehend to be very *Evil* and Pernicious to us."[25] By 1734, Isaac Watts accepted the passions as "belonging partly to the Soul or Mind, and partly to the animal Body"; though dangerous, when governed by reason passion "*renders our Conduct amiable and useful to our fellow Creatures, and makes Virtue shine in the World*."[26] Still, he was quick to point out that even a passion like love for one's children or friends should be closely monitored to avoid falling into the sin of excess. Although Haywood's first novel explored the dangerous consequences of loving to excess, it did not suggest like Watts that one must love only with moderation. For Haywood, as well as for Hill and Fowke, love—especially mutual love—was regarded as a sublime and desirable experience to be cherished for its unique combination of sensual and spiritual elements.

Jean-Francois Senault's *De l'usage des passions* (1641; English translation 1649) by 1772 became *The Philosophy of the Passions*, its new title reflecting that using them for political purposes was no longer as significant as understanding them in order to understand one's self. The book's lasting popularity throughout the eighteenth century attests to the acceptance of the passions as an essential part of man, though a dangerous and sometimes even diabolical one. Its language, echoing the Stoics' imagery of "savage subjects," conveys the period's continuing deep-seated suspicion of the passions as well as its fatal attraction to them: "All the benefit that can be expected from such savage subjects, is to shackle their hands and feet, and to leave them only so much power as is necessary to them for the service of reason; they must be treated as galley slaves, always chained down, and retaining only the use of their arms for rowing."[27] Apparent within Senault's reactions, as with most of those who ever wrote or theorized on the passions, is how passions expose the most perplexing problem of human nature's inherent duality: consisting of Godlike reason and bestial urges, should human beings subjugate the animalistic passions to reason or surrender to them?

The libertine ethos of the Restoration period fostered a disregard of the philosophical problem of duality by denouncing man's higher being. An extension of classical Epicureanism, the belief that nature formed man for pleasure, libertinism promoted embracing one's naturally animalistic urges and rejecting moral notions of honor and religion as artificial constructs. Men like John Wilmot, Earl of

Rochester, discredited reason and the soul, choosing rather to elevate the importance of bodily pleasures. But to live a life solely pleasing the appetitive instincts rendered man more beast than human, others argued. Could there not be a synthesis of the rational and passionate elements in man to create a whole human being, a healthy psyche, from the dualistic chaos?

That synthesis came about gradually. In eighteenth-century medicine, the passions' function in the relationship between the soul and the body is understood less as the conduit between the two than as an expression of both, rooted in both realms simultaneously. Much later, Michel Foucault would describe this advance in thought as displacing the passions from "the geometrical center of the body-and-soul complex" to the place "where both their unity and their distinction are established."[28] Part of the Hillarians' difficulty in developing a language for the passions, then, is finding a means to articulate the sensory effects of passions that are both physical and spiritual/psychological experiences. An understanding of the role of the nervous system provided them with one avenue.

René Descartes posited that man's body was like an animated statue or a machine. Man's passions were not found in the heart, the blood, or the humors but in the nervous system and the brain. The soul still controlled the body, but the passions were no more than sequences of bodily functions rather than an infusion of spiritual *pneuma* from the ether. In the 1670s, Thomas Willis's theory that the medulla oblongata in the brain was the site of the soul and "nerves alone [were] responsible for sensory impressions, and consequently for knowledge" paved the way for serious physiological studies: the science of man. Science moved on to associate the texture of one's nerves to the degree of one's sensibility and imagination[29]—the degree to which one could be moved by the passions. By 1733, physician George Cheyne could write very dispassionately that "*Feeling* is nothing but the Impulse, Motion or Action of Bodies, gently or violently impressing the Extremities or Sides of the Nerves, of the Skin, or other Parts of the Body, which by their Structure and *Mechanism*, convey this Motion to the *Sentient* Principle in the Brain."[30] In his chapter "Of the Passions" in his 1724 *Essay of Health and Long Life* he explains that "sudden *Gusts* of *Joy* or *Grief*, *Pleasure* or *Pain*, stimulate and spur the *Nervous* Fibres, and the *Coats* of the *Animal Tubes*, and thereby give a *Celerity* and brisker Motion to their included Fluids, for the same Time."[31] As we shall see in later chapters, some members of the Hillarian circle, notably Hill himself, Savage, and Fowke claim that it is the sensitivity and fine texture of their nerves that render

them especially affected by the passions. Martha Fowke expresses in her poems that she is biologically susceptible to her passions because her very atoms are like mercury. But as the passions are reduced to biological, indeed, mechanical sequences of stimuli and responses, interest in the mental effects—the peculiarity or uniqueness of those experienced sensations—begins to take on more significance.

Eighteenth-century thinkers continued to explore human nature and the passions' role in personal identity and society, but within an increasingly psychological rather than physiological realm—focused more on the mind than the brain. Eighteenth-century writers were very much aware of the scientific explanations for the physical, mechanical connection between the mind and the passions, such as Willis's nervous system and William Harvey's 1628 discovery of the circulation of the blood through the body. But in the 1734 edition of *An Essay on Man*, Alexander Pope echoed the concern of many when he wrote that it was time to turn attention away from the physical intricacies of the mind to consider the broader implications of what makes us innately human: "The science of Human Nature, is, like all other sciences, reduced to a *few clear points*: . . . more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation."[32] Pope echoed a new wave in passion theory: the passions were to be studied and invoked for answers to explain ethics and motivation, gender and identity, self-expression and human nature. The look inward, into one's own mind and that of one's neighbor, could help in understanding the art of being human. In the second Epistle of his *Essay on Man*, Pope's reconception of the earlier humoral psychology and the philosophy of Sir Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne into the notion of the ruling passion argued that a predominant passion gave stability and direction to man's character.

Philosophers Francis Hutcheson and David Hume studied sympathy and compassion, discovering not only the propensity in humankind to feel the pain of others but the innate compulsion to act to alleviate it. Such passion made men human, and good, not beastlike. The notion of sympathy plays a significant role in understanding the passions of others and in translating one's feelings into a comprehensible language. This is of particular relevance to Hillarians Haywood, Hill, and Fowke, as they seek a language that can communicate unique feelings and elicit sympathetic responses. They wanted not to alienate readers through expressions of intense personal feeling; rather, they aimed to expand their readers' realm of experience and of self by

encouraging them to understand the sufferings of others. An ability to share in what others feel could precipitate a more compassionate society and result in greater self-knowledge. An appropriate language that could bridge the divide between men and women, between individuals, between separate minds, needed to be discovered.

Eighteenth-century men and women's particular experiences of the passions, society's expectations of their experience, and their permitted expression or prescribed repression also warranted a proper study. While men were professed to be the reasonable beings, women were a bundle of feelings—love and revenge, maternal instincts, fear and joy—yet good women were naturally modest and reticent (or ought to be) about expressing their minds and emotions. Addison and Steele's *Spectator* presented the two sexes as completely opposite, yet complementary, in their natural passions:

> Women in their Nature are much more gay and joyous than Men; whether it be that their Blood is more refined, their Fibres more delicate, and their animal Spirits more light and volatile; or whether, as some have imagined, there may not be a kind of Sex in the very Soul, I shall not pretend to determine. As Vivacity is the Gift of Women, Gravity is that of Men . . . Men should beware of being captivated by a kind of savage Philosophy, Women by a thoughtless Gallantry. Where these Precautions are not observed, the Man often degenerates into a Cynick, the Woman into a Coquet; the Man grows sullen and morose, the Woman impertinent and fantastical.[33]

However, the careful self-policing of each sex's natural tendencies could result in the unhealthy repression of one's individual nature. Haywood in 1721 complains that even when a woman is in the midst of "Heart-rending Anguish" she is "obliged to feign an Insensibility, smother the rising Sighs, dress up her Face in Smiles, wear a composed Serenity in her Countenance, when all the Furies are at work within her . . .—O hard Condition! which . . . forbids us to complain."[34] Men were expected to be quick to defend their honor, physically aggressive, and somewhat libertine in their sexual escapades. They were more viscerally than vocally expressive about their passions. Mr. Spectator describes man as naturally "grave," and he does little talking himself, but just over a decade later, Mr. Plain Dealer is "a talkative Old Batchelor" who seems to enjoy nothing more than exploring his own passions and discovering the civil and polite expression of them in others.[35] The emergence of the cult of sensibility in the latter half

of the eighteenth century legitimized such behavior partly through a redefinition of feeling.

Sensibility, with its "connotations of intense emotional responsiveness," came to be understood as one of the bases of virtue—"the uncorrupted heart, the propensity to love."[36] As with the passions, the interest in sensibility encouraged an awareness of one's own interiority, of how the mind in the body spontaneously responds to sense stimuli—thus the growing concern for privacy in which to conduct that self-observation.[37] The passions gradually became modulated or domesticated over the century into the more socially acceptable sensibility, which, though it could be displayed on the body in the form of tears, trembling, sighs, and fainting to exhibit the extreme delicacy and capacity for sympathy in a person, is still often relegated to the private realm. Patricia Meyer Spacks observes, "Propriety conceals, but social convention maintains that it can also indirectly reveal the emotional integrity and sensitivity constituting the foundation of female virtue. By refusing to display her heart, a woman testifies to her sense of its worth."[38] But it is Haywood's, Hill's, and Fowke's determination to create a coherent language for the passions, one that challenges the conceptual and grammatical structures of traditional language and introduces new and transformative figures, that paves the way for sensibility. The Hillarian project to develop a language for the passions and the aesthetic sublime provides authors like Samuel Richardson, Sarah Fielding, and Laurence Sterne with a vocabulary for subjectivity and a means to make personal, inner experience accessible—a means to transcend psychic isolation through shared sense perceptions leading to sympathetic understanding.

The Hillarians and Language

The many different discourses on the passions—philosophical, medical, personal, and didactic—serve Haywood, Fowke, and Hill well not only in examining their own psychologies and relationships but in mapping a compassionate course for eighteenth-century readers to understand that they are not alone in their inward experiences even while they learn to navigate interpersonal relationships. Evident in many of the poems of those Hillarians contributing to Savage's *Miscellany* are their attempts to delineate for themselves and others an understanding of the passions from the personal, to the socially relevant, to the aesthetic sublime. First and foremost, the Hillarian circle aims to elucidate a poetic mode to express and externalize their passions to readers. They move away from Locke's insistence on absolute

clarity in language, because they are distrustful that such precision could exist. They work through the theory that words elicit particular visual images; to Joseph Addison's empirical objection to painting's superiority to words, as he insists that "a Description often gives us more lively Ideas than the Sight of Things themselves";[39] and finally to theories of the aesthetic sublime.

As the period's literary interests turn gradually from reason to rapture, Longinian terms such as *astonishment*, *enthusiasm*, *ravishment*, and *transport* enter the vocabulary. These terms "do service within both a rhetorical and an aesthetic framework," linking the "practical criticism of texts with an ethical description and account of human nature."[40] The ability to communicate the passions is innately connected with how aptly—indeed, how beautifully—the work of art conveys them. Haywood's, Hill's, and Fowke's interest in the Longinian sublime is as much personal as it is aesthetic, leading them to develop language for the passions for the purpose of communicating sensory experience and interiority. But it also leads to their experimentation with form, as they attempt to advance the aesthetic appreciation of, if not a sympathy for, each other's passions and literary art.

For the Hillarians, as for many early eighteenth-century literary critics like Aaron Hill's *cause célèbre* John Dennis, it was poetry that provided access to the sublime. As Hill delineated in his "Preface to Mr. Pope" to his 1720 poem *The Creation*, "Poetry [is] the most elevated Exertion of human Wit," first taught to the Hebrews by "God . . . and [by] the *Hebrews* to Mankind in general." Still, there existed for Hill an impediment to poetic language despite its potential to communicate the ineffable: "These animated Images, or pictured Meanings of Poetry, are the forcible Inspirers, which enflame a Reader's Will, and bind down his Attention. They arise from *living Words*, as *Aristotle* calls them; that is, from Words so finely chosen, and so justly ranged, that they call up before a Reader the Spirit of their Sense, in that very Form, and Action, it impressed upon the Writer. But when the Idea, which a Poet strives to raise, is in itself magnificent and striking, the Dawb of Metaphor, or any spumy Colourings of Rhetoric can but deaden, and efface it."[41]

The discordant incompatibility between the exalted idea and the poet's mechanical tools as he attempts to communicate that idea often culminates in failure: an extinguishing of the sublime sense. Hill's employment of painting metaphors within his own description of poetry indicates his early view that language is meant to represent and convey the pictures or images within the author's mind, but that author or artist can be no mere hack. According to the *Oxford English*

Dictionary (*OED*), the "Dawb of Metaphor" not only connotes "[a] coarsely executed, inartistic painting" but also means "[t]o soil (paper) with ink, or with bad or worthless writing." Similarly, "spumy Colourings of Rhetoric" "deaden" the poet's idea by overwhelming it with unsubstantial or trivial "froth." Poets and painters have a responsibility to choose and arrange their materials, be they words or colors, "justly." As described by Lord Lansdowne (a poet, correspondent with Pope, and one of Haywood's frequent sources for epigraphs to her novels), poets are "Limners of another kind, / To copy out Idæas in the Mind, / Words are the Paint by which their Thoughts are shown, / And Nature is their Object to be drawn."[42] Accepting of the conception of the poet as a kind of painter, and appreciative of Hill's keen interest in improving the skills of stage actors by developing their awareness of how the passions can be exhibited on and through the body, the Hillarians attempt to communicate the effects of the aesthetic sublime through words that both reveal "Idæas [or passions] in the Mind" and evoke a similar sympathy in the reader. For the "skilled rhetorician . . . the word, the subject, and the idea or emotion of the audience" had to be coordinated. "Rhetoric . . . presupposed the conceptual distinction of the three entities, but the aesthetic sublime refused to fit into the traditional scheme. It belonged exclusively neither to the word nor to the subject nor to the emotion but to all three simultaneously and perhaps to something more besides." It became Aaron Hill's and by extension his literary circle's aim to create new, effective modes of *poetic* description, especially through the irregular Pindaric ode, to combat the deterioration of language: not to communicate rhetorically, or by appealing to reason, but passionately. Their language theory is analogous with Foucault's passion theory: they regard language as an organic expression of both passion and reason rather than as an artificial link between them. Passions, like words, "mediat[e] between the mental and the physical."[43] Haywood, Hill, and Fowke attempt to use language not to make their readers understand passion intellectually but as a natural expression of passion and reason, the mental and physical.

Hill's coterie of writers consisted primarily of poets: John Dyer, Martha Fowke, Richard Savage, David Mallet, and James Thomson. Eliza Haywood stands alone in the assembly as the novelist. Though Hill admired her work enough to admit her to the circle, she must have felt some pressure to prove to the other members that her art was just as worthy of treating the sublime as poetry. Kathryn King has noted that in *Love in Excess*, which elevates sex to the level of the sublime, the ability to appreciate that sublimity—through physical

experience and by reading about it—is "a signifier of refined taste and delicacy of perception."[44] Haywood adopts and appropriates the theory of the sublime for *prose* as she, too, attempts to develop a language for the passions that connects with and reflects her readers' interiority. G. Gabrielle Starr points out in *Lyric Generations* that Haywood's use of lyric speech in *Love in Excess* "aims at affective description, aims to represent experience so that it approaches consensuality," passionate feeling shared by character and reader alike. Starr argues effectively for the use of lyrics in prose to achieve sympathetic involvement and to evoke shared emotion, remarking that in Haywood "lyrics are absorbed into the surface of the prose, expanding the sensuous possibilities of speech."[45] Thus we see Haywood incorporating poetic rhythms, repetitions of phrases, assonance, and opposition into her descriptions of lovers that can be easily reformatted from prose into poetry.[46] But Haywood's experimentation with lyrical language and representation becomes not just an endeavor to translate the sympathetic force of lyrical poetry to prose but an exploration of the limits of language altogether. For Haywood and the Hillarians, the desire to translate the passions and the sublime into knowledge or a language becomes even greater than the transmission of the experience of the passions themselves. Where John Richetti has belittlingly described Haywood's writing as "entirely and deliberately formulaic, a breathless rush of erotic/pathetic clichés that is in a real sense unreadable . . . more like expressive noise than language,"[47] we need to look beyond such prejudices to Haywood's, as well as Hill's and Fowke's, legitimate attempts to work *on* language through their engagement with the passions.

Eliza Haywood was recognized in Sterling's dedicatory poem to the sixth edition of her *Love in Excess* (1725) as the "Great Arbitress of Passion!" Though often quoted, the whole significance of her accorded title is not properly comprehended. Emily Hodgson Anderson notes that the definition of *arbitress* as "a female who has absolute control or disposal" is often overlooked.[48] Sterling's explicitly feminine form of *arbiter* emphasizes Haywood's writing power, which has the matter of passion "under [her] sole control" "according to [her] own pleasure" (*OED*, "arbiter"); however, the original Latin meaning suggests a person "who looks into or examines." In addition, the words *arbitress* and *arbiter* refer to a person "who settles disputes" or "arrange[s] or decide[s] the difference between . . . two parties." These points add yet another degree of uncertainty: between what or whom does Haywood judge? Does she control, examine, settle, or all three? What is she arbitrating between: her books and her readers;

the passions themselves; passion and reason; men and women; individuals and society? Sterling's poem "To Mrs. Eliza Haywood on Her Writings" offers a number of suggestions—namely, the contention between male prerogative to wit and female genius; the will and the heart (or passion); and between Haywood as "Heaven's bright minister on high" and her readers. A fuller quotation from the third stanza of his poem provides a clearer view of how Sterling characterizes Haywood's power:

> Great Arbitress of Passion! (wond'rous Art!)
> As the despotick Will the Limb, thou mov'st the Heart;
> Persuasion waits on all your bright Designs,
> And where you point the varying Soul inclines:
> See! Love and Friendship, the fair Theme inspires,
> We glow with Zeal, we melt in soft Desires!
> Thro' the dire Labyrinth of Ills we share
> The kindred Sorrows of the gen'rous Pair;
> Till, pleas'd, rewarded Vertue we behold,
> Shine from the Furnace pure as tortur'd Gold:
> You sit like Heav'n's bright Minister on High,
> Command the throbbing Breast, and watry Eye,
> And, as our captive Spirits ebb and flow,
> Smile at the Tempests you have rais'd below.[49]

Persuasion through a direct passionate connection as opposed to an appeal to logic and the intellect is the route to attaining sympathy or empathetic understanding. As arbitress, Haywood controls *and* judges: through her ability to control readers' emotional response she is able to persuade them to judge passionate humans as she judges them—with compassion. Haywood, states Sterling, has the talent of persuasion in her ability to move the heart. She "inclines" the soul to "Love and Friendship" and causes the animal spirits to *glow*, *melt*, *ebb*, and *flow* so that her writings' appeal is visceral and emotional, eliciting sympathetic, compassionate responses by making readers "share / The kindred Sorrows" of her protagonists. Not just eliciting emotion, Haywood finds a way for the passions to speak to the reader.

Sterling's description of Haywood's abilities includes most of the principal elements of a long history of thought about the passions: from Galen and Aristotle's view of the link between the humors and passion, to Cicero's using the passions to persuade, to Descartes's mechanical eliciting of physical responses through the imagination, to Hutcheson's philosophy of compassionate sympathy. Sterling emphasizes Haywood's seeming command of classical rhetoric in persuading

her readers to feel similarly to her characters, but rather than a language that describes for the intellect, Haywood, Hill, and Fowke aim to devise a way for the passions to speak themselves and appeal to the readers' feelings to truly communicate ideas. In so doing, they grapple with the very nature of language itself.

Aaron Hill, Eliza Haywood, and Martha Fowke write about their own personal passions, the passions of those around them, and whether an expression of those passions is proper to an individual and to society. They also utilize the passions they raise in their readers to their own benefit: to educate their readers about the hazards of self-expression in a social context; to win private lovers or public sympathy; to avenge perceived personal wrongs. Contextualizing and philosophizing the passions within the immediacy of their literary circle as well as years after its demise, Hill and Haywood anatomize the passions, particularly as they are evoked, elicited, and performed by Fowke in her writing and her life. For each of them, knowing their own minds, their own selves, has to come from understanding their own intricate relationships and passions for one another, even as they search out an adequate language for those feelings.

This study begins in Chapter 2 with Haywood's 1748 novel *Life's Progress through the Passions* for its foundational though somewhat revisionary presentation of passion theory and the ages of man. In many ways Haywood's novel is a satire of how the passions are presented in philosophic discourse. Haywood slyly combines philosophic and amatory discourse to reveal that Locke and others are wholly inadequate as models for a language for the passions. *Life's Progress* is a reflective work for the 55-year-old Haywood, putting her own philosophical and intellectual ideas in order as well as being suggestive of her personal reflections on her own passions' progress. Haywood comes to regard the passions as a necessary component of the healthy mind and body, and she argues against and sometimes mocks those who believe they should be eradicated or stifled for the good of the soul or society. *Life's Progress* is a good place to begin, because within it the passions that motivate the actions of the protagonist Natura's life also form the narrative. Haywood thus illustrates structurally that the passions tell our life story. The novel serves as a template on which to trace the progression of the passions as they emerge and are enacted in Haywood, Hill, and Fowke within the Hillarian literary coterie more than two decades earlier.

Chapter 3 focuses on the early epistolary writing of these three principal Hillarians and how their experiments with the rhetoric of passion within that form reveal the differences in how they each

understand passion. Close readings of Fowke's and Bond's *Epistles of Clio and Strephon* and Haywood's *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (both 1720) as well as Hill's love letters to Margaret Morris before their marriage in 1710 and to Fowke at the beginning of their affair a decade later uncover how letters serve as paper surrogates for the desired body and how ultimately language must give precedence to physical presence. The chapter ends with an examination of Fowke's autobiographical prose letter, *Clio: or, A Secret History of the Life and Amours of the Late Celebrated Mrs. S–n—m. Written by Herself, in a Letter to Hillarius* (1723; published 1752), which traces her personal progress through her and her many lovers' passions up to her love for Aaron Hill. From Sappho's concourse of the passions, through the metaphors of courtly love, to medical discourse on symptoms of lovesickness and languishing bodies, *Clio* presents love as a body of knowledge, or a science, for which only a special few possess an aptitude.

Chapter 4 continues the focus on Fowke as "Clio"; however, it takes as its starting point the poetic responses of members of the Hillarian circle to John Dyer's painting of Fowke. Hill's frustration with the inadequacies of painting and poetry to capture Clio's essence and suitably convey the passions of her beholders leads to his theorizing on aesthetics and the necessity for "*living Words.*" The Hillarians take up the rhetorical device of *ekphrasis* that "occupies a strange place between the realms of the visual and the linguistic"[50] just as the passions occupy a place between the physical and the spiritual. Hill's poem "The Picture of Love" theorizes a language of effects rather than qualities, arguing for the validity of a language built on sensory experience. The chapter goes on to examine Fowke's own verbal self-portrait in her poem "Clio's Picture," as she attempts to delineate herself as a poet rather than a muse and interweaves the physical and the passionate to express her mind. In ironic dialogue with both Fowke's and Hill's poems about passion and writing is Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1724). In this collection, Haywood plays with the confusion that can arise from an aesthetic response to poetry and a passionate response to a poet as she offers her own theory of women's writing and language.

Chapter 5 presents the third "progress through the passions" narrative. Hill and Bond's periodical *The Plain Dealer* is examined for its two central, conflicting images—the garrison and the midwife—and how plain-dealing Ned Blunt must progress from his stoical separation from the passions to safely delivering them in polite society. Blunt learns through his own experience that love is a passion that resists

intellectual delineation; it must be expressed in a figurative language of sensation, enthusiasm, and movement. Hill's acting theory, crystallized in essay and poetic form by the mid-1730s but articulated as early as 1716, is also examined here and in Chapter 6 (along with Haywood's theory of performance) for its emphasis on the significance of physical expressions and body language for the passions—a blending of spiritual and physical into a corporeal language that is evocative and sympathetic.

Haywood's early works have often been mined and cited for her feelings of anger and revenge against Fowke. My interest in them in Chapter 6 is not biographical but primarily archaeological: to trace Haywood's exploration of the passions expressed and elicited by the characters so closely associated with Fowke but also to examine them for their investigation of feigned passions. In *The British Recluse*, *The Injur'd Husband*, and *The Rash Resolve* as well as *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*, Haywood exhibits a keen interest in how people can perform passions they do not feel. Language for the passions, as explored by Hill, Haywood, and Fowke, is not just linguistic and verbal; it also includes the participation of the physical body, either spontaneously or deliberately. Haywood and Hill's interest in the theater and the theatrical display of passions by actors are incorporated into their writings, but where Hill aims to teach stage actors how to connect with and communicate passions to their audience for good effect, Haywood investigates the effects of enacting passions to manipulate others' sympathies, as well as the effects of acting as though one is not passionately affected. Ironically, it is Haywood's own unrestrained and caustic portrayal of Fowke in *Memoirs* that demonstrates the social and personal "dangers of giving way to passion," as it is Haywood who is banished from the circle as "that Scorpion" and a "Fury," while Fowke retains their admiration—for a time.

Chapter 2

Life's Progress through the Passions

> [T]o judge of the various Passions of the human Mind, and to distinguish those imperceptible Degrees by which they become Masters of the Heart, and attain the Dominion over Reason.
>
> —Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*

"THUS have I attempted to trace nature in all her mazy windings, and shew life's progress thro' the passions, from the cradle to the grave," remarks the narrator on the closing pages of Haywood's *Life's Progress through the Passions: or, The Adventures of Natura* (1748).[1] Although written 24 years after she left the Hillarian circle, this novel is a good place to begin an examination of Haywood's desire to find a language for the passions. It offers a hybridized language, as Haywood incorporates various discourses (philosophical, scientific, moral, and didactic) and genres like the parable, pornography, and the progress story to present how difficult it is to clearly delineate the passions' influence over us and to assess their merit in making us who we are. Written in a deliberately objective and dispassionate language of scientific observation, *Life's Progress* demonstrates through its absence of emotional tropes just how necessary it is to evoke sympathy rather than rely on intellectual knowledge for a real comprehension of others' lives.[2]

From the very start, in the title of the novel and the name of its protagonist, Natura, we see Haywood's intention of merging styles as various as the poetic, scientific, and moral. In its original Latin, *natura* means nature in its specific scientific sense: the physical universe and the laws of nature. *Progress*, too, is a significant term,

suggesting a forward movement toward something good, as in John Bunyan's Christian allegory *The Pilgrim's Progress* or satirically as in William Hogarth's series of engravings *The Harlot's Progress* or *The Progress of a Marriage*. The *OED* defines *progress* in its figurative sense as "going on to . . . further or higher stages successively" and "growth development." Haywood's title indicates her view that the passions are quintessential physical laws of nature that allow one to gradually develop; life progresses because we move through the passions, which are both stimuli and stages.

Perhaps the most famous of literary progresses is Jaques's "seven ages of man" speech in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*,[3] but such a division of life is an ancient practice. Traditionally, the number of ages varies from four (correlated with the four seasons) to ten, tracing man from the cradle to the grave. The division into seven ages is common, corresponding with the climacterics believed to be the critical stages in life, occurring at seven year intervals (7, 14, 21, etc.) at which a person is specifically liable to changes in health and fortune. The "grand climacteric" was 63, the age at which Natura dies and Mr. Plain Dealer falls in love with Patty Amble. Haywood's novel expands on the seven ages and their complementary passions, but it is the persistent implication of people's responses to the actions of each passionate stage that suggests how curiosity and sympathy are necessary to successfully understand others.

Haywood's narrator holds that "THE human mind . . . may be compared to a chequer-work, where light and shade appear by turns" and "even the *best* of men . . . will sometimes launch out beyond their due bounds, in spite of all the care can be taken to restrain them" (Intro. 2). It is simply a fact of human nature that the passions will sometimes get beyond our control, but such fallibility does not render us evil. The darkness and light of the mind cannot be denied, nor should they be stifled. They can and should be accepted and understood. Haywood's interest in man's compound nature is philosophic and scientific as she studies his light and shade, exterior and interior, and the relation between those dichotomies. Natura's adventures show us "how far the constitution of the *outward frame* is concerned in the emotions of the *internal faculties*" (Intro. 3); life is organic and our internal feelings naturally affect our outward appearance and behavior. It is important to comprehend that these natural urges exist and cannot always be suppressed by reason or the moral condemnation of society. Haywood is intent on presenting her own philosophy of the passions in response to the many sermons, manuals, conduct books, and taxonomies offered by ministers, medical men, and dour

judges of human nature. As *Life's Progress through the Passions* unfolds, the narrator is revealed as an arbiter of human behavior, a liberal-minded (at times even libertine) and tolerant assessor of the human mind. What also becomes apparent is the analysis of the prevalent discourses about the passions for their inadequacies in conveying a true picture of them.

Unlike many of the philosophical and religious treatises that concentrated their attention on how the passions are diseases of the mind to be cured or eradicated, Haywood subtly turns our focus to those moral people who are possessed by the passion to censure the actions of others. Incorporating many of the scientific and philosophical theories of her time, Haywood advocates looking more deeply into "the secret springs" that move us to attain a real understanding of and resulting compassion for others.

Book One: Curiosity and Sympathy

Book One of *Life's Progress* lays the foundation for Haywood's theory of the progress of the passions and the need to find an appropriate language for them as she employs and then rejects various discourses that systematize or vilify the passions. To begin, the language of morality is used to talk about how people learn to govern themselves: "[A]ll men . . . being born with the same propensities, it is *virtue* alone, or in other words, a strict *morality*, which prevents them from actuating alike in all" (I.ii.8–9). By the fourth chapter, those ethical terms of virtue and morality are supplanted by knowledge based on experience and self-awareness as well as self-control, as the narrative moves almost imperceptibly from the language of moral treatises and conduct books to a more objective, Lockean discourse of behavior: "[K]nowledge . . . enables us to judge of the emotions we feel within ourselves, or to set curbs on those, which to indulge renders us liable to inconveniences" (I.iv.29). This linguistic shift suggests that Natura's passions will be investigated not as moral or immoral propensities but as natural elements that can be comprehended epistemologically and empirically.

Book One clearly does not extol curbs and boundaries to one's behavior: youth is a time for exploring limits and learning through trial and error. Curiosity is recommended as an epistemological aid. Locke had argued in its favor: "Curiosity in Children . . . is but an appetite after Knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them . . . as the great Instrument Nature has provided, to remove that Ignorance, [we] were born with."[4] Haywood deliberately echoes

him: "[C]uriosity is one of the greatest advantages we receive from nature; it is that indeed from which all our knowledge is derived . . . By *curiosity* we *examine*, by *examining* we *compare*, and by *comparing* we are alone enabled to form a right *judgment*, whether of things or persons" (I.ii.14–15). The urge to examine and investigate down to root causes is the drive behind her tracing the progress of the passions in the first place. Most importantly, she aims to stimulate the curiosity of her readers to look beneath the surface of behavior to understand the motives for actions. When such scientific curiosity is engaged, her narrator remarks, it should "abate that unbecoming vehemence, with which people are apt to testify their admiration, or abhorrence of actions, which it very often happens would lose much of their *eclat* either way, were the secret springs that give them motion, seen into with the eyes of philosophy and reflection" (3). An investigative rather than a condemning attitude toward the passions influences the language in which one speaks about them, which in turn affects the language one uses to communicate them. Haywood desires to curtail social prejudice and censure by getting to the root of actions—to attain the knowledge of what moves others to their actions *before* we judge them. Curiosity in this instance is empirical (though also, significantly, stripped of its cultural gender bias by being applied to the male Natura and the non-gender-specific reader). Like Locke, who states that curiosity motivates learning, Haywood shows that the young Natura's curiosity must be allowed to range freely so that he can develop.

By commending curiosity to her readers, she encourages (as her narrator states) *examining*, *comparing*, and *judging* Natura's behavior against their own. Curiosity, not rash or prejudicial censure, can actually serve both the observer and the observed. A deeper understanding of why people act as they do, how passions move them, would lead to more social sympathy—bridging the gap between interiority and its expression—by at least attempting to consider another's interior self. In this way, curiosity is a social responsibility. Those who do not wish to participate in these investigations, Haywood suggests, run the risk of being less than human. Without understanding the causes for people's behavior, and merely judging them according to whether they comply with what is socially, morally prescribed, these objective censurers fall short in humanity.

The narrator expands the perspective from Natura in particular to a consideration of all men's behavior and how it is often the tendency of observers to judge too harshly: "[W]e ought not, in my opinion, to be too severe on the errors which [love, or any passion] . . . sometimes

influences us to be guilty of . . . there are some cases . . . [that] merit rather our pity, than that abhorrence which those of a more rigid virtue, colder constitution, or less under the power of temptation, are apt to testify on such occasions . . . Yet such is the ill-judging, or careless determination of the world, that without making any allowances for circumstances, it censures all indiscriminately alike" (I.iii.22). The narrator's language is at first inclusive, mentioning "us" to precipitate some sympathy with Natura's mistakes: we have all been guilty of errors when we are under love's influence. Next, those who cannot sympathize with such errors are negatively described as "rigid, colder," and then ambivalently as "less under the power of temptation." Such people lack humanity because they are not susceptible to love and the foolish errors in judgment it causes. Those who censure and refuse to make allowances for young lovers are more to be feared than those who love too feelingly. The narrator's language and strategy here differ little from that used in *The City Jilt* (1724):

> Some perhaps, into whose hands this little Narrative may fall, may have shar'd the same Fate with poor *Glicera*; like her have been betrayed by the undoing Artifices of deluding Men; like her have been abandoned by the Perfidy of an ungrateful Lover to Shame, to late Repentance, and never-ending Griefs; and it is those only, who can conceive what 'twas she suffered, or know to compassionate the labouring Anguish of a Heart abus'd and inspir'd in this superlative degree. The happy *Insensible*, or the *untempted* Fair are little capable of judging her Distress, and will be apt to say her *Misfortune* was no more than what her *Folly* merited: yet let those pitiless Deriders of her Frailty take care to fortify their Minds with *Virtue*, or they will but vainly depend on the Force of their own Resolution to defend them from the same Fate she mourn'd.[5]

Perfect sympathy for Glicera can be felt only by those who have similarly experienced betrayal and abandonment. They, too, have suffered, but they also have hearts that have been "inspir'd in this superlative degree." The "*Insensible*" or "*untempted*" are regarded as incomplete beings because either they lack sensibility, the capacity to feel, or they have not been tempted to a fall because they are undesirable. Both types can morally declare that Glicera got only what her folly deserved, and yet the reader's (and the narrator's) sympathy is with Glicera because she is capable of love and suffering, of humanity. David Hume, in his doctrine of sympathy laid out in the *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739), comments on how our understanding of others leads to sympathetic feeling for them, which in turn inspires moral conduct

toward them. Francis Hutcheson in his *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (1728) outlines the importance of looking into the actions of others to maintain our humanity: "The regulating our Apprehensions of the *Actions of others*, is of very great Importance, that we may not imagine Mankind worse than they really are, and thereby bring upon our selves a Temper full of *Suspicion*, *Hatred*, *Anger* and *Contempt* toward others; which is a constant state of Misery, much worse than all the Evils to be feared from *Credulity*."[6]

For Haywood, as for Hutcheson and Hume, seeing the effects of passion in another should naturally elicit similar feelings in us so that we can sympathetically understand what they are experiencing. Novel reading, which requires both curiosity and sympathy, offers a safe testing ground for our ability to extend understanding to characters that sometimes share little similarity with us. The inability to be sensible of another's suffering or to vicariously experience their distress would make reading an alienating, empty exercise. Haywood uses her novels to help readers gauge their own moral capacity by testing how far they can sympathize with others. Kathleen Lubey calls this Haywood's "amatory aesthetic," which "allow[s] readers unadulterated access to the workings of characters' minds and bodies . . . that readers will convert into active self-scrutiny and self-government in social and sexual realms."[7] In her dedication to *Lasselia* (1723), Haywood states that her "Design" is "to remind the unthinking Part of the World, how dangerous it is to give way to Passion" and to make "a Reader . . . sensible how far it touches him, or how probable it is that he is falling into those Inadvertencies" her characters undergo.[8] This aesthetic is also apparent when our sympathies are elicited and challenged as we trace Natura's progress. The severity of our judgments on his mistakes indicates how censorious or indiscriminating we are in appraising our fellow beings. For Haywood, there is as much danger in an overscrupulous morality as in indulging the passions.

We must investigate the passions of others, then, the better to manage our own, including our compulsion for perfection. To be overly reproachful of those around us may render us bitter and antisocial: incapable of appreciating the better qualities of human beings. Indeed, we may become unwilling to give any latitude to those who cannot clearly express or defend their feelings. Haywood wants us to remember that we are not all angel or monster; we are a mixture of both light and dark. She shares the optimism of Shaftesbury and Henry Fielding as she insists that "there is a native honesty in the human nature, which nothing but a long practice of base actions can

wholly eradicate" (I.v.40), and "there is a native gratitude and generosity in the human mind, which, in spite of the prevalence of unruly passions, will, at sometimes, shine forth, even in the most thoughtless and inconsiderate" (I.vi.62). These reminders are as much directed at those judging Natura as they are about the actions of Natura himself.

Book One introduces many of the traditional theories about the passions and apparently finds a comfortable median among them. Where Natura progresses through this youthful stage, it is the readers' toleration and acceptance of his mistakes as natural and not viciously motivated that Haywood aims to cultivate into compassionate understanding. Without an active curiosity about what moves others, without the compulsion to comprehend the "secret springs" of others' actions and compare their passions with our own, there is no possibility of bridging the gap between people through any kind of language for the passions.

Book Two: Metaphors and Allegory

In Locke's chapter "Of Words or Language in General," he notes that all language is metaphorical, as it was necessary for men "to give Names, that might make known to others any Operations they felt in themselves, or any other *Ideas*, that came not under their Senses, [so that] they were fain to borrow Words from ordinary known *Ideas* of Sensation, by that means to make others the more easily to conceive those Operations they experimented in themselves, which made no outward sensible appearances."[9] Locke's *Essay* also stipulates that words must be used in a clear and consistent manner, so that metaphor fell into disrepute, especially once the Royal Society, through Thomas Sprat, castigated the use of metaphor and insisted on "a close, naked, natural way of speaking . . . bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can."[10] Metaphor became associated with passion and ornament, both of which Locke and the Royal Society were suspicious, but which poets and newer linguistic philosophers embraced as naturally expressive of the human condition.

Haywood is also critical of metaphorical language, not because of its capacity to convey or elicit passion, but because some metaphors are overused, eventually taken for granted, and then convey nothing. Throughout Book Two, the conventional metaphorical language used to describe Natura's ruling passions is exposed for its cliché quality. Classical and contemporary philosophical treatises variously describe the passions as turbulent oceans, hurricanes, and savages that reason must subdue or survive by expert navigation, government, or

exacting servitude; however, Haywood finds these descriptions have been reduced to formulae. To combat their linguistic atrophy, she parodies tropes and discourses for the passions to demonstrate how such language fails to arouse the reader or communicate interiority. Her use of parody, especially its extended use in Natura's affair with the nuns, awakens readers to how familiar images and language for the passions have become mundane and meaningless. She clashes the familiar with the slightly outrageous to revitalize thought and stimulate the drive for new language. She begins Book Two by mixing two traditional metaphors—a river for the passions, and a throne for reason—in one sentence, resulting in the slightly ridiculous mental picture of a king slipping out of his seat as his throne is swept down a river: "[I]n youth . . . when all the passions are afloat, and reason not sufficiently established in her throne . . . the mind is fluctuating, easily carried down the stream of every different inclination" (II.i.63). The tropic complication parodies attempts to relegate the passions to a fixed system. Is reason enthroned, subjugating the passions to its government, or are the passions an unpredictable body of water, subjecting the ship of reason to their power? Haywood shows how one can get so caught up in trying to define the mind–body relationship that the experience of the passions is neglected. Language becomes self-involved and pretentious rather than truly communicative of a person's inner state or passionate experience.

Haywood continues her exposure and parody of language that abstracts the passions into simplistic analogies with an allegorical treatment of the dual nature of man caught between the attractions of the corporeal and rational souls. Rather than Plato's charioteer trying to control two differently tempered horses, Haywood presents Natura in a relationship with two sisters to convey the allure of the passions. The allegory begins transparently with the death of Natura's governor, his decision to travel alone only to become lost in a labyrinthine wood, and then his being caught in a "most terrible shower of hail and rain" (II.i.65). Haywood makes her reader comfortable with the familiarity of the imagery and its suggestion of Christian allegory, reminiscent of *The Faerie Queene* or *The Pilgrim's Progress*. But she quickly eroticizes her version by introducing Natura's problematic relationship with two sisters in a French convent: the passion-driven abbess and the prudent and gentle Elgidia. As the episode unfolds, Natura's inability to decide which sister he loves best, the sisters' contrasting personalities, and their physical interchangeability, as well as Haywood's parody of Plato's chariot driver trying to manage the obedient white horse and the unruly dark one, accumulate to parodically exaggerate philosophy's

efforts to describe the passions' effects on the reasonable mind. For Haywood, passions are the complicated stuff of life and human relationships, not static images or overused tropes. Natura's amorous adventure demonstrates the knotty problem of managing the passions in both life and language.

Natura pursues a gallantry with each sister before deciding that it is Elgidia he loves, especially once the abbess demands that he cease any attentions to her sister. When the abbess sees that he is unwilling to renounce Elgidia, she is infuriated and threatens to force her sister into a more rigid convent. The abbess's "outrageous temper," "fury," and "resentment" (II.i.90, 92) upon discovering that her sister and Natura plan to meet secretly in the garden at midnight confirm her excessive passions, but it is through Elgidia that the more complicated aspects of the ungoverned emotions are demonstrated. The root of her name, *gid* or *giddy*, means to have "a confused sensation of swimming or whirling in the head," while when descriptive of a ship it refers to its "staggering as if dizzy" (*OED*). Each definition of the word—a swimming head or listing ship—in combination with the passions-analysis imagery, suggest that Elgidia, though the less passionate sister, embodies reason or mind being subjected to passion. She does not respond excessively or in any way "unbecoming of a female mind," as does the abbess (II.i.93), yet she is affected enough by Natura to agree to run away with him. Before that can be achieved, the episode is ridiculously complicated to satirize simplistic theories of human nature. Some plot outline is necessary to elucidate the scene and its purpose.

Upon discovering that Elgidia has asked Natura to meet her in the garden that night, the abbess hires three horses so that she, a companion, and an attendant can prevent Natura from leaving his inn. Unfortunately, her attendant and the horses do not arrive. As she waits on the road, the abbess is frightened by two men riding by on horseback and she runs back into the garden. At the convent gate she discovers two horses tied to a tree and decides to ride to Natura's inn without waiting for the attendant with the third horse. When she finds that Natura is not at his lodgings, she angrily returns home to the convent.

In the meantime, Natura, having ridden to the convent (of course it was he and his servant who inadvertently frightened the abbess), convinces Elgidia to elope with him. Overhearing their plan, the abbess decides to substitute herself in Elgidia's place when Elgidia goes to change into riding clothes. Believing the silent abbess is his beloved, Natura takes her by the hand and leads her to the gate. There he is met

by his servant who tells him their horses are gone, and in the subsequent confusion the abbess shuts them out and locks the gate. The returning Elgidia, who sees "an apparition, which . . . had the resemblance of herself," interprets it as "a warning from Heaven" to extinguish "a passion obnoxious to its will," and she runs back to her room in terror. Natura is left "in the utmost perplexity" (II.i.95, 96) about "Elgidia's" treatment of him until a letter from her explains the apparition and commands him to forget her. He is even more vexed by the loss of his two horses (which the abbess in her fury ordered turned loose). Later, "the farmer who had the care of [the horses] while [Natura] was at the monastery, found them wandering in the field, and easily knowing to whom they belonged, brought them home." Haywood humorously concludes the episode by writing that "THIS was some consolation to [Natura] for the loss of his mistresses" (II.i.97).

Once one gets past the silliness of it all and begins to interrogate Haywood's purpose, there are evident resonances of different passion theories that impede any transparent allegorical reading that was earlier encouraged. Plato has already been mentioned for his analogy of the charioteer and the two horses—one manageable, the other rebellious. The rational faculty attempts to keep the will (reason's natural ally) and the appetites or passions under its control so that the chariot can move forward. Haywood deconstructs the neatness of the analogy by first offering three horses (Plato's tripartite soul), then two (the will and the appetites) that constantly change hands, go missing, and then are ultimately returned to Natura. The two sisters are comparable to Plato's horses (Elgidia the compliant one, and the abbess the overly passionate), especially as Natura seems just as happy upon the horses' return as he would have been in acquiring his mistresses. But this analogy doesn't quite fit, as Elgidia, despite seeming like reason's ally, is easily turned around first by Natura's desires, then her sister's threats, and finally by her own imagination, returning to her chambers. Natura may be comparable to the charioteer, but he lacks control over anything.

The allegorical significance of the two sisters is reinforced, though somewhat modified from Plato, by their similarity to Thomas Willis's description of the corporeal and rational souls that he likens to "Twinns striving in the same Womb."[11] Though not twins, Elgidia and the abbess are easily mistaken for each other. It took some time before Natura could choose between them: he could be happy with either or both; one is as desirable as the other. The fact that they are sisters, each in love with Natura, suggests that both passion (appetites) and will (reason's ally), the corporeal and rational, are closely related

and attached to human nature. It is significant that later in the book the sisters reconcile and live together amicably after Natura's departure. They are not meant to be separated.

Getting the horses back simplifies matters for Natura: he can resume his role as human nature attempting to live ethically by managing his will and his appetites and keeping them in balance in ways he could not balance two mistresses. Still, the humor of being consoled by horses rather than women (with its echoes of Gulliver's substitution of equine for human company) highlights both Natura's immaturity and Haywood's attitude toward facile explanations of human nature. Her deliberately awkward allegory—causing readers to shift between horses and sisters, between allegory's vehicles and tenors—suggests that the passions and their role in human nature are not easily reducible to a systematic formula. Passions are best understood through the body's responses and therefore require a language that appeals to and emulates physical sensations and spiritual perceptions rather than the bare intellect.

Gratifying the Senses: The Opera Episode

Natura's next adventure takes place in Italy, at the opera, where he and a lady are so affected by the performance that they make love with each other apparently without even realizing it. Obviously, the passage warrants a full quotation:

> BOTH the music, and the words, seemed intended to lull the soul into a forgetfulness of all beside, and fill it only with soft ideas:—it had at least this effect upon the lady, who had closed her eyes, and was in reality lost to every other sense than that of hearing.—*Natura*, either was, or pretended to be, equally transported, and sunk insensibly upon her bosom, without any opposition on her part:— . . . he spoke not a word, but was not so absorbed in the gratification of one faculty, as to let slip the gratification of the others: . . . he pressed her close, and in this trance of thought, this total absence of mind, stole himself, as it were, into the possession of a bliss, which the assiduity of whole years would perhaps never have been able to obtain. (II.ii.105)

Haywood depicts the complexities of the lovemaking experience and the language that attempts to describe it. The heavy materiality of the body is juxtaposed with the enraptured sense of hearing in phrases such as "soft ideas," "lost to every other sense," and "transported," though Natura's body "sunk insensibly" on the lady's breast. Stressed

repeatedly is the lack of conscious will or desire in this encounter. Sex is the natural consequence of the rational mind being overwhelmed by the physical senses. We are told that the sex act here is "meerly accidental; wholly unpremeditated on either side": a result of "a surprize on the senses, in which the mind was not consulted" (II.ii.106–7). Typically, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers on the passions condemn such an overthrow of reason as a relapse to the bestial state and call for the suppression of these impulses. In his *Practical Treatise on the Regulation of the Passions* (1708), Francis Bragge exclaimed that "Disorderly and Extravagant Affections of the Soul, are like Monstrous and Distorted Members of the Body, Good for Nothing but to make a Man Deform'd and Miserable,"[12] his language suggesting that the passions cause priapic perversions. Isaac Watts in *The Doctrine of the Passions Explain'd and Improv'd* (1734) stated that "Ungoverned Passions break all the Bonds of human Society and Peace, and would change the Tribes of Mankind into Brutal Herds, or make the World a mere Wilderness of Savages."[13] But Haywood, definitely not a theological writer, does not explicitly caution her readers to regulate the passions or risk the failure of civilization. Her intent is to trace the passions' progress and allow her readers to note and assess their influence on lives.

Haywood's narrator suggests that neither Natura nor the lady is really at fault in this case, as their lovemaking is "a slip of unguarded nature" (II.ii.107); human nature is simply vulnerable to exquisite sensual pleasures such as opera, and young, healthy people cannot reasonably be expected to resist such temptation. Had Natura been able to resist, "he must either have been *more*, or *less*, than *man*"—that is, incredibly self-controlled and mature beyond his years or effeminate and undersexed. Either way, he would be unnatural (indeed, not "Natura"). As so often in Book One, attention and chastisement is turned toward the "severely virtuous," who are compelled to condemn Natura's actions without sympathy. Readers are told to "figure to themselves the circumstances" and "well consider in what manner nature must operate." Again, as in Book One, it appears that it is the overly censorious who are at fault for lacking humanity, as they are "totally incapable of any soft sensations" and possess "an uncommon frigidity of constitution" that permits them to "too cruelly condemn, the effects of so irresistible an impulse" (II.ii.107). Human beings are a combination of passion and reason, and so these "accidents" must be expected and forgiven. But in this case, the argument is not as convincing as in the first book. Can two people simultaneously be so transported by music as to spontaneously engage in unconscious

lovemaking? Must we be rigid or "incapable of soft sensations" if we are skeptical about such a claim?

To complicate matters, Haywood loads her diction in her description of Natura's state to cast suspicion on the hero's innocence: he was, "or pretended to be, equally transported" as the lady as he "stole himself . . . into the possession of a bliss" it would have taken years to orchestrate with her consent. In the previous convent episode, we were alerted to how Natura can be carried away by his own emotions. He had told Elgidia that he would marry her should she elope with him, but, adds the narrator, "it is impossible to judge whether in that he was sincere, because he knew not himself . . . tho' in the vehemence of his present inclinations he might imagine he did so, and at that time really meant as he said" (II.i.91). In the present chapter, the narrator seems less tolerant of Natura's passion, subtly positing that he may simply be taking advantage of the "soft ideas" he reads on the lady's body. He could be using his reason to rationalize, condone, and act on his passionate drives.

Haywood's conclusion about the encounter, however, seems to support a libertine ideology by which we must sometimes give in to sensory pleasures because it is our nature: "[W]henever reason nods, as it sometimes will do, even in those who are most careful to preserve themselves under its subjection, . . . the senses ever craving, ever impatient for gratification . . . readily snatch the opportunity of indulging themselves, and which it is observable they ordinarily do to the greater excess, by so much the longer, and the more strictly they have been kept under restraint" (II.ii.107). The metaphorical figures here echo Senault's image of the passions as rebels or "savage subjects" ever watchful to break through the constraints of law: "[T]hese rebels are never so perfectly subdued, but that on the first opportunity they rally and form new parties, and offer us new battles."[14] Haywood recognizes that although customs, laws, and religion are unnatural restrictions on the gratification-seeking senses and are antithetical to human nature, they do help to keep it in line. In fact, these institutions employ passions like fear and shame to combat more socially detrimental ones: "WERE it not for the precepts of religion and morality, the fears of scandal, and shame of offending against law and custom, man would undoubtedly think himself intitled to the same privileges which the brute creation in this point enjoy above him" (II.ii.107). Haywood warns that passions can break out from under the restraint of reason to "make the World a . . . Wilderness of Savages" as clergymen like Watts warn;[15] however, unlike the clergymen, Haywood finds the very "precepts

of religion and morality" themselves responsible for the passions' breaking out "to the greater excess." This suggests there exists a kind of Newtonian third law for behavior: for every restraint on passion, there is an equal and opposite drive to indulge that passion.

Though fear and shame help to prohibit man from transgressing the laws of religion, morality, and social custom, it is man's rational abilities that make him "think himself intitled to the same privileges which the brute creation . . . enjoy." Conventional theory on human nature is here turned on its head, as the *passions* keep man's antisocial actions in check, while man's misapplied *reason* permits him to indulge his brutish inclinations. Man cunningly takes advantage of his placement on the Chain of Being to be either angelic or bestial whenever it pleases him, because both are in his nature. In this observation, Haywood seems to echo that great libertine, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. In the poem "A Satire against Reason and Mankind," the satyr speaker, a mythical combination of man and goat, disagrees with the clergyman who argues that "this fair frame [is] in shining reason dressed, / To dignify his nature above beast." The satyr concludes:

> . . . the pretending part of the proud world;
> . . . swoll'n with selfish vanity, devise
> . . .
> False freedoms, holy cheats, and formal lies
> Over their fellow slaves to tyrannize.[16]

Once again Haywood is interrogating contemporary views on human nature and the drive to fix it in a coherent system—be that system a philosophy, a discourse, or a metaphorical figure. While religion and philosophy may help to control the passions (later in the book they prevent Natura from killing his adulterous wife and her partner), the narrator adds, "I do not find but those who boast both of them in the most superlative degree, stand in need of something more" (II.ii.169). That "something more" may very well be sympathetic understanding of others' passions as well as our own. By the novel's end, the narrator reiterates that human weakness, that combination of passion and reason, "is indeed a weakness; but it is a weakness of nature, and which neither religion nor philosophy are sufficient to arm us against" (III.vi.226).

Theologian Isaac Watts, like physician Thomas Willis before him, observes that the passions are a necessary component of human nature that cannot be completely denied: "[T]he Passions are certain Principles or Powers in Man of a mix'd Nature, belonging partly to

the Soul or Mind, and partly to the animal Body, *i.e.*, the Flesh and Blood."[17] The conflict between passion and reason, between inward feelings and outward behavior, continues throughout the novel, not to emphasize man's inner animal cloaked with the superiority of the cognitive faculty, but to demonstrate that the natural tension must be acknowledged and accommodated because neither side can nor should be erased from our nature.

Book Three: Passion, Reason, and Revenge

As Haywood continues her creative exploitations of conventional conceptual metaphors, she moves from the exterior Grand Tour of Europe to concentrate on the internal passions that move the body. By the time Natura is 29 years old, he must turn his attention to finding a wife. Haywood deliberately contrasts the opera episode's "total absence of mind" (II.ii.105) in pursuing sexual gratification with the "nature of ambition, not only to stop at nothing that tends to its gratification, but also to be ever craving new acquisitions" (II.v.154). Natura weds, not for love or passion, but for mercenary reasons. The phrases used to describe ambition—"ever craving," "unsatisfied," "so restless," "craves for more," "more potent ardors" (II.v.154, 155, 157)—are equally descriptive of lust and its constant movement in Shakespeare's sonnet 129: "Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme."[18] Indeed, Haywood goes so far as to call ambition "a lust that is never quenched" (II.v.159). The main difference between Natura being so affected by music that he is transported into lovemaking and the never-satiated hunger for more and newer "acquisitions" is the element of rational thought. Whereas Natura's actions at the opera are described, however ironically, as "merely accidental," his decision to find a wife suitable to raise his social status is conscious and deliberate. Rather than love, "ambition . . . by much got the better of those fond emotions," and "the raising his fortune was . . . his principal view" (II.iii.128). It is clear that Natura loses his innocence here, or becomes an adult, as his passions become not the excusable natural outpourings that "*gain an ascendant over the mind*" (I.ii.7) but his excuse for self-serving schemes. In the first part of *Love in Excess*, ambition is a similar spur to D'Elmont's coldly rational decision to marry Alovisa: "Ambition was certainly the reigning passion in his soul, and Alovisa's quality and vast possessions, promising a full gratification of that, he ne'er so much as wished to know a farther happiness in marriage."[19] But of course a deeper, "farther happiness" is required to complete D'Elmont—one that he ultimately finds in his

union with Melliora. Ambition attempts to gratify the social self to the detriment of the heart.

In *Life's Progress*, Haywood offers a thorough anatomy of ambition and discovers that it is a "propensity," not a proper passion. Natural passions are born with us; ambition is not. There is no indication of ambition in childhood, she says; it is not observable in our behavior until maturity. Ambition is a combination of simple, natural passions: "[I]t takes its origin from pride and envy, and is nourished by self-love" (III.i.170). The language used to describe ambition, then, conveys its appetitive nature. Pride, envy, and self-love move Natura to wed a woman whose uncle can reward him with "a great post" in government (II.v.158), but he is soon plagued with jealousy. Upon discovering his wife in bed with his own brother, Natura is told by her uncle "that these are but slips of nature . . . [and] as the thing is done, and there is no remedy, it will but add to your disgrace to make it public" (III.i.173). These words—that sex can be a slip of nature—barely believable in the opera episode, are wholly unsatisfactory in this instance, especially as they are delivered to gloss over the woman's obvious moral indiscretion and placate her wronged husband. As the episode continues, the uncle's hypocrisy and self-interested manipulation of Natura's passions is repudiated. Under the statesman's tutelage, Natura lets his pride in his public reputation outweigh his personal honor so that he represses his anger and revenge; however, Haywood prioritizes passions by valuing personal conscience over the public's perception of honor. The incongruency between external appearance and interior integrity as expressed through the passions comes under fire yet again: "THUS did ambition get the better of resentment;—thus did the love of grandeur extirpate all regard of true honour, and the shame of private contempt from the world lie stifled in the pride of public homage" (III.i.176). Disallowing himself the natural expression of his anger, Natura continues to be led by ambition, which overpowers any rational actions (spurred by righteous passion) he might choose to make.

It is not until the death of his son and witnessing another infidelity by his wife with his brother that Natura is moved to revenge. Interestingly, Haywood notes that neither religion, philosophy, morality, nor his friends could make Natura do the right thing—expose his wife in a divorce and sue her gallant for damages—but the passion of revenge does (III.iii.189). Haywood does not condone acting on the murderous urges of revenge, but she does understand the wish to act: "The principles of religion and morality indeed may, and frequently do, hinder a man from putting into action what this cruel passion suggests,

but neither of them can restrain him who has revenge in his heart, from wishing it were lawful for him to indulge it" (III.iii.185–86). She does assert that "[t]here are . . . some kind of provocations, which it is scarce possible, nor indeed consistent with the justice we owe to ourselves, to bury wholly in oblivion; and likewise there are some kinds of revenge, [like Natura's] which may deserve to be excused." Describing revenge as "the most restless and self-tormenting emotion of the soul" (III.iii.186), Haywood understands that the nature of this particular passion is destructive to the self until it is recognized and acted on in some way.

Here, as elsewhere in the novel, one cannot help but wonder if Haywood is studying her own passions and psychology. Revenge has often been posited as the drive behind Haywood's portrayal of Martha Fowke in her early works, most notably in *The Injur'd Husband* and *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*. Apart from love, revenge is one of the most potent themes in Haywood's works, and one about which she herself seems most passionate. Just three years before the publication of *Life's Progress through the Passions*, *The Female Spectator*, that philosophical and evenhanded periodical, debates the concept of revenge—reconfigured as rectifying a personal wrong for the good of one's mind. Book XIV's "little Narrative" called "The Lady's Revenge" relates the story of the jilted Barsina, and both the letter writer who sends in the tale and the Female Spectator thoroughly condone and laud her vengeance. Barsina convinces her ex-fiancé that she has poisoned the wine with which they toasted his upcoming marriage, causing him to undergo a medical regimen of "GLISTERS, Cathartics, and Diaphoretics" until he is so weak he cannot "move a Finger, or speak articulately." Believing that Barsina has died of the poison, when he sees her one night "dress'd all in white," he faints with fear and guilt and afterward raves about her ghost so that everyone thinks him mad. The letter writer concludes, "I HEARTILY wish . . . that all Women who have been abandoned and betrayed by Men . . . would assume the Spirit [Barsina] did, and rather contrive some Means to render the ungrateful Lover the Object of Contempt, than themselves, by giving way to a fruitless Grief, which few will commiserate."[20] The Female Spectator concurs: desire to satisfy the passion for vengeance can result in a commendable affirmation of self.

Natura's vengeance is satisfied when he divorces his wife and fines his brother "in so large a penalty, that he was obliged to quit the kingdom, to avoid imprisonment for life" (III.iii.189). Though Haywood expounds on the rightness of his passion and justifies revenge as a

human need with which everyone can sympathize, she never explicitly describes Natura's passion. In fact, Haywood has kept her language particularly bereft of figures after Book Two, deliberately sparing of metaphor so as to appear objective and philosophical. By doing so, she allies herself with those who are prejudiced against figurative language. Sir Richard Blackmore, in his preface to *Creation: A Philosophical Poem* (1712)—not to be confused with Aaron Hill's 1720 poem *The Creation*—notes that "no judicious Reader will expect, in the Philosophical and Argumentative Parts of this Poem, the Ornaments of Poetical Eloquence. In this Case, where Metaphor and Description are not admitted, least they should darken and enfeeble the Argument, if the Reasoning be close, strong, and easily apprehended, if there be an elegant Simplicity, Purity, and Propriety of Words, and a just Order and Connexion of the Parts, mutually supporting and inlightening one another, there will be all the Perfection which the Style can demand."[21] In keeping with this attitude, Haywood merely notes of Natura's state, "*Revenge* alone is implacable and eternal, not to be banished by any other passion whatsoever;—the effects of it are the same, invariable in every constitution; and whether the man be phlegmatic or sanguine, there will be no difference in his way of thinking in this point" (III. iii.185). If we contrast this third-person observation with, for example, Camilla's vengeance-filled speech to Frankville in *Love in Excess*, we see the immediate difference in language and style:

> But think not that the rage, you now behold me in, proceeds from my dispair—No, your inconstancy is the fault of nature, a vice which all your sex are prone to, and 'tis we, the fond believers only are to blame; *that* I forgave, my letter told you that I did—But thus to come—thus insolent in imagination, to dare to hope I were that mean souled wretch, whose easy tameness, and whose doating love, with joy would welcome your return, clasp you again in my deluded arms, and swear you were as dear as ever, is such an affront to my understanding, as merits the whole fury of revenge.[22]

Camilla's language conveys a number of conflicting and concurrent emotions, while the dashes and repetitions emphasize the rush to express them and the turns in her thoughts as each passion interrupts the flow of ideas. She is adamant that Frankville not construe her anger as "dispair" or hurt over his actions; she is angry and resentful that he may think her "doating" and "tame"; her unconscious yearning to "welcome [his] return" and once more clasp him in her arms is betrayed as those ideas, though denied, are obviously uppermost in

her mind. Camilla's insistent adjectives—*fond* believers, *mean souled* wretch, *easy* tameness, *doating* love, *deluded* arms—all refer to herself and how she does not want to be interpreted, though she fears that her love for Frankville has truly rendered her so weak. Readers can feel Camilla's rage, contempt, and grief as she struggles to reaffirm her self. In contrast, the objective description of revenge in *Life's Progress* robs the passion of any vitality. The intellectual link offered to the reader—"the effects of it are the same . . . in every constitution," and there is no difference in people's "way of thinking in this point"—does not attune us to what Natura feels. "Simplicity, Purity, and Propriety of Words" may appeal to reason, but they do not connect emotionally with the reader, nor do they promote full-fledged sympathy.

Apatheia and Love

Once the object of his vengeful thoughts dies in Gibraltar, Natura achieves a state of calm that is described as "*being entirely devoid of all passions*" (III.iv.190). This absence of passion is the extreme and opposite counterbalance to his earlier desire for vengeance, as though the lack of excessive passion leaves him empty of all feeling. In her presentation of this new state, Haywood returns to the dialectical language of Book One, in which Natura veered between turbulence and tranquility, but he now exists in a state absent of passion: "[F]ree from the emotions of any turbulent passion, he passed his days and nights in a most perfect and undisturbed tranquility; a situation of mind to which, for a long series of years, he had been an utter stranger." Natura enjoys "an interval, a happy chasm, between the extremes of pleasure and of pain" (III.iv.204, 205), a state equivalent to the Aristotelian mean "between deficiency and excess in every passion."[23] It also resembles the Stoics' philosophy of detachment, or *apatheia* from the irrational perturbations caused by the senses: a desired state of calm.

While this tranquility and freedom from disturbance is well-deserved after Natura's rollercoaster of extremes, the word "chasm" (which is added as though to correct the previous term "interval") carries less positive connotations. "Chasm," even a "happy" or fortuitous one, suggests a geographic abyss, or spatial gap. The *OED* defines *chasm* in its figurative form as "[a] vacant place affecting the completeness of anything; a void, blank, gap." Haywood's figurative use of the term connotes that such a calm is neither natural nor advantageous to man. Natura is in a condition "such as all wise men would wish to attain" (III.iv.205), but we cannot help thinking that his condition is akin

to Pope's "blameless Vestal" in "Eloisa to Abelard" (1717): "Desires compos'd, affections ever ev'n, / Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heav'n"; the "Eternal sun-shine of the spotless mind!"[24] Erasing that checker-work of light and shade that makes up the human mind cannot be healthy. Human beings require conflict and chaos to inspire them to progress.

A correspondent to *The Spectator*, "T.B.," writes in No. 408 that "the Actions of Men follow their Passions as naturally as Light does Heat, or as any other Effect flows from its Cause." He cautions that in our attempts to regulate the passions, we must be careful not to "quite extinguish them, which is putting out the Light of the Soul; for to be without Passion, or to be hurried away with it, makes a Man equally blind." T. B. concludes his letter, "For my Part I must confess, I could never have any Regard to that Sect of Philosophers, who so much insisted upon an absolute Indifference and Vacancy from all Passion; for it seems to me a thing very inconsistent for a Man to divest himself of Humanity, in order to acquire Tranquility of Mind, and to eradicate the very Principles of Action, because it's possible they may produce ill Effects."[25] But it is not Haywood's intention to leave Natura in the "chasm between . . . pleasure and pain," because she knows "*the impossibility for the soul to remain in that state of inactivity*" (III.iv.190). She had written the same sentiment four years before in *The Female Spectator*: "Nature, in accustoming itself to such a State of Indolence and Inactivity, would fall into a Lethargy, and we should be little better than walking Statues.—Passions were given us to invigorate the Mind, and rouse us to noble and great Actions; and he that is born without them, or mortifies them too much, is incapable of doing any thing to serve his God, his Country, or himself."[26] Passion moves humans to act. It is a necessary motivator that, although at times inconvenient or unruly, prevents us from being motionless or indifferent. The Latin root of passion (*passio*; "I suffer") points to the necessity of pain or discomfort to move us to ameliorate certain conditions in life. A passionless existence leads only to stagnation.

The middle-aged Natura carries his passionless state into a new relationship when he falls in love with Charlotte, a young widow. As both were resolved never to remarry, their relationship begins as friendship, a "true and delicate passion for each other:—the flame which warmed their breasts, was meerly spiritual, and platonic." Their belief that their feelings are firmly based in reason makes the narrator smile at their naiveté: "*Natura* adored *Charlotte*, not because she was a lovely woman, but because he imagined somewhat angelic in her mind; and *Charlotte* loved *Natura*, not because he had an agreeable

person, but because she thought she discovered more charms in his soul, than in that of any other man or woman" (III.v.209). The words "imagined" and "thought" indicate the lovers' self-delusion. They *believe* they are in control of their passions, simply appreciating the spiritual value of each other; however, Haywood is adamant that passion does indeed govern their seemingly rational decision to wed. She states outright, "We are apt to ascribe to the strength of our reason, what is in reality the effect of one or other of the passions" (III.v.206). She continues, "THUS does passion triumph over the most seemingly fixed and determined resolution; and though it must be confessed, that . . . both had reason, from the real merits of the beloved object, to justify their choice, yet nature would certainly have had the same force, and worked the same effect, if excited only by meer fancy, and imaginary perfections" (III.v.223). Haywood endorses Hume's view that reason is the slave of the passions, and we only fool ourselves into believing that we act rationally.

Natura and Charlotte's decision to marry is not a gentler version of the opera episode in which Natura and the lady are overtaken by their ravished senses, but it is demonstrative of how human nature cannot be limited to the purely rational or spiritual. Haywood points out that Natura and Charlotte's love is strong because it begins in mutual respect and friendship, but she is also firm that "A PLATONIC and spiritual love, . . . between persons of different sexes, can never continue for any length of time. Whatever ideas the *mind* may conceive, they will at last conform to the craving of the *senses*; and the *soul*, though never so elevated, find itself incapable of enjoying a perfect satisfaction, without the participation of the *body*" (III.v.223). Throughout her writing career, Haywood chastises lovers who delude themselves into believing that a "spiritual love" alone can satisfy. She remains adamant that love must be an expression of the body and mind in combination; sex is love's natural expression. Rather than regarding human beings as spiritual entities yoked to bodies of clay or would-be angels persecuted with passions, Haywood regards the mind and body as partners designed to complement and augment each other. Love needs physical consummation to be complete. She symbolizes this happy duality by alluding again to Willis's image of "Twinns striving in the same Womb," when, in their first year of marriage, Charlotte and Natura "brought two sons into the world" (III.vi.224).

The concluding chapter of *Life's Progress through the Passions* concerns the aging and weakening of Natura's body and mind, passion and reason, and Haywood is again quick to argue for their interdependence.

> EVERY one will acknowledge, because he knows it by experience, that while he is possessed of *passions*, his *reason* alone has the power of keeping them within the bounds of moderation; if then we have less of the *passions* in old age, or rather, if they seem wholly extinguished in us, we ought to have a greater share of *reason* than before; whereas, on the contrary, *reason* itself becomes languid in the length of years, as well as the *passions*, it is supposed to have subdued: it is therefore meerly the imbecility of the organical faculties, and from no other cause, that we see the aged and infirm dead, in appearance, to those sensations, by which their youth was so strongly influenced. (III.vi.227)

Just as the abbess and Elgidia could not be separated, as Natura and Charlotte could not maintain a platonic relationship, and as they produced twin sons in their happy union, so are the mind and the passions linked in a "strange destiny" and in need of each other. Neither can exist on its own.

Natura dies in his sixty-third year, the grand climacteric, "too much decayed by continual wastings, to feel any of those pangs, which persons who die in their full vigour must unavoidably go through" (III.vi.230). His is what the eighteenth century would call "a good death." After a full life of passionate engagements, the body requires rest and it thus lessens expressions of the mind's vigor. For one last time, Haywood points out that lack of "due consideration" makes people "apt to condemn the mind"; however, over the course of the novel she has shown that most philosophies of and languages for the passions lack consideration of the whole nature of man in their assessments and advice. Haywood concludes her novel with the wish that her readers will "rectify" their own conduct by having observed the "secret springs" that motivated Natura. The onus is on the reader to make the correct judgments about behavior—one's own and that of others—stemming from the passions' influence.

Chapter 3

"Give Me a *Speaking* and a *Writing* Love"

Passionate Letters

> I act, and speak, and think, a thousand incoherent things, and tho' I cannot forbear writing to you, I write in such a manner, so wild, so different from what I would, that I repent me of the folly I am guilty of, even while I am committing it.
>
> —Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess*

> There is, indeed no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse. In the eagerness of conversation the first emotions of the mind often burst out, before they are considered; . . . but a friendly Letter is a calm and deliberate performance.
>
> —Samuel Johnson, *Life of Pope*

Letters—the writing, sending, exchanging, sharing, even the destroying of them—are essential components in the functioning of the Hillarian circle. They connect members of the London-based coterie in a social culture of authorship whether the members are as far-flung as Edinburgh or Wales or close enough to meet at a local coffeehouse. Beyond such practical applications, the letter form provides a tangible model for the passions that lie between the physical and spiritual realms, offering an intimate discourse that provides a window to the heart and bridges a distance between writer and recipient. The physical absence of the letter's object necessitates a language for the passions to communicate, without the aid of the body and its

senses, one's own deep feelings to evoke sympathy in the addressee. Haywood, in her "Discourse concerning Writings of this Nature, by Way of Essay" appended to *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (1720), quotes James Howell's poem "To the Knowing Reader Touching Familiar Letters": "The *Pen* can furrow a fond Female's Heart, / And pierce it more than *Cupid's* talk'd-of Dart: / Letters, a kind of Magick Virtue have, / And, like strong Philters, human Souls enslave!"[1] As Howell suggests, a letter is almost sexual in nature, as it possesses the power to inscribe its sentiments into the very heart. Whether read by women or men, the epistle is a particularly effective means of conveying and influencing the heart; it "capitalizes on an aesthetics of passion, and [offers] a glimpse into an otherwise hidden world of emotion and dissimulation."[2] Much of the discussion in this chapter centers on an analysis of the rhetoric of passion in some of the early epistolary writings of Hill, Haywood, and Fowke for how it illuminates their differing understandings of passion and influences their development of a language for the passions.

Epistles of Clio and Strephon and *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (1720)

The *Epistles of Clio and Strephon* is a poetic collaboration between Martha Fowke and William Bond. Fowke explains in her *Letter to Hillarius* that her correspondence with Bond began after she had read his continuation of *The Spectator*, and their letter writing evolved into the *Epistles*. The collection of 25 poems with some prose interjections is an epistolary dialogue between two poets: Strephon, who falls in love with Clio through her poetry and longs to meet with her, and Clio, who gently manages his desire as she attempts to improve her writing and ensure her fame. Their alternating letters are a conversation between opposites: man and woman; the physical and the spiritual; body and soul. Where Strephon pushes for a physical relationship spurred by descriptions he has heard of her beauty, Clio strives to keep it platonic, insisting that poetry best exemplifies their souls and overcomes the inadequacies of their bodies. Strephon desires that she be his mistress as well as his muse, while Clio maintains her desire to live single. She tells him repeatedly that she will "give [him] Friendship, [and he] must give [her] Fame"; "Thy body must not all our Meetings know, / For that's a Man, and therefore is my Foe." She urges that they "Eternally be Friends."[3]

Strephon's poems stress his physical suffering for love: he is "*Sick'ning* with a Flame, which still [he] *feed*[s], / . . . Parch'd in

Feavers"; "Love-sick his length upon his Bed he lies," given over by the doctors and dying. He complains that she is a philosopher in love and cannot feel his pain. Resorting to the role of the meek, defenseless woman who depends on his goodwill to protect her reputation, Clio tells him "time and Years will Murder CLIO's Name; / Unless thy Verse their wounding countermand, / And I be sav'd by thy Superiour hand. / . . . / Let *others* guess *my Merit* by *thy strain*." When he falls ill and begs her to come because the sight of her "would . . . make a Poet of me,"[4] she acquiesces, seemingly for his poetry rather than his love.

The two "Interview" poems that close the collection describe their two perspectives on their relationship and give Clio the last word. Strephon, sounding only a little bitter, writes of how Clio has become his muse by inspiring his love: she "makes a *Poet*—When she *Wounds* a *Heart*." Clio thanks Strephon for advising her to abandon feminine "*Trifles*" like occasional poetry, wedding posies, and valentines and rather "*Copy* the *Language* . . . of SAPHO's *flame*." She concludes with her ambitious desire "to *Touch* the READER'S *Heart*" as Shakespeare has done and "*to Rise*" "*on the Wings of Verse alone*."[5]

It is in *The Epistles* that Fowke first adopts the poetic name "Clio" to link her with the Greek poet, Sappho, whose daughter was named Cleis, or Clio.[6] Rather than connecting her with the muse of history, Fowke's pseudonym clearly announces that she is poetically descended from Sappho and is continuing her legacy of powerful, personal verse. It also declares that Fowke intends to be more than a muse inspiring a man to write poetry; she is herself a poet who aspires to fame.[7] *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* traces the growing talent and confidence of the woman poet who dedicates herself to poetry and renounces physical attachments: "My Muse has been my Pleasure, and my Care, / And I no other Fetters wish to bear." Strephon is the weaker figure, his poetry reflecting his pain and passion as he falls in love with his muse. Clio flatters, compliments, and at times seems even to lead Strephon on as she desires only that he "Give [her] a *speaking* and a *writing* Love" and hold back his body.[8] Her self-assurance and insistence on platonic distance as she hones her poetic craft is a radical departure from traditional letter-writing heroines, like those in Ovid's *Heroides* and the Portuguese Nun. Clio does not need a man's love to complete her. Her passion is separate from her body, while Strephon experiences it entirely through his physical senses. Each poet represents one half of the body and soul complex, so that as a whole, the letters' language fails to establish a real communication between the writers, because neither can fathom the other's focus.

The Epistles of Clio and Strephon was originally published with an introductory *Critical Essay, Containing Some Remarks upon the Nature of Epistolary and Elegaic Poetry* by one John Porter, offering a letter-by-letter analysis. (Porter's identity is a mystery. He does not appear in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, nor is he mentioned in poems or letters by the Hillarians). In his essay, Porter emphasizes how the platonic relationship affects the poems' language: how "every Line is wonderfully adapted to move Pity and Compassion, and excite Love and Esteem," and "All these Passions are hit off at such a Heat, that they are better felt than describ'd."[9] The affective power of the *Epistles of Clio and Strephon* was such that, as we shall see, Hill wrote the equivalent of a fan letter to Fowke, and by 1721 she and Bond were ensconced within the Hillarian circle, and Fowke in Hill's bed.

Haywood's *Love in Excess* had also attracted attention for its ability to evoke the passions. Richard Savage's poetic vouching of Part One in his poem "To Mrs. Eliz. Haywood, on Her Novel Called Love in Excess, &c." reads like a formal introduction of Haywood to Hill's literary circle. As Savage praises Haywood's ability to write about love, he compares her with Phoebus Apollo, god of light, truth, and poetry. The sun god image is often used by the Hillarians as a compliment to Hill: he is the central, gravitational force of light and warmth around which they move. Savage's imagery suggests that Haywood's writing talent vies with Hill's, as she "Meets [Phoebus's, or Hill's] fierce beams, and darts him rays for rays!" She is obviously a writer worthy of Hill's acquaintance. Savage's poem also singles out Haywood's prose as particularly effective in conveying the passions—a task conventionally associated with verse: "Thy prose in sweeter harmony refines, / Than numbers flowing thro' the Muse's lines; / . . . / For such descriptions thus at once can prove / The force of language, and the sweets of love."[10] His appreciation of Haywood's forceful language that combines the directness of prose and the harmony of poetry is part of the Hillarians' (as influenced by critic John Dennis) ongoing fascination with how particular words and the conscientious construction of language can communicate personal feelings. (Their interest came to fruition, in part, with the 1726 publication of the group's *Miscellany*). Haywood subsequently became associated with the Hillarian coterie of poets soon after Part One of *Love in Excess* was published in January 1719.

Ten months after the final part of *Love in Excess* appeared, Haywood's translation of Edmé Boursault's *Treize Lettres amoureuses d'une dame à un cavalier* (1700), *Letters from a Lady of Quality to*

a Chevalier, was published on December 25, 1720. Both the French original and Haywood's translation comprise the married French Lady's half of a clandestine correspondence with a Chevalier. As she falls more deeply in love with him but resists anything but a platonic relationship for the sake of her marriage, the lady finds that passion that cannot be enacted through physical means demands at least linguistic expression and release.

In her preface, Haywood writes that "Persons" of "unquestionable Judgment . . . encourag'd [her] to undertake the Translation of the following Sheets."[11] While her publisher William Chetwood may have proposed translating Boursault's popular work, it is equally likely that *Letters of a Lady of Quality* is part of a considered dialogue with the Hillarians, who provided encouragement in the form of literary suggestions and influence. Examined with an eye to Hill, Dennis, and Savage's poetic theory on passion, and *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, Haywood's *Letters from a Lady of Quality* yields a number of parallels that cumulatively suggest a dialogic relationship with Hill's literary circle and its interests: its echoes of epistolary theory and its attentiveness to passionate language; the complications of platonic love; the effects of the absence or separation of bodies; and, most notably, its structural similarity to Fowke and Bond's volume in being accompanied by a critical essay. Just as *Clio and Strephon* is prefaced with Porter's essay in praise of its epistolary, elegiac exchange, *Letters from a Lady of Quality* is immediately followed by Haywood's own "Discourse concerning Writings of this Nature, by Way of Essay," a cautionary essay on the dangers of letter writing. The two works are structural mirror images of one another, suggesting that Haywood intentionally positioned her "Discourse" antipodally to Porter's in *Clio and Strephon* to emphasize their opposite perspectives on women writing to men. Haywood's essay is a didactic warning about the impracticalities of women's letter writing, primarily because a platonic relationship must ultimately give way to physical expression, while Porter provides an aesthetic appreciation of the beauties of Clio and Strephon's epistolary intercourse.

In addition to these dialogic parallels, Dennis's theorizing on a language for the passions, as taken up by Hill, would easily attract and challenge Haywood, especially as the coterie regarded poetry as the best vehicle for the sublime. Hill could very well have suggested to Haywood that she follow up *Love in Excess* with a prose counterpart to Fowke and Bond's *Epistles*: Hill's is the first name under the letter *H* in the list of 309 subscribers to *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, and as Spedding notes, this "may be some reflection of [his]

importance" to Haywood at this time.[12] In 1720, Hill was writing *The Creation*, a poetic paraphrase of Genesis that attempted to capture "The Sublimity of the Ancient HEBREW POETRY" while eschewing the "material and obvious Defect in the ENGLISH" language. In his preface, Hill warns of the dangers and losses a text can suffer when translated or paraphrased into English. Differences in style and the weaknesses of English, as well as of some English writers, can emasculate a work in translation. He notes that "a kind of terrible Simplicity! a magnificent Plainness! . . . is commonly lost, in Paraphrase, by our mistaken Endeavours after heightening the Sentiments by a figurative Expression."[13] Rhetorical heightening, also called amplification, "aimed at the affective dimension of the text" by augmenting or intensifying the description.[14] Responding to Hill's cautions about badly executed "heightening," Haywood in her preface to *Letters of a Lady of Quality* writes that she has "*heighten'd the* Expression"[15] or amplified the passions of the original French. She deliberately omits Hill's reference to "figurative Expression," as figurative language had long been regarded as the natural language of the passions and so of poetry. Dennis asserts it in his *Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704); Bernard Lamy's *The Art of Speaking* (1708) contains a chapter titled "The Passions have a peculiar Language, and are expressed only by what we call Figures,"[16] which Anthony Blackwall, in *An Introduction to the Classics* (1718), reiterates: "*A Figure is a Manner of Speaking different from the ordinary and plain Way, and more emphatical; expressing a Passion, or containing a Beauty . . . Figures* . . . are the *Language* of the *Passions.*"[17]

Haywood is intent on emphasizing the power of prose in the *Letters.* A close comparison of Haywood's translation with Boursault's original reveals just how her "emotional heightening" changes the "French aesthetics that stylistically keeps to a minimum the expression of one's feelings."[18] Haywood's *Letters* clearly portrays how exquisitely her Lady suffers in body and mind for her passion for the Chevalier and her duty to uphold her marital virtue, while Boursault's *dame* appears much more restrained. By heightening the original, Haywood places the reader at less of a remove from the Lady's emotional situation. While in the French text the reader understands the *dame*'s feelings intellectually, in Haywood's version we are viscerally attuned to what she feels.

Appropriate language and the proper employment of prose and poetical figures are of immense importance to Hill, as they affect the quality and sincerity of the written work.[19] The allying of feeling with language is one of the most important elements in achieving

sincerity and moving the passions through writing and one that the Hillarians take very seriously. Porter, in his *Critical Essay*, remarks that at one point Strephon is "under too great a Perturbation of Mind, to Express himself in . . . *Poetry*,"[20] suggesting that prose expresses passion naturally, while poetry carries an element of artifice and performance, demanding more conscious and deliberate effort. Similarly, Haywood's Lady is suspicious of her lover's sincerity when his rhetoric becomes too stylized; she remarks that she finds "more of Gallantry than Sincerity . . . [his letters] carry a greater share of Art than Nature."[21] ("*La letter [. . .] me paraît plus honnête que sincere*";[22] "The letter seems more honest than sincere"; to be sincere is to take into account the other person's feelings).[23] For both Porter and Haywood's Lady, overly figurative language arouses suspicions of truthfulness. Epistles can be indicative of passion or the lack thereof and must be as carefully scrutinized as gestures and facial expressions. A balance between the prosaic and poetical must be struck, otherwise the sentiment is lost in the art.

Passionate Language and Bodies of Letters

Part of the rhetoric of passion in epistolary writing involves an appeal to the talismanic power of paper as conveyor of the passions, and in both *Clio and Strephon* and *Letters from a Lady of Quality*, the correspondents invoke the letter's materiality to substitute for their own body or their lover's. Strephon pours his soul into his epistle and tells it to "beg [Clio] take thee to an Angel's Rest, / And fold thee kindly in her balmy Breast. / Tell her, their Spirit to her Soul shall cleave, / When on her Breast the panting Verses heave."[24] Strephon appeals to the cultural archetype of the letter's ability to transfuse itself into the recipient's body. Haywood's Lady describes how, by her keeping one of the Chevalier's letters in her bosom (as Strephon asks Clio to do), her heart communicates directly with the paper: "I find it impossible for me either to return, or burn it, as I have done the others. I keep it in my Bosom——press it to my Heart, which, while it bounds with tender Transports to meet the welcome Treasure, upbraids, in bursting Sighs, the niggard Bounty of injurious Fate, which, for *substantial*, gives but *imaginary* Joys."[25]

Boursault's *dame* does not keep her lover's letter next to her breast, nor does her heart bound to meet it: "*Je ne veux ni brûler ni vous renvoyer une lettre si tendre, si respectueuse, si touchante, qu'elle m'a coûté des larmes en la lisant. Elle m'est trop glorieuse, pour appréhender qu'elle soit vue; et je la garde.*"[26] ("I do not want to burn or return a letter

so tender, so respectful, so touching that it cost many tears to read. The letter is so flattering to my person that I fear it being seen, yet I am keeping it.") Instead of emphasizing the Chevalier's words ("*si tendre, si respectueuse, si touchante*"), Haywood focuses on the Lady's heart's response: how it "bounds," "upbraids," "burst[s with] Sighs," and experiences "Transports" due to the letter's proximity, a physical substitute for the man she loves. The Lady admits that the substantiality of the letter does not make up for the lack of the Chevalier's physical presence, and that his letter provides only an illusion of the happiness she desires; however, her interaction with the letter is eroticized. In both *Clio and Strephon* and *Letters from a Lady of Quality*, as the conveyor of intense emotions, letters are imagined to amplify the emotional connection between the writers by permitting contact, osmosis-like, between the paper and one's skin.

Haywood's Lady exhibits an erotic sympathy with the Chevalier's letters: "I have burnt it . . .——But while it consumed, methought my Heart consumed with it, and my *Soul* languished in severer Tortures than my *Body* could, if plunged in that Fire to which I condemned the insensible Paper——I trembled, with an apprehension, that I might have forgot something in it: and yet there was not one engaging Syllable that I had not read over a thousand and a thousand times, before I could resolve to put it out of my power to read it any more."[27] Haywood's heightening of Boursault's brief original—"*Je l'ai brûlée; et en la brûlant il me semblait que je brûlais avec elle*"[28] ("I have burnt it; and as it burned it seemed to me that I burnt with it")—references the pain suffered by the Lady's "languish[ing]," tortured soul and body, whereas the paper containing the Chevalier's words, and emblematic of him, merely burns without sensing anything. Learning his letter by heart, thereby incorporating it metaphorically into her own body, leads to Haywood's Lady feeling that her heart is as equally consumed by the fire as the paper she burns. The flames become not only the means of destroying the paper body but the metaphorical flames with which the Lady burns for her lover. The epistolary relationship not only joins her soul to his; his words are insinuated into her very body.

The fantasy of "a communion of transcendence and a consummation of desire" is often identified as the most important feature of epistolary theory.[29] This ecstatic connection is related to what Lord Kames calls "ideal presence," wherein the reader suspends his reflection while reading and imagines what is described as actually before him: "The power of language to raise emotions, depends entirely on the raising such lively and distinct images as are here described: the reader's passions are never sensibly moved, till he be thrown into a

kind of reverie; in which state, forgetting that he is reading, he conceives every incident as passing in his presence, precisely as if he were an eye-witness."[30] Haywood warns in her "Discourse" of just this effect from reading letters as she describes the absorptive method of how "we" read them:

> [W]e fall to examining the happy Turn of Thought,—the Elegance of the Expression,—the easy Flow of Stile,—discover unnumbred Beauties in every Sentence,—and admire the *Author*'s Love, or Wit, or both, which have inspir'd him with so uncommon a Delicacy: thence we reflect on his Behaviour while he was writing,—think in what manner he look'd—how he sigh'd—what he wish'd—imagine we dive into his very Soul—find out Meanings there, to which, perhaps he is a stranger—and prepossess'd by this time, construe every thing to the advantage of his Passion, and our own Desires. In this pleasing, but destructive Amusement, we lose our selves so long, that the return of Reason is too weak to drive it from our Minds; we *wake* indeed from the deluding Dream, but the remembrance of it lasts.[31]

This long description, in only two sentences, of how we all read, imitates the meanderings of the mind as it would lose itself in reading a love letter. The sibilance of the *s* sounds, the repetitious phrases, the sets of three ("what manner he looked—how he sigh'd—what he wish'd"), and especially the dashes to indicate pauses in which one may linger over a lover's longing mesmerize the reader. The dashes that separate each of the described compositional elements of a letter—the thought, expression, style, and beauties—carry the reader from the idea of reading a written letter to imagining a letter writer writing a letter. We proceed from Haywood's description of how we supposedly examine the *way* a man writes to us to imagining him *while* he writes—how he looks, sighs, wishes—until we realize that we have slipped into our own sighs, wishes, and "Desires." Haywood's use of "we" and "our" throughout this description implicates the reader of her "Discourse" as well as the woman correspondent she warns us not to become. We are so far absorbed in Haywood's description of letter reading that we become lost in the "deluding Dream" she creates.

This effect is heightened in *Letters of a Lady of Quality* by giving readers only one half of the correspondence (just as Boursault does): as readers only of the Lady's letters, we sympathize with her; we feel her undiluted pain as her words enter our minds. The Chevalier's responses are provided only through the Lady's brief allusions to them, so that his words are subjectively channeled through her

to us. The dialogue format of the *Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, on the other hand, sustains the conversation between the poets, and even when the correspondents do not see eye to eye, the passion is not as intense as Haywood's Lady's because we are often situated between the two perspectives. Strephon pleads for a physical love to complete their spiritual bond, while Clio argues equally appealingly to maintain a platonic relationship. The lack of a responsive voice to the Lady's letters renders her feelings of isolation and helplessness all the more poignant.

Although both works present female characters physically separated from their male correspondents, they are not women abandoned by their lovers (as are Ovid's heroines); rather, they are women trying to negotiate their own passions against their lovers'. Fowke, Bond, and Haywood employ the epistolary genre for more subtle explorations of the mind and heart, primarily in how platonic love is an insufficient expression for human love. Clio and the Lady are firm in their refusals of a physical relationship, yet they wrestle with feelings of physical desire (their own and their lovers') and oscillate between reason and passion.

Both women insist that platonic love, a spiritual union of the souls, is ultimately more satisfying than a sexual relationship, but they have different reasons for thinking so. Clio, who aims to be renowned for her poetry, has arrived at a philosophical place that allows her to reject the physical realm. She writes, "I am tir'd with being long pursu'd, / By low Desires of Mortal Flesh and Blood, / A greater Complement you cou'd not Pay, / Than throwing all the Dross of Love away, / Then coming to my Bosom thus refin'd, / And leaving Sex and Interest behind." She claims that she is "a *Stoick* grown" because she is "a *Philosopher* in Love."[32] Fowke steers clear of distracting herself with physical descriptions; her focus is entirely on Clio's desire to manage Strephon's unruly passion while she tries to make him appreciate her mind. She wishes Strephon would discard vulgar physical desire and instead become "refin'd"—pure soul. Clio's language is derogatory and dismissive of love's carnal dimension, as she is spiritually superior. Haywood's Lady is less of a philosopher and implores her Chevalier to "find out the means that I may love, and yet be innocent—I have heard much Talk of the Love of Souls—*that* certainly is the most Heavenly Union; and if it cannot be compleat unless Bodies join, let us, however, be *content* with that, since the other is an Impossibility."[33] The French *dame* is more content with their platonic relationship that eschews shame: "*Ayons, si vous voulez, une liaison d'esprit, d'estime; n'importe quand elle ira jusqu'à l'amitié: mais rien*

au-delà. Plus de liaison, pour peu que l'amour s'en mêle . . . c'est assez pour passer de bons moments; et je n'en sais pas de meilleurs que ceux qu'on ne se reproche point."[34] ("Let's have, if you will, a spiritual bond founded on high regard; one that goes as far as friendship: but nothing beyond it. We can no longer have a relationship because we might fall in love . . . it is enough to have enjoyable moments together, and I know of none better than those that do not cause self-reproach.") Unlike Haywood, Boursault makes no mention of bodies, union, or completeness, as his *dame* emphasizes high regard and friendship as the advantages of a platonic relationship. Haywood's Lady's resolve to remain platonic sounds like resignation to a lesser state in which their bodies cannot participate; being "content" does not measure up to being "*compleat*," despite the alliteration. Strephon, too, is frustrated that Clio can "coldly" and "*Spirit-like*" bid him to be her friend: "If Love was only seated in the Mind, / As cruel now I call, I'd own thee kind." Clio, wholly composed, assures him that "A Day will come, thou will't be all Refin'd, / Thy Body as Immortal as thy Mind, / Then near thy heav'nly *Form* my Soul shall stay, / And pass with thee the never-ending Day."[35] The problem with platonic love is that it shuns the body; it cannot satisfy the passion that is seated in both the body and the soul. Similarly, an effective language for the passions must incorporate both physical and spiritual references in order to express all the nuances and effects of desire.

By Letter VII, Haywood's Lady chastises the Chevalier for demanding a sexual relationship, telling him that she is already treating her husband shamefully by conducting a "criminal Conversation," the phrase echoing the legal description of adultery and indicative of her guilty feelings for what has transpired. She continues, "Lovely Encroacher! Can you expect yet more?——Yes, I have found the Truth! I will no more suspect your Vows; I do, indeed, believe you, when you say you love me; and know too well the boundless Wishes of that Passion, and the Pangs, the burning Pangs it suffers when restrained; 'tis to procure your Ease, to restore your Heart to that Repose, Desire has robbed it of, you seek to ruin me."[36] There is no comparable passage in Boursault's version. What Haywood has done is work from Boursault's *dame*'s condemnation of the Chevalier's pressing for a physical affair: "*Si vous m'aimiez avec autant de désinteréssement que je vous aime, mettriez-vous ma pudeur à cette épreuve; et vous serviriez-vous du pouvoir que vous avez sur moi, jusqu'à trouver du plaisir à en abuser? Non, cruel.*"[37] ("If you love me as selflessly as I love you, will you put my modesty to the test: and will you exploit the power you have over me, to the point of deriving pleasure from abusing me? No, wicked

man.") Though Haywood's Lady is just as concerned as the *dame* for her virtue and marital reputation, Haywood invests her complaint with more emotional conflict. As she writes to deny the Chevalier's desires and to insist on a platonic relationship, she comes to realize what he physically suffers: "the burning Pangs" of restrained passion. Suddenly, she "know[s] too well" his pain through her own; the break in her sentence, pausing after she asks if he can expect more of her, provides a literal space in which she can answer her own question with "Yes!" She suddenly understands what she before regarded as a paradox: he does love her, because he "seek[s] to ruin" her. His love must be expressed through physical consummation, because love is a combination of "boundless Wishes" and "burning Pangs"—an equal balance of soulful and physical yearnings as manifested in the alliterative phrases. Love requires both emotional and physical expression. The Lady's tone could be construed as ironic, mocking the Chevalier for believing that he is the only one to suffer in their limited relationship, but this does not detract from the passion. Her emphasis on *his* ease and *his* heart suggests that she interprets his desires as selfish, and she attempts to show him that she, too, has made sacrifices for their relationship.

The Lady's realization of what the Chevalier is experiencing, conveyed typographically through long dashes and exclamation marks, as well as structurally through short phrases broken up with many grammatical pauses, alliteration, and repetition of and elaboration on words like "Pangs," also communicates her passion. Unlike the Lady, Clio's philosophical assessment and subsequent acceptance of Strephon's sexual feelings for her is much colder—more intellect than epiphany:

> What would'st thou more? Thy Numbers I approve,
> I like my self——and give thee leave to Love;
> But oh! increasing *Mortal* as thou art,
> Let still thy Spirit have the greatest part:
> You may admire me, all the Ways you can,
> Give me the Lover; but keep back the Man.[38]

Clio's matter-of-fact lines amount to an equation with a logical conclusion: she approves his "Numbers," she likes herself, and so she grants him permission to love her. Her sentences are short and clipped as she arrives at her decision, making her sound like she is explaining simple facts to a child. The exclamatory "But oh!" interjects some emotion, a quick turn into sudden comprehension, but unlike Haywood's Lady, who grasps the implications of her Chevalier's "Pangs"

through her own empathy, Clio realizes only that Strephon is a "*Mortal*" and susceptible to physical yearning. Although she condescends from her esoteric plane long enough to permit him to love her, she insists that he express his love in a spiritual rather than human manner. The absence of any specifically passionate vocabulary and the predominance of rational thought render Clio's verse cold. She does not battle any personal emotions or try to deny physical desire. Porter calls this "Passion of their Minds . . . *Singular*";[39] however, it is not an affective one. We sympathize with Strephon, not Clio.

While both *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* and the "Discourse" attached to *Letters of a Lady of Quality* conclude with their focus on a woman's intense desire to write to express herself, they offer opposing messages. Clio, who ambitiously desires fame, prays not for Strephon's continuing love but for the ability to write like Shakespeare. She utilizes Strephon's correspondence to mentor her writing and seemingly manipulates his heart to continue their poetic exchange. Though her aim is to neither elicit nor respond to Strephon's passion, her desire to touch readers' hearts through her poetry has already been realized in her poetry's effect on him. Thus Clio is naively unaware of the dangers posed by her writing and the passions it evokes. Haywood meanwhile warns in her "Discourse" that "there is nothing a Woman can do more to the prejudice of her Peace of Mind, her Honour, and her Reputation, than the encouraging a Correspondence of this kind" between the Lady and her Chevalier, but her advice is applicable to any familiar letter. As she insists throughout her works, once letters are out of the writer's hands—indeed, once passions are expressed on paper—they are available for anyone's interpretation. "But," she continues, "when once a Heart has receiv'd the Impression of an Idea, tho never so slightly, Contemplation strengthens it insensibly; and if we make never so many Resolutions to contain ourselves in the bounds of the most strict Reservedness, we cannot be sure but some unguarded Moment may arrive, in which *Passion* may triumph over *Reason*: Paper cannot blush, and our Thoughts, in spite of us, will often take a greater liberty in expressing themselves that way, than the natural Bashfulness of Virtue will permit 'em to do any other."[40]

Human bodies have the advantage over paper bodies, because biological mechanisms like blushing help to enforce modesty and make one aware when dangerous boundaries are about to be crossed. Jeremy Collier in 1698 repeated the popular notion that "modesty was designed by providence as a guard to virtue . . . The tumult of the blood and spirits and the uneasiness of the sensation are of singular use. They serve to awaken reason and prevent surprise."[41] While most

letter writers bemoan the absence of their lover's body and attempt to sublimate their passion through the inferior expression of writing, Haywood regards the written word as more dangerous than personal encounters because of how reading affects the imagination and gets directly into one's being: "There is certainly an Influence in an artful, tender, and passionate Way of Writing, which more sensibly affects the Soul, than all the Tongue can utter."[42] Like other ideas that enter the soul by way of the eye, letters insinuate themselves into the reader's imagination, memory, and even blood. The very physiology of reading intimately links body and mind because it engages the passions. In reading, "Perception, imagination, and memory were . . . part of a single, continuous process. Seeing an object, imagining one, and reasoning with the resulting ideas and memories could never be separated from the circulation of the blood and the movements of the body."[43] According to this early modern theory of physiology, because the sentiment written into letters can be absorbed into the reader's body, and because the writer's passions can be inscribed into letters sometimes even without the letter writer's awareness, they pose a particular threat to both sender and recipient. Strephon falls in love with Clio by reading her letters and longs to meet her in person, and the Lady perpetuates her painful love for the Chevalier by continuing their correspondence. Even those reading *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* and the *Letters from a Lady of Quality* can be affected physiologically by the secondhand passions they take in: witness Hill's infatuation with Fowke after reading *The Epistles.* Usually, though, it is the letter writer who is most at risk when exposing passions that should remain hidden. Letters provide physical evidence that feelings exist.

A letter from a woman to a man is tangible evidence of her vulnerability to him, and it can move him to acquire her as a mistress where he did not think of her before. Haywood observes in her "Discourse" that "Letters from a Woman . . . are so great and valuable a Token of her Regard . . . that *Men* should, by all possible Assiduity, endeavour to obtain so undeniable a Proof of Favour; it is a kind of Food for their Ambition, their Love, and, too often, their Vanity." Sandwiched between ambition and vanity, the love inspired in men by letters would seem to suggest self-love rather than love for the letter writer. Because letters are "Proof of Favour," women—real and fictional—constantly urge the men to whom they write to destroy the letters so detrimental to their reputation. Haywood does not address any dangers to men from letter writing apart from being plagued by unwanted would-be lovers or abandoned mistresses. Overladen with female passion, letters can be read or ignored by men and then callously thrown aside like

the woman herself. Haywood advises that "in a Case like this, Pride only is becoming" in the rejected woman, and she must, under no condition, express her pain, "and tho the Heart weeps Blood——the Eye-balls start—each Limb, with Tremblings, loses its nervous Use——and inward Horror shakes the whole Fabrick like an Earthquake; a noble Mind will struggle thro the Pangs, if not *conceal*, *disguise*, under some other Name, the unconquerable Dart, affect, at least, a generous Disdain, and seem to scorn the Scorner."[44]

In the conflict between mind and body, between internal suffering and external appearance, one must attempt to keep passion hidden. It takes a heroic effort, and Haywood's sentence structure imitates the difficulty of combating the physical effects of passion with will power. Four somatic symptoms, the naming of each separated by a long dash indicating the effort it takes to move from one to another, are greater than the noble mind's struggle against them. For Haywood, it is worse than anything to "become the *Supplicant*, and, with a base Submission, pursue, with weeping Eyes, and outstretched Arms, the ungrateful Wretch, who flies the Shrine."[45] The physical description of the performance of such passion recalls tragic stage heroines like the Princess of Cleves and *Venice Preserv'd*'s Belividera, who become spectacles of pathos, or comedies' objects of ridicule like the fan-tearing Mrs. Loveit in *The Man of Mode*. To refuse to display such passion, to hurt on the inside and yet proudly dissimulate one's pain as indifference, is heroic. The spontaneous somatic reactions to a lost love are transient and can be hidden from view; the deliberate and more public actions—pursuit or writing—are less excusable. To commit this submission to paper is a voluntary act of will. Haywood demands that a woman act stoically and provide no evidence of her former love or present pain.

She recognizes the strength required to pit the will against the passions to conceal one's heartbreak, and she admits it is a "hard Condition! which . . . forbids us to complain." The catalogue of ongoing actions like burning and bleeding, as well as the violence of the personified passions—the Furies "at work within," the soul "swell[ing] with just Resentment, and wild Despair disjoint[ing] each Faculty, and split[ting] the Brain"—as they rend the soul from the body, clash with the "Insensiblity," "Smiles," and "composed Serenity in [the woman's] Countenance."[46] The alliterative *s* sounds emphasize the sinister quality of the imposed social standard on the suffering woman. Should a woman's resentment and despair break out into letter writing, it is an understandable, even sympathetic act; yet, the letter should be destroyed rather than sent. It is a warning that Aaron Hill must also heed in his correspondence, especially the clandestine ones.

Aaron Hill's Love Letters

A close reading of Hill's language in his letters to Margaret Morris (whom he married) and to Martha Fowke (with whom he had an extramarital affair) reveals how a rhetoric of passion can be both guarded and suggestive, sometimes simultaneously. Unlike Clio and the French Lady who try to maintain a platonic distance even in their language, Hill's courtship letters to Margaret and Fowke are designed to move the passions, not suppress them. Though he often uses the same strategies to stir the two objects of his affections, there is a significant difference in his language and tone. His politely restrained language in his premarital letters to Margaret communicates his passion while maintaining a respectful distance. By constant references to his imposed separation from her, his obedience to her wishes despite his despair, and his careful clarifications to prevent misinterpretations of his desire as sexual (even while his corrections suggest it), Hill conveys a passion that is kept with some difficulty under the control of reason: "My passion was no light effect of suddenness, or fancy: it had its birth from your experienc'd excellence; its growth from my reflection, and my judgment.—I endeavour'd to suppress it, long before you had the least idea of my feeling it; because I feared I cou'd not give you back, that happiness I shou'd have ow'd you: I mean, that sympathetic, infelt happiness, the happiness of minds: for fortune cannot furnish it."[47]

Hill's description of his passion for Margaret is actually contrary to the traditional views wherein passion is defined as sudden, influenced by the imagination, rooted in the core organs of the body, and antithetical to reason and reflection. Hill writes that his passion has developed gradually and is based in his mind. He is most adamant that his feelings are cerebral and moral rather than physical and base. In his next letter, he appeals to her mind, not her heart, so that she can "know" (a word he repeats three times) how he suffers: "You cannot be deceived in passion. You judge, and reason, with too guarded an excess of caution. You know how to distinguish truth from light pretence, and insincerity: and, knowing this, must know, he cannot fail to be unhappy, who is fill'd, as I am, with your image, yet kept distant by your coldness." Only in the closing of his last letter does he write to her about his soul in a way that is initially suggestive of both selflessness and sex before reforming his language into a more courtly love formula: "It is the mark of real passion to give up all self, and find its happiness, in that of its dear object.—In this sharp tryal, I will prove myself a lover not unworthy of your pity.—I will teach my struggling

soul the hard submission to your order: and presume no more to ruffle your wish'd calm of life with any whisper of his sufferings."[48] The conflict between her desire for serenity and his struggling soul highlights the ideological conflict between stoicism and true love. Martyr-like, he resigns himself to silent submission rather than disturb her quiet. Margaret is figured as a placid body of water under which Hill sinks due to her calm denial. His language is respectful and restrained, yet even that betrays his pain.

Hill's letters to Margaret offer a "plain-drawn picture, of a heart that knows [her] worth, and truly feels, and values it."[49] His language throughout his four letters to her is simple, relatively free of poetic figures, and without references to physical bodies. Not so his seduction letters to Fowke. His language strains to find the appropriate tone and expression for his physical desire stimulated by her writing. Just as *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* alternates between the platonic (Clio's) and the physical (Strephon's), Hill's letters to his fiancée and his mistress illustrate the linguistic tension that results when passion, on the cusp of the sensory and the spiritual, must be described in terms pertaining to both the body and the soul.

His first letter to Fowke, dated June 11, 1721, responds gratefully to her correspondence and her friendship. The letter is somewhat awkward in finding its voice, alternating between the obsequious and the personal, between admiring her and attempting to prove his worthiness. Hill begins by expressing his "pride" in being adorned with the "noble title . . . of your friend" and immediately quotes from *Epistles of Clio and Strephon* to demonstrate his familiarity with her work. He compliments her on her "rapturous" writing but moves quickly to speak more personally about her eyes. He uses the word "divinely" three times to describe her writing, her "sweetness, which divinely softens the radiance" of her "muses's fire," and her eyes. He quotes from what he calls "the original of our 104th Psalm" (his own translation published in the 1726 *Miscellany*) to illustrate what he means by saying that her writing "puts one naturally in mind, of what is said of the *divinity*." Quoting from the Creation Psalm allows him to extol Fowke's physical body while masking his sexual interest as reverence for her writing. His excerpt from the psalm, transferred to a personal setting, reads provocatively with its references to angels, screening, and shading, and it concludes with an eroticized image of "a curtain widely drawn, [that] spreads out *whole heaven* between" that could be interpreted as the spreading of a woman's legs to reveal paradise of a different kind.[50] The italicized words—"*god-grac'd presence*," "*angels*," "*lightnings*," "*temples*,"

"*meanders*," "*man's*," and "*whole heaven*"—highlight Hill's desire rendered in the language of religious experience.

Hill concludes his first letter with an overly crafted simile, bringing matters from heaven down to earth: "I should never have done, if I allow'd myself to speak of *you*, till I had nothing *new* to say in your praise. I must therefore, check the zeal of my inclination, as *coach-men* chain a wheel, when they descend a steep hill, that, by preventing it from turning at all, they may be sure of its not turning too violently."[51] His coach image suggests the beginning of an affair: a dangerous descent that may quickly get out of control. Unlike the plain and simple language of his courtship letters to Margaret, Hill's first letter to Fowke is strained with flattery and attempted ingenuity in imagery and verse. Haywood's Lady's suspicions of her Chevalier's sincerity when his language becomes too artful come to mind. Christine Gerrard notes that Hill "self-consciously re-enact[s] Strephon's role as Clio's distant admirer";[52] however, his approach is more sexually suggestive than Strephon's ever was; he plays a more risqué role than poetic mentor. One also gets the impression that he is uncertain about how to address a woman poet—as a woman or as a fellow writer. It is not until Hill fits Fowke into the role of mistress that his language becomes more self-assured and passionate.

Hill's second letter to Fowke is undated, though Guskin places it shortly after a Drury Lane performance of *Julius Caesar*, when Hill saw Fowke for the first time.[53] Not performing the role of Strephon this time, Hill moves from a brief compliment on her writing—"I am scarce more amaz'd at the prodigious force of your genius, than at the sweetness of your nature"—to an extended encomium on seeing her in person and being rendered speechless: "It is impossible to describe you, either in your mind, or your person. One may do it in idea—but words give way, like quicksand, beneath too weighty a pile of building. One may *see* you for ever, unwearied, and admiring; but to speak you, is as impossible, as to excell you!" In contrast with the restraint Hill observes in his correspondence with Margaret Morris, he immediately focuses on Fowke's body. One of the poems that accompanies this letter, "To the never enough admir'd Mrs.———, after seeing her at *Julius Caesar*," elaborates on his fascination with her physicality while continuing the trope of not being able to find the appropriate words for her: "Still as she speaks—or looks—or moves—new rays / Scatter fresh beauties, in eternal blaze; / Lost in excess of wonder, we retire, / Find words too weak, and silently admire."[54] The words that he does discover are adaptations of her own, as he closely echoes her signature piece, "Clio's Picture," that had appeared in Hammond's *New*

Miscellany in 1720. In that poem Fowke describes how her looks are affected by her sorrow and notes that "slow is [her tongue's] Speech, and with no Musick fraught," which Hill contradicts: "Round her pleas'd mouth impatient Cupids throng, / To snatch th' inspiring music from her tongue." Hill concentrates most closely on Fowke's eyes, saying that "their whole force, contracted, darts, direct," which again echoes and contradicts her line about her "harmless Blue" eyes: "As if no Wound they made, no Dart they knew." As we have seen in her *Epistles* to Strephon, Clio is proud of her writing ability and insists on being appreciated for her mind. In "Clio's Picture," she writes: "*Poesie* is call'd the Image of the Mind, / In mine my Soul and Body both are joyn'd."[55] Hill does not neglect this: "Thick, thro her sparkling eyes, break unconfin'd, / The wing'd ideas of her crowded mind; / A mind! that burning with inferior glow, / Does her whole form with lustre overflow!"[56] It is unclear whether Hill means that her wondrous mind is inadequately reflected through her body or that her mind is inferior to her beauty, but by keeping the line ambiguous, the compliment is there to be taken however Fowke cares to interpret it.

Hill's third letter to Fowke, dated simply 1721, begins with a strong yet vague compliment on verses she has sent him: "There are so many shining beauties, in the verses, and the letter, which I had last the honour to receive from you; that 'tis impossible to praise them, as they ought to be praised, without writing a comment on every line, and taking more pains on your excellence, than Madam *D'acier* did, on *Homer*'s." He does not take the pains to offer a comment on *any* line; instead, he proceeds to entertain her with a whimsical narrative of being with her at a play that she says she did not attend: "But you were in the front boxes, in the side boxes, in the pit, on the stage,—you came with me—went home with me, and whatever you know, or think you know, to the contrary, I have never parted with you since."[57] This is not unlike his courtship letter to Margaret wherein he describes seeing her everywhere:

> But, still I saw you, in the midst of crowds, where nothing in the least resembled you; still met you in retirement, so cut off from the surrounding world, that scarce an object enter'd, but the image of your sweetness.
>
> In every place you interpose the silent influence of a form, that was not made to be forgotten: and it wou'd be all in vain, shou'd I retreat to the world's utmost limits, you wou'd be with me there, my meditation and my prospect. You only have engross'd my heart; you only must engage my senses.[58]

Hill's visionary walk with Fowke is more detailed than just seeing her everywhere. He explains that her soul is abroad with him, "inspiring *mine*, and inflaming it with a thousand *ideas* of [her] *loveliness*."[59] He does not, however, give any particulars about her beauty; instead, he describes the walk from London to her cottage in Fulham. The landscape and gardens that he notes are suggestive of his hoped-for relationship with her, functioning in the same way as Haywood's seductive gardens in her novels: not only do they displace responsibility and passion onto nature rather than the lovers; they are metaphors for anticipated sexual excursions, intimate explorations of Fowke's body:

> I found myself in a lane, betwixt gardens . . . The *Ditches* on each side, were adorned with double *hedges*, and thick-planted with *trees*: they were arched over-head, and scarce admitted the sun-beams, which struggled, as it were, through them, with a kind of quivering lustre. The whistling of a breeze played delightful among the boughs, with a musical murmur. The birds shook the air, with the melody of their warblings, and the leaves seemed to dance, as if sensible of the harmony. The whole lane was unfrequented, and full of short windings; . . . The fruit trees budded thick.—The garden beds sprung green, and a lively intermixture of red, blue, white, and yellow, in the flowers which surrounded me, glowed with silent emulation. The bean blossoms wafted, a perfume to my smell, and every sense was feasted on the luxury of nature.[60]

Hill's description of Fulham's gardens could have used the scene of D'Elmont's seduction of Amena in *Love in Excess* as its prototype, but whereas Haywood describes D'Elmont and Amena as actually being in the Tuilleries, Hill only imagines himself walking through Fulham with Fowke's soul—or at least he creates this fiction for her to read. This third letter incorporates a version of Kames's "ideal presence": Aristotle's concept of the *visione* wherein an idea is presented so vividly that it materializes before our eyes. Hill writes to Fowke that "you came with me—went home with me, . . . I have never parted with you since," and he describes every detail of their walk together to illustrate how she never leaves his thoughts.[61] Contrary to "ideal presence," which is based on reading becoming reverie so that the reader imagines everything she reads as actually happening in her presence, Hill's *visione* originates in his imagination and is meant to instill in Fowke's mind the idea of being with him in such a private and delightful environment. If she is willing to imagine it, he has brought it one step closer to actually happening. His strategy here, "linked to the

rhetorical ideal of *enargeia*, supreme animation in language,"[62] begins to fuse the physical and spiritual realms of passion.

It is with no surprise that we read the conclusion of Hill's undated fourth letter: "[M]y soul . . . boasts the *honour* of an *intimacy*, which you are not consenting to."[63] Our suspicion that he has asked Fowke to consent to a physical love affair is confirmed in his fifth and final letter, wherein Hill writes that friendship is no longer enough. His admiration for Fowke "now only serves to dignify a warmer passion," and he desires a closer, more intimate relationship. His language loses its calm, measured quality and becomes, instead, urgent and pressing. His use of dashes increases as he becomes exasperated, and his usually eccentric overuse of commas accelerates to punctuate each point to persuade Fowke to consummate their desire:

> Divinely modest, and judicious, as you are, you recommend refinement, as a bound to my esteem; and speak of happiness as lost, if carried farther.—But surely! all esteem for you, must, of necessity, be a refin'd one:—for, while its growth is from your personal charms, it has its root in your dear virtues.—there is indeed a happiness, that may be sometimes lost in finding: but, it is the fate of rash and unweigh'd passions.—I have long been charm'd with, long reflected on my present wish:—I have felt you at my heart, and held, and press'd you to my reason.—I have been the lover of your mind and body; and, it is as impossible to sense, that one, of your inspiring eyes, shou'd cloud the lustre of the other, as that a heart, which you have touch'd, as you have mine, shou'd grow less conscious of your dearness, because bless'd with your possession.[64]

Hill tries to convince Fowke that just as he had walked with her soul in Fulham, he has also made love to her body. Having imagined it in his mind and still holding her in esteem, he argues that his real possession of her would not diminish their relationship. His language conflates their spiritual union with his longed-for physical one, suggesting that one is the natural progression of the other: "I have felt you at my heart, and held, and press'd you to my reason.—I have been the lover of your mind and body". He seems to appeal to her reason, but his words are mostly sensual and flattering, appealing to her own passions and vanity. Although Hill's letters to Fowke progress in a similar fashion as those to Margaret Morris 11 years earlier—the fifth letter to each woman argues that his passion for her has been ongoing, is based in his reason, and rooted in her virtue and excellence—his letter to Fowke is more passionate because of its urgency and emphasis

on physical drives. Appeals to the soul and mind are romantic and refined, but passion, he argues, is steeped in the body. For this reason, Hill tells Clio, words are inadequate purveyors of feeling.

Writing and words are "by far too faint, and distance too incapable, to give ideas of [her] influence."[65] Hill would disagree with Samuel Richardson's later celebration of "the pen that makes distance, presence; and brings back to sweet remembrance all the delights of presence; which makes even presence but body, while absence becomes the soul."[66] For Hill, language and the pen are mere stopgaps, attempts to bridge physical separation to ultimately encourage a meeting of bodies. Once his love letters stir him and their recipient by stimulating imagination and passions, measures must be taken to meet in person. Language must give way to physical presence, to bodies, to fulfill those desires expressed in letters. Until such time, a language for the passions must generate in the reader an emotional, empathetic response—especially in the body—to motivate action.

Clio's *Letter to Hillarius* (1723)

Hill's "divine Letters"—in which, Fowke writes, "Love lay in every Line"—did give way to physical presence. "Not Solitude nor Grief could guard [her] Heart, / With all its Floods, from the invading Dart." The two embarked on a clandestine affair sometime in 1721 until the autumn of 1723. In 1720, under pressure from her brother, Fowke had wed her lover, London lawyer Arnold Sansom. Hill had been married since 1710 and fathered nine children with his wife, Margaret—their last was born in June 1722. Hill ended the affair in October 1723, motivating the 34-year-old Fowke to write him a lengthy letter in prose and poetry in an effort to win him back. *Clio: or, A Secret History of the Life and Amours of the Late Celebrated Mrs. S–n—m. Written by Herself, in a Letter to Hillarius* was not published until 1752, when both Fowke and Hill were dead. Fowke writes that her book is "A little Emblem of my crowded Heart, / . . . / As Love has plac'd the tender Letters here";[67] it is a passionate outpouring of her feelings, as well as an exploration of her life and character. Her book is an object that Hill can hold in his hands, privately reading her feelings for him, and even the turning of the pages intimates a sexual act; it is meant to remind him how her passions are an integral part of her and her work. Speaking generally of the epistolary form, Michael McKeon notes that "the letter becomes a passport not to the objectivity of sense impressions but to the subjectivity of the mind."[68] Fowke aims to impress her unique subjectivity onto Hill through an effective

language for her passions. Throughout her *Letter*, Fowke explores a number of different discourses to help her develop an appropriate language: from her conscious echoes of Sappho and Pope's Eloisa, through her interrogations of platonic love's courtly language and conventional metaphors for love, to an incorporation of contemporary medical discourse. Her adoption of the physiological language of the medical tradition conveys her passion but also particularly emphasizes her almost androgynous intellectual and creative power that earns her recognition as Clio, Sappho's daughter.

Sappho was brought to popular attention in 1711—the same year Fowke began publishing her own poetry—in Joseph Addison's *Spectator* No. 229. The paper cites Longinus's observation that Sappho's ode describing her emotions as she watches her lover "is an exact Copy of Nature," and "all the Circumstances . . . are really such as happen in the Phrenzies of Love."[69] As proof of the ode's verisimilitude, Addison recounts Plutarch's story of a man whose lovesickness is diagnosed from Sappho's poem. Fowke continues Sappho's legacy by making diagnostic description and the physical components of passion (blood, spirits, nerves) an important dimension of her language. Her *Letter* retrospectively analyses the symptoms of lovesickness in others to show that before she met Hill she never understood or experienced love. Like contemporary medical texts, Fowke comes to renounce platonic love and its emphasis on spiritual union to advocate physical consummation; she regards the body as quintessential to love. Unconcerned with restraint, decorum, or offence, her language revolves around mental and physical excesses to clarify what society misconstrues as inconstancy and unfeminine libertinism. The poetry with which her volume concludes makes clear that her love resists containment, as it takes over her thoughts, body, and blood.

Fowke's letter begins and ends with passionate expressions of her love and pain as well as her resentment of Hill's inability as a man to appreciate the caliber of her emotion for him: "Oh! if you have a Heart, why did it not beat with *Clio*'s Anguish? why was it silent when mine was torn to death with Love and Sorrow? Oh! insensible *Hillarius*, will it be to your Glory that you have pierc'd to Death the most faithful of all Women?"[70] She contrasts her suffering with Hill's lack of feeling and his distinctively masculine actions—seducing and "pierc[ing her] to Death." While her passion is ongoing, moving from love to anguish, Hillarius's passion is quick and destructive and seemingly founded (as Fowke's diction suggests) in sexual conquest. She calls attention to the physiological difference between her heart and his silent and insensible one. She depicts her erotic melancholy

as a sign of her poetical sensitivity. Melancholy had long "provided a compelling discourse of interiority, through which [aristocratic women] could express feelings of lovesickness, loneliness, or alienation . . . in a way that simultaneously advertises their learning and their understanding of elite cultural codes."[71] In her coterie poetry, specifically "The Innocent Inconstant" (1722; published 1726) written in response to Savage's "Unconstant," Fowke presents herself as a woman physiologically made to transgress cultural and gender boundaries because of the volatility of her passions. Her apparent fickleness to lovers is constancy to herself and love, a perspective that demonstrates her feelings of self-worth and her passions' need to be satisfied so that she can remain true to herself.

> Well! an Inconstant, let me then be thought:
> Nor can I help it, if it *be* a Fault.
> No solid *Lead* is in *my* Atoms mix'd,
> *All Mercury!* too sprightly to be fix'd!
> As soon the Stars might in one Station shine,
> As one dull Wretch retain this Heart of mine.
> . . .
> I search—but rarely meet an equal Taste,
> Then I grow weary, and I change in haste:
> Where I discern, that heavy Earth prevails,
> I leave the Lumber, and I shift the Sails.[72]

One cannot help but admire this spirit: her insistence on satisfying her own desires and nature, ennobled by the belief that she is entitled to such personal satisfaction, demonstrates her strong character. Her passion for numerous lovers stems from a desire to please herself. Fowke's imagery—"solid Lead," "heavy Earth," and "Lumber" versus "Mercury," "Stars," and sprightliness—depicts two opposing kinds of entities: immovable, inanimate bodies (previous lovers) and lively, animated spirits (herself). She is a creature of a different sort, and ordinary conduct and language do not apply to her. In her *Letter* she admits, "Nor Rules nor Reason can my Love restrain; / Its godlike Tide runs high in ev'ry Vein."[73] She must strive to find a language that will sympathetically convey her passion that encompasses both physical and spiritual realms. To do this, she must first clearly define her terms. One of the most problematic terms is "virtue."

Clio outlines for Hillarius 28 "friendships" of varying degrees with men; she makes no apologies for her conduct, insisting that, in her own way, she has been virtuous. But her definition is equivocal and

clearly not aligned with the chastity demanded of eighteenth-century women. For her, virtue is "to adore *Hillarius* . . . without Reserve or Interest; to sacrifice the mean Incense of the Crowd to the heavenly Passion to live for him alone, to languish for him amidst the Praise and Adoration of the World: This is Virtue . . . I look down with Contempt on the mean Mortals who confine Virtue to the narrow Compass of the Body: Sure it is seated in the Soul, or rather your divine Breast is its Treasury."[74] For Fowke, virtue is based on sensibility, that intense emotional responsiveness in the form of unreserved love to someone worthy of that response. She looks down on the "mean Mortals" who define virtue physically; her mind and morality are formed on a grander scale. Neither her virtue nor her passions can be confined to the physical realm. The polarity evident in her passage on virtue—the vulgar crowd's anger versus her heavenly passion; her languishing versus Hillarius's being adored; the body versus the soul—emphasizes the chasm between Fowke's love for Hill and the pettiness of the world concerned with chastity. Like Aphra Behn, who had suggested that female honor, based in virginity, is an artificial value, Fowke professes that real virtue is not constrained by the physical: it is "seated in the Soul"—that is, it is an abstract, spiritual concept. She regards her contemporaries' definition of virtue as narrow-minded. For Fowke, virtue must be newly defined to accommodate the realities of human nature, especially her own.

Speaking of a man whom Fowke had rejected, she notes that her refusal only seems like virtue: "Alas! there requires little Virtue to refuse the Half of Mankind . . . I know not why this should be called Virtue, which is but natural, as to fly Fire and Water, and all the Enemies of Life." There is, she says, a great difference between virtue and a lack of desire. A woman is not morally virtuous if she turns down a lucrative offer when she has no feeling for the man or desire for his money. There is no real virtue, struggle, or sacrifice in denying herself what she doesn't want. Ever honest with herself and Hill, she suspects that it was the man's mercantile-minded proposal, not propriety, which led to her rejection of him. She tells Hill, "I . . . give you a true Draught of my Soul, which I think is not without some little Virtue, even what the World calls so; . . . but rather it was Want of a violent Passion, such as I now burn with for you."[75] Her phrase—"even what the World calls so"—suggests that her lack of "a violent Passion" (i.e., absence of physical desire) denotes that socially prescribed virtue that she finds hypocritical. Being defined by lack or absence connotes something negative and inferior, and Fowke finds nothing laudable in being without physical passion. As we have witnessed earlier,

Haywood, too, chastises those who deny their passionate natures to appease social decorum and deny their humanity to condemn those who fall prey to love. Unlike Fowke, however, Haywood is careful not to self-identify as lacking conventional virtue.

Fowke's work to develop an appropriate language for her passion continues from redefining feminine virtue to recasting platonic love. Moving away from the emphasis on the spiritual bond between lovers, Fowke makes "a bold defence of infidelity based on the 'Platonic' argument that unfaithfulness to individual lovers can be justified as fidelity to love itself."[76] More than a libertine dedication to the passions, Fowke's version of platonism is a reverence for the soul's self-expression, complemented and enacted by the body. In this way Fowke is very much a product of the eighteenth century as Foucault describes it, wherein "soul and body are always each other's immediate expression."[77] Instead of denying physicality, Fowke insists that the soul (or mind) be as equally addressed and engaged in relationships as the body. Regarding "Mr. S——," who wanted her as a mistress, Fowke writes, "Whilst he was talking in this Manner, my Soul felt a just Disdain to hear its Body bargaining for."[78] She demands that both her body and soul be engaged in those physical relationships in which she would participate. Unfortunately for Fowke, her soul cannot be willingly engaged if it is trapped within the confines of marriage any more than her love can be expressed within the conventional platonic vocabulary.

Intrigued by the mind–body relationship and attempting to express how the passions occupy simultaneously a mental and physical space, Fowke concentrates with physician-like intensity on the languishing bodies of those who become lovesick over her for signs of their heartfelt suffering. She delineates how she has only come to understand their suffering for her through her own suffering for Hill. In at least five cases that she describes, the frustrated passions of the men are expressed through their bodies' subjection to a battery of physical symptoms ranging from sleeplessness, pallor, and fever, to emasculation. Fowke's earliest experience of someone falling in love with her was when she was nine or ten years old. A young Huguenot "grew very melancholy; he sighed whole Nights, neglected his Affairs, and seemed lost to himself; as to me, he no longer entertained me with Stories, but walked with the Silence of a Shadow." The girl Fowke does not understand the meaning of the Huguenot's actions—the source of his illness is as foreign to her as his French language—but it is clear to the mature Fowke that he enacts the universal body language of unexpressed desire. Only later does Fowke experience similar

symptoms for Hill when she, too, is "lost to [her]self, and to the World," the repeated reference to being lost indicating her similar predicament and new sympathy for what the Huguenot underwent.[79]

When the Huguenot's zealous friends misinterpret his lovesickness as his being "bewitched . . . with Popery," they break into the Fowke household and set its books on fire. Fowke writes, "This was the first of Love, that concerned myself, I ever heard of, and the oddest. It began in Flames, without any Fiction, and gave me a Terror for such Passions."[80] Philosophers, physicians, and poets have long employed fire imagery to convey the symptoms of love. But Fowke regarded such fire as "Fiction," mere figurative language for a passion she had yet to feel rather than an etiology of love's "flaming heart, boiling liver and 'scorched veines.'"[81] It is not until she experiences love herself that she understands the metaphor: "Oh! I have tasted his Torments since, and have languished with his Pains."[82]

Fowke continues to note the languishing bodies of those who repress their love: her brother's military friend "was naturally . . . bold and assur'd, but was now grown silent, tender, and a kind of Coward"; "his Spirits were lost, and he seem'd dying." Another's "Face was pale as Death, and his Eyes sunk, his Hands trembling, and his Soul almost going," and a third's "Health began to languish, the Roses and the Lillies faded away, and at last he grew pale as the dying *Adonis*."[83] Fowke comes to understand platonic love's sublimation of physical desire, "lovesickness," in the same way it is regarded by contemporary medical texts: "[A]n excessive and degrading passion that could result in chronic melancholy, mania or even death . . . [A]bstinence was considered a cause of sickness, rather than spiritual ecstasy, in that it allowed for the accumulation of seed, or sperm, to infect [the] body and derange reason."[84] "Seed" was believed present in both sexes and was released during orgasm. Fowke concurs with Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* that if the passion of "Love-Melancholy" continues in any person "it makes the blood hot, thick and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up, that madness follows, or else they make away themselves."[85] While Clio pities her lovers and sometimes attempts to counsel them—"When he was well enough to bear it, I advised him against his inconsiderate Passion"—such efforts are obviously ignorant of their real pain. She realizes that she was a poor physician for their souls having not been in love herself: "I was then a Stranger to [these soft, yet fatal Errors], and perhaps had not Pity enough for them."[86] Her personal inexperience of love rendered her an ineffectual human being, lacking compassion for the suffering of

others and impeding her language of passion. Now, however, suffering unrequited love for Hillarius, she does understand her former lovers' pain and can empathize in a language that echoes Sappho's etiology of the love "Disease":

> When the poor trembling Heart to Grief resign'd,
> In Silence mourns, and can no Language find:
> Far worse than Death these bitter Moments prove,
> Extended on the Rack of doubtful Love.
> . . .
> While pale Despair, and ever-trembling Fear,
> Pours Death into the Soul, and stabs the Ear.
> The cold and dewy Limbs confess the Pain,
> And the Mind bleeds thro' every breathing Vein.[87]

Here are the same dispersed body parts (Heart, Soul, Ear, dewy Limbs, and Mind) from Sappho's ode: "In dewy Damps my Limbs were chill'd; / My Blood with gentle Horrours thrill'd; / My feeble Pulse forgot to play; / I fainted, sunk, and dy'd away."[88] Clio's verse quickly moves from sympathy for her cousin, who physically pines for her and becomes deranged by jealousy, to an anatomization of her own lovesickness for Hill. The attention that her cousin's body elicited is now focused on the personified passions (Love, Grief, Despair, and Fear) that torture her body (Heart, Ear, and Limbs). Most significant is the physiological interaction of mind and body, the mind "bleed[ing] thro' every breathing Vein," being diffused throughout the body by the blood so that there is a corporeal experience of a loving affliction. Clio's poem emphasizes the very real physical torment that unrequited love can exert; the poetry erupts out of the prose like uncontrolled pain. That these intense feelings must be revealed in poetry rather than prose is demonstrative not only of the degree of her love for Hill but of her aspiration toward the sublime.

Jonathan Culler describes the sublime as "a relation to what exceeds human capabilities of understanding, provokes awe or passionate intensity, gives the speaker [as well as the reader] a sense of something beyond the human."[89] As Fowke attempts to articulate her passion that is at once physical and mental, afflicting body and soul, she strives for the right signification. Mere prose cannot convey her feelings. The aesthetic sublime that Stephen Land describes as belonging "exclusively neither to the word nor to the subject nor to the emotion but to all three simultaneously and perhaps to something more besides" is what she reaches toward: a language that utilizes

words, subjects, and emotions all at the same time and yet is unspeakable.[90] As Norma Clarke observes, for Clio, "Loving well leads to the best poetry . . . [I]n loving [Hill] she aspires to produce poems such as none had ever produced before."[91]

Fowke moves beyond the wholly ascetic practice of seventeenth-century platonic love to more contemporary, scientifically based assumptions that, depending on the soul and nerves' propensity to feeling, one is rendered more or less passionate than others. In addition to anatomizing the languishing bodies of her suitors, Fowke focuses again and again on her own blood in the veins, reminding Hill through this imagery that he and she have been intimate and exchanged blood and souls in their sexual relationship. Medically, "blood was the material source of seed, or sperm, which was held by many to be the physiological source of erotic desire . . . women were believed both to emit and receive sperm; the male seed (thought to be composed of heated and refined blood) was said to turn back into blood after being released into the woman's body, mingling with and tainting her own supply."[92] Clio's passions of love, admiration, grief, jealousy, joy, desire, hope, fear, anger, and revenge all have Hill as their object, but they prey on her mind, heart, veins, breast, and soul.

In conjunction with the blood, fever and fire are also continually appealed to in the lyrical poems with which Clio ends her *Letter*. In "To My Soul's Adoration," she writes, "Thy Body is a perfect Mind. / Ev'ry bright, transparent Vein, / Surely does a Soul contain; / Mine, at least, is there I'm sure, / From the Transports I endure." More poems follow: "Nor Rules nor Reason can my Love restrain; / Its godlike Tide runs high in ev'ry Vein"; "In my blood thy Beauty reigns, / *Hillarius* beats in all my Veins."[93] Fowke is not being merely poetic in her imagery; she is alluding to popular scientific notions. She incorporates the early Galen as well as Willis's scientific theory regarding the corporeal, animal soul and the nervous system into her comprehension of the passions. The "Spirits" that she mentions throughout her poems allude to the "animal spirits" that ferried the passions back and forth between the body and soul and "were vaporized into the brain and cerebellum [before they] entered the cortex, flowed down the medulla and spinal marrow and, via the nerve fibres, pervaded the entire body." For her, Hill's body "is a perfect Mind," because both of their souls flow through his veins, but her "Spirits waste," because they have been separated from her and are now denied access to him. Her letter is an attempt to reconnect her spirits with his. According to Willis's seventeenth-century theory of the nervous system, "The corporeal soul performed various functions, above all activating the

blood (metabolic activity) and the nerve juices (nervous activity). In addition, there was a third aspect, an outgrowth of the 'vital flame', involved in sexual activity and reproduction."[94] Similar to lovesickness with its thick, hot blood, in pregnancy it was believed that the menses stopped flowing because the blood was settling in the womb and breasts to warm and nurture the fetus. Fowke's couplet regarding Hillarius "beat[ing] in all [her] Veins" could be an allusion to the theory of the homunculus or "little man" (most famously referred to in *Tristram Shandy*)[95] that flows through a woman's bloodstream before settling in her womb for its nine-month rest. It is this connection between the "vital flame" in the blood involved in reproduction, the increased heat in Clio's blood and heart, and her statements of Hillarius being within her very veins that bolster the theory that Fowke may have been pregnant while writing this little volume for Hill.[96] More than simply utilizing the trope of the abandoned woman, Fowke may be communicating to Hill through her language and descriptive references to her physiology that she is carrying his child. Her heightened alarm and the emotional gamut she experiences over his absence; her references to her blood and veins; her fear that she has become "poor, old, and miserable";[97] and her very need to write her life and clarify her past to Hill all point to the possibility that she is expecting his child and feels she may die because of it. But she never explicitly articulates this.

Fowke could also be diagnosing herself with a form of greensickness "caused by suppressed menses and seed . . . According to early modern theories, when the menstrual flow was obstructed an excess of blood and seed would collect within the body and eventually putrefy. Illness would ensue, either as a direct result of this blockage in the body, or from the noxious vapours emitted from the blood and seed." Clio—the woman and the poet—describes for Hillarius her opposing symptoms of lovesickness: "destructive, bodily illness" and "ennobling, intellectual affliction."[98] Her only cure, apart from his return, is to write to give vent to her passion and imitate the flowing of blood through her "immortal Stream" of ink.

The final installment of Clio's letter is dated "*Friday* Night, the last Night of my Life or Happiness; disappointed in seeing you":

> [W]ould to Heaven and you, I were here to end my Life; . . . your Absence kills me. Oh! I am undone without you . . . I am lost to myself, and to the World, . . . My Soul is sweetly lost in your dear Bosom, nor can ever find itself again; the God that created it, will, I hope, never divide it from you, whatsoever becomes of this miserable Body which

> loves to Adoration. When it lies in Dust, sigh your Pity over it; and give it one of those Moments I now languish for; sure I shall be proud in Death, and happy.[99]

But Clio's volume continues almost in spite of herself with the addition of 22 poems and poetic fragments interjected with prose passages lingering over her "Charmer." Before she ends with her poem, "My Last Will. To the Immortal *Hillarius*," she writes, "[Y]ou can live in Absence; it is possible you can be happy, even in the long Absence of Death. When I recall my everlasting Disappointments, I am more than sure of this, and would, if possible, restrain the Fondness of my Soul; but too, too late, it has overflowed in this little Book, and must do so till Death; all my Passions flow down this immortal Stream, and bear even Life along with them." Clio's very blood is now characterized as ink, as both carry all her passions and her life that she passes on to Hillarius: "My Life, my Soul, my Muse, my Friend, are thine."[100]

For Haywood, such self-expression flies in the face of her advice to conceal one's pain of rejection and maintain one's social nobility. In her "Discourse" appended to *Letters of a Lady of Quality*, she warns against publicizing personal passions: "When therefore a Woman, by her own Indiscretion, has rendred herself incapable of maintaining the Conquests which her Eyes had gain'd, the wisest thing she can do, is to sit down contented with the loss, lest by the vain Attacks she makes to recover it, she discovers her own Weakness the more, and provokes the Insults of the disdainful Repeller."[101] But Fowke was not a woman "to sit down contented with . . . loss," nor did she feel that repressing her pain and desire so that she could appear like a reputable woman was an option for a writer like her. She embraces the one advantage of being an abandoned woman—expressing herself without restriction—and works actively through her evocative language and imagery to be a great poet.

Chapter 4

The *Miscellany*'s Picture Poems and Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions*

> A skilful Painter, to express (as much as in him lyes) the thoughts and passions of the person whom he draws, gives his Picture such touches and lines, as he observes to be in the Face after extraordinary provocation; which strokes, are great indications of the temper of the Mind.
>
> —Bernard Lamy, *The Art of Speaking*

> It is impossible to describe you, either in your mind, or your person . . . One may *see* you for ever, unwearied, and admiring; but to speak you, is as impossible, as to excell you!
>
> —Aaron Hill to Martha Fowke

In 1726, when Savage finally published his long-delayed *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* by members of the Hillarian circle, 8 of the 92 poems were explicitly devoted to the theme of paintings or pictures, exploring how the medium is effective (or not) in communicating the essence, or soul, of the subject portrayed.[1] Three years earlier, John Dyer, a 24-year-old Welshman, poet, aspiring painter, and member of the circle, painted Martha Fowke's portrait. Like other men within the coterie, he had come under Fowke's spell. His portrait of Fowke, a physical artifact of his youthful passion for her, has long since been lost, leaving us to wonder whether he destroyed it after renouncing their relationship in 1727.[2] While the painting did exist, it was admired by members of Hill's literary group

and inspired a number of poetic responses. In the *Miscellany*, Hill and Savage each address a poem to Dyer specifically about his Clio portrait. Savage's "To Mr. John Dyer, a Painter, Advising Him to Draw a Certain Noble and Illustrious Person, Occasioned by Seeing His Picture of the Celebrated Clio," and Hill's "To the Author of the Foregoing Verses, a Painter, on His Attempting a Lady's Picture" commend the artist for trying to capture Clio's soul on canvas but must ultimately admit that he fails. Unfortunately, for them, their poetic endeavors also fall short of communicating her sublimity. The significance of the picture poems in the Hillarians' attempt to find a language for the passions is their experimentation with *ekphrasis*, a rhetorical device that "occupies a strange place between the realms of the visual and the linguistic." Its aim is to describe an object in such detail that one not only imagines it but can "share the emotional experience and content" even if one has "never encountered the work in question."[3] Its relation to the passions and the sublime is its unique "place between realms" that requires yet eludes linguistic description. Savage's and Hill's poems about Clio's portrait occupy a similarly "strange place." Hill's poem points to the place *between* the visual portrait and the linguistic poem, opening up through its suggestiveness the possibility of understanding Clio's interiority. His language shifts the main responsibility for conveying who Clio is from the artist and poet to the imagination of the spectator and reader. In striving to express what Clio elicits in them, the painter and the poet attempt to offer a kind of two-way reflection—portraying both what is *seen* as well as what is *felt* in seeing. This is the aesthetic sublime, which can be only approximated in metaphor. To formalize such "an elusive and fluid concept" into words is superlatively difficult,[4] yet the yearning to do so constitutes part of the sublime's effect.

Painting and Language

Jonathan Richardson Sr., under whom Dyer studied watercolor painting, stresses that painting is superior to language because the visual art can communicate ideas "without Ambiguity," whereas "Words paint to the Imagination, but every Man forms the thing to himself in his Own way." He adds that "*Painting* has another Advantage over Words, and that is, it Pours Ideas into our Minds, Words only Drop 'em."[5] Richardson is one in a long line of defenders of painting as superior to language as a medium of communication.[6]

While both painting and poetry can *move* the passions, their difference, and the point of contention between painters and poets, is

which can best *communicate* them. John Williams, translating Charles Le Brun's *Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, notes that Le Brun proposed how "to Express all those emotions which *outwardly* manifest Themselves" and, "tho' composed of simple Lines only, should nevertheless naturally Express all the different turns and changes of such emotions."[7] But it is the unique relationship between the eyes and the soul, the senses and the imagination, that is especially important in conveying and transferring the passion of love and therefore seems to give painting the advantage over words. Ficino, in his *De amore* (1484), describes how the soul is able to look at things external to itself and, through the imagination, conceive purer images of those things, which it then stores in the memory. It is only because the eye and the spirit "need the continuous presence of a beautiful body" to be "comforted and pleased" that the soul is also "forced to desire" that body's presence.[8] This is love: a physical and soulful desire, initiated primarily by sight, stimulated by the soul's imagination and yearning for its object's bodily presence. It is for this reason that a portrait of one's beloved—or as we have seen, a letter from a lover—gives pleasure; it is a physical reminder, a surrogate body to which the viewer's imagination and passions supply the part that cannot be represented in visual art or language: the purer, universal Idea that appeals to the soul.

What becomes apparent in the *Miscellany*'s poems about Clio's portrait is the classical problem of describing or capturing true beauty and platonic form in painting or in language. The Hillarians' desire to convey the sublime and their own "complexities of affective experience" of it in words[9] is comparable to the artist Zeuxis, who wanted to paint the unsurpassable beauty of Helen of Troy: "'Helen is strangely both a goddess and a human at the same time and therefore occupies both circles, of Meaning and Being.' In other words, Helen is simultaneously Platonic form and matter, divine and degraded, life and death. But . . . she cannot be perceived as both in the same instance. Her significance therefore shifts continuously, producing a disorienting rather than stabilizing mythic sign."[10] For Savage and Hill, Clio is also both divine and human simultaneously, but she cannot be perceived as both at the same time; therefore neither she nor the feelings she elicits can be easily articulated. Both poets try to relegate Clio to the realm of platonic form as they urge Dyer to appreciate her more sublime qualities; however, in doing so they unwittingly limit her to the immaterial by robbing her of her human physicality.

Savage suggests that purer ideas are poured into his mind when he views Dyer's portrait of Clio because he is inspired to write poetry: "when these well-known Features I peruse, / Some Warmth

awakes,——Some Embers of a Muse. / Ye Muses, Graces, and ye Loves appear! / Your Queen, your *Venus*, and your *Clio*'s here!" But Savage's poem moves from hopeful creativity inspired by Clio's image to conclude with the focus firmly on himself. He contrasts the painter's "Golden Genius" with his own "dim Lamp of Life obscure." Savage's eye, even when viewing Clio's portrait, is capable only of conveying his own "Depress'd, obscur'd, unpitied, and unprais'd" image to his soul. The portrait reminds him that Dyer the artist is more powerful than Savage the poet. Although Savage's passions are stirred by Dyer's capturing Clio's likeness in "Such vivid Tinctures . . . rich with *Clio*'s Rays,"[11] because Savage cannot make the transition from seeing and imagining to the soul's contemplation of the universal Ideas of things, he cannot share his idea of Clio with his readers, who remain unmoved and unaffected.

Unlike Savage, Aaron Hill in his poem on the in-progress portrait of Clio concentrates on the shortcomings of Dyer's medium. In "To the Author of the foregoing Verses, a Painter, on his attempting a Lady's Picture," Hill praises Dyer for his ability in other paintings to copy nature; however, he is doubtful Dyer can "catch the Grace"—that aesthetic quality related to the divine—from that "Angel-Form," Clio.[12] Contesting Richardson's earlier point that painting has the advantage over imperfect language, Hill writes about the difficulties of painting to capture "Grace." To paint Clio's portrait properly, Dyer must

> . . . snatch the living Fire,
> And limn th' Ideas that those Eyes inspire;
> Strong to your burning Circle, . . . confine
> That awe mix'd Sweetness, and that Air Divine!
> That sparkling Soul, that lightens from within,
> And flashes unspoken Meanings, thro' her Skin.[13]

Although Hill has already praised Dyer's ability to make a canvas "glow" with "breathing Action," thereby overcoming the medium's static, spatial limitations, he questions whether Dyer can "kindle up [his] Canvas with [Clio's] Face!" without its being consumed by her "living Fire." The essence of Clio, and the medium to which Dyer strives to confine it, are incompatible. Earlier, Savage had written that Dyer "thro' the Meaning Muscles, strike[s] the Mind," but Hill is dubious of such ability, wondering if Dyer can indeed "limn . . . That sparkling Soul, that . . . / . . . flashes unspoken Meanings thro' her Skin." Through his attention to the muscles and skin (the science of pathognomy, which studies changing expressions for movements

of emotion) Dyer aims to comprehend what Hill calls "that Air Divine." Hill knows that context and movement, actions in time, are necessary for one to read correctly a person's countenance. A frozen or static gesture or facial expression conveys nothing of one's character to an observer. For Hill, the painter faces a "Hard Task! and yet unprov'd."[14] What words might effect in a reader's mind through suggestive tropes or paradox, the artist vainly attempts to capture on canvas.

> This if you can— . . .
> Then shall you be ador'd . . .
> Then shall your Heav'n-aspiring Colours find
> The Art to picture Thought, and paint the Wind!
> To transfuse Qualities—lame Sense supply,
> And strike caught Whispers to the list'ning Eye!
> Then shall you give Air Shape, imprison Space,
> And mount the Painter to the Maker's Place.[15]

Hill points out that although painting appeals to the eye, it must still translate or "transfuse" the other senses into that primary one. How can a visual artist convey "caught Whispers to the list'ning Eye"? That synesthetic phrase—"the list'ning Eye!"—echoes Bottom's remark in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "The eye of man hath not heard . . . what my dream was,"[16] a parody of 1 Corinthians 2:9. Just as Bottom's senses and reason are confounded to explain his relationship with the Queen of the faeries, so is man overcome with God's grace. Hill similarly suggests that there is something ineffable in Clio that cannot be comprehended by the five senses. In fact, only God, the supreme Maker, is capable of actually giving "Air Shape, [and] imprison[ing] Space." A poet, however, can represent and communicate such images to a reader's mind through language. Reversing the traditional thought "that painters imitated nature directly in emulation of God's creativity, while poets' imitations required the mediation of language and lacked visible presence,"[17] Hill suggests that it is the poet who is more godlike, for a painter cannot tangibly realize such unseen and complex feats.

Hill posits all these "Hard Task[s]" for the painter in the subjunctive mood, suggesting their unattainability to Dyer: "if you can . . . then shall you." In an elaborate compliment to Fowke's "Angel-Form," he indicates that it is beyond Dyer's ability to "confine" her "Sweetness," "Air Divine," and "sparkling Soul" to canvas. While commending Dyer's artistic aspirations, Hill's language points to (but fails to achieve) the communication of such sublimity only through

the suggestibility of words. In his belief in the power of words over pictures, Hill is perfectly aligned with the views put forward by Addison in his "Pleasures of the Imagination" series of *The Spectator* (nos. 411 to 420): "[T]he Poet seems to get the better of Nature; . . . gives it more vigorous Touches, heightens its Beauty, and so enlivens the whole Piece . . . As we look on any Object, our Idea of it is, perhaps, made up of two or three simple Ideas; but when the Poet represents it, he may either give us a more complex Idea of it, or only raise in us such Ideas as are most apt to affect the Imagination."[18] Addison notes that although objects enter the eye and strike the imagination, only simple ideas can be conveyed in this way. For this reason, seeing and the art of painting are inferior to reading and poetry. Hill is not satisfied that Dyer's visual imitation of Clio captures her complexities; in fact, his expectation that the portrait "limn th' Ideas that [her] Eyes inspire"[19] demands that Dyer visually represent not only Clio's unseen qualities but also the psychological response of the people who see her. To satisfy Hill fully, Dyer must be able to paint both the sitter's soul and the spectator's passionate response to it.

While Hill's poem demonstrates the shortcomings of the visual medium as he compliments Fowke's sublimity, it suffers shortcomings of its own in failing to include any physical description of her. In neither Hill's nor Savage's poem is there any mention of the color of Clio's hair or eyes, the shape of her face, her expression, or her posture or clothing. It is as if they overcompensate for the absence of her spiritual essence in her portrait by ignoring her physicality in their poems. But Hill, especially, attempts through his language to convey not only Clio's interiority but her effect on those who see her. He strives to accomplish this by utilizing a variation on *ekphrasis*.

The poets' representations of the portrait—linguistic responses to a visual copy of the original Clio—"give us a more complex Idea" of Fowke, the sitter, yet they are still ideas colored by the poets' imaginations. As Addison outlines in *Spectator* No. 411, the "Man of a Polite Imagination" has a special relationship with the world because it "gives him, indeed, a kind of Property in every thing he sees, and makes the most rude, uncultivated Parts of Nature administer to his Pleasures."[20] Each poet in the *Miscellany* who writes about Clio's portrait or about Clio herself displaces the real subject, Martha Fowke, for an idealized object of his own feelings. Even Fowke herself manufactured her own identity by writing and performing the particular self she wanted portrayed, as we shall see in her poem "Clio's Picture." Thus each poet renders the portrait and the woman mere conduits of his own imagination and passions—what Ficino identifies as love.

The men use the physical image of Fowke—if only in the form of the painted copy—so that, as Ficino noted, their fantasies, their souls' ability to conjure up "much purer" or truer images of her, can be revived and enlivened. As the poets' imaginations interact with their stimulated memory, the painted representation of Fowke appears to animate the canvas because it interacts with their own spirits. When Savage writes, "still the sweet Object stays, / . . . / Sure the full Form, instinct [i.e., imbued] with Spirit, grows!"[21] it is unclear whether he means that it is Clio's, Dyer's, or (with its sexual connotations) even his own "Spirit" that "grows" as he views the picture. A combination of all three would be a felicitous conversation. Roger De Piles wrote in 1708, "True painting must summon its spectator through its force and through the great truth of its imitation . . . The surprised spectator must go to the painting, as if to enter into a conversation with the figures it represents."[22] Addison reverses De Piles's view, writing that the "Man of a Polite Imagination . . . can converse with a Picture, and find an agreeable Companion in a Statue."[23] Hill cannot enter into such a conversation with Clio's portrait because it does not truly imitate Clio, and Hill's readers are left out because we can neither see the picture nor grasp what Hill feels is missing. Consequently, we remain untouched, because the poets' language communicates neither the "Spirit" nor "the universal Ideas" of Fowke by which they are affected. As Dyer, Savage, Hill, and later in the collection David Mallet try to close the "space-in-between" their feelings for Clio and their works depicting her, the real need for a language for the passions becomes acutely apparent.

Mallet, in "To Mira, from the Country" (he rechristened Clio "Mira" in 1726 as her name became more infamous), treats the memory of Fowke like a picture but manages to eschew mere description as he attempts to express his elicited passion:

> Whatever softly animates the Face,
> The Eye's attemper'd Fire, the winning Grace,
> Th' unstudy'd Smile, the Blush that Nature warms;
> And all the graceful Negligence of Charms!
> Ha! while I gaze, a thousand Ardors rise;
> And my fir'd Bosom flashes from my Eyes.
> Oh! melting Mildness! Miracle of Charms!
> Receive my Soul within those folding Arms![24]

Mallet lists five features of Mira's face: the fire in her eyes and her "winning Grace," smile, and blush, culminating in the "graceful Negligence of Charms!" Through his list of predominately physiognomic examples

and his mention of the more abstract "Grace," he attempts to convey the aesthetic pleasure that is situated between the sensual and the intellectual. He traces his experience of Fowke's beauty from its corporeal stimulus to its sublime effect: "a thousand Ardors rise" in him while he remembers Mira's face, and he longs for her arms to embrace his soul. His four exclamation marks act as indications of tone of voice and even physical sensation to convey his excitement and enthusiasm over Mira's remembered image as he attempts to render the sensation of his passions. Bernard Lamy in *The Art of Speaking* remarks that "*Exclamation*, is a violent extension of the Voice. When the Soul comes to be disturb'd, and agitated with a furious impulse, the animal Spirits passing through all the parts of the Body, and thronging into the Muscles that are about the Organs of the Voice, swell them up in such manner, that the passage being streight'ned, the Voice comes forth with more impetuosity, by reason of the passion that propels it."[25] Mallet ventures to express how his visualization affects him by alluding to the existence of a certain something ("Whatever softly animates the Face") that is visible through the skin. But he relies on tired, overused tropes to convey this unnameable essence, or "Grace." Similar imagery abounds in Hill's poem: he exhorts Dyer to "kindle up your Canvas with her Face!" and alludes to Clio's "living Fire" and her "sparkling Soul, that lightens from within" and "flashes unspoke Meanings, thro' her Skin." Later, in his poem about Mrs. Oldfield's portrait, he tells the artist "Ellys" that "thou hast stol'n a Fire, / That never flam'd before, but in her Eyes."[26] The constant repetition of such imagery suggests an absence of innovation, a falling back on accepted formulas that everyone recognizes as insufficient but familiar, as though it is enough to point toward what one feels. The Hillarians need to find not only a new and effective language to communicate the passions—what one suffers while under their influence—but a way to convey one's unique subjectivity. In 1720, Hill observed that "Poetry, the most elevated Exertion of human wit, is no more than a weak and contemptible Amusement, wanting Energy of Thought, or Propriety of Expression."[27] As the Hillarians worked on poems for the projected *Miscellany*, they were intent on discovering a language of energy and expression to convey the passions, but their reticence to address both the physical and the spiritual elements of passion served only to highlight the gap in their language.

"Clio's Picture"

Noteworthy for its absence from each of these men's poems on Clio (besides the physical absence of Clio herself) is any reference

to Fowke's signature poem, "Clio's Picture," a verbal self-portrait in which she explores and exploits her physical body to demonstrate her poetic power. First published in 1720 in Anthony Hammond's *New Miscellany of Original Poems*, then serving as a linguistic frontispiece to her letter to "Hillarius" in 1723, "Clio's Picture" invites "the Muse [to] perform the Painter's Art, / And strike the Picture of [Fowke's] Face and Heart." Fowke's preferred medium is poetry for depicting an accurate sense of who she is: "*Poesie* is call'd the Image of the Mind, / In mine my Soul and Body both are joyn'd."[28] Fowke attempts to join the two arts—the painter's visual and the poet's linguistic—just as the body and the soul are united: to convey completely her own unique sense of self. Unwilling to divide herself up, Fowke identifies herself as both "Soul" (or mind) and body; as she explains in her poem, her passions and experiences are clearly visible on her body, and anyone attentive to her physicality should understand her inner soul. Hill makes a similar observation in his *Plain Dealer* essay No. 60 when he recommends the combined force of the "Two *Sister Arts* [Poetry and Painting], [to] unit[e] their different Powers, the one transmitting *Souls*, the other *Bodies*, (or the outward Form of Bodies)."[29] Unfortunately, he seems unwilling to apply this recommendation as a way of understanding Clio.

Fowke offers herself up to the reader as both object and subject; she objectifies her beauty, analyzing and interpreting each feature even as she "submits her Form" to the "kind Eyes" of her readers.[30] She particularizes her body literally from head to toe, but it is *her* gaze, *her* ideas that ultimately control the surveillance. In contrast, in Hill's poem "On Seeing Mr. Ellys's Picture of Mrs. Oldfield, Drawn by Fancy, without Her Sitting for It," the actress Anne Oldfield's presence is not even necessary for the artist's penetrating gaze to capture her on canvas. Hill describes Ellys as "this ent'ring Eye" who "Deep, thro' the dimply Covert of your Smile, / . . . sees, where Secrets lie"; he "steals, unnoted, your [beautiful women's] soft Souls away: / Till on the colour'd Plain you stand reveal'd, / And every naked Passion starts at Day."[31] The painter seems more predatory than platonic as the women's souls are entered and stolen away and "every naked Passion" is exposed by him. He renders the woman vulnerable to the male gaze. Fowke's "Picture," on the other hand, guides the spectator into herself rather than allowing her to be turned inside out for viewing. Her method is suggestively sexual, as she lingers over each physical trait and renders the tour even more intimate by interpreting the significance of each characteristic for her reader.

> Even and white my Teeth but rarely shown,
> In Life I've little Cause for Smiling known;
> The loss of Friends fell on my tender Years,
> Dash'd ev'ry Hope, and turn'd my Smiles to Tears;
> A gloomy Sweetness on my Features hung,
> Sorrows my Pen, and trembles on my Tongue;
> Slow is its Speech, and with no Musick fraught
> Wronging the Richness of my Soul's best Thought.[32]

Fowke alludes to the death of her parents and explains that those early griefs have affected her physical "Features," her poetry, and her voice. Each of her modes of expression impairs "the Richness of [her] Soul's best Thought," and yet, as we experience from our reading of her poem-picture, her attempt to render her passions comprehensible by examining her body comes much closer to communicating her soul's idea than Savage's and Hill's poems. Her description of her physical self's projection of her sad passions (gloom, sadness, sorrow, loss of hope) portrays her as a helpless or vulnerable woman, but her serious passions are reminiscent of scholarly afflictions, keeping her in the masculine realm of mind and writing, even while feminizing herself. "Wronging the Richness of my Soul's best Thought" points to how her outside distorts what goes on within her, for despite her "gloom" her soul is still quite capable of rich thoughts that cannot be properly conveyed through her physical countenance. The incompatibility between her soul and body, her passions and her gendered body, is emphasized as Fowke offers a kind of androgynous image of herself that takes into account her passion and her reason, though it privileges her mind over her beauty.

Aware that it is her beauty that first attracts the gaze to her, Fowke uses her body to seduce the viewer into an appreciation of her poetic art and mind. Her description of her hair is an effective example of how she suggestively interweaves the physical and the passionate (especially as hair physically links the region of the brain and the region of the sex) to express her own and her readers' reaction to her soulful essence: "My Hair dark Brown wants not *Bucelia*'s Aid, / Blows in the Wind, nor of the Comb afraid. / Beneath my Waist in natural Rings descends, / Or pliant to the artful Finger bends."[33] Her long brown ringlets, like Eve's "wanton ringlets [that] waved / As the vine curls her tendrils" in *Paradise Lost*,[34] entice the viewer to regard her as naturally seductive and desirable while also suggesting that she cannot be controlled or restrained. Fowke's evocative language draws attention to where her hair falls "Beneath [her] Waist." The overall

effect is sensual as well as sexual, as Fowke plays with the ambiguity of whether it is her hair or the place to which it descends that is "pliant to the artful Finger." Most important, however, is how her body can both act and be acted on. Earlier she describes her "Eyes, . . . of a harmless Blue, / As if no Wound they made, no Dart they knew,"[35] as though she is amazed at the discrepancy between their innocent color and their ability to wound. Like her hair, her eyes are capable of enacting her own passions and eliciting them from others. Where Hill found that Dyer's portrait could not "limn th' Ideas that those Eyes inspire," Fowke's language subtly reflects both her own and her viewer's desires through the body that Hill and Savage are so reticent to address in their poems.

Fowke's fusion of opposites—the physical and the spiritual, the exterior and the interior as, like Helen of Troy, she "occupies both circles"—is most evident in her description of her mouth. In addition to presenting the polarities that make up a human being, she plays with the doubleness of language, too: "Nature so niggard to the upper Part, / Fell to my Lips, and gave a dash of Art. / Oft have I heard the faithful Lover swear, / That *Poetry* and *Love* were shining there."[36] The ambiguity of the description of her mouth is suggestive of the lips of her vagina, the implied lower part. Her lips connect her writing and her sexual passion, as she has been told that "Poetry and Love" shine there. Fowke constantly moves the reader between the upper and lower, the outside and the inside, her reason and her passion, as though the only way fully to comprehend her is to conflate or collapse these polarities. She is constantly vigilant that her physical characteristics not be taken at surface value but for how they convey the mind underneath them. She regards her physical self as an imperfect reflection of who she is, while her mind makes up her real being. Her poetical self-portrait succeeds in providing her viewer/reader with a truer sense of her platonic "Form" than Dyer's portrait, as we learn that though she is not conventionally beautiful, she is witty and playful, confident in her sexuality and poetic power, and coyly manipulative of male assumptions about her as a woman.

"The Picture of Love"

Before it was published in Savage's 1726 collection *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations, by Several Hands*, 11 of the 19 stanzas of Aaron Hill's poem "The Picture of Love" were featured in Hill and Bond's 1724–25 periodical *The Plain Dealer*. Several stanzas are quoted in No. 34 when Ned Volatile falls in love with the beautiful and wise

Belvidera. The Major tells him about "a Poem, which he cou'd shew him, when he came Home, call'd, *The Picture of Love* . . . Ned was impatient to learn more, of a Lesson which he found so fit for him." In paper No. 45, Ned Blunt the Plain Dealer quotes from the poem extensively to support his "Lesson of *Love*" that he dedicates "to the Ladies." Blunt's observation, "It is much easier, indeed, *to love*, than to explain *what Love is*," is similar in sentiment to the difficulties the painter and the male poets face as they attempt to describe the passions elicited by Clio's soul: they all know what it feels like to be affected by Clio, but they cannot adequately express it. In both cases, the artists must resort to clichés and maxims that only vaguely approach her essence. As Hill attempts to delineate a "Picture of Love," he, like Fowke in her self-portrait, employs paradoxes, opposites, evocations of the physical and the spiritual, and personal feeling to bypass trite and overused rhetoric. Whereas the *Plain Dealer* prose essay relies on metaphoric axioms like saying that love is "a *Circle*, returning *through* Happiness, *to* Happiness, *from* Happiness" and "Love is the Breeze of Life: A healthful, and refreshing, *Gale*, which, by its Agitation of the Spirits, keeps our Faculties in lively Motion,"[37] it includes action and movement in the descriptions; motion through space and time that cannot be accurately portrayed in a picture.

From axioms, Mr. Plain Dealer moves on to more personally experienced effects of love. Blunt admits, "The Painter of this *Picture* [the poem "The Picture of Love"] has bewitch'd me, from my Purpose; which was to have enter'd upon a *Philosophical* Dissertation, concerning the *Qualities* of Love: Instead of which, I am rambling into a *natural* one, upon the *Effects* of it!"[38] The difference between "a *Philosophical* Dissertation" and "a *natural* one" is, as we saw Haywood effectively demonstrate in her *Life's Progress through the Passions*, the difference between judging life and living it. Both Hill and Haywood recognize the need for a language for the passions that neither succumbs to the cultural urge to admonish with philosophy and religion nor lapses into mere description or cataloguing. In "The Picture of Love," Hill attempts to delineate a type of visual and experiential explanation of what love is through its psychological and physiological symptoms.

Although in the poem he is "Fir'd by a daring Wish to paint [Love] right," almost immediately Hill finds that an emotion that cannot even be properly named is even more difficult to describe: "Something *Divine* there lives in Love's soft Flame, / Beyond our Spirit's Power to give it Name! / How shou'd I paint it then?——Or, why reveal / A Pleasure, and a Pain, which *All* must *feel*?" Already the paradoxical

nature of love—it is both a pleasure and a pain—is apparent, as well as its religious quality. Just as God's essence cannot be named, so is it beyond human power to articulate the divine aspect of love. "Who can the Tumults of the Soul express?" Is there even a need to "reveal" or talk about a passion to which everyone is subject? Evidently there is, for as Hill continues the poem using "we" and "our" rather than "I," it appears that the revelation of love through language fulfills a communal, sympathetic need: we must speak about the passion in order to share our humanity and our experiences, to know that we all feel the same experience when we refer to it in words. As Haywood's novels often demonstrate, there is a compulsion to know that others feel as we do, just as there is a consolation in knowing that others suffer as we do and can put words to our feelings. But the insufficiency of words continues to plague Hill throughout the poem: "When we dare *speak*, our Purpose to pursue, / The Words fall feath'ry, like descending Dew." Writing, too, fails to aptly describe love: "Restless, on Paper, we our Vows repeat, / And pour our Souls out on the missive Sheet: / Write, blot, restore, and in lost Pieces rend / The mute Entreaters, yet too *faint* to send." Descriptions of the physical symptoms of love, the biological effects, are more accurate in eliciting a sympathetic response from the reader, and Hill repeatedly returns to them: "Pungent Impatience tingles in each Vein, / And the sick Bosom throbs with aking Pain"; "High beats the hurried Pulse, at each forc'd Kiss, / And every burning Sinew akes with Bliss. / Life, in a souly Deluge, rushes o'er, / And the charm'd Heart springs out, at every Pore."[39] Tingling, throbbing, aching, and burning are easily imagined physical responses; however, "Life" rushing out in a "souly Deluge" is less identifiable. The stanza builds from recognizable physical sensations to the more abstract, poetical application of "souly," similar to the "mixt nature and middle place between organic and intellectual pleasures,"[40] which in Hill's poem is obviously suggestive of orgasm. Hill's combination of the spiritual and the physical connotes an orgasmic rush—some sudden and resistless flood of soul. The succession of impressions described, from the physically concrete to the subjectively abstract, and the verse's meter and flow emulating the passionate movement of the animal spirits guide the reader toward sharing Hill's emotion.

Hill continues to strive for a proper language to convey his feelings, but increasingly he laments the gap between passion felt and its verbal expression: "Transport now reigns, and dull Reflection sleeps: / All, that we wish, or feel, or act, or say, / Is above *Thought*, and out of *Reason's* way."[41] Despite words not seeming up to the task, they remain the poet's only device, and he heroically continues to employ them:

> But who can Words to speak those Raptures, find?
> Vast Sea of Extacy, that drowns the Mind.
> That fierce Transfusion of exchanging Hearts!
> That gliding Glimpse of Heav'n, in pulsive Starts!
> That Rush of Joy! That wild tumultuous *Roll!*
> That Fire! that kindles *Body* into *Soul!*
> And, on Life's Margin, strains Delight so high,
> That Sense breaks short——and while we *taste*, we *die*.[42]

The tortured syntax, the succession of liquid metaphors and animated images, not to mention six exclamation marks and a significant caesura, rush in to help Hill communicate his passion. He repeats an idea almost verbatim from his Dyer poem earlier in the *Miscellany*: "The Picture of Love," which "Wou'd picture *Motion*, and imprison *Flame*; / He, who can Lightning's Flash to Colours bind, / May paint Loves Influence on the Lover's Mind," is an echo of "The Art to picture Thought, and paint the Wind! / . . . / . . . give Air Shape, imprison Space." Both poems point to the impossibility of capturing the ineffable in either form or space while they also demonstrate that the urge to try continues to exert itself. In "The Picture of Love," especially this stanza quoted at length, it is evident that Hill decides that love may best be comprehended through the sublimity of sexual orgasm that combines the physical and emotional elements of the experience. Because the spiritual passion of love cannot be adequately communicated through words, and in fact "confound[s]" "Sense, and Voice,"[43] it must be expressed physically: "Raptures" become "fierce Transfusion[s]" of seed, sperm, and refined blood gliding, pulsing, rushing, and rolling between two bodies until—emphasized by the impact of three monosyllables, "Sense breaks short"—language stops.

Hill concludes that even by focusing primarily on the actions of love, he cannot adequately paint the passion:

> Thus have I vainly try'd, with Strokes too faint,
> Love, in his known and outward Marks, to paint,
> Forgetful, that, of Old, they *veil'd* his Face,
> And wisely *cover'd*, what they cou'd not *trace*.
> . . .
> Pity the Pencil that aspir'd in vain!
> Vers'd in Love's Pangs, and taught his Pow'r by You,
> Skill'd, I presum'd, that what I felt, I drew.[44]

Thus for Hill neither painting nor poetry can properly trace love's image or its effects. The sexual act itself is the expression of and

metaphor for the "Something *Divine*" that "*All* must *feel*" but cannot articulate.

Hill's description of love develops over the course of his poem from a pseudophilosophical definition ("Love is a Passion, by no Rules confin'd, / The great, first Mover of the humane Mind!"), through a catalogue of excessive, contradictory, and paradoxical feelings ("Boundless Desire, aw'd Hope, and doubtful Joy"; "Joy murmurs, Anger laughs, and Hope looks sad, / Rashness grows prudent, and Discretion mad"), to regarding love as a "humaniz[ing] . . . Force"[45] not unlike what Pope describes as the ruling passion in his *Essay on Man*: "Look round our World; behold the chain of Love / Combining all below and all above."[46] Hill writes,

> Love, in a Chain of Converse bound Mankind,
> And polish'd and awak'd the rugged Mind.
> Pity, Truth, Justice, Openness of Heart,
> Courage, Politeness, Eloquence, and Art,
> The gen'rous Fire, with which Ambition flames,
> And all th' unsleeping Soul's divinest Aims,
> Touch'd by the Warmth of Love, burn up more bright,
> Proud of the Godlike Power to give Delight.[47]

"The Picture of Love" concludes with an admission that love cannot be drawn because it cannot be chained or bound long enough to be painted. Love is movement; it is not static. It moves in time and space, unlike a picture, which captures only a moment. Similarly, Hill discovers that he is unable to write the passion even though his language attempts to emulate—through traditional images of fevers, heat, and fire; familiar tropes and symptoms; and Longinian rapture—the movement of the spirits. He concludes that love dwells "Close at sweet Ambush in *Miranda's* [Margaret Hill's] *Eyes*,"[48] confident that his reader will understand the significance of the image. Once again echoing Ficino, Hill references the eyes' ability to emit subtle spirits from one person to capture the soul of another. Like the painters Dyer and Richardson, Hill knows that it is through the eyes that passion is best communicated. Though he cannot paint for us Miranda's eyes, he can write that love is situated there—conveying her passion and eliciting his—producing in our imagination just the effect that Dyer's portrait of Clio and the poems about it fail to do. For Hill and his circle, finding an adequate language for the passions necessitates a turning "away from Aristotelian reason towards Longinian rapture,"[49] appealing to and emulating physically sensuous and mentally

turbulent feelings. However, as some of the poems within Savage's *Miscellany* and Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* demonstrate, who can participate in this language becomes a point of contention.

Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1724)

Poems by Eliza Haywood are noticeably absent from Savage's 1726 *Miscellany*. Two poems are addressed to her: Hill's "To ELIZA. On her design'd Voyage to Spain" and Savage's "*To Mrs.* ELIZA HAYWOOD. *On her* NOVEL, *call'd,* The Rash Resolve." Savage's praise continues the painting imagery that runs through the *Miscellany*, noting how the power of Haywood's language "gives Form, and touches into Life / The Passions"; "In thy full Figures, Painting's Force we find, / As Music fires, thy Language lifts the Mind."[50] Both Savage's and Hill's poems were obviously written before Haywood left the Hillarian circle, and the men did not have any qualms about including them in the collection. Haywood published her own seven poems as *Poems on Several Occasions*, appended to her final volume of her collected *Works* in 1724, the year that Savage had initially proposed for the *Miscellany*. Though segregated from the Hillarians' collection (by Haywood, or the coterie), Haywood's *Poems* certainly evolved from the circle's discussions on love and friendship, writing, the Longinian sublime, and praise of Hill that materialize in the *Miscellany*. Her poems should be read as part of an ongoing aesthetic dialogue with Hill and his coterie of writers, investigating and experimenting with how to create a language for the passions. Read attentively, *Poems on Several Occasions* makes a bold statement about her writing and the aesthetic effects of art.

Haywood's poetic descriptions of the effects of Hill's writing on her are congruent with the effects of the sublime: "[A] feeling of ecstasy or transport (*ekstasis*) . . . uplifts the spirit of the reader, filling him or her with the unexpected astonishment and pride, arousing noble thoughts, and suggesting more than words can convey." Longinus describes the power of sublimity: "[I]t bewitches us and elevates to grandeur, dignity, and sublimity both every thought which comes within its compass and ourselves as well, holding as it does complete domination over our minds";[51] it "scatters everything before it like a bolt of lightning."[52] It is no coincidence that at the time Haywood was writing her poems the Hillarians were exploring the Longinian sublime in poetry, particularly through critic John Dennis's theories.[53] The Hillarians' work and conversations became the basis for a number

of essays in *The Plain Dealer*; a prefatory essay on "The Sublimity of the Ancient Hebrew Poetry, and a Material and Obvious Defect in the English" by Hill; as well as poems about the religious and the natural sublime, most notably Hill's *The Creation* (1720) and *Judgment-Day* (1721) and James Thomson's *Winter* (1726). Haywood's *Poems*, a product of her time as a member of the Hillarian circle, must be read as an intelligent engagement with contemporary poetic theory and a response to and elicitation of Hill's poems' experimentation with the Longinian sublime.

True to the effects of the sublime as described by Longinus, Haywood's poems depict how she acquires power by reading Hill's poems and being transported by them. To reword Jonathan Lamb's description of how the sublime works, Haywood, as a reader, usurps and masters the place of Hill the writer by arriving at the sublime state his poems describe.[54] As Longinus writes, "[U]plifted with a sense of proud possession, [she is] filled with joyful pride, as if [she] had [herself] produced the very thing [she] heard."[55] In other words, her reading allows her not only to experience Hill's sublime but to appropriate it to the extent that she becomes a poet herself. But readers unfamiliar with the Longinian sublime, or those who read women writers more prejudicially than they read men, may confuse Haywood's poetic transport with sexual ardor.

Kathryn King has commented on "Haywood's fascination with the sublime, with an aesthetic that courts excited states of mind in deliberate disruption of the canons of neoclassical poise. Her ecstatic response to Hill's sun-like wit . . . suggests an understanding of poetry as experience rather than artifact, less craft than exalted emotional state, something akin to an enraptured swoon or an ecstasy beyond language."[56] Yet Haywood must still convey that rapture "beyond language" through language. Though Dennis declared in *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704) that "The Nature of Poetry consists in Passion,"[57] poetry is a conscious craft. To read Haywood's poetic response to Hill's art as only ecstatic admiration is to deprive her of artistic agency and deliberate purpose. Engaged as she is with the Longinian sublime from as early as *Love in Excess*, Haywood's employment of it in these poems has more satiric edge than admiring enthusiasm. Through her response to the sublime in Hillarius, Haywood makes an ardent claim about her own writing. Her strategy of combining aesthetic theory of the sublime with self-conscious gender performance allows her to demonstrate how readers impose secular, passionate appetites on the works of women writers while finding more esoteric, philosophical concerns in men's. King quite

rightly draws attention to Haywood's appropriation of the sublime in her prose fiction: "Haywood used amatory fiction to express the ineffable bliss of sexual ecstasy. [Her plots] . . . show ordinary women filled with and exalted by the sexualized sublime."[58] Within *Poems on Several Occasions*, however, Haywood explores how the sublime in art can elicit not a sexualized experience in a woman but a poetical, creative, and specifically female response that is often willfully misinterpreted by others as a sexual one.

The theme of writing is addressed throughout the *Poems*: in her authority to write (in her answer "*To* Mr. Walter Bowman"); in her demonstration of the need for women to discover a suitable mode through which to communicate their passions (in the three "Translations from the *French*"); in her dialogism with visions by male and female poets about the power of women's writing and her own poetic genealogy ("The Vision"); and in her satirical sendup of the prejudicial reading that a woman's poetry receives (in her ecstatic response in "To *Diana*" to a religious poem by Hill). The theme of women's writing is also one that coterie members Clio, Miranda, and Evandra address in the 1726 *Miscellany*. In "To Mr. John Dyer, of Carmarthenshire," Fowke complains about the limitations being a woman imposes on her: "I was, oh, hated Thought! a Woman made; / For houshold Cares, and empty Trifles meant, / The *Name* does Immortality prevent. / Yet, let me stretch, beyond my Sex, my *Mind*, / And, rising, leave the flutt'ring Train behind." In "On Lady Chudleigh," Fowke praises Mary Chudleigh's "inborn Genius" on which "Man look'd with Envy, and laid Learning by, / And let his useless Books neglected lie." Margaret Hill, as "Miranda," engages in poetic dialogue on women's wit with "Evandra," who writes that as a woman poet Miranda combines "A *Venus*' Aspect——and *Minerva*'s Mind!" Savage commends Miranda's ability to "blend, with Graceful Ease, . . . Each soft'ning Charm of *Clio*'s smiling Song, / [and] *Mountague*'s Soul, which shines divinely strong!" In "To Sir William Brewer, Baronet," he manages to slip in a couplet in praise of Clio, who "tunes the Strings, / And the Soul melts before Her, as she sings!"[59] Obviously the women within Hill's coterie were concerned about how their poetry and their minds could be overlooked in favor of their beauty, charm, and sex. Haywood's *Poems*, too, demonstrate her engagement with that theme.

Poems on Several Occasions opens with Haywood as a modest, uneducated woman writer humbly defending to Walter Bowman, "*Professor of the* Mathematicks," why she has chosen the unworthy name "Hillarius" to signify Aaron Hill.[60] Bowman, a Scottish tutor

and antiquary, advised Hill in 1720 on cosmology for *The Creation*[61] and again in 1721 on "*Modern* Astronomy" and "*his Skill in Sir* Isaac Newton's v*ast Improvements*" for *The Judgment-Day*.[62] He was 22 years old (to Haywood's 28) when Haywood addressed her poem to him, kowtowing ironically to his "Science" and "Learning." Based on Haywood's ode, Gerrard states that Haywood and Bowman were in "heated debates";[63] however, Haywood's tone appears more playfully condescending and self-effacing than angry. She apologizes that she is "Unskill'd in Science, in rude Ign'rance bred," explaining that "Learning's sweet Paths I ne'er was taught to tread."[64] Haywood immediately draws attention to the fact that language does not often reflect what we mean to express. Compounding this linguistic impediment is her sex. As a woman she is denied access to the fuller, more classical vocabulary that is available to men. Feigning the conventional female modesty (a role that can hardly be taken seriously after Behn's satirical performance of it in her 1687 Preface to *The Lucky Chance*), Haywood really draws attention to how as a woman she is "estranged from centers of authority."[65] Already a very successful novelist for five years when she published *Poems*, Haywood disarms her detractor by acting the role of acquiescent, untutored woman—"*Thou*! alas! art far remov'd from *Me* by vast Extreams"[66]—suggesting that the mastery of language and appropriate terms is beyond her. She recognizes the power of Bowman's "well-plac'd Letters" in algebra (as opposed to her use of them in poetry) and challenges him to imitate God's "*Fiat Lux!*"—Longinus's example of the truly sublime[67]—by finding an appropriate name for Hill: "Do *Thou* exert thy oft-try'd Skill! / And what might thousand Volumes fill / (Yet Language seems unable to discharge) / In one all-meaning *Fiat* speak at large."[68] Mocking the mathematician, she suggests that the professor is really out of his element when he finds fault with her language:

> But if such Force in well-plac'd Letters dwells
> Which can all Heaven Epitomize,
> Contract Immensity to narrow Space,
> Wide different Beauties in one Round comprize,
> And blend their Lustre in a mix'd Embrace;
> Thine is the Art, great Bard! and thine the pow'rful Spells.[69]

Besides referring to mathematics and its apparent shortcomings in condensing the cosmos into a formula, her language is also suggestive of the sexual act, with an immense "Force" contracted "to

narrow Space" and "different Beauties . . . blend[ed] . . . in a mix'd Embrace." Haywood confidently engages Bowman in a conversation of sexual nature (her territory) and seemingly immense cosmic proportion (appropriating his). She is also certainly tracing the culturally prescribed differences between men and women, not only in their unequal educations, but in their stereotyped modes of engaging with the world—feminine passion and masculine reason.

Implicit within Bowman's criticism of Haywood's choice of name for Hill is John Locke's concern that words be used responsibly and "*constantly in the same sense*. If this were done," continues Locke in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, "many of the Books extant might be spared; many of the Controversies in Dispute would be at an end; several of those great Volumes, swollen with ambiguous Words, now used in one sense, and by and by in another, would shrink into a very narrow compass; and many of the Philosophers . . . as well as Poets Works, might be contained in a Nut-shell."[70] Both Bowman and Locke appear focused on condensing immensity "into a very narrow compass," as though brevity and conciseness, intellectual control rather than emotional sublimity, were their goal. For them, one word for one idea means effective communication. Such was the Royal Society's linguistic agenda in 1667: "to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *things*, almost in an equal number of *words*. [The Royal Society] have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness: bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can."[71] But such exact correlation between signifier and signified does not make poetry, nor does it adequately approximate passion. Some ideas—like those evoked by the character and poetry of Aaron Hill—cannot be confined in a nutshell. Haywood zeroes in on the problem of the discrepancy between passion and language when she asks whether "Reading [can] show a word of such extent, / To grasp a Glory *Thought* can scarce contain?"[72] In his *Epistle to the Reader*, Locke seems to concur: "*There are not Words enough in any Language to answer all the variety of Ideas, that enter into Men's discourses*." But, he warns, lack of careful thought in the employment of language causes "*no small obscurity and confusion in Men's thoughts and discourses*." Locke continues, "[T]he precise real Essence of the things moral Words stand for" may be as "perfectly known" as elements in mathematics, as though language is simply a matter of personal discipline (just as Bowman suggests to Haywood). "[I]f the Mathematicians speak of a *Cube* or *Globe* of *Gold*, or any other Body, he has his clear setled [sic] *Idea*, which varies not."[73] But

for Haywood, Hill elicits more complex ideas than a cube of gold, and to express that she needs poetry and poetic theory.

John Dennis, the literary critic whom Hill and his circle were championing in the early 1720s, seemed poised to deliver that necessary theory in his analysis of the sublime. Unlike Locke and Bowman, Dennis was not suspicious of language that moves the passions, because he viewed exciting the passions as the purpose of poetry and great art. Like Locke, he uses geometry to elucidate the idea of precision and truth, but he goes on to find a comparative purpose in poetry: "The Satisfaction that we receive from Geometry it self, comes from the Joy of having found out Truth, and the Desire of finding more . . . Poetry attains its final End, which is the reforming the Minds of Men, by exciting of Passion";[74] that is, the sublime can affect reason even though it is an experience of passion. Dennis juxtaposes geometry and poetry, seeming opposites, to argue that they move toward similar ends: truth and reform. Haywood's poem to Bowman happily exploits a similar dialectic of masculine and feminine, reason and passion, as she explains that she, a poet, and he, a mathematician, can each arrive at the same truth and joy of comprehending Hill.

Still, the difficulty remains of finding the appropriate language to express such truth and joy. Haywood suggests that ultimately neither Learning nor Art can achieve that language; it must come directly from the supreme Author: "[I]f thou seekst what Learning cannot show, / . . . / To the great Source of perfect Knowledge go; / Shake off Mortality . . . / . . . till thou reach the Throne of the *Supreme*." Playfully, she suggests that God will affirm Bowman's authority: "Thou know'st Him [Hill] most, and can'st describe Him best."[75] This echo of Pope's Eloisa to the sympathetic poet who will best convey her pain to future generations ("He best can paint 'em, who shall feel 'em most")[76] suggests not only a privileged homosocial relationship between Bowman and Hill but a divinely approved displacement of Haywood as poet. But this is a mere ruse to placate the professor. Until such time that God acknowledges Bowman's choice of Hill's name, Haywood says her name "Hillarius" will serve. She then cleverly supplants that name by eliding two lines and introducing her own name into the verse: "Far as Creation reaches, shall the Name / *Eliza* chose, tune the whole Voice of Fame; / . . . / Thro' every Orb, HILLARIUS shall be heard." For just a moment, the syntax and italics suggest that "Eliza's" own name shall be known across the universe, when in fact it is only her choice of name for Hill that shall achieve such fame. Nonetheless, because the name "Hillarius" is her creation, Haywood's name shall be just as famous. Bowman

remains unnamed throughout the poem, resulting in his concluding absence, whereas "Eliza" and "Hillarius" predominate. Having established her own poetic competency and credentials through her praise of Hillarius, whose name is understood among "all the Wise, the Brave, the Great, and Good"[77]—that is, not Bowman—Eliza's "boastful Pride" (ambiguously, her writing and/or Hill's sublimity) is now pervasive. Thus in the end, "An Irregular Ode" is not a love poem about Aaron Hill but an exposure of the lack of imagination in the reader Walter Bowman and a celebration of Haywood's own writing power and identity.

Moving outward from her own writing, Haywood depicts women struggling for expression in her three central poems, each titled "Translated from the FRENCH." Because Haywood's "translations" are so loosely based on their French originals (one might say more accurately that they are "inspired by" the French), the originals are virtually impossible to find. I have located only one French original: Haywood's third "translation" is based on "*Reflexions d'Olympe sur l'inconstance des hommes*" from Madame de Gomez's *Les journées amusantes*, which Haywood was translating as *La Belle Assemblée* (1724). Haywood's very free reworking of Gomez's poem becomes the unrecognizable "Weary, Detesting All Society" ode in *Poems on Several Occasions*[78] and "Olympia in Despair: An Irregular Ode" in her novel.[79] Haywood's "translation" of Gomez's poem develops the original 15 lines into 61 lines over three stanzas and completely alters Gomez's tone, situation, and expression.[80] Each poem "translated" by Haywood gives a portrait of the female writer as abandoned (in the sense of being both left by a lover and shameless in her exhibition of her passion) and incapable of communicating effectively or acceptably even while conveying her passions through startling metaphors.

In these "translations," Haywood, like Fowke in her poetry, may be offering her own variations on the female complaint tradition; however, Haywood uses the form to show how women have been restricted in their passionate expression, even to the extent of slyly mocking Clio. As we saw in Chapter 3, Fowke had no qualms about portraying herself as an overwrought and passionate lover, a role that the more socially conservative and pragmatic Haywood disapproved of. One untitled poem appended to Clio's *Letter to Hillarius* is apparently written in response to Hill's "The Picture of Love"—it concludes, "This is the Picture of a Love refin'd"—and therefore it may have been read and discussed among the circle's members—including Haywood. Clio asks,

How sweet, how soft, how noble, and how bright
Is perfect Love? how lovely to the Sight?
Contentment lies upon its faithful Breast,
And charms its tender Wishes into Rest,
How ardent, yet how modest is the Fire
Of a respectful Love, unstain'd with rude Desire!
How faithful and how humble it appears!
How musical its Sighs! how sweet its Tears!
How tenderly in Absence it complains,
And trembling breathes its Heart-distracting Pains!
In Silence mourns, or else with Fear implores,
Dreading to grieve the Bosom it adores.
. . .
This is a Picture of a Love refin'd,
Drawn from the noble Passion of my Mind.[81]

Clio's concluding line echoes Longinus's statement, "Sublimity is the echo of a noble mind," and her quiet tone attempts to exemplify his belief: "Words will be great if thoughts are weighty."[82] But Haywood does not deem such thoughts weighty any more than a woman's refined or humble words can be sublime; as a poet, Haywood demands inspiration that precipitates rapturous flight in verse rather than submission. A woman poet's language must be as equally capable of eliciting spiritual and sensual responses as a man's, and to do this it must eschew modesty and pathos.

Clio describes how her love is "modest" and "respectful" because she suffers her lover's absence silently, unwilling to upset him with her complaints. She indulges herself with his memory but is "Dead to All Joy." All the verses that close Clio's *Letter to Hillarius* depict her as "Mourning for thee"; "absent from thy Life-inspiring Eye"; left "to the Deluge of my Woes."[83] But these poems to Hill are not original in their depiction of Clio's complete powerlessness in the face of absence. Her poems in Hammond's 1720 *Miscellany* describe a similar physical dissolution when separated from a lover: "I Pray'd, I Wept, I Lov'd, and was undone, / My Sleep, my Mirth, my Heart, my Life was gone"; "Haste to the Earth, where *Clio* Dying lies, / And with a Kiss seal down her fading Eyes."[84] Haywood's three "translations" similarly depict lost and powerless women. Following immediately upon the witty and confident "Irregular Ode to Walter Bowman," the absence of female agency in these poems is all the more evident: their speakers' voices are distressed, uncertain, moving between hope and fear, and utterly dependent on their lovers. In each of these the woman is not even capable of expression

or self-destruction without her man: "Annihilate my Soul, I ask no more"; "pity my Distress, / And ease that Anguish which I can't express"; "Since shun'd by him I only wish to see, / I fly the chearless sight of Human Kind."[85] Such poetry, according to Longinus's sources of the sublime, seldom achieves sublimity, because "emotions, such as pity, grief, and fear, are found divorced from sublimity and with a low effect."[86] This would suggest that women writers, though they may write passionately, cannot create sublime works; however, Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* is organized to suggest and then reject this supposition. Even in the "translated" poems, the powerful writing itself belies the women's impotence, as Haywood incorporates figurative language that expresses the subjectively felt passion and conveys a complicated interiority that insists on being shared, not merely pitied.

Haywood's third and last "Translation" ends with a startling image not included in Gomez's original—buildings on fire—that is incongruous with the more pathetic complaints of the other two poems:

> My Mind a Chaos of Confusion seems,
> Doubt-kill'd Expectance, soon as born, expires,
> Ten thousand Horrors the short Joy succeed,
> And each new Thought does a new Fury breed;
> . . .
> So, when o'er Buildings fir'd, a Whirlwind rides,
> And every way, th'excentrick Flame divides,
> Some, snatch'd aloft in blazing Volumes fly,
> And paint with dreadful Radience all the Sky;
> While others downward hurl'd,
> At first, devour the humble Dust, and crawl along the ground,
> Till at their Lot enrag'd, they gather round,
> And spread vast Ruin thro' th'affrighted World.[87]

Haywood's speaker leads into this passage by describing how the contending passions of Hope and Fear torment her, while "Despair-check'd Wishes, and untam'd Desires" for her lover drive her "scatter'd Sense" about, "in Storms," to "Madness."[88] These phrases are conventional in referencing storms and personifying the passions; they offer nothing out of the ordinary to make the reader feel the speaker's feelings. However, the concluding epic simile comparing her internal chaos to erratic flames whipped by a whirlwind and either cast into the sky or hurled to the ground dynamically externalizes and objectifies the effects of her passions. The image echoes Longinus's point that

"[s]ublimity, . . . produced at the right moment, tears everything up like a whirlwind, and exhibits the [writer's] whole power at a simple blow."[89] Unlike Clio's "noble Passion" that "Fan[s] the Flames that rag'd too high before"—indeed, unlike any of Clio's poems that, like the two earlier "Translations from the French," beg for pity—Haywood's third and final "Translated" poem is intent not on translating from French to English but transporting the reader with the strength of its emotion. Here in this epic simile, almost buried in the middle of her seven-poem collection, Haywood declares that a woman's passionate language can be just as powerful as men's.

Continuing this theme in her next poem, "The Vision," Haywood refers to her mind as her "nobler Part, scorning to be confin'd."[90] It is a line rife with powerful literary allusions to poets and their work, not just to Clio who had implored Dyer, "let me stretch, beyond my Sex, my *Mind*"[91] and had drawn Hill a "Picture of a Love refin'd . . . from the noble Passion of [her] Mind." Haywood echoes Aphra Behn's 1687 declaration that her "Masculine Part the Poet in me" has the right to be publicly expressed and accepted, just like male authors.[92] It also references Shakespeare's Sonnet 151, wherein the poet observes, "I do betray / My nobler part to my gross body's treason,"[93] but where Shakespeare describes how his body's desires overpower his soul's reason, Haywood's context suggests that her poetic mind is betrayed by her female body because people read her prejudicially—based on her sex. Most significantly though, and most explicitly connected with Haywood's theme of writing and will to achieve poetic power and authority, are Ovid's concluding lines to his *Metamorphoses*:

> My nobler Part, my Fame, shall reach the Skies,
> And to late Times with blooming Honours rise:
> Whate'er th'unbounded *Roman* Power obeys,
> All Climes and Nations shall record my Praise:
> If 'tis allow'd to Poets to divine,
> One half of round Eternity is mine.[94]

These allusions emphasize Haywood's continuing insistence that her work not be reduced to her sex and that her writing deserves fame, as she positions herself as a woman writer in dialogue with poets of great historical renown and, specifically, Hill's own poem titled "The Vision."

Christine Gerrard writes that Haywood's "Vision" is a reply to Hill's; however, she does not provide any evidence for her chronology.[95] Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* appeared in print in

1724, while Hill's "Vision" was printed two years later in Savage's *Miscellany*. While both poems probably circulated earlier in manuscript among the Hillarian coterie, and Savage's collection had been anticipated since at least November 1724, when Savage claimed, "The *Book* is now in the Press, and will be published, as soon as it can be *printed off*,"[96] there are no internal references to indicate which poem was the original and elicited the other's response. Each poet's "Vision" is a seemingly elaborate compliment to the writing of the other. In Hill's poem, the goddess "Truth" describes to Hill a woman who will "reconcile [his] soul to half Mankind": "Where all that's manly, joins with all that's sweet, / And in whose Breast engross'd Perfections meet! / . . . / To hear her speak, the Thought with Rapture fills! / Her Looks alarm!—But when she *writes*, she kills!" The goddess vanishes and leaves "Lovely *Eliza*, hid with Bay-leaves" (the classical prize for poetry) standing before him. Hill concludes with the impotency of his own poetical powers: "But her Wonders to reveal, / Were to *describe* what I can only *feel*!"[97] Gerrard correctly notes that Hill's poem "typifies the difficulty male writers had in appraising Haywood's character and reputation . . . accord[ing] Eliza curiously self-contradictory qualities" like manliness and sweetness; her appealing beauty and her powerful writing.[98] What Gerrard does not address is how Haywood's "Vision" invests her poetry with a distinctly feminine power by appropriating the sublime from men and declaring that she, too, can be inspired by others.

Gerrard states that Haywood's poems to Hill "redeploy the language of the high sublime and the 'enthusiastick passions' which characterize Hill's biblical paraphrases of the early 1720s, investing it with erotic and sensual overtones."[99] But such overtones were already implicit in the works of Hill and Dennis, as, for example, in Hill's translation of Psalm 104:

> . . . the briny *Deep*,
> Thro' Earth-form'd Laby'rinths taught to slide,
> Fruitful of Springs the winding Currents creep;
> Thence, trickling, into Rivulets, they glide:
> Slow travelling, to trace their mazy Way,
> And 'twixt th'enamour'd *Hills*, delightful, stray!
> Sweet, and exhaustless, Stores, of limpid Drink,
> For each wild *Thirst*, that seeks the smiling Brink[.][100]

Hill's description of the intricate path the water takes through the earth is both sensual and sexually suggestive in the mode of the Song

of Solomon but also of Rochester's or Behn's best erotic poems. Realizing this, Haywood appropriates Hill's and Dennis's language to expose how her work is read as more sexually oriented than men's. Dennis's most evocative definition of the sublime is parodied in Haywood's "love" poems, as she draws attention to the gendering of interpretation. Dennis wrote that the sublime "does not so properly persuade us, as it ravishes and transports us, and produces in us certain Admiration, mingled with Astonishment and with Surprize, which is quite another thing than the barely pleasing, or the barely persuading; that it gives a noble Vigour to a Discourse, an invincible Force, which commits a pleasing Rape upon the very Soul of the Reader; that whenever it breaks out where it ought to do, like the Artillery of *Jove*, it thunders, blazes, and strikes at once, and shews all the united Force of a Writer."[101] Such sexualized language absolutely invites parody—especially when Dennis and Hill argue that their use of the sublime is to evoke religious feeling. Haywood's description of her experience of Hillarius's work is similarly ecstatic: "The vast Idea, over-swell'd my Thought, / And all my Senses to Confusion brought. / . . . / Such beamy Brightness, 'gainst weak Sense oppos'd: / Shot Rays too fierce! Too poynant to sustain."[102] Dennis's "pleasing Rape" interpretation of Longinus treats the sublime as a crisis between absolute power and subject. Jonathan Lamb comments on the effects of the sublime crisis: "Confronted by an irresistible force . . . [the mind] 'swells in Transport and an inward Pride'. This swelling is an index of the mind's incorporation of the power that has just threatened to destroy or immobilize it. The threat is converted into a projection of its own initiative . . . and it is then free to turn the stream of its eloquence upon a fresh victim, or audience."[103] Haywood seizes on Dennis's (and Longinus's) imagery and describes the sublime as an eroticized poetic experience that results in her impregnation with poetic inspiration. Ultimately, her visionary transport induced by Hillarius's writings is converted into her own power to write. Where Dennis's sublime writer is capable of committing "a pleasing Rape" on the reader, Haywood describes Hillarius's poetry's effect on her as equivalent to a sexual awakening but involving an inspirational element that reads as uniquely feminine in that it gives birth to creativity. Again, Haywood adapts her image directly from Longinus when he writes that imitating earlier writers is a means to sublimity:

> Many are possessed by a spirit not their own. It is like what we are told of the Pythia at Delphi: she is in contact with the tripod near the cleft in the ground which (so they say) exhales a divine vapour, and she

> is thereupon made pregnant by the supernatural power and forthwith prophesies as one inspired. Similarly, the genius of the ancients acts as a kind of oracular cavern, and effluences flow from it into the minds of their imitators. Even those previously not much inclined to prophesy become inspired and share the enthusiasm which comes from the greatness of others.[104]

In both "The Vision" and "To *Diana*," Haywood adapts Dennis's metaphor—and Longinus's anecdote—into her own orgiastic display of admiration for Hillarius's poetry, which may be mistakenly interpreted by readers as her personal, eroticized feeling for the man:

> . . . ev'n to madness, work'd my aking Brain!
> Aw'd! charm'd! and dazled! [sic] cool Reflections shun;
> My staggering Reason, into Flights I run!
> With incoherent Extasies am fir'd,
> Such, as of old, the *Bacchanals* inspir'd![105]

Gerrard quotes this last couplet when she explains that at this point "Haywood wakes in bed, overwhelmed by rapture,"[106] but she fails to note that Haywood's speaker actually wakes a page (27 lines) earlier when "the *Bard*" commands her to "read o'er" Hillarius's works so that her own "poetic Fire" will be awakened. To read these lines solely as sensual love for Aaron Hill is to overlook Haywood's purpose and her immersion in the Longinian sublime.

Haywood's visionary Bard tells her that "If any Spark of true poetick Fire, / Does thy dull Breast, with generous Warmth inspire; / That Theme [Hill's "matchless Works"] will call it forth"—that is, Hill's poetry will draw out Haywood's genius and make her a better writer. Haywood feels "Guilt," "Shame," and rage for not having acted before on the stimulus of Hill's sublime art; she berates herself for not expressing her gratitude for Hill's poetical "Favours" and his "approval" of her own work.[107] Dennis had stated that poetic genius was "the expression of a Furious Joy, or Pride, . . . caused by the conception of an extraordinary hint."[108] Haywood suggests that her "extraordinary hint" was her aesthetic response to Hill's poetry, giving her response in the same kind of sexualized language that Dennis used to define the sublime.

Dennis notes that "many Men have extraordinary hints, without the forementionʼd [e]motions, because they want a degree of Fire sufficient to give their animal spirits a sudden and swift agitation. And these are callʼd Cold-writers."[109] Haywood makes it quite clear that

she is not cold: "Transports fir'd [her] anxious Mind," and she is "fir'd . . . with incoherent Extasies."[110] In fact, she is capable of surpassing Hillarius's work, for where Hill ends his "Vision" with his impotency to describe "Eliza's Wonders," Haywood delivers an epic simile about her power of vision and creation:

> As those whose Opticks, ne'er were blest with Sight,
> But from their Birth condemn'd to darksome Night;
> By miracle at last, their Eyes unseal'd,
> And the bright Glories of the Sun reveal'd;
> With sudden Transport start, with Rapture gaze,
> Their new-born Sense, half lost in wild Amaze!
> So I . . .[111]

While she plays on the two meanings of "vision"—optical awareness (the physical) and divine visitation (the spiritual sublime)—Haywood also infuses the lines with diction associated with childbirth: "birth," "miracle," "new-born." Not a rape victim (however "pleasing" the experience) nor an enraptured reader anymore, Haywood describes herself as being newly born as a poet. Both Longinus and Dennis affirm that figurative language (such as Haywood is using) conveys the sublime, only Haywood has been affected by the "irresistible force"[112] of Hillarius's writing and, made ecstatic, uses its impetus to project her own eloquence to another audience. She appropriates Hillarius's power, feminizing the power shift to make it her own and to convey her propensity for writing. Neither her choice of name nor her figurative language can be questioned now, as Haywood, as poet, can securely express her experience of true sublimity in Hillarius's poems through the power of her own writing.

Amid all this "madness" and "Confusion," she finds one more specifically female image to convey her state—the Bacchanals. She is "fir'd . . . With incoherent Extasies . . . / Such, as of old, the *Bacchanals* inspir'd!"[113] While the figure of the Wild Women does suggest drunken revelry and sexual excess, more to Haywood's purpose the Bacchant are also illustrative of religious ecstasy and divine poetic inspiration through a female lineage. In Plato's *Ion*, Socrates observes that "the Muse not only inspires people herself, but through these inspired ones others are inspired and dangle in a string . . . just as the Bacchant women, possessed and out of their senses, draw milk and honey out of the rivers, so the soul of these honey-singers does just the same."[114] For Haywood, the Bacchanals offer a positive poetic role model for her precisely because they are female rather

than merely feminine. Poetically recreating herself, she is not the Eliza of Aaron Hill's "Vision"—a modest poetess awaiting discovery by the male gaze and words. In her own "Vision" of her poetic self, Haywood renounces "Tranquillity," "Calmness," and "the Medium" (moderation)[115]—all desirable, modest, feminine traits—which formerly reigned (and reined) in her soul, to become an inspired and inspiring poet unrestrained by socially prescribed roles. She transforms Dennis and Hill's interest in the role of the sublime in religious poetry (such as Hill delineates in his *Plain Dealer* papers) from the Christian to the pagan, making it a potent, natural, female force: emanating from her dream, her desire for a female poetic ancestry and means for personal expression. She incorporates Longinus's idea of poetic tradition based on emulation, inspiration, and competition among poets, but she adds her own element.

Haywood's female Bacchants are the textual rivals of the divinely sanctioned Hillarius, and she identifies with them as a poet. The Bard at the beginning of "The Vision" had informed Haywood, "Our Muses now attend on [Hillarius] alone"; Hillarius possesses "*Ovid*'s Softness" and "the Majesty of *Homer*'s Mind!" and so it is to him she should look for Wit and Art (especially as she, a woman, cannot read Latin).[116] Such inspired poetic lineage can ultimately be continued through her if she takes as her theme her admiration and gratitude to Hillarius. But what of her female lineage, poetic agency, and independence? She has been taught that the Bacchant, Sappho, and Aphra Behn are immodest women poets and therefore not suitable models on which to fashion herself. Neither are the suffering female poets—such as those who, in the three poems "Translated from the French," attempt to describe the passions of love, despair, hope, and fear as they struggle to come to terms with their feelings for their lovers—for they lack power and agency. Ironically acquiescent as she performs her gender, she admits that it is Hill's writing that has allowed her to find her own poetic voice by responding to and interacting with his work. In fact, Haywood appropriates his masculine poetic authority by becoming fired by reading him and then writing and inspiring others through her own works about him. But Hill's patriarchs—Gideon, Moses, and David, praised in the opening poem to Bowman—are displaced by the Bacchanals and Haywood herself. The female poetic lineage continues in her final poem as she addresses a female reader, Diana, about the effects of the sublime.

The last poem in the collection describes the difficulty of finding a language for the sublime. Haywood tells Diana that she is incapable of articulating how much she liked a poem of Hill's, because it deprives

her of every sense and thought: "[W]hen fir'd with Extasy too great, / Transport-shook Reason, quits its tott'ring Seat; / The fault'ring Tongue, the Use of Speech denies, / And Thought itself, in height of Rapture dies!" As she attempts to answer Diana, Haywood has no concrete idea to convey, no predetermined words or direction to describe her response to Hill's poetry. Her language seems to take shape in the process of writing, unfolding as it traces the feelings she remembers experiencing while reading. Hill's poems deprive her of reason, speech, and thought, precipitating the "sublime crisis"—the experience of an irresistible force swelling the mind in transport to the point that one feels one will be destroyed by it. Although Haywood feels initially overwhelmed from reading Hill's work, she ultimately incorporates that power that at first threatened to destroy her. Almost imperceptibly, as Hill's art suffuses through her, Haywood subverts and appropriates his poetic power, giving birth to her own creativity. As Hill writes of the Biblical patriarchs, Haywood uses the analogy of Saint Paul blinded by God's grace to describe the effect of Hill's work on her senses, which are forcefully struck yet still able to discern that "Glories shine," "Thunders roar," and "Lightnings flash!" Haywood tells Diana that she, too, will be similarly affected by Hill's poetry—"lost, and o'er-whelm'd in Seas of Extasy"; however, it is Haywood's own poem, infused with the sublime qualities inspired by Hill's, that moves her reader's passions.[117] Just as the Hillarians' portrait poems found fault with the lack of movement and soul in the painting of Clio, Haywood's last poem embodies the movement in thought and language to convey the passions. It presents a succession of ideas and impressions as they arise in the mind and body to communicate the movement of feeling. Haywood understands that language, poetry, and the passions are organic entities, transitioning from seeing and imagining, to the soul's contemplation of universal ideas, to the soul's being affected into an expression of the sublime.

A successful language for the passions must take what the poet feels and shift that subjective experience to the imagination of the reader by eliciting responses both intellectual and sensual, both psychological and physiological. The danger of such language is that it can be read as only sensual and physiological—that the metaphors for ecstasy and transport can be misconstrued as only pertaining to the body. What emerges from the Hillarians' investigation into portraits and poetry is the realization that a language for the passions must occupy both circles of being simultaneously. What they discover is that the platonic plane of universal ideas often becomes entangled in their language and their lives on the earthly level of sexuality.

Chapter 5

The Plain Dealer's Progress from the Garrison to the Midwife

> The soul, thus free from passions, is a strong fort; nor can a man find any stronger, to which he can fly, and become invincible for the future.
>
> —Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, *Meditations*

> [The soul] does not willingly give up, nor does it value anyone above the one with beauty, but quite forgets mother, brothers, friends, all together, loses wealth through neglect without caring a jot about it, and, feeling contempt for all the accepted standards of propriety and good taste in which it previously prided itself, it is ready to act the part of a slave.
>
> —Plato, *Phaedrus*

Aaron Hill and William Bond's *The Plain Dealer* (March 1724 to May 1725) is a periodical centered on the polite and intellectual conversations and interrelations of a circle of men and women, promoting civil behavior. In light of the Hillarian circle's inner turmoil at the time, *The Plain Dealer* can almost be read as an ironic commentary on the coterie and its ideals of platonic friendship between the sexes and sympathetic understanding of the passions. While the *Plain Dealer* essays explore "codes of social conduct" and cultural politics[1] and strive to inspire the proper management of the passions in public while still maintaining the individual's mental well-being, the Hillarian circle was suffering the consequences of a passionate feud between Haywood and Fowke.

By October 1723, Martha Fowke had seen manuscript pages or had heard rumors of the impending publication of Haywood's scandal novel, *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*, which portrayed Fowke as the incestuous Gloatitia. In Clio's personal *Letter to Hillarius*, she complains of Haywood's poisonous pen in a language that clearly conveys her passions even while it attempts to mask her own vitriol under a guise of female vulnerability:

> My Griefs bleed anew, to find the Grave is not a Retreat from Envy, there I hop'd to rest with my poor Father; but the Scorpion *Haywood* will bear her Sting even thither . . .
>
> Sure this wretched Creature's Mind is as harsh and unlucky as her Features, that neither Death, nor Innocence, can intreat her; how much worse is this female Fiend than the Villain that stabbed my Father's Bosom, who darts the Poison of her Pen in his very Dust; may it perish there, nor rise again to hurt the World!
>
> Pardon me, my Angel, while I am speaking of this Devil; till now she had not Power to afflict me. Oh, take me to your heav'nly Protection, and defend me from this Tygress, who delights in my Misfortunes, and pursues me in all that is dear and sacred to me, my Friends, my Reputation, my Parents, and even my adored *Hillarius*, who is dearer to me than all these, or Life itself; there she wou'd strike me; but I trust in Heaven, and your divine Sweetness, you will preserve me from her; what can I expect, oh my Adorable, from the Tongue that will not spare even you, the sweetest and most lovely of all Mankind.[2]

Clio's passionate language in reaction to Haywood's scandal writing employs, first and foremost, metaphors of physical harm—her griefs bleed, and though she wishes to rest in the grave, she is stung by Haywood's envy. She makes herself sound like the corpse that bleeds in the presence of its murderer in *Richard III*. The passions of both women are described viscerally, though Fowke is passive ("bleed," "retreat," "rest") and Haywood aggressive (she "bear[s] her Sting even thither"). Fowke's language becomes more personally vindictive by drawing a connection between Haywood's "wretched Mind" and her "harsh, unlucky" face, neither of which can be affected by the begging of Innocence (Fowke herself). The diction then transforms Haywood into an infernal, "female Fiend" whose poison pen that kills reputations is worse than the man who actually murdered Fowke's father. Fowke curses Haywood with the desire that her pen perish in the dust, never to rise again, yet the wish seems directed more at the woman's life than her livelihood. As though realizing that her own demeanor has devolved into the diabolical, Fowke begs Hillarius, her

"Angel," for pardon when speaking of this "Devil"; her antithetical terms distance the two writers from one another on the moral spectrum. Her tone changes immediately from accusatory and splenetic to supplicatory, urging the point that her bitterness is raised only to protect those she loves against the attacks of this "Tygress." Adopting the vocabulary of the victim yet again, Fowke begs Hill to "protect," "defend," and "preserve" her from Haywood, who has not even left Hill unscathed in her writing.

Throughout *The Plain Dealer*, the subtext investigates how an appropriate language for the passions—one that is true to the emotions *and* socially condoned—can be developed. In this way, the periodical has more in common with Haywood's 1748 *Life's Progress through the Passions* than with Clio's *Letter to Hillarius*. For both Hill and Haywood, a language for the passions involves not only words to express an individual's feelings so that another can understand and sympathize; it must also be conveyed in a manner that society will accept as proper and polite.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the authorship of all *The Plain Dealer*'s specific essays. Savage called Hill and Bond "the two contending powers of light and darkness," because "[t]hey wrote by turns each six Essays; and the character of the work was observed regularly to rise in Mr. Hill's weeks, and fall in Mr. Bond's";[3] however, this blithe remark does not stand up to scrutiny.[4] Dorothy Brewster suggests that based on stylistic considerations, autobiographical references, and Hill's specific interests, "fully one-half" of the 117 essays are written by Hill.[5] In the dedication to the 1734 edition, Bond seems to credit Hill with the bulk of the periodical's authorship, but this may simply be professional modesty. Some numbers may be collaborative efforts, including contributions from both Bond and Hill, and many of the papers comprise letters from correspondents, real and fictional. As Mr. Plain Dealer had to be believable and therefore somewhat consistent of personality and style, it is certain that Hill and Bond worked to make their writing styles under his name homogeneous. In the absence of firm evidence for authorship of specific numbers, this discussion shall treat Ned Blunt, Mr. Plain Dealer, as an expression of Hill's known interest in the role of the passions.

Blunt is a 63-year-old bachelor who prides himself on his reason and ability "to think calmly" (No. 1, 1:2).[6] Everything indicates that he is unpretentious, moral, and set in his ways; he sets a careful watch over his own passions as he counsels others in theirs. His aim over the course of his periodical is to consider "the *Passions*, the *Humours*, the *Follies*, the *Disquiets*, the *Pleasures*, and the *Graces* of *Human Life*" (1:6).

Blunt believes that his age, wisdom, and plain dealing confer on him the authority to study the passions and make informed judgments on human behavior; however, initially he is not objective in his views, being naturally suspicious of *all* the passions because they are antithetical to reason. By essay No. 27, he qualifies his condemnation by restricting it to *excessive* passion: "[A]ll *Excessive Passions* are *Distempers* of the *Mind*; and but *Fore-runners* of *Diseases* in the Body" (1:215). The use of the term *excessive* here, like *excess* in Haywood's *Love in Excess*, alludes to Plato's definition in his *Phaedrus* (a work that is significantly connected with *The Plain Dealer*). Plato's Socrates tells Phaedrus, "[W]hen judgement leads us by reason towards the best and is in control, its control over us has the name of restraint; when desire drags us irrationally towards pleasures and has established rule within us, its rule is called by the name of excess."[7] It is only Blunt's slow realization that he is falling in love with the coquette Martha "Patty" Amble that allows him to reassess the validity and usefulness of even the excessive passions.

Just as over the course of the periodical Blunt's attitudes to the passions change, so too does his language for them. By closely examining paper No. 3, a cultural fable about the dangers of the passions, and by tracing the effects of Patty on Blunt's heart and philosophy from No. 13 through to the end of the periodical, we can explore how contemporary passion theories are exposed and how Hill, especially, attempts to modernize his readers' attitudes while he tries to communicate clearly how being in love feels.

The Garrison for the Mind: Protection against the Passions

In *Plain Dealer* No. 3, dated March 30, 1724, Blunt relates, in a very assured tone, a story about the dangers of passion when it is permitted to get beyond one's rational control. The story relates the details of a particular man's life from his marriage at age 30, widowhood at 35, becoming a priest, to dying at age 50. The most compelling part of the story is how the man attempts to manage his emotions through reason, first trying to alleviate his grief over his wife's death by exercising ascetic restraint and religious devotion, only to be overwhelmed and destroyed by what is labeled the "Criminal" passion of love (1:21). The plot is an antiprogress of the passions as the man tries to strip them from his life, paring down his emotions and avoiding what may affect him through his feelings; however, as Blunt tells us at the outset, human nature can never be wholly secure from the passions' attacks.

The man's tale is narrated in clear, philosophical language, presented as a discourse against the passions in the same moralistic tone used by Isaac Watts or Francois Senault. At no point in the story is the reader given direct access to the protagonist's feelings or his own verbal expression of them. This clinical relation of the tale immediately sets the tone and demands the reader's acquiescence to its moral lesson. But what seems like a very succinct moral is actually fraught with many problems, and astute readers cannot but be frustrated with its patness. The essay is infused with many historical and ethical issues that must be considered before we can accept Mr. Plain Dealer's stoical conclusion. We must be aware of the double-voicedness of the paper, primarily the ironic exposure of Blunt's confidence in demonizing the passions. From the classical epigrams prefacing the paper, through the setting within the French–aboriginal relations in Quebec, to the *Oroonoko*-like climax of the story, many details are included to alert readers that Ned Blunt's philosophy, as revealed in his matter-of-fact language, is in need of some careful revisioning.

The epigrams at the head of *Plain Dealer* No. 3 stand as stark, classical reminders that the mortal life is subject to unforeseeable upheavals. The first—"*Non est mortale quod optas*" ("You wish what no mortal may")[8]—is taken from Ovid's story of Phaethon, the mortal boy who asks his father Phoebus, the god of the sun, for the opportunity to drive the god's chariot led by winged horses. As Phoebus warns,

> . . . What you want,
> My son, is dangerous; you ask for power
> Beyond your strength and years: *your lot is mortal,*
> *But what you ask beyond the lot of mortals.* [my emphasis]
> . . .
> . . . And it is not easy
> To hold those horses, hot with fire, and snorting
> From mouth and nostrils. I can hardly hold them
> When they warm up for the work and fight the bridle.[9]

One cannot be oblivious to the resonances between Ovid's tale about Phaethon and Plato's depiction of the human soul as the driver of a winged, two-horse chariot. In Plato's figure, as we have seen in Chapter 2, one horse is obedient, governable by *logos*, reason. This horse represents *thymos*: spiritedness, turning debasing desire into elevating *eros*. The other horse is much more difficult to manage; it must be subdued by reason. It represents *epithymia*: desire subject to overpowering excess.[10] As Plato regarded it, man's central conflict

is between the immortal soul situated in the head, governed by reason, and the passions housed in the breast, specifically the heart, that impede clear perceptions of reality. As Phoebus states, "it is not easy / To hold those horses": capably managing the passions is almost beyond mortal power; human nature is never secure against the excessive passions. It would appear that Mr. Plain Dealer intends his story to teach his readers that it is a superhuman feat to control or restrain the passions; despite our best intentions, and our virtue, they will break loose and overpower us. In this, his third essay, Blunt offers this as a sad fact of life.

The second epigram (a favorite aphorism of Mr. Blunt, as he refers to it again in Nos. 13 and 25)—"*dicique beatus / Ante Obitum Nemo supremaq; funeral posit*" (1:15)—is even bleaker: "No one should be called happy before he is dead and buried."[11] It reminds us that, as mortals, we are subject to continual change.[12] No Christian notion of resurrection and eternal life here; Ovid's quotation offers only the immutability of death as happiness. Life's ever-changing state offers only tumult and insecurity. Mr. Plain Dealer's cautionary tale in relation to the epigrams introduces a more complicated and scrutinizing analysis of the passions and society's attitudes to them. The reader's comfortable complacency and the denial of voice or language for the passions are challenged.

Ned Blunt opens his essay by enlarging on Ovid's observation: "So weak is the *Frailty* of Human Nature, that we can never be too *secure*, tho' arm'd with the sublimest *Vertue*, against the repeated *Attacks* of so many *Passions*, as constantly besiege us; and tho' the Garrison of the Mind may be never so well provided with all Means of Resistance, the greatest of *Qualities*, *Vertues*, and *Perfections*, that our Nature is capable of attaining; nevertheless *Treachery*, within, *Force* or *Stratagem*, from without, may surprize and defeat us" (No. 3, 1:15). Blunt's descriptive language for the passions is typical of medieval attitudes to excessive emotion: the "Garrison of the Mind" simply replaces the "Castle of Perseverance."

The possibilities of frail human nature being "surprise[d] and defeat[ed]" by passion become, by the essay's end, the unmitigated "*Imbecility of all Human Accomplishments*," suggesting that it is futile even to try to perfect ourselves (1:22). The change from the philosophical to the outright pessimistic reflects Blunt's own mind: he is intolerant of the passions yet cynical about human nature's ability to resist them. Both this tone and his position as plain-dealing counselor convey his confidence that he himself is untouched by such weakness of character.

The Plain Dealer's image of the human being as a fort besieged by outside, passionate forces reminds us of the essayist himself, who lives in lodgings where "the Watch-Tower of *Barbican*" once stood (No. 1, 1:3). A barbican, several of which were still standing in eighteenth-century London, is a strong tower with a ditch and drawbridge that defends a city's entrance against enemies. The Plain Dealer, then, is symbolically situated to act as his readers' guard against their passions; he is poised to protect them through his writings against passion's first assaults. The introduction to No. 3, however, also points to possible internal "Treachery" by which the mind's garrison (or even the Barbican) may be surprised and defeated. No one, not even the eminently reasonable Ned Blunt, is completely protected against the passions that can be activated by both external stimuli and internal forces.

In the subsequent tale, the image of the French garrison in the midst of Quebec's savages, the French attempting to trade amicably while also converting the indigenous people to Christianity, can—according to the imagery employed in contemporary treatises on the passions, as well as contemporary views on the benignity of "Christianizing" non-Christians—represent the reasonable mind establishing a productive working relationship with the passions. Recent escalating events in Canada would add another, more immediate political dimension to the Plain Dealer's tale about the dangers of the passions. The 1701 Great Peace of Montreal treaty between the governor of New France and 1,200 representatives of 39 aboriginal nations ended one hundred years of conflict and resulted in fruitful trade until the peace was broken in 1717. By 1720, Quebec City, the capital of New France, was fortified by order of King Louis XV against the British and their aboriginal allies. In 1724, *The Plain Dealer*'s audience could easily apply the contemporary colonial template to the abstract notions of the passions. Eighteenth-century readers would also recognize Blunt's echo of Senault's image of the passions as "savage subjects":

> [The passions] are so intimately united with us that they cannot be separated, their life is connected with ours, and by a strange destiny, they cannot die unless we die with them; so that this victory is never intire, and these rebels are never so perfectly subdued, but that on the first opportunity they rally and form new parties, and offer us new battles: . . . All the benefit that can be expected from such savage subjects, is to shackle their hands and feet, and to leave them only so much power as is necessary to them for the service of reason; they must be treated as galley slaves, always chained down, and retaining only the use of their arms for rowing.[13]

There obviously exists an uneasy relationship between the "savage" passions and the civilized mind—one in which the passions are not to be wholly trusted but must be "chained down," put to work, and constantly watched. Similarly, France's alliance with the North American First Nations was not entirely trustworthy, as trade demands and the desires of other European nations could threaten the treaty at any time. Only through strict supervision could the "savage subjects," personified in the Plain Dealer's tale as the "*Indians*" (1:20), be serviceable. And only by being on vigilant guard could one's reason—the French garrison—be kept safe from them. But the little tale is rendered even more problematic through the main protagonist: the widower who aims to alleviate his grief by immersing himself in religion, renouncing the world, and devoting himself to converting North American "savages" to Christianity.

Widowed at age 35, the man attempts a therapeutic separation from what causes him pain. He removes himself from his neighborhood to a farm "where no *Object* should come in his *way*, to revive in his Memory the *Loss* of his lamented *Wife*" (1:16). By the time he is 38 he leaves his native country, devotes himself to a life of austerity, and becomes a "Pensioner in a Religious House." Wishing to become a member of their order, he is prudently advised by the fathers "strictly to search his own Heart, so as to be convinced, that this Desire was not . . . any Temporary Disgust of the World" (1:17). The fathers' advice echoes the concerns of physician George Cheyne in his 1724 *Essay of Health and Long Life*: "There is a kind of *Melancholy*, which is called *Religious*, . . . although, often the Persons so distempered, have little *solid Piety*. And this is merely a *Bodily Disease*, produced by an ill *Habit* or *Constitution*, wherein the *Nervous System* is broken and disordered, and the *Juices* are become *viscid* and *glewy*. This Melancholy arises generally from a *Disgust* or *Disrelish* of worldly *Amusements* and *Creature-Comforts*, whereupon the Mind turns to *Religion* for *Consolation* and *Peace*."[14] The widower, to prove that his vocation is real, undergoes a double novitiate before being permitted to take his vows. He then becomes a dedicated and respected priest.

His attempt to separate himself from his overwhelming grief by devoting himself to Christian piety is also supported, in part, by Cheyne's medical advice. The doctor notes that in such cases where the passions cannot be quieted, "I know no Remedy, but to drown all other Passions in that Spiritual one of the Love of God"; "placing our *supreme Love* on the *supreme Good*, would render us *infinitely joyful, serene, calm* and *pleased*."[15] However, Cheyne's promised result flies in the face of the classical admonition at the essay's head: "No man

should be called happy before he is dead and buried." Even though the good physician's counsel for the soul is wise, his remedy serves only to enslave the man to a different set of passions.

The Plain Dealer describes the man's attitude to his vocation as entirely passionate: he uses the word "zeal" three times to denote his fervent devotion. The man's great emotion over his wife's death, rather than being assuaged or moderated by his faith, is simply redirected into his religious pursuits. In fact, the description of his religious desires suggests a death wish on his part, a kind of sanctified suicide: "[H]is ardent Zeal for the Service of God, inflam'd him with a passionate Desire of laying down his Life, in asserting the Cross of Christ; . . . he had the holy Ambition to meet with a Crown of Martyrdom" (1:18–19). "Zeal," "inflam'd," "passionate Desire," and "Ambition" all signal the disapproving tone of the stoical Blunt, as each descriptor indicates that the man is ruled by his emotions rather than reason. His aim is to die for God and so he puts himself forward for dangerous missionary work among the savages in Canada.

In his first expedition with the French Jesuits, although "he was several times in imminent Danger of Life, having once the Knife over his Head to scalp him," he is not killed. In fact, "he succeeded so far, as to vanquish the Obstinacy and Ignorance of Twenty-two *Indian* Men and Women, whom he baptiz'd, and brought with him to *Quebec*." The Indians are not as murderous as he expects and, we are told, "Providence, whose Secrets are unsearchable, preserv'd him, and would not vouchsafe that Honour, . . . of dying a Martyr" (1:20). The priest easily converts the Indians, suggesting that some passions are readily manageable and offer no real threat to one's well-being.

At fifty years of age, the priest is asked by the governor of Quebec "to instruct his Daughter, who desired to learn Languages, and Mathematicks." The reader has no difficulty predicting the outcome of this tutelage upon learning that the girl is 18 years old and has "a Person equal to the Beauties of her Mind" (1:21). The description of the French girl is similar to that of the man's late wife, "whose *Mind* was as well Adorn'd, as her *Person* was Engaging" (1:15). Perhaps because of this resemblance, or merely because he is human, the priest's heart is reawakened: "[H]e found those Emotions in his Heart, which, in a little time shipwreck'd his Vertue; he fell desperately in Love, and thro' the Eyes, suck'd in that Poyson, which now tainted a Soul, that so much Vertue had long, and constantly defended before: LOVE, that invincible Tyrant, entirely subdued, and added the Heart of this once Holy Man, to his other Triumphs" (1:21). The imagery of shipwreck, poison, tyranny, and later "the

Plague" makes it abundantly clear that love is powerful and destructive. The physiological process of love echoes Ficino's theory, but plain-dealing Blunt gives it a darker, more sinister aspect: the girl's beauty, like poison, enters the priest's body through his eyes to "taint" his soul. For Ficino, love is a physical and soulful yearning for someone whose beautiful image inspires the imagination and makes the soul contemplate a purer idea. Blunt's description shortens Ficino's process, as beauty bypasses the imagination, "the ventricle of the brain that receives sensory images," and proceeds directly to his soul like an infection rather than a comforting or pleasing desire.[16] The man's "Vertue," "Soul," and "Heart" are overcome by his love for the girl, and it is not long before he "gratif[ies] his Criminal Desires" and gets her pregnant (1:21). The imagistic opposition of passion and virtue so often used in contemporary philosophical writings casts Love as antithetical to Virtue—that is, as a vice. The diction with which the man's state is described here reinforces the negative aspects of this passion by echoing the language of earlier philosophical investigations of the passions: "[U]nruly Passions toss and turmoil our miserable souls as tempests and waves the Ocean seas,"[17] and unmoderated passions are like the "Extravagant Excursions of an Ungovern'd Heat, and the Violent Agitations and Dangers that attend Hurricanes and Storms."[18] But such a thoroughly negative interpretation of love is difficult for the reader to accept. It would seem—to the modern reader, certainly—that the resurgence of the man's emotions for another human being is actually a good thing—a movement away from his religious melancholy and death wish.

Ned Blunt's employment of the old and vilifying language for the passions encourages readers to question such conventional attitudes about human nature. Must love be regarded as a tyrant over the heart and a poison in the soul? This imagery seems archaic and out of joint with a time when benevolence and sympathy are key concepts in contemporary philosophical theories like Francis Hutcheson's in his 1728 *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions.* As evident within the Hillarians' poems in Savage's *Miscellany*, the circle was keen to propagate the idea that love is a divine, indeed, sublime experience and positive social force. Blunt's diction throughout *Plain Dealer* No. 3 is completely antithetical to the coterie's beliefs, and the strong language of stoical disapproval of the man's falling in love again consequently renders the reader resistant to such a harshly judgmental attitude.

Classical philosophy would categorize the man's heart being subdued by love as *epithymia*: desire that is prone to overpowering excess, represented by Plato's difficult-to-manage horse. The Plain Dealer

regards the man's soul as "now tainted"; love misdirects the priest's devotion to God and renders him guilty of blasphemy, as he "now . . . Ador[ed] . . . one of his Creatures." Significantly, the language used to describe the effects of love in *Plain Dealer* No. 3 is the same as that describing the priest's missionary work: "LOVE convert[s] all others [sic] Passions into itself" (1:21). Just as the priest aimed to convert the "*Indians*" to Christianity, love converts and colonizes his other passions (ambition, devotion, zeal) into serving itself. In Blunt's mind, love is bad, but the missionary work is good; the French within the garrison represent reason, while the "savages" who threaten it represent passion. The reader may see things differently, especially upon thinking that the man's other passions were not necessarily good ones, as they were mostly selfish—even while also tending toward self-destruction—and alienating. The man, once he falls in love, becomes a slave to his passion; he becomes a savage and deserts the garrison for the wild. For Blunt, for now, it is clear that reason is right and good, while passion is wrong. The reader, though, is left wondering whether sides must be taken.

After the girl becomes pregnant, she and the priest are overcome with "Confusion and Distress" and "fle[e] to the *Indians*," who receive them "with open Arms" (1:22)—that is, with love. Although the man has split his years seasonally between the French and the indigenous people, living in the fortress of Quebec in the winter months and spending the summers in the "Labours of his Mission" among the natives, he finally decides where he truly belongs (1:20). As he "Train[s] and Discipline[s] the Savages . . . to revolt against the *French*," he represents the ruling passion controlling all the others. Just as other passions are subsumed in love, the "Savages" become the tools of the lovers, who "animated and encourag'd the Savages, whom they brought, in great Numbers, to oppose the Enemy"—the grief-stricken governor who "sent out several small Parties to bring [his daughter and the priest] back" to the garrison (1:22).

The climax of the tale replays the scene in Aphra Behn's 1688 novel in which Oroonoko's "Heroick *Imoinda* . . . grown big as she was, did nevertheless press near her Lord, having a Bow, and a Quiver full of poyson'd Arrows, which she manag'd with such dexterity, that she wounded several, and shot the *Governor* into the Shoulder."[19] In the story Blunt relates, "[T]he Two Unfortunate Lovers stood close to one another, she, with an *Indian* Quiver at her Back, and Bow in her Hand." The similarity should evoke some uneasiness in the reader. Where we are sympathetic to Oroonoko and Imoinda rebelling against the cruel slave owners, we cannot be as sympathetic with the priest and

his mistress, because their French adversaries are not trying to kill or hurt them but only bring them back to the fortress, the fold of reason. The priest and girl behave purely passionately, against reason, yet we cannot entirely fault them either because they are, after all, in love. Blunt's conclusion, though, is flat and unequivocal. When the girl and her lover are killed by the French, Blunt writes, "Such was the sad Catastrophe of this unhappy Man, whose Piety, and good Life, for so many Years, could not prevent his Falling, at last" (1:22). The man is merely a casualty of human nature's frailty, but Blunt's language is disturbingly unsympathetic. The point seems to be that all-out rebellion against reason is no more healthy than all-out repression of the passions.

If we return to the larger contexts from which the paper's epigrams are taken, we discover that Ovid's philosophy is not as rigidly dogmatic as Ned Blunt's. Shortly after the quotation cited in the second epigram, Ovid remarks, "In the story / You will find Actaeon guiltless; put the blame / On luck, not crime: what crime is there in error?"[20] Keeping this in mind as we read the tale in *The Plain Dealer*, we must wonder whether the protagonist who falls in love is really to blame for simply being human (as the first epigram mentions). Are life's accomplishments to be rendered futile because, as a human being, the man guiltlessly falls by "*Treachery*, within," despite his best resistance? Blunt's conclusion, void of any emotion itself, seems like one learned by rote: memorized rather than truly comprehended. The lack of any sense of compassion for the man in love is reflected in the pared-down language, reminiscent of the man's own pared-down emotions. Blunt, the 63-year-old Plain Dealer, has no direct experience of love and therefore can easily and dispassionately judge the man who fell victim to passion despite his better reason and suffered the consequences. Where there is no fellow feeling, it is not possible to communicate the passions or even to communicate well *about* them. Blunt's lack of compassion is similar to Clio's youthful incomprehension of her lovesick suitors' suffering for her. In both cases the lack of sympathetic understanding is regarded as more of a flaw than the afflictions of the passion. As human beings, we should feel and sympathize with the emotions of our fellow beings. For writers, without this sympathy, the language to convey those passions cannot be found. But Ned Blunt soon discovers the power of love and his language takes an extreme, opposite turn.

Mr. Plain Dealer in Love

As soon as Patty Amble comes on the scene in *Plain Dealer* No. 13, our mature journalist finds himself in a more sympathetic frame of

mind to lovers, and his language reflects his change of heart. Even as he echoes No. 3's fortification imagery, Blunt observes, "THERE are in every Man's Life, even the wisest, and most fortified, certain *Periods* of *Weakness*, which demonstrate our common Frailty, and seem thrown into our Nature, as Preservatives against *Pride*; and for the Mortification of Human Vanity" (1:93). Rather than being a "sad Catastrophe" or proving life's accomplishments an "*Imbecility*," love becomes a "Period of Weakness" to save us from the more noxious passion of pride; love is a bonding, rather than an alienating, passion. Blunt is obliged to admit that he has become "enslav'd . . . *against Judgment*, in my Grand *Climacterick!*" to beauty, and he is "falling in *Love* with *Patty Amble* the *Coquet!*" (1:93–94). Embarking now on a personal analysis rather than an objective tale about events in a faraway country, the *Plain Dealer* papers gradually discover the pleasant and humanizing effects of the passions that, Blunt will concede, ought not to be rooted out of our natures.

Like Francis Bragge's "Violent Agitations and Dangers that attend Hurricanes and Storms" that describe the passions, Patty herself is a "*Whirl-wind*" disturbing the calm of the Plain Dealer's little assembly (1:95). But Patty's effect is exhilarating rather than destructive; she stirs things up. "She sailed through us all, with a *swimming, smiling Port*, that was visibly *affected*, but irresistably engaging!—When she had flutter'd, and fidgeted, and sloped her self forward, and wheel'd down her Hoop, to the widest Swell of its *Convex*, in a Circular Course of *Curtesies*; she tript sideways to her Seat" (1:94). Her incessant movement is mimicked in Blunt's alliterative, fluid language; both are joyful and irresistible. Though neither Brewster nor Gerrard claims that Nos. 13, 17, and 18 are written by Hill, the language and erratic use of commas suggest that they are his. Patty's nonstop prattling is compared to "*Horses*, which shutting their Eyes in their Swiftness, pass the Bounds of their Course, and never stop till they are beat backward by some Wall which they run their Heads against" (No. 14, 1:111). Patty's constant, unpredictable motion and talk render her comparable to Plato's unmanageable horse; however, over the course of the papers, we find that she is more like the horse governed by reason and representative of *thymos*, spiritedness. She possesses the ability to turn Blunt's desire for her into elevating and transformative *eros.*

As an immediate demonstration that Patty, like love, has entered through Blunt's eyes and directly affected his imagination, he describes a dream he has had about her. In the dream Patty is "grown kinder and more sensible" to him than in real life, and Blunt is more youthful; he is given back "those gentle Flames, which warm and brighten Life in its

Morning." Upon waking, he mourns "what I lost by not loving, while my *Body*, as well as my *Soul*, cou'd have done Justice to the Passion" (No. 17, 1:125). His desire for Patty elevates him in a number of ways, most notably in his erection from the dream he has in No. 18. This bawdy reference comically underscores for readers—and Blunt—that the passion of love is both a spiritual and a physical desire. This second dream is an allegory wherein the Mount of Fortune and Mend-all Market invite people to lay down their burdens and take up lighter desires. Behind each picture of what is offered is its antithesis: behind the gift of Beauty lie scandal, spleen, jealousy, and ruin; behind Titles are ignorance, conceitedness, scorn, luxury, and diseases. In the dream Blunt unabashedly desires Fame and is willing to offer Patty in exchange for it. When she says that she'll offer him anything not to be traded, he asks for her heart, which she refuses: "Nay, spare me but that One Thing, . . . and take *any thing else, about me*." Denied the coquette's heart but granted any other part of her person, Blunt's reaction is orgasmic: "Unfortunately overjoy'd, at this Bliss, which, methought, befel me, the sudden Flow of my Spirits, under a Sense of the promis'd Transport, caus'd so violent an Agitation, that, waking on a sudden, I dropt, out of her Arms, and perceiv'd myself in my Bed, in *Barbican*" (1:140).

Though his vocabulary of "Bliss," "Spirits," and "Transport" is meant to suggest the sublime, ineffable quality of his anticipated consummation with Patty, such diction is interpreted by the reader (and intended by Hill) as sly euphemisms for orgasm. Blunt's language to explain his passion for Patty struggles to detach itself from that of physical consummation to embrace a more platonic discourse. Despite references to the "sudden Flow of Spirits," "Transport," and "so violent an Agitation," he is careful not to reduce his language to a description of mere physical sensation. Hill, through Blunt, plays between physical and philosophical discourses, making the reader aware of the interplay of bawdy/body and philosophical/intellectual diction as Hill attempts to convey the transcendent qualities of desire that are firmly rooted in the body. As we saw in his "Picture of Love" poem, Hill enjoys experimenting with a blend of psychological and physiological sensations and vocabulary in his effort to convey the whole range of feelings in love. The reader, sensitive to Blunt's attempt to solemnize love through his vocabulary as he attempts to ignore or downplay the physiological symptoms of his feelings for Patty, laughs because Blunt's language so obviously strains in two opposite directions. As Blunt continues his self-analysis of falling in love, he strives to dissociate himself from his physical sensations to align himself with a more platonic language; however, just as his treatment of the garrison

of the mind offered an extreme view against the passions, so is his conversion to love equally extreme. It is after the introduction of the figure of the Midwife for the Mind in No. 23 that Blunt discovers the language of pathology, and through it, how one must find a moderation point in experiencing and speaking the passions.

The Midwife for the Mind: Delivering the Passions in *The Plain Dealer*

No. 23 of *The Plain Dealer* publishes a letter from poet Tony Jyngle, who asserts that he is "a kind of *immaterial Anatomist*: . . . a *Mind-Midwife*." His science involves assisting women in the safe delivery of their passions. He "can see [the Ladies] as safely brought to Bed of their *Affectation*,[21] and other *spiritual Conceptions*, as they can be assisted, in their *Matrimonial Pregnancies*, by the bodily Brothers of my Profession" (1:178). What is introduced here through his playful image and mind-body dialectic is a rudimentary system of psychology—what is called in No. 27 a "*more noble Art of Healing* . . . for any *sick minded* Person whatsoever" (1:213). The mental sickness that both Jyngle and Blunt aim to heal is excessive passion—particularly, though not exclusively, in women.

The ensuing implicit debate between Plain Dealer Blunt and poet Jyngle on the proper treatment of the passions addresses contemporary cultural concerns about the performance of the passions—in the arts, the sexes, and the individual. Just as Haywood does in her *Poems on Several Occasions*, *The Plain Dealer* links the themes of passion, poetry, and femininity together to demonstrate how writing can be a significant outlet for both sexes: a safe way to express passion, and through it, consciousness and personal identity. As Dennis points out in his *Grounds of Criticism in Poetry* (1704), "The Nature of Poetry consists in Passion; and that of the Greater Poetry in great Passion." He also elucidates the didactic connection between them, stating, "Poetry attains its final End, which is the reforming the Minds of Men, by exciting of Passion."[22] While passion may sometimes have to be checked in order to make social relationships run smoothly, Hill recognizes that a balance between excessive passion and a complete denial of it must be maintained for human beings to conduct themselves successfully and healthily in eighteenth-century society.

In eighteenth-century literature, there are two contrasting methods offered to cure the unruly passions. One, based on Francis Hutcheson's moral system of the 1720s and 1730s, recounts that the intervention of a friend or the assistance of a physician of the mind could help a

corrupted sensibility regain its natural function. In the second kind of cure, the disruptive passions are rooted out and replaced by softer sentiments that reflect an idealized code of behavior.[23] *The Plain Dealer*'s Mind-Midwife is a curious amalgamation of these two cures, combining the more aggressive medical strategies of Jyngle, who proposes to "Purge" the passions through the use of emetics, with Blunt's gentler notion (since falling for Patty) of intervening with advice and philosophy. Together, they work as a medical team of surgeon (or abortionist) and midwife: one performs the "severest Operations," while the other offers more benign counsel and assistance in "*Mind-Labours*, and *Deliveries*" (No. 27, 1:217; 214). Both Jyngle and Blunt offer their mental-obstetrical services to the public over the course of several numbers, but it becomes clear that the entire periodical is intended to be a Mind-Midwife to its readers.

The four papers making specific reference to the Mind-Midwife (Nos. 23, 27, 29, and 33) are most certainly Hill's.[24] Cumulatively, the four numbers stimulate the reader to think about the relation between passion and propriety; the need for self-expression; and how the passions are performed in society. Hill's interest in Dennis's poetic theory, his debates about contemporary women's writing, and his early affiliation with the theater all combine in these papers to form his theory of social performance and the achievement of personal psychological health, as well as affixing an appropriate language for the passions. Poetry is one of the thematic threads running through all four numbers: as the profession of the Mind-Midwife Jyngle; as part of the cure for excessive passion; as well as part of the disease. Women, at whom the cure is initially aimed, are also predominant; however, in these four numbers they do not speak for themselves but are authoritatively discussed by the men who desire them cured.

Over the course of the periodical, Blunt reveals himself as quite open to women expressing their passions in society: from No. 58 where he supports the idea of a woman making known her affection for a man; to No. 53 wherein, after including a poem by "Cleora"—"almost certainly Martha Fowke"[25]—eulogizing Delarivier Manley, he announces that three future *Plain Dealer* essays will be devoted to the writings of "Three *English* Ladies, who are now all living" (Fowke, Haywood, and most likely the often lauded Elizabeth Singer Rowe) to prove that they "have excell'd the Ancients, in the *Depth*, the *Tenderness*, and the *Sublimity* of their Compositions" (1:449–50); to No. 69 in which he presents Patty's proposal for a Female Parliament. When he does advise constraint on the expression of the passions, it is directed specifically at avoiding the spread of slander or personal vitriol.

By essay No. 63, the Plain Dealer may have regretted his open espousal of women writers. This paper on detraction, published October 26, 1724, is directly inspired by the September 8, 1724, publication of Haywood's *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*, containing her vicious portrait of Fowke as "that big-bone'd [sic], buxom, brown Woman" who learned from her father "those deluding Arts, she has since practis'd, to the Ruin of as many Women as she could get acquainted with their Lovers or their Husbands."[26] In No. 63, Blunt (it could be either Hill or Bond) proposes that "some curious Engraver" should make a plate of Detraction as depicted by Apelles: "a Woman dress'd in great Pomp and Magnificence, but in a mighty Passion of Anger, having her Aspect like Fire. In her Left-Hand, she held a burning Torch, and with her other, she drew, by the Hair of his Head, a young Man, who held up his Hands towards Heaven, calling God, to Witness his Innocence" (2:48–49). The printed engraving could be fixed on the door "of any noted Offender." He concludes, "By this Means, the *TONGUES* of *Evil-Speakers*, and the *PENS* of *Evil-Writers*, would become *Useless*, and *Unregarded*, as the Stories . . . written by the *Unfair* Author of the *NEW UTOPIA*."[27] Detractors, "*Evil-Speakers*," and "*Evil-Writers*" are specifically allied with gossips and scandalmongers, conventionally female figures. The "*Unfair* Author of the *NEW UTOPIA*" is obviously Haywood; however, *The Plain Dealer*'s ire may also be, in part, directed at Fowke, whose level of rage and hatred for Haywood Hill had recently witnessed in Clio's *Letter to Hillarius.* That Hill or Bond removed No. 63's angry reference to Haywood from the collected edition of *The Plain Dealer* in 1730 may indicate that tempers had cooled toward her, but it may also suggest that what had appeared as a passionate slander in 1724 was, in fact, a true portrait of Martha Fowke Sansom. The effects of giving public expression to one's passions are not easily remedied; however, *The Plain Dealer* attempts to find an appropriate language—a happy medium between self-expression and social decorum.

Although in his first number, Blunt offers to "handle" women and their "Business" in his plain-dealing manner, he has always "obstinately resisted MARRIAGE" (1:6; 2). However, his "Assembly, of both Sexes, very numerous and diversified," meets twice a week at the home of "a sober Widow" where he enjoys female company—particularly that of the loquacious coquette, Patty Amble (1:3). Patty's playful sexuality gradually awakens the Plain Dealer to his own passion, particularly his love for her despite his better reason. The parallel narratives—Blunt's advice to society through his essays, and

his growing awareness that his feelings for Patty cannot be denied—manifest Hill's philosophical approach to the passions: assisting them through counsel and accepting and regulating them in a healthy, balanced way. Through Blunt's progress through his own passions, including his developing an acceptable language for his passions over the course of the periodical, readers become attuned to the necessary equilibrium between masculine and feminine, reason and passion, which makes a balanced individual.

The Plain Dealer's humoral theory and ideas about the physiology of the nerves combine in No. 8 to reveal his biased (although traditional) gender views and his early prejudice against passion. Opining on wit, Blunt states that "it is the *Effect* of *Natural Accident*; and depends, like a *Machine*, upon Order and *Parts*. It is only the *Result* of a *Mixture* of *different Humours*: and of Animal Spirits, *finer* and more *delicately* agitated, than ordinary; which *imprint* in their Passage, a *quick* and *lively* Sense of Images; and animate by that Impression, the *Visage*, *Voice*, and *Deportment*" (1:52–53). Wit, surprisingly to the modern reader, is a biological rather than intellectual facility; however, to the eighteenth-century mind, the Plain Dealer's description makes perfect sense. His diction suggests nervous stimulation and Galenic passion theory. Since Galen's time it was believed that the four humoral fluids were "dispersed throughout the body by spirits, mediators between soul and body."[28] Not only can chemistry affect the mind, but the mind can affect physical matter through what Hill elsewhere calls the "*plastic imagination*."[29]

The Plain Dealer, even before Jyngle's proposal to set up as a Mind-Midwife, suggests the special relationship between social and sexual conversation, pointing out that wit does not adequately satisfy: "It is merely by this Quickness, and Heat of their *Imagination*, that witty Men surprize us . . . But these Men want, for the most Part, both *Strength* of *Mind*, and *Penetration*. Their *Imaginations* are *thin*, and *delicate*; and play *lightly* on the *Skirts* of *Objects*: But they are too *weak* for solid *Reasoning*; and, in any Thing *abstracted*, and *above* the *Pitch* of the *Senses*, they are miserably *Impotent*, and grow presently *weary*." Though Blunt despises these effeminate men who lack strength and the power of penetration and reason, they are nonetheless judged by women as desirable: "THEY are the *Ladies Favourites*, however; by a Kind of *Sympathy*, or *Resemblance*: For, *Women*, being naturally of feeble *Constitutions*, have their Brains of soft Consistence; with *Fibres fine*, and *slender*; *apt* and *easy* to be mov'd, by the *weakest* Agitations" (No. 8, 1:53). The repeated references to fibers, passages, agitations, and animal spirits indicate the Plain Dealer's grounding in

contemporary science whereby passions and even ideas travel through the blood to the brain. The delicacy of the female constitution renders it more susceptible to these "agitations," making women's reason often subject to or overtaken by the passions. Like Thomas Willis in the late 1660s, who mentioned "the special susceptibility of women to certain passions as a result of the peculiar delicacy of their physiology,"[30] Blunt, too, cautions against women's too easy passion that betrays them into wasting time with mentally insufficient men, even while he overlooks his own increasing feelings for Patty.

Women, by encouraging the superficial and impotent, endanger not only the morality of society but its very survival. The women, "apt and easy" to these fops who resemble themselves, cannot get pregnant by them (either physically or, more important, mentally) though they can be superficially pleasured. Blunt advocates more solid pursuits: women's fine and slender fibers are meant to be solidly penetrated with masculine reason. In an effort to combat women's natural weakness for pleasure, he offers his services to women as a kind of man-midwife who can deal authoritatively and reasonably with their female problems: "The *LADIES*, when they hear, that my Design is PLAIN DEALING, will consider me perhaps, as an Old-fashion'd Fellow, who can have nothing to do with Them; yet I know they will be frequently kind enough to furnish me with Business, and I shall handle them, as often as they allow me Opportunity" (No. 1, 1:6).

As the passions occupy a special place where an individual's private and public selves intersect, it is appropriate that the figure of the midwife rather than the physician be employed to manage them. The midwife is often the mediator between a woman's private health matters and the more social aspect of her labor and delivery, which involved female relatives and gossips. Hill's therapeutic discourse differs from the classical analogy between philosophy and medicine insofar as a midwife does not cure so much as assists and delivers. In *The Therapy of Desire*, Martha Nussbaum provides many examples from classical philosophers, including Cicero, on the need to doctor the soul: "There is, I assure you, a medical art for the soul. It is philosophy, whose aid need not be sought, as in bodily diseases, from outside ourselves. We must endeavor with all our resources and all our strength to become capable of doctoring ourselves."[31] While the Hellenistic thinkers used the notion of the soul rather than the more secular term *mind* that the eighteenth century employs, the aim of *curing* the passions remains relatively constant. Passion is still anathema to reason: a perturbance that unsettles the self rather than calms the mind. The physician for the mind could help return one to mental balance and health by casting

out the disease of excessive passion. The classical cure and Jyngle's surgical midwife (both of which aim to excise or abort excessive passion) work to alleviate the personal and social suffering caused by excessive passion. Blunt's adaptation of these two cures, however, does not attempt to expunge the passions completely.

The Mind-Midwife evolves gradually over the course of the papers. Jyngle's original title was to have been the more authoritative and masculine "Doctor," but practical reasons forbade it: "[T]he College of Physicians, who place much Learning in *Privilege*, wou'd have me ascend, by *Degrees*, to that Dignity: Which is too phlegmatic a Prescription to agree with my Temper"—that is, the College is too dogmatic to suit Jyngle (No. 23, 1:178). Because of his own passionate unwillingness to conform, Jyngle establishes his own midwifery practice to address the passions. As a midwife for the mind, he combines masculine severity against the expression of the passions with female suffering of the passions and the female midwife's assisting in their safe delivery.

Though a midwife might be considered inferior to a physician, her experience and ability to communicate render hers a more communal science, not one based on alienating jargon or condescension. Similarly, Jyngle's poetic propensity allows him to communicate and sympathize with his patients, as he too suffers from the passions and must be delivered of them (as in No. 29): "[T]he Stoic sage who sought to return a disturbed mind to reason did so by recognizing the identity between himself and that other person, the shared burden of duty and suffering that characterizes human life."[32] The role of the midwife relies on reciprocity: aiding the patient but very much dependent on the patient's own self-awareness. While the midwife counsels and guides, the patient is ultimately responsible for herself. It is this aspect of self-determination in the face of socially prescribed behavior that concerns the Plain Dealer in his examination of the performance of the passions. The Mind-Midwife, as adapted by Blunt, regards the passions as natural but in need of compassionate understanding and knowledgeable assistance in their expression of individual identity.

Blunt proposes, in No. 27, a "*Mind-Diet* or *Regimen*, which will, in a short Time, restore Health to a decayed Constitution, and add incredible Vigour, to a Weak and Languishing Understanding." He advises that those suffering from the passions can improve and calm themselves by reading classical authors (1:215). But excessive passions are quickly diagnosed as particularly feminine distempers, as he insidiously moves from prescribing to general "PERSONS" and "Minds" who need to self-administer a "*moral Draught*," to "a Toast,"

"a young Creature," a wife, and "a Lady" whose "ill Habits . . . fill the Mind, with Spots and Blemishes." The beauty of a woman, we are told, is as much dependent on her nature as on her face, and anger is a kind of "Small-Pox of the Mind" (1:216) because it disfigures it and is extremely contagious: "[W]hen the fiery Particles within [women] betray any of the *Soft* Things to an unbecoming Fit of *Rage*, the Sight of a Looking-Glass, at that Critical Minute of Deformity, has been prescribed by our Fore-fathers with admirable, and neverfailing [sic] Effect. But this is only a transitory Cure, and does not go to the Root of the Disease" (1:217).

The Plain Dealer offers no sympathetic understanding of or curiosity about why a woman may be passionate. He makes no effort to enquire into its cause, concerned as he is solely with prohibiting its public exhibition. Although he does acquiesce, "There are constantly some peevish Accidents, some cross and fretful Disappointments, in the rugged Road of Life, to throw a Cloud over the serenest, and discompose the most equal Tempers," his language trivializes these difficulties (1:215). If neither his reading remedy nor the looking glass restores the lady to calm, he advises that "one of Mr. *Jyngle*'s severest Operations" must be administered (1:217). For all his rhetoric about "the Mind," the "*Inside*," and the getting to the "Root of the Disease," plain-dealing Blunt does not interest himself in the passion as a symptom of an underlying pathology.

Similarly, in No. 33, where Sir Gregory Dingle begs for "Doctor *Jyngle*" to come immediately to attend his Lady, no concern is expressed for the reason for the wife's jealousy, only that she be cured of it: "[P]ray, let his *Emetics* be such as will work deep, and fetch up *Choler*, as well as *Flegm*.—Rageing *Jealousy* is the Distemper: And, if the *Bitter*, and *Green*, and *Yellow*, that lie as low as my poor *Fubsy*'s Heart, is not, all, brought away by it, he had e'en as good *give her a Caudle*" (1:273). Dingle reports that he attempted to apply "a healing *Linctus*" prepared from the poetic works of an "admirable *Modern Doctor*" (1:274). Blunt himself earlier prescribed reading and reflection: "Is a Lady jealous? And will she not have Sense enough, to blush at the Follies of Jealousy, when she is reading them, in private, and save herself from the Inconveniency of looking frightful, in publick Company?" He had also counseled, "Whenever any of these blooming Bustlers begin to bluster, the Husband may be the Physician" (No. 27, 1:217). Blunt's comical alliteration betrays his unsympathetic attitude toward passionate women; they are loud and unfeminine disturbers of a man's peace and must be subdued. Dingle has taken to heart Blunt's advice that the "Husband may be

the Physician," but where Blunt allows for self-reflection and healing *before* the husband or the Mind-Midwife be called, Dingle has taken charge from the start. The *Linctus* (a medicine taken by licking) that Dingle has attempted to administer to his wife is a poetic recipe from a "*Modern Doctor*" of whom Dingle confesses, "I love him at my Heart, and have most of his Lectures *without Book*." He proffers these words "upon a Sheet of her own gilt Paper," entreating her that "if the Physick was too bitter, that she would wash down the Taste of it, with . . . a *Sillabub*, that had just been set before us." But she angrily rejects his medicine, tears the recipe up "in a thousand Pieces," and then flies toward him, so that he throws the syllabub in her face to cool her temper (1:275).

The syllabub poses an intriguing image because of its conflicting associations here with love and literature and its use as a defensive projectile: "[T]here are constant allusions in pastoral poetry and drama to milkmaids, often in the guise of nymphs, making 'silleybubes for their Lovers.'"[33] A banqueting dish often made of sweetened cream beaten with white wine or cider to make a frothy drink, a syllabub was both a dessert and at times a medicine prescribed "to cool a cholericke stomacke."[34] Together, these associations suggest that it is a loving husband who forces a cure on his wife and wants her to accept the words of others (the linctus) rather than express her own. Furthermore, the words that he imposes upon her are men's. The episode's physical violence, though treated farcically, is unsettling. It is analogous to some eighteenth-century "cures" for madness in all their gendered power dynamics, especially in regard to silencing the hysterical woman who may only be "stand[ing] out for her individual rights—to an existence as an individual, to a language of her own, to a name of her own."[35]

Refusing to accept passively the masculine prescriptions fed to her, the woman resorts to a physical performance of the passions, altering her discourse from the linguistic (because her society denies her her own words) to the kinetic (the physical movements, both deliberate and unconscious, of her own body that can be witnessed by society). Though others may understand that Fubsy's body language visibly articulates her anger and frustration, the woman is really no farther ahead in communicating her interiority: her psychological dissatisfaction with her husband. Without words to describe the cause of her jealousy, her reasons for being passionate remain unknown. We may or may not be sympathetic and become the Mind-Midwife to pathologize Fubsy's passion, but certainly we are left wondering about its cause. Fubsy's narrative remains inhibited.

Hill's theatrical experience taught him much about the psychological intricacies of passions and their social performance. In his *Essay on the Art of Acting*, he writes, "Jealousy is doubtful anger, struggling against faith, and pity.—It is a tenderness, resisted by resentment of suspected injury; and, thence, the *nerves*, brac'd strong, imply determination of revenge and punishment . . . Sometimes again, 'tis rage at a concluded infidelity;—and, then, the eye receives, and flashes out, the sparklings of inflam'd ideas."[36] All these elements are apparent in Dingle's wife's passionate exhibition. Once those elements are performed, the onus is on the observer to respond. As *The Prompter* outlines, "The passions are . . . what the keys are in a harpsichord. If they are aptly and skilfully touched, they will vibrate their different notes to the heart and awaken in it the music of humanity."[37] *The Plain Dealer*'s readers certainly understand Fubsy's passion even though they cannot ascertain its cause. Its performance is eloquent and awakens our humanity, while her husband's attempts to "dulcify her" merely frustrate us.

While performance aims to convey the warmth of an idea or passion, unless it is received and understood by those to whom it is expressed it is useless. Indeed, unless passion has a language that both the impassioned performer and the unmoved audience understand, the passionate person will be denied sympathy. Dingle inhumanely refuses to translate Fubsy's eloquent performance into his own language; his heart remains untouched. Jean-Francois Lyotard would argue, "Every wrong ought to be able to be put into phrases. A new competence (or 'prudence') must be found." Gender ideology favors the men's side of the dispute in these instances of what Lyotard calls the *differend*, "the case where the plaintiff is divested of the means to argue and becomes for that reason a victim . . . [It] takes place when the 'regulation' of the conflict that opposes them is done in the idiom of one of the parties while the wrong suffered by the other is not signified in that idiom."[38] The Plain Dealer would agree that women's language, often unheard or unheeded in society, could easily be performed and understood if others were willing to interpret it sympathetically and with compassion.

Dingle concludes his missive by promising Jyngle a wealth of female patients: "Let him make but a thorough Cure, and I'll warrant him we do his Business. There are Nine-and-Thirty Ladies of Quality, of my *Fubsy*'s particular Acquaintance, who are All down, at this very Time, of the self-same Distemper; and All taken, too, with the *Conflagration*, exactly as she, herself, is. He shall never want good Patients, if his *Emeticks* but go to the Bottom . . . *Thine, most Expectantly*,

GREGORY DINGLE" (No. 33, 1:275). Thirty-nine afflicted women in one community sounds like an epidemic, attesting to the contagious quality of excessive passion, and Hill deliberately draws attention to this. Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* observes that "the Strain of *Conversation* among Men of the same Temper, who often haunt together, the *Contagion* in the very Air and Countenance of the passionate, beget such wild *Associations* of Ideas, that a sudden *Conviction of Reason* will not stop the Desire or Aversion."[39] Though Fubsy's acquaintances may perpetuate their wild passions by associating with each other, they may also be sharing their desires and aversions within their female community, expressing passions that are not paid any heed by their husbands. Francis Hutcheson suggests that language, or "*Conversation*," may precipitate the spread of a particular passion like a disease, but likewise, a talking cure, a physician for the mind, could cure or at least alleviate it. Thirty-nine choleric, jealous women suggest that something is seriously wrong. Dingle, oblivious that his wife may need sympathetic conversation rather than a cure to root out her choler, waits "*most Expectantly*" for a reply from the Mind-Midwife. He overlooks his own diction that suggests he is the one who needs to be delivered, but of his misconceptions about women rather than his passions.

That the passions of women and men need to be expressed rather than eradicated becomes apparent in No. 29, when Tony Jyngle suffers a mysterious distemper that seems strikingly similar to childbirth. William Weathercock writes that Juniper the apothecary has recently "done as strange a Cure, upon Mr. *Jyngle*, as Mr. *Jyngle* himself intends to do, upon Sir *Clouterly Rumble*" (1:230). Having been shamed by the Plain Dealer for reciting his poetry at random, Jyngle has repressed it, much to the detriment of his health. Weathercock explains,

> He look'd very pale, Yesterday, and complain'd of a Pain in his Stomach. There was something, he said, lay, like a Load, at his Heart: and he had much ado to draw his Breath, for it.—Mr. *Juniper* . . . hop'd there was no Danger: Asking him, at the same Time, If he had made no *Verses*, for this Week past? Mr. *Jyngle* told him, *Yes*—and repeated six hundred Lines, of a Poem, he has made a Beginning in. The Verses, I must needs say, sounded as fine, as ever I heard any! But, what I thought strange, was, that, as soon as he had done Repeating, Mr. *Juniper* bid him *hem*—and go, chearfully, about his Business: for his Oppression, he said, was remov'd.—And it really prov'd, as he said.—Mr. *Jyngle*'s Colour return'd immediately; and he breathes, as freely as ever he did! (1:230)

It is obviously just as harmful to Jyngle to repress his poetry as it is for Fubsy to deny her jealousy. Juniper does not so much cure him as help to deliver his lines into the world. Where Blunt had reproved the poet, causing Jyngle to stifle his poetry, Juniper permits him, in a controlled environment, to ease himself. Such assisted delivery is not offered to Dingle's wife, only the force-feeding her someone else's words. She requires her own language or idiom to express herself.

Interestingly, Jyngle's first proposed patient for his mind-midwifery is also a poet: the aforementioned Sir Clouterly Rumble, "a pregnant *Male* Member of that learned *College*" of Physicians.[40] However, it is specified that Rumble's particular illness is what "some moral Doctors have distinguish'd by the Name of *Vanity*," a vice usually attributed to women (No. 23, 1:178; 179). From Milton's Eve through Pope's Belinda, female characters are often seduced into sin through their own pride, and conduct books continually caution women about their susceptibility to it. Clouterly's malady of excessive passion is this effeminate one, making him prone to uncontrollable outbursts of scribbling and publishing (akin to Pope's hysterical female authors governed by Spleen). The hermaphroditic nature of Rumble makes him akin to the effeminate wits in No. 8—an annoyance that gives birth to delicate, weak, and thin imaginations: "[Vanity] shakes the *Fingers* of this afflicted Gentleman, with a yearly Convulsion of the Nerves; during which Fits, it is dangerous to let *Paper* lie in his way: For he applies himself, with the wildest Ecstasy to strike it over, at Random, with odd Lines, crooked Cyphers, and Characters, wholly unintelligible!" (1:179–80). The similarities between Clouterly's and Jyngle's ailments are striking, particularly in their randomness and lack of deliberate control, but their treatments differ radically. Where Juniper first asks politely if Jyngle has made any verses in the past week and then encourages him to versify aloud, Jyngle examines "a large Quantity of [Rumble's] *Prosaic*, and *Poetic Emissions*" and concludes that he must "ply him with *Emetics*, till . . . I have made him *Vomit his Heart up*" (1:180; 181). In both cases, the "Emissions" need to be expelled from the body under controlled medical supervision. Unfortunately for Lady Dingle, she is not permitted a supervised and sympathetic performance of her passion.

The *Plain Dealer* papers reveal that allowing passions to fester unattended may result in dire personal consequences, but performing them unchecked may also negatively affect society and the body politic. Jyngle's proposed treatment of Clouterly is much more violent than the cure visited on himself, because the knight's "yearly Convulsion" inflicted on the general populace is regarded as "*Putridly*

Pestilential!" Rumble's excessive passion results in his brain-children being let loose on the public in all their "malignant, and virulent, Species" (1:180). Mind-Midwife Jyngle, like Dingle, offers to medically abort those poetic passions, more for the good of society than for Rumble himself.

Rumble's vanity is an example of what John Richetti identifies as "wayward individuality and self-definition" that demands an audience.[41] To display excessive or transgressive passion, however, is to usurp accepted social structure. Rumble is guilty of such manipulation by putting himself on center stage and insisting on attention from the public. Jyngle thus portrays him as equivalent to a Bedlam inmate—convulsing, in fits and ecstasy, "wholly unintelligible!"—but also disruptive to society and politics. Gregory Dingle envisions his wife's performance of her passion as similarly disruptive, infringing on his individual space and comfort. Both patients are regarded as "unintelligible" even though their performances of vanity and jealousy—"wayward individuality"—are immediately understood though not condoned by their peers.

No. 33 marks the last reference to Tony Jyngle's system of "Mind Midwifery." Although Blunt had likened his friend "to some curious Engine, of great Use to me in my Writing-Capacity"—his own mental-obstetrical forceps—he does not continue to use the figure explicitly; rather, the Mind-Midwife is subsumed as a metaphor for the necessary, sympathetic delivery of the passions (1:212). Blunt himself will benefit from the Mind-Midwife by learning about how to deliver his own feelings and eventually to moderate his attitudes to and language for the passions. He progresses from the stoical denigrator of the passions, regarding them as something one's reasonable self must guard against (in No. 3), to an equally extreme, enthusiastic convert to love (as we shall see most notably in Nos. 40 and 45), and finally to a moderate and controlled deliverer of his feelings for Patty at the periodical's conclusion.

Fusion of Languages

Patty Amble, the embodiment of energetic movement, as she is described in No. 13, is the equivalent of a breath of fresh air in Blunt's life; she is a "*Whirl-wind*" that exhilarates and reanimates him in his grand climacteric. Blunt continues the imagery of invigorating breezes when, in No. 45, he admits that he is not "asham'd to be call'd a *Lover* . . . Love is the Breeze of Life: A healthful, and refreshing, *Gale*, which, by its Agitation of the Spirits, keeps

our Faculties in lively Motion; so, as neither to stagnate, in unfruitful Rest, nor drive tempestuously, with the most stormy Passions" (1:378–79). In Nos. 40 and 45, Blunt extols his developing love for Patty as a force that awakens the soul, akin to Plato's description in *Phaedrus*. But where Blunt attempts to control his language so that it describes his soul awakening to universal beauty rather than suggesting that his body is stimulated with desire, Plato's own delineation of the soul's transformation is definitely erotic:

> When he has seen [his beloved], the expected change comes over him following the shuddering—sweating and a high fever; for he is warmed by receiving the effluence of beauty that is the natural nourishment of his plumage, and with that warming there is a melting of the parts around its base, which have long since become hard and closed up, so preventing it from sprouting, and with the incoming stream of nourishment the quills of the feathers swell and set to growing from their roots under the surface of the whole form of the soul; for formerly the whole of it was winged. Meanwhile all of it throbs and palpitates, and the experience is like that of cutting teeth, the itching and the aching that occur around the gums when the teeth are just coming through: such is the state of the soul of the man who is beginning to sprout wings—it throbs and aches and tickles as it grows its feathers.[42]

Earlier, in No. 34, Blunt had quoted from Hill's poem "The Picture of Love," which in its full version in Savage's *Miscellany* must resort to images of physical expression because the passion itself "confound[s] . . . Sense, and Voice."[43] In *The Plain Dealer*, however, only the most benign of physical imagery from the poem is quoted: "Pungent Impatience tingles in each Vein, / And the Sick Bosom throbs, with aking Pain" (1:288). The lines are reminiscent of Plato's throbbing and aching soul but also severely censored from Hill's original poem's suggestiveness of the sublimity of sexual orgasm. By No. 40, Blunt's conclusion about love is that it is essential to life (without any intentional procreational subtext). In a language full of action and imitative of Hill's biblical rhythms (as well as clear echoes of 1 Corinthians 13:4–5),[44] he extols the virtues of falling in love, suggesting its divine quality and segregating it to the spiritual and moral realms: "[T]he Soul of a Man in Love, is dead to all other Appetites . . . Love is really, with regard to other Affections, what the Philosopher's Stone is pretended to be, with regard to Metals: It inriches, and ennobles every Thing it touches: It is the genuine Elixir, that gives a golden Tincture to every Disposition of the Mind; it heightens Ambition; it

inlarges Generosity; it quickens Joy; it banishes Envy; it extinguishes Lust; it enlivens the Virtues, and extirpates the Vices of Men in all Ranks and Conditions of Life" (1:339). Love "inriches," "ennobles," "heightens," "inlarges," "quickens," and "enlivens" what is good in man, and it "banishes," "extinguishes," and "extirpates" what is bad. If the *Plain Dealer* readers still remember essay No. 3, they must laugh at Ned Blunt's complete turnaround in attitude and language. No more the gruff and critical old man who railed against "the *Frailty* of Human Nature" and "*The Imbecility of all Human Accomplishments*," once Blunt falls in love with Patty he sees only the "ennobl[ing]" virtues of the passion (1:15; 22). More important, though, Blunt is also keen, as evident in his carefully monitored language, to separate his "healthful, and refreshing" love from mere physical desire.

By No. 45, punctuating each of his own observations about love with passages from his "Picture of Love" poem, Hill as Blunt concludes that "we might draw, from Love, a Proof of the *Soul's Immortality*" as the soul strives to refine the pleasure of our desire. Though our bodies are not as refined as our minds to experience love's spiritual essence, the "melancholy, and unsatisfied Tremblings" we undergo indicate that there is more enjoyment to be had (1:384; 385). Blunt's language alludes to the Longinian sublime that "leave[s] behind in his mind more food for thought than the mere words at first suggest"[45] with its references to "Awe" and the "*supremest Joy*," as well as sensation rather than quantification: "HENCE, that exquisite *Expansion*! That *Liquefaction*, of the Heart!" (1:385). The language here also strongly suggests that Hill has been learning from Haywood, echoing those sublime, ineffable qualities of love she describes as early as *Love in Excess*: "both their souls seemed to take wing together, and left their bodies motionless, as unworthy to bear a part in their more elevated bliss"; "such kisses! as collecting every sence in one, exhale the very soul, and mingle spirits! Breathless with bliss . . . Dissolved in love."[46] But where Haywood's language suggests that the sublime quality of love transcends physical sensation, and the soul and body necessarily separate in the elevated moment, Hill's "Expansion" and "Liquefaction" evoke sexual orgasm and are linked with "*Bodily . . . Joy*." That diction is quickly qualified by Blunt to emphasize the mind's involvement: "All, that heightens [The *supremest Joy* of Love], to be worth the Wish of a wise Man, it must be indebted to the *Mind* for.——Whence could Images so *warm*, as these which follow [in his excerpt from "The Picture of Love"], receive a Purity, in their Expression, that adapts them to the chastest Ear, if the *Mind*'s Part were not strongest, even where the *Body* pretends most influence?" (1:385).

Blunt, like Hill, must appeal to that passionate space between experience and thought: between physical feeling and platonic idea. Though his poetic images are now "*warm*," even erotic, they must be interpreted through the mind rather than the body—through the spiritual intention rather than the physical responses to the language. While Blunt's language continues to convey the sublime aspect of love—he who loves "has the Prophet's sacred Privilege, to be rapp'd, out of himself! To enjoy perpetual Ecstacy! To be emptied of his own Soul, that he may be animated by one, more dear to him!" (1:379–80)—we continue, as Hill knows we must, to interpret it sexually, revealing our shortcomings as well as the limitations of the language. "To be rapp'd," to be in "perpetual Ecstacy," "to be emptied of . . . Soul" are all metaphors for love's influence on us; however, they are difficult to comprehend or explain. The best that we can do is interpret such metaphors on the physical plane. Hill's point is that passion resists intellectual delineation; it must be expressed in a figurative language of sensation and yearning, and that is best understood through visceral desire.

Hill and Haywood's experimentation with language for the passions thus reveals a reciprocal relationship between the writers: Haywood's early descriptions of the sublime sensations of what King calls the "psychosexual experience"[47] are taken by Hill into the physical realm of the orgasm. Both implement the Longinian sublime vocabulary of ecstasy and transport, but often with different predominant *loci*: the soul or mind for Haywood and the body for Hill. A similar division is witnessed in *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon*, wherein Clio focuses on how the mind is affected by love but Strephon longs for physical expression. What Haywood, Hill, and Fowke work to develop is an affective passionate language that incorporates elements of both mind and body, because passion is experienced both mentally and physically at the same time.

The Hillarian literary tea table was also evidently engaged in philosophical discussion on the merits and pitfalls of love, which made its way into their various works, including *The Plain Dealer*. Initially, Haywood and Hill agree that love is a tyrannical passion that cannot be resisted. The narrator of *Love in Excess* remarks that "that passion is not to be circumscribed; and being not only, not subservient, but absolutely *controller* of the *will*, it would be meer madness, as well as ill nature, to say a person was blame-worthy for what was unavoidable. When love once becomes in our power, it ceases to be worthy of that name." This attitude is clearly echoed in *Plain Dealer* Nos. 40 and 45: love is to be revered as an exalted, sublime force. Haywood's

narrator goes on to comment, "These *insipids*, who know nothing of the matter, tell us very gravely, that we *ought* to love with moderation and discretion, . . . but perfection is not to be expected on this side the grave. And since 'tis impossible for humanity to avoid frailties of some kind or other, those are certainly least blameable, which spring only from a too great affluence of the nobler spirits."[48] The similarities of thought, and of diction—from the echoing (in the mottoes to *Plain Dealer* No. 3) of Haywood's reference to perfection not being possible "this side of the grave," to the nobility of love, and even her italicization of "*insipids*" repeated in No. 45, in which Blunt claims that love is "a generous Passion, which . . . he who is insensible of, is *stupid*" (1:378)—reveal that there must have been discussion, reciprocity, and initial agreement within the Hillarian assembly about the authority of desire. However, as *The Plain Dealer* continues to publish specific interests and debates among Hillarian circle members, particularly on women's expression of the passions, consensus and language become less amenable. Their own community disintegrates into critical individuals questioning and challenging the propriety of each other's language.

In No. 40, Hill confidently defines love as "A Passion, which is, of its own Nature, so violent, [it] renders Men excusable, in a great measure, when they seem to misplace [their Soul] . . . They cannot be said to be guilty of a Fault . . . when they are transported beyond the Power of giving Law to themselves. They are *sunk in the soft Captivity*, and Captives, are not free Agents" (1:338). By this time, Blunt is a lover himself, sympathetic to others captured by Eros. A year later, in Haywood's *The Tea-Table, Part One* (1725), Philetus (a character based on Hill) utters a similar comment on the irresistible power of love: "[T]here is nothing so cruel as to condemn a Person for what is unavoidable . . .—*Love*, as it differs from all the other Passions in its Consequences, does so too in the Manner by which it first gains Entrance in the Soul, and after wholly engrosses all the Faculties of it." But Haywood allows a female character, Brillante, to argue against Philetus's glorification of blameless love, because it seems only true for men. She points out that the social double standard neither condones nor forgives a woman's susceptibility to love: "When Woman falls a Prey to the rapacious Wishes of her too dear Undoer, she falls without Excuse, without even Pity for the Ruin her Inadvertency has brought upon her."[49] Fowke had also raised this point in her earlier correspondence with Hill, a point from which Hill had attempted to dissuade her: "[I]t is as impossible to sense, that . . . a heart, which you have touch'd, as you have mine, shou'd grow less conscious of

your dearness, because bless'd with your possession."[50] Yet in Haywood's fictions and in Clio's poems and *Letter to Hillarius*, we see that women who do fall prey to love are often left unpitied and "without Excuse." Both Philetus and Blunt—even Aaron Hill—overlook the fact that when a man gives in to love, or his "rapacious Wishes," there are more severe consequences for the woman he desires than for him. Brillante's critical language about Philetus indulging, or at least not resisting, his passionate impulses clearly faults his naïve and gender-privileged perspective. Haywood agrees that love is a powerful force, but it is women alone who suffer a fall. Women's expression of the passions, linguistic or performative, must be subject to careful scrutiny to protect them and society.

The Plain Dealer appears to recognize and sympathize with women's predicament as Haywood reveals it. No. 58 echoes Haywood's 1720 "Discourse"—"O hard Condition! which . . . forbids us to complain"[51]—when it addresses the need for women to transcend "Tyrant Custom" that forbids their "Tongue[s] to utter the Tortures of [their] Heart[s]" (2:3). Lucinda, in a letter to the Plain Dealer, admits, "Was I suffer'd to plead for my self, I cou'd tell [the man she loves], What an obedient Wife I'd make him!" She then admits that even her act of writing, "This opening of my Grief has been some Relief" (2:4). Blunt prints Lucinda's letter—assisting her to a balance between the extremes of an excessive public performance of her passion and the complete denial of her expression. Like a midwife, he allows her a controlled, moderated delivery of her feelings so that her lover can recognize her love for him and marry her.

The periodical's primary lesson is that polite, civil, and truthful revelation of one's passions is the best way to interact with others. Such careful and honest self-expression should ensure one's mental health and one's social acceptance. Ned Volatile complains that such "a strict Watch over one's Words, Actions, and Humour, in all Companies, is a Restraint, which . . . differ'd nothing from Torture . . . must I be always under the Slavery of *thinking* before I speak? Shall I never have the Pleasure of expressing my own Sentiments? Who would sacrifice his natural Rights to please another Man?" (No. 44, 1:370). However, he must learn this social responsibility. All people must modify the expression of their passions with reason and restraint. Not to do so, in the Plain Dealer's opinion, "would decry one of the Blessings, upon which the Happiness of *Society* is in a great Measure, founded" (1:372).

In the end, the irresistible strength of love breaks down the Plain Dealer's garrison that has so staunchly protected him from the

passions. At first, his reasonable mind resists the immensity of his feelings, and so he tries to understand his love in philosophical terms. This results in a strained language that, in its deliberate attempts to ignore the physical aspects of passion, becomes comical as the body is subliminally present in Blunt's unconscious language of double entendres and sexual allusions. Upon comprehending that the passions are as much physical as they are soulful, Blunt fuses the languages of the spiritual and the physical to describe love; however, when he quotes from "The Picture of Love," he censors the more erotically suggestive passages, as though passionate language is not appropriate for all audiences. Although Blunt advises on the safe and polite delivery of the passions, he is still very cautious about their power and he continues to carefully monitor their expression. His admonitions against unruly and offensive language such as that used by the "*Unfair* Author of the *NEW* UTOPIA" suggest that a recognized and ubiquitous language for the passions is, finally, more to be feared than encouraged.

Chapter 6

The Dangers of Giving Way to Language

> My Design in writing this little Novel . . . being only to remind the unthinking Part of the World, how dangerous it is to give way to Passion, will, I hope, excuse the too great Warmth, which may perhaps, appear in some particular Pages; for without the Expression being invigorated in some measure proportionate to the Subject, 'twou'd be impossible for a Reader to be sensible how far it touches him.
>
> —Eliza Haywood, dedication to *Lasselia*

> Why, sir, I trust I may have leave to speak, / . . . / My tongue will tell the anger of my heart / Or else my heart, concealing it, will break, / And rather than it shall, I will be free / Even to the uttermost, as I please, in words.
>
> —William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*

Hill and Haywood's early involvement with the theater (Hill as manager and playwright; Haywood as actress and playwright) explain, in part, their anatomist's gaze being turned to how the passions can be imitated and conveyed in performance. As early as 1716, in his dedication of his play *The Fatal Vision* to John Dennis and Charles Gildon, Hill is formulating his acting theory to enable an actor to "sensibly alarm the soul, and challenge the *attention* of the audience" by "putting on at will, the lines, and marks of every passion."[1] Later his theatrical paper *The Prompter* (1734–36), poem "The Art of Acting" (1746), and expanded *Essay on the Art of Acting* (printed in his 1753 posthumous *Works*) delineate how the "ten dramatic passions;—that

is, passions, which can be distinguished by their outward marks, in action" can be performed.[2] Haywood, too, demonstrates an early fascination with the art of performance. Critics have noted "a consistent pattern of fictional female characters who are self-conscious actresses, powerfully suggesting the performative nature of social interaction and also revealing Haywood's familiarity with contemporary acting theory";[3] she "play[s] upon the contemporary paranoia that one's external, public presentation is often feigned and that the 'real' essence of a person lurks beneath the surface."[4] Language describing the physical and psychological effects of repressed passion is evident in Haywood's as well as Hill's and Fowke's works in the early 1720s, but it is Haywood in particular who explores the personal consequences of the social imperative that passions be repressed. She emphasizes, through her juxtaposition of characters, that repressing passion is just as criminal as acting out passions that are not personally felt. Both involve performance: the deliberately controlled deployment of language and physical movement to manipulate others into believing one is affected or not affected emotionally. Catherine Ingrassia and Emily Hodgson Anderson examine how Haywood incorporates elements of performance into her works and commend how the ability to role-play enables female characters like Fantomina and Mrs. Graspall (from her 1723 play *A Wife to be Lett*) to express feelings that women are advised to keep hidden. What Ingrassia and Anderson do not take into account is Haywood's concern about acting in everyday life, not on the stage—performing passionate language (both verbal and physical) for passions that are not actually experienced.

Artists, actors, physicians, and philosophers had long been intrigued by the passions' manifestations on the body. That physiological signs provide access to another's interiority was a well-known fact: passions like love, anger, shame, fear, and hope, to name only a few, are readily displayed on the body and easily observed by others. Artist Charles Le Brun's *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* included illustrations of how the face manifests each passion; Bernard Lamy discussed how the sound of the voice is affected by different emotions; and actor Thomas Betterton advised how a combination of physical gestures, tones, and volume of voice could convey passions to a theater audience. As we have already seen, Haywood in her "Discourse" advises women to learn to repress physical manifestations of their passions to protect themselves from the prying eyes of society: "[F]eign an Insensibility, smother the rising Sighs, dress up her Face in Smiles, wear a composed Serenity in her Countenance," even though her heart is breaking. Acting can come in two forms—performing a passion that

one does not feel and suppressing a passion to assume a calm or indifferent appearance—but both forms involve deception.

An actor can develop and train his mind to imagine a passion so that his body will naturally react by undergoing the mechanical experience: "Let a man, for instance, recollect some idea of sorrow, his eye will, in a moment, catch the dimness of melancholy, his muscles will relax into languor, and his whole frame of body sympathetically unbend itself into a remiss and inanimate lassitude,"[5] but the actor does not inevitably undergo within himself the full extent of what his face and body project. Body language and the appropriate tone of voice are crucial for conveying a particular passion, but an actor does not have to *feel* or *be* in the state that he performs. An actor's talent lies in his chameleon-like ability to imitate passions from which he does not actually suffer when he performs them.

In addition to being able to convince an audience that he actually feels what he only performs, there is the possibility that mimicking the physical gestures of a passion—a smile for happiness, a downcast look for sorrow, a clenched fist for anger—can cause an actor to feel a semblance of those emotions. Haywood was aware of this effect of performance as early as *Love in Excess*. D'Elmont, "by making a shew of tenderness [toward Amena] he began to fancy himself really touched with a passion he only designed to represent." D'Elmont's imagination leads him to believe that he may love Amena, but he doesn't really: "'Tis certain this way of fooling raised desires in him little different from what is commonly called love; and made him redouble his attacks."[6]

In her prose fiction of the 1720s, Haywood is eager to explore how visceral and verbal language, real or merely enacted passions, can be exploited and represented. She incorporates her own acting theory, based on her knowledge of the passions' physical manifestations on the body and the physical and psychological consequences of repressing those signs. She investigates how the potent combination of body and verbal language can be used to convince others that one is truly suffering even when one is not. If the sublime passion of love does indeed transcend words, as she, Hill, and Fowke so often poetically describe, then the apparent *inability* to speak could convey deep, debilitating passion. What if her fictions, so celebrated for their force of language about the sweets of love, were read not for their sympathetic portrayals of passionate suffering but as manuals on how to act love? Her knowledge of acting theory, in conjunction with her own emerging prose aesthetic of the sublime, lends itself to creating language(s) for both real and feigned passions. Her self-interested rakes who seduce with

the show of love, and her portrayals of Martha Fowke as merely simulating passion she does not genuinely feel, are Haywood's main targets in her novels *The British Recluse* (1722) and *The Injur'd Husband* (1722), both of which explore with much more cynicism than *Love in Excess*, *Letters from a Lady of Quality*, and her *Poems* how love can be faked to delude and entrap the unwary. By 1724 with the publication of *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*, Haywood is entirely caught up with the consequences of feigning the passions. As Fowke and Hill embark on more all-encompassing and sublime descriptions of love in their poetry and prose, Haywood's work becomes more suspicious and analytical of how love can be faked.

Critics have always commented on Haywood's language for the passions—how she possesses a unique ability to speak them into existence. Savage poetically commends her ability to use "*The force of language*" to describe "*the sweets of love*,"[7] and Sterling remarks that her writing makes readers' emotions "ebb and flow." In our time, Kathryn King has noted, "The notoriously exclamatory nature of Haywood's prose style, its melting and swelling tendency . . . [is] an attempt . . . to represent the transporting effects of love in the medium of prose fiction."[8] Similarly, Kathleen Lubey notes that "Haywood's erotic prose performs the double function of replicating the fragmented, contradictory excitement of illicit desire while grammatically and syntactically withholding the finality of [an] encounter."[9]

While most critics appreciate that Haywood strives to affect readers and make them feel the intensity of her characters' passions, John Richetti seems wholly dismissive of her style, finding it "more like expressive noise than language."[10] He writes disparagingly of Haywood's "recurrent invocations of that ancient rhetorical turn, the 'inexpressibility topos' . . . whereby words fail necessarily to do justice . . . to the mystery and intensity of love," but he goes on to state that Haywood's false lovers, those merely imitating passion, employ "a torrent of flatulent amatory rhetoric" to seduce their victims.[11] What Richetti fails to notice, however, is that Haywood's stylistic distinction between "amatory rhetoric" on the one hand and "unreadable expressive noise" on the other indicates her dissatisfaction with the conventional literary discourse for love. She uses amatory rhetoric for those "Insensibles" who are unmoved by the sublime qualities of real love and so must resort to a vocabulary of dead tropes, both linguistic and physical. Lysander, in *The British Recluse*, is continually guilty of such formulaic language; *The Injur'd Husband*'s baroness performs the stock gestures and speaks the words of passion in order to manipulate men; and Berillia, "that malicious and designing Creature" in *The*

Rash Resolve, through her natural cunning and adeptness with language masks her true feelings under the guise of friendship.[12] Finally, in *Memoirs*, Haywood implicates the members of the Hillarian circle, particularly Fowke but others by association, in reducing language for the passions to an idealized but corrupt vocabulary for sublime love. In each of these works, and in different ways, Haywood investigates how language for the passions can be imitated, faked, and performed as she questions whether words are even the proper vehicle for conveying genuine feelings.

The British Recluse; or, The Secret History of Cleomira, Suppos'd Dead

Published on April 16, 1722, *The British Recluse* relates the story of the socially self-exiled Cleomira and Belinda who befriends her. The two women discover, by sympathizing with each other's afflictions and relating their histories to one another, that they have each been undone by the same man. Haywood warns from the start that there is nothing "more dangerous . . . than too easily giving Credit to what we hear; it is always the Source of a thousand Inadvertencies, and often leads the way to a numerous Train of destructive Passions . . . depend on nothing but what we [have] Proof for."[13] Empirical knowledge, the necessity of "Proof," is crucial to assess the validity of language supposedly built on sensory experience. How can one know how another truly feels? One needs more evidence than mere language, because some people lie, and some hear only what they wish to hear. In *The British Recluse*, "Language is suspect from the outset, having no definite, intrinsic connection with truth."[14] Both Cleomira and Belinda were seduced because there *is* a conventional discourse for the passions: a recognized formula or rhetoric of verbal and physical signs that these women expect and that their false lover exploits. But the women are also taken in by Lysander/Courtal's act because of their predisposition to believe him. Once they fall in love, they are easily convinced that what he professes must be true. But passionate language has further dangers.

The narrator of *The British Recluse* is at best ambivalent regarding Cleomira and Belinda's language. Their taking turns relating how they were duped by their lover allows them not only a sympathetic audience but the opportunity to relive and revitalize their continuing obsession with the rake; they supplement their passion through language. Juliette Merritt observes, "Although the reader is alerted to the potentially dangerous effects of language, the language of the

abandoned woman may be regarded as sincere," suggesting a linguistic gender divide: abandoned women speak truthfully, but others (men?) do not.[15] But Haywood is not so dogmatic. When they first meet, the two women engage in an intemperate linguistic wallowing in their pain:

> [Belinda:] Oh Love! . . . Thou gilded Poison, which kills by slow Degrees, and makes each Moment of our Life a Death! Why, Oh why do we suffer our fond Hearts to harbour thee?——[Cleomira:] Why are we not like Man . . . inconstant, changing, and hunting after Pleasure in every Shape?——Or, if our Sex, more pure, and more refined, disdains a Happiness so gross, why have we not Strength of Reason too, to enable us to *scorn* what is no longer *worthy* our *Esteem?* [The narrator concludes:] In these, and the like Exclamations, they passed some Time, and had, doubtless, given a greater Loose to the over-boiling Passions of their souls, if their mutual curiosity to know each other's Adventures had not obliged them to leave off.[16]

The narrator's perfunctory dismissal of the women's exclamations demonstrates her impatience with the self-indulgent, sensual consolation a language for the passions can provide. Cleomira and Belinda's language serves a masturbatory function for them as they revere love's pains and regard their own suffering as a kind of sexual martyrdom. Their agreement to share their stories with one another perpetuates their relationship with their false lover rather than helps them to heal and get over him.

Haywood's readers, too, are implicated in the women's language as they immerse themselves in the amatory plot, rereading it at their leisure and experiencing vicariously sensations of love and abandonment. Though readers may enjoy the warmth that Cleomira and Belinda's repetition of their histories raises in their own bodies, unlike the characters they are distanced enough in their act of reading that they "acquire the most essential knowledge regarding the workings of human consciousness and desire, a knowledge that [they] will convert into active self-scrutiny and self-government in social and sexual realms."[17] Sharing in these stories, readers try on the women's experience even as they weigh their behavior. Most will become frustrated with the two women, who continue to love the man who betrayed them. Despite Haywood's initial warning to depend only on what can be proven, the characters ignore proof when they see it. Cleomira admits that "in spite . . . of all these Proofs—these stabbing Proofs of his Ingratitude, I could not—did not love him less"; "I still loved

him with such an Adoration that I could not bring myself to think that anything he could do was wrong." Belinda confesses, "I am weak enough to retain still in my Soul a secret Tenderness for the unworthy Man; . . . I neither can forget nor remember him as a Woman governed by Reason would do." Cleomira is cognizant that her "Infatuation" is akin to "Madness." She complains, "Oh God! The bare Remembrance of it makes me condemn myself and acknowledge that a Creature so meanly Souled deserved no better Fate."[18] Hers is truly "passion" (*passio*, to suffer) in that she is possessed and overtaken by her love. She has absolutely no control over it.

Both women suffer from what Francis Hutcheson defines as the essentially obsessive characteristic of passion: "a *confused Sensation* either of Pleasure or Pain, occasioned or attended by some violent bodily Motions, which keeps the Mind much employed upon the present Affair, to the exclusion of every thing else, and prolongs or strengthens the Affection sometimes to such a degree, as to prevent all *deliberate Reasoning* about our Conduct."[19] As the novel concludes, Haywood notes, "These fair Companions in Affliction passed some time in bewailing their several Misfortunes, sometimes exclaiming against the *Vices*, sometimes praising *Beauties* of their common Betrayer . . . Their common Misfortunes were a Theme not to be exhausted."[20] Clearly, retelling their experiences indulges their passion, but they do benefit by expressing the passions precipitated by an unfaithful lover.

Throughout the novel, the women are described as "venting" or "giving loose" to their anguish, mostly in the form of tears. Only three times is speech referred to as a way to release the passions: when Cleomira "burned with Desire to be talking something of my adored *Lysander* and vent some Part of the Overflowings of my ravished Soul"; when Lysander begs her, "*Oh give my impetuous Transports leave to vent themselves*"; and last, when Courtal "vent[ed] ten thousand Curses on his ill Fortune." For the most part, venting is a physical action: something escaping from confinement in a small space, like steam from a kettle, and more figuratively, unburdening one's heart of heavy emotions through tears or angry outbursts. This mechanical necessity for release is more spontaneous than consciously constructed verbal acts and therefore regarded as more sincere. Stylistically, because they are reported to us by the trusted narrator, these physical acts of venting are also relied on as proof of genuine feeling. Cleomira in particular is often subject to exorbitant physiological demonstrations to vent the "thousand mingled Passions" struggling in her "labouring Breast"; she faints, convulses, weeps, throws herself

on couches, and acts out in a "raging Fit of Lunacy." She becomes a physical spectacle of primal expression: "I tore my Clothes, my Face, my Hair, threw myself on the Floor, beat my Breast, made the House ring with echoing Shrieks and Lamentations."[21] Cleomira's own telling of such physical and unrestrained acts is also credited as true; neither Belinda nor the readers doubt her.

Lysander also believes the veracity of Cleomira's excessive outbursts, but he attributes her feelings to her sex. He believes that because men and women are physiologically different, women are more susceptible to the passions: "*Your Sexes Souls are of such narrow Space, that the least Passion swells them even to bursting.*"[22] His misogynistic theory dismisses her as being overaffected by love, but it also implies that men's ability to experience passion is compromised by their wider souls. Women simply feel more acutely than men. Scott Paul Gordon observes that the discourse of sensibility "assesses bodies according to nervous capacity, defines each subject as more passive than active, more responsive than responsible."[23] Gordon aptly captures the essence of what passion is: a force that makes a person subservient to itself. Haywood would agree that sensibility privileges certain people—usually, but not exclusively, women. In *Love in Excess*, among other works, her narrator commends sensible, sympathetic readers as the only ones who are capable of understanding the exquisite pain of her heroines. Their nerves, or sensibility, give them access to the sublime passions; however, such a privilege can subject them to being sympathetic to the performed (as opposed to the actually suffered) passions of others. A woman's love makes her susceptible to her lover's mere performance of love's symptoms and his repetition of amorous tropes because she reads his actions through her own feelings. Belinda notes "a certain Languishment" in Courtal's eyes; she "often heard him sigh, observed him to look pale and tremble when on any Occasion he touched my Hand, Symptoms which I now began to know were infallible Tokens of a Tenderness far beyond that which springs from bare Esteem."[24] Thoroughly familiar with the theater and the performances of the passions, Haywood instills an irony in Belinda's observation. Courtal's signs of tenderness are "infallible" only because they convince Belinda that they are real.

Though Haywood's novels often include references to how rakes take advantage of innocent women by performing theatrical shows of love, it is Aaron Hill who later formalizes instructions about how actors should hone their art. The similarity between Haywood's exposure of feigned passions and Hill's burgeoning acting theory indicate some cross-pollination of ideas between the writers. In *Prompter* No.

66, he discusses how an effective actor can play on the sensibilities of his audience: "Now he whose trade it is to represent human passion cannot be qualified for that trade without a knowledge of those passions and a power to put on, at will, the marks and colours which distinguish them. The distinction is two-fold—to the eye, by the look and movement—and to the ear, by the tones of the voice, not only from its elevation and depression, but in a certain significant impregnation of that sound with an animated sensation of purpose." Hill embellishes this observation in *Prompter* No. 92: "[I]f they would alarm the heart, at once, by two different attacks, at the ear and the eye, they must find out that individual word, the sense whereof they would figure by an action, and then, in the instant and moment of its utterance, express by some passionate attitude, their conformity of gesture and motion; by which beautiful exactness of union, the concurring effects of both senses will impress us like those thunderclaps which break near us where the flash and the burst come (without warning) together."[25] The effect of such a performance is sublime; *The Prompter*'s language conflates Longinus's sublime that "scatters everything before it like a bolt of lightning"[26] with Dennis's "Artillery of *Jove*, [that] thunders, blazes, and strikes at once."[27] Where Hill regards such synchronicity of utterance, gesture, and motion as a sublime moment between the actor and audience, Haywood portrays it as deceitful and manipulative when used in life off the stage.

Lysander definitely demonstrates an actor's skill to "alarm the heart [by attacking] the ear and the eye" of women. *The Prompter*'s instructional language echoes Haywood's description of the impression Lysander makes on Cleomira. When he first meets her, she notices that he "had something of I know not what peculiarly Graceful and Enchanting in his voice and Manner of Address," and when he admits his physical feelings to Cleomira, he states that "what I feel for *you* bursts out and blazes too fierce to be concealed——It is not to be expressed—it is not to be imagined how he looked while he was speaking these Words, and much less in what Manner I behaved at hearing them." The effect is that one cannot tell, without specific attention, where Lysander's words end and Cleomira's begin. Does he say that what he feels is "not to be expressed," or does Cleomira say, "It is not to be expressed . . . how he looked"? His desire blurs into hers, and his insincere rhetoric blends into and feeds her passionate response. Because of Lysander's actor's knowledge of the passions—how to convey them as well as how to read them in others—he can admit to Cleomira that "he saw enough in [her] Eyes to make him know the Pleasure [she] took in hearing him speak," which takes away any need for her verbal response.[28]

The visual effect of Lysander/Courtal on both women, his ability to attack their eyes through looks and movement, is described in imagery of physical assault: insidious, as in Belinda's case, or overt, as in Cleomira's. Belinda alludes to Ficino's imagery of love invading the body through the eyes: she "had drawn in an Infection at [her] Eyes and Ears, which mixing with [her] whole Mass of Blood, was to poison all the Quiet of [her] future Days." Earlier, Cleomira admits, "In fine, he was all over Charms——all over glorious, and I believe it impossible for the most Insensible to have beheld him without adoring him——what then became of me!——Oh God! how fruitless would any Endeavours be to represent what 'twas I felt!——Transplanted——Ravished——I wonder the violent Emotions of my *soul* did not bear my *Body* out of the Window."[29] Cleomira's language here in 1722 anticipates the fusion of discourses for the body and soul in *The Plain Dealer*'s 1724 platonic descriptions of the "*Liquefaction,* of the Heart," "to be rapp'd, out of himself! To enjoy perpetual Ecstacy! To be emptied of his own soul, that he may be animated by one, more dear to him!" as well as in Hill's "The Picture of Love."[30] They share the employment of sentence fragments, exclamations, repeated phrases, *synonymia* (synonyms), *epanorthosis* (correction by adding new expressions), as well as words like "transplanted" and "Ecstacy" that denote the physical but connote the spiritual/emotional. But here, as elsewhere, Haywood goes farther in conveying the passions' effect by her use of an overt sexual vocabulary and references to the body over the soul. In addition, her use of the typographical dash makes readers physically imitate the way her impassioned characters speak and breathe.

Many critics have commented on Haywood's use of the dash in her prose; it is one of her characteristic devices to signify a character's passion, to imitate the need to search for the correct word, or to gasp, or to struggle between the desire to speak and the need to repress one's feelings. Haywood's typography visually imitates the style of physical and verbal delivery she was familiar with from her stage experience. A decade later, Hill's thoughts about the significance of the dramatic pause in acting are relevant to Haywood's use of the dash to convey emotional register in her prose:

> All the pauses in utterance should, *like the pointings in reading*, [my emphasis] serve to mark out the sense and give harmony and force to the cadence, and to do this effectually the pause in the sound must be accompanied with no pause in the action but filled out by such agitated perturbation in the look and the gesture as may (instead of interrupting

> the course of the passion) seem but the struggling of its inward emotion, preparing for the utterance of what arises to the conception . . .
>
> Pauses are beautiful because it is one of their most certain effects to make the actor appear *in earnest*—that is, the *conceiver* of what he utters, whereas, without pausing, his words emitted too fast to be mistaken for effects of his thoughts, demonstrate him to be no more than a reciter of that which he should seem to *invent* before he expresses it.[31]

In her prose, Haywood imitates the stage's dramatic pause, often varying the length of her dashes to intimate subtle emotional and psychological differences. The long dashes used in Cleomira's description of how she felt when she saw Lysander from her window, "——Transplanted——Ravished——," are indicative of her sense of awe as she searches out the appropriate words. The sublime effect Lysander arouses in her requires visual space between the words on the page to represent the grand scale of her feelings. This use of the dash for passionate excess is used again when Cleomira recounts her sexual encounter with Lysander. The passage changes from using shorter dashes at the beginning to indicate her need for grammatical specificity to a longer one at the end to separate her catalogue of physical and emotional repercussions from her seduction:

> [H]is glowing Touch now dissolved my very Soul and melted every Thought to soft Compliance—in short, I *suffered*—or, rather let me say I could *not resist* his proceeding from one Freedom to another, till there was nothing left for him to ask or me to grant. The guilty Transport past, a thousand Apprehensions all at once invaded me, Remorse and Shame supplied the place of Ecstasy—Tears filled my Eyes——cold Tremblings seized my Limbs—and my Breast heaved no more with Joy but Horror.—Too sure Presages of that future Woe, which this black Hour brought forth.[32]

Cleomira uses the short dash for pauses so that she can correct how Belinda will perceive her; she makes her words more succinct, moving from the poetic descriptions of her state ("dissolved," "melted," "soft Compliance") to the more matter-of-fact "in short, I *suffered*." The sibilance of "dissolved" and "soft Compliance" is compounded with the meaning of her complying with the "strenuous . . . Pressure" of Lysander's kiss and touch. Compliance can mean amicable relations between people or the servile acquiescence to someone else's wishes. Cleomira admits that she complied but then corrects herself with the word "*suffered*" to imply that she was the victim of the freedoms Lysander took with her. But "to suffer" also means to be

overwhelmed by passion—to be under attack physically, mentally, and spiritually by the passion—and so she again revises her terms to say she "could *not resist* his proceeding," a more ambivalent phrase suggesting that perhaps she was overpowered by his advances rather than by her own desires. *After* she succumbs to Lysander, or her own desires, her language changes from emphasizing verbs to focusing on nouns, the two groups clearly separated from each other by a long dash: the actions ("dissolved," "melted," and "*suffered*") are exchanged for the onslaught of "Apprehensions," "Remorse and Shame," tears, tremblings, horror, and woe as reason reasserts itself too late. The reader must work to fill in the blanks—must rearrange the order of events to figure out what Cleomira felt *during* sex: "Transport," "Ecstasy," "Joy." It is worth noting that although *transport* can refer to an ecstatic experience beyond rational consciousness, on a biological level it is indicative of orgasm, which was believed to lead to pregnancy.[33] When Belinda relates the scene of her interrupted seduction, many of her words are the same as Cleomira's; however, she does not use the word *transport*. She and Courtal do not have sex, and she, unlike Cleomira, does not get pregnant.

Belinda's narration of her woodland liaison with Courtal runs very close to Cleomira's:

> [M]y Hands were the first Victims of his fiery Pressures then my Lips, my Neck, my Breast; and perceiving that, quite lost in Ecstasy, I but faintly resisted what he did far greater Boldnesses ensued——My Soul dissolved, its Faculties overpowered—and Reason, Pride, and Shame, and Fear, and every Foe to soft Desire charmed to Forgetfulness my trembling Limbs refused to oppose the lovely Tyrant's Will! And, if my faultering Tongue entreated him to desist or my weak Hands attempted to repulse the encroaching Liberty of his, it served but, as he said, the more to inflame his Wishes and raise his Passion to a higher Pitch of Fury.[34]

Her long dash after describing Courtal's increased freedoms again leaves a space for her response of her soul dissolving, as well as giving the reader a moment to imagine the man's "Boldnesses" and Belinda's reaction. The long dash functions as a visual signal for that climactic moment between anticipation and satisfaction. After a shorter dash to indicate her need to clarify her terms, she notes first that her mental faculty of reason followed by the protective passions of pride, shame, and fear desert her, leaving her prey to her desire. After this loss of conscious control, rather than using dashes to pause or even

commas to separate ideas and actions, Belinda's narration flows from one action to the next. The onslaught of Courtal's kisses causing her "Ecstasy" and lack of resistance leads to his more aggressive seduction in an almost incomprehensible five-line sentence. "[E]very Foe to soft Desire charmed to Forgetfulness my trembling Limbs refused to oppose" elides the overwhelming of Belinda's mental faculties with her limbs succumbing to Courtal's liberties. One action or feeling moves imperceptibly into the next; the cause and effect of mind and body are not differentiated in her discourse, as both the mental and physical are simultaneously charmed, dissolved, and overpowered by sexual desire.

But where Cleomira and Belinda certainly undergo a very real passionate response and strive to convey it in a language that communicates the sublimity of their experience even as they attempt to protect their reputations, Lysander/Courtal merely appropriates and performs the words and gestures of the passions in order to manipulate and seduce. In his first letter to Cleomira, Lysander addresses her as "*too Divine*," possessing "*Charms . . . to reign over the Souls of all Mankind*," while he is entirely her inferior with "*no other Merit than his Zeal.*" He shakes with the "*inconceivable Terror*" of offending her, and he "*tremble*[s]" that she will "*condemn the Presumption*" of "*the Force of the most violent Passion that ever was.*"[35] Lysander's epistle is "consistent with the language of romance in its fusion of the religious and the sexual," as he deliberately casts himself as the submissive suitor to his courtly love mistress.[36] In his next letter, he employs the whole arsenal of platonic and sublime rhetoric, rife with abstracts, ecstasy, transports, and the body/soul dichotomy:

> Say, with what Words, thou wondrous Abstract of Perfection! Thou loveliest——wisest——Best of all created Beings! Shall I repay a Condescension so unhoped——unmerited? To be permitted to adore you, is Ecstasy too great to bear in Silence!——Oh give my impetuous Transports leave to vent themselves,——let me beneath your Feet declare the mighty Sense I have of so unvalued an Obligation——let, on that happy Earth you tread on, my humble Body avow the lower Prostration of my devoted Soul, and never rise till by some Arguments forcible as my Passion, I have convinced you with how much Truth, Purity, and everlasting Zeal, I am your Slave.[37]

Lysander's insistence on his need for "Words" to express the "Ecstasy too great to bear in Silence" and his desire "to vent," "declare," and "convince" through "Arguments" his "Truth, Purity, and . . . Zeal" belies the fact that his words are already too many and too inflated.

In contrast, Cleomira's response to a similar, in-person outburst from Lysander is simply a list of passions: she says she is "assaulted" by "Surprise, and Joy, and Hope, and Fear, and Shame."[38] Her rather clunky, run-on catalogue of the succession of different emotions effectively conveys how she is bombarded by feelings, and it reads as more honest than Lysander's carefully constructed rhetoric.

The Lady in *Letters from a Lady of Quality* had called out the Chevalier on his inflated language, interpreting his hyperbole as patently artificial and demonstrating "more of Gallantry than Sincerity [and] a greater share of Art than Nature."[39] Belinda writes to Courtal that "*I have often heard say, by those more skilled than myself, that the greatest Symptoms of a true Passion is to be deprived of Utterance, and Incoherence in Expressions.*"[40] The verbosity and exuberance of the rake's declarations suggest that he has studied too hard the rhetoric of amatory fictions, and rather than selecting a few phrases and gestures, he employs all them at once. Paula Backscheider notes that *The British Recluse* "is an isomorphic story, half written in romance discourse [or what I identify as amatory rhetoric] and half in novel language"[41]—the new, passionate language that Haywood uses for psychological realism. Haywood's deliberate dialogism between these two discourses exposes the staginess and artificiality of Lysander/Courtal's language that is bereft of real passion.

Cleomira's memories of how her first sight of Lysander affected her are articulated not only less coherently than his; they are fragmented in style and impressionistic rather than fully delineated, as though her feeling overwhelms her thoughts. Cleomira remembers that "his Air! his Shape! his Face! were more than Human——Myriads of lightning Glories darted from his Eyes as he cast them round the Room yet tempered with such a streaming Sweetness! Such a descending Softness as seemed to *entreat* the Admiration he *commanded*! A thousand Times have I attempted since to *speak* what 'twas I felt at this first fatal Interview, but *Words* could never do Justice to the Wonders of his *Charms* or half describe the *Effect* they wrought on me."[42] Cleomira's language describing Lysander closely echoes that of Alovysa in *Love in Excess* and Haywood's ode to Bowman in *Poems on Several Occasions*. Alovysa describes D'Elmont, "What majesty, then sat upon his brow!—What matchless glories shone around him!—Miriads of Cupids, shot resistless darts in every glance,—his voice when softned in amorous accents, boasted more musick than the poets Orpheus!"[43] Written almost contemporaneously with *The British Recluse*, the "Irregular Ode" describes Hillarius's soul-affecting essence in a similar outpouring of heavenly epithets: "the Wonders of his Soul and Eyes! / Cherubial

Sweetness! Godlike Majesty! / Numberless Myriads of Divinities, / Which, sparkling, in his Looks, his Words, his Works, we see."[44] Both are almost identical to Cleomira's "Wonders of his *Charms*"; "Myriads of lightning Glories"; and "streaming Sweetness!" (including the exclamation mark). Even the triplet of "Wonders" (Lysander in "his Air! his Shape! his Face!") parallels Hillarius in "his Looks, his Words, his Works." Writing to Bowman, Haywood certainly uses a deliberately enthusiastic tone and vocabulary to express how Hillarius affects her. Her language and exclamatory epithets are meant to convey her enraptured state when she sees or thinks of Hill. Still, the almost verbatim repetition of these tropes of passionate expression suggests that Haywood is ridiculing the performativity of these heroines.

Alovysa, Cleomira, and Haywood's own self-effacing persona in the ode are each audacious actresses of the passions—not because they *don't* feel what they try to express but precisely because they *do*. Juxtaposing some of Clio's verse with Haywood's *Poems* and Cleomira's exuberant descriptions of Lysander (Cleomira's name, after all, is a combination of Fowke's two poetic pseudonyms), it is evident that Haywood could very well be exposing such exaggerated language to demonstrate not only its comedic effect but how it diminishes those who attempt to articulate such passion. The words convey little sense of the sublime to an unaffected auditor; however, they serve as a kind of mnemonic device for the impassioned speakers: a way to revitalize a lost passion. As Haywood works through the Longinian sublime to develop a language for the passions, she explores how language itself works.

Any attempt to define Cleomira's terms describing Lysander, or to make them specific in application, is destined to fail. What can it mean that his eyes dart "Myriads of lightning Glories"? "Glories" are "features of resplendent beauty or magnificence, splendours" or "an unearthly beauty attributed by imagination" (*OED*). Though the women's language often seems devoid of semantic content, it certainly expresses, if not engenders and sustains, their passion. Concrete meaning "is precisely what metaphor militates against"; poetic devices are meant "to release words in some measure from their bondage to meaning, their purely referential role, . . . to drive a wedge between words and their meanings, lessen as much as possible their designatory force and thereby inhibit our all too ready flight from them to the things they point to."[45] The function of images like "Glories," "descending Sweetness," and "Wonders" is to stimulate the imagination and feeling even though they do not truly satisfy intellectual understanding. Metaphor offers "[t]he *ecstatic* moment of language—language

going beyond itself." The metaphoric process of figurative language is a combination of "cognition (metaphor's semantic aspect), imagination (its iconic aspect), and feeling (its emotional aspect)."[46] Such a tripartite composition sounds very similar to the aesthetic sublime's effect, which depends not on word, subject, or emotion but all three at the same time and perhaps even something more besides. Language that goes beyond itself, that perpetually strives to describe precisely the passions that a loved one inspires, is forever asymptotic, "earnestly reaching toward [its] goal of perfect signification, but repeatedly falling short of [its] object."[47] However, Haywood is intent on making her readers complicit, by way of their sympathy and their own sensory experiences of love or resentment, in accepting her metaphors for the sublime as a recognizable language for and expression of the passions, even as they realize that such language often falls comically or embarrassingly short.

One of the most compelling aspects of Haywood's presentation of Lysander/Courtal's use of disingenuous language is that he is analogous to her in her function as amatory novelist. Just as he employs "a formal, scripted rhetoric that draws upon the stylistic conventions of courtly love for entirely mercenary purposes,"[48] without feeling any of the emotions he feigns, Haywood offers the motions and words of love, betrayal, and resentment in her protagonists without personally suffering those passions. Because her characters are not real, neither are the passions they are described as undergoing, and yet they evoke sympathetic passionate responses in readers. Haywood's readers are as effectively manipulated by Haywood's language as Lysander's victims are by his. The author Haywood, the rake Lysander/Courtal, the good actor in Aaron Hill's estimation, and Martha Fowke (in Haywood's opinion) are each capable of manipulating others through their performances of passion and their adeptness with passionate language. Addison in *Spectator* No. 418 remarks that the most forceful of descriptions "represents to us such Objects as are apt to raise a secret Ferment in the Mind of the Reader, and to work, with Violence, upon his Passions. For, in this Case, we are at once warmed and enlightened."[49] Haywood, as Savage had noted, is no stranger to "the force of language"; she can "raise a secret Ferment in the Mind[s]" and bodies of her readers. To apply Lana Cable's observation on Ricoeur's metaphor theory, by emphasizing the level of passion in metaphor's role in language, Haywood "demonstrates the necessity for theory to grant *cognitive* legitimacy to linguistic *affect*."[50] Contrary to Richetti's assessment of Haywood's writing as no better than "expressive noise," a reading that takes into account the function of metaphor finds an

intelligent and compassionate mind at work. Haywood's use of the sublime vocabulary, released from semantic meaning, is an effective way of stimulating readers to be aware of the dangers of giving way to the passions and the necessity of judging accurately the veracity of feeling in others' language. Unfortunately, by 1722 Haywood faces the increasing difficulty of keeping her own passions under control and ultimately gives way to their furious expression.

The Injur'd Husband; or, The Mistaken Resentment

By the time *The Injur'd Husband* was published on December 24, 1722 (eight months after *The British Recluse*), Haywood appears intent on vilifying fellow Hillarian Fowke in print. Haywood is clearly determined, from 1721 through 1724, to expose Fowke to the coterie as well as to the public for her promiscuity and insincerity. Neither of these accusations seems to have alarmed the circle, perhaps because they were well-known facts; Fowke's own verse admitted that she was an "Innocent Inconstant" whose heart could not be retained by "one dull Wretch."[51] Perhaps what *did* finally rouse the ire of the circle was Haywood's remark that only "ignorant Wretches" are fooled into believing that Fowke's "incoherent Stuff which she calls Verses" is witty.[52]

My interest is in how Fowke elicits and informs Haywood's impassioned responses to her character in *The Injur'd Husband*, and of course, the First Part of *Memoirs*, both of which portray Fowke as an "Insensible." Despite Fowke's public reputation for being a free spirit in love, Haywood writes of her incarnation as Tortillée that "in Reality she never knew what 'twas to love sincerely: . . . she was over-heard to say . . . that that Woman was a Fool that ever gave her self the least *real* Uneasiness on the account of *Love*: . . .'tis necessary to counterfeit a Passion."[53] In these two works, acting theory, the use of the aesthetic sublime, and the physical and psychological need to express as well as the social urge to suppress the passions are almost forensically investigated by Haywood.

The Injur'd Husband has attracted critical attention primarily because it is purported to depict a Hillarian love triangle comprising Fowke (Tortillée), Hill (Beauclair), and Haywood (Montamour). Savage features prominently as the rumormongering scoundrel DuLache. Scholars are quick to point out that the French names provide the clues to identities and personalities: "Montamour" means "lover of Hill."[54] Guskin states unequivocally that Montamour is Haywood,[55] and

Gerrard says that "Beauclair ('beautiful fair one'), [is] clearly Aaron Hill."[56] The French verb *tortiller* is defined as "to wiggle, wriggle, writhe . . . *tortillage*, means underhand intrigue—shuffling, hedging, hanky-panky," writes Beasley,[57] while Gerrard translates "Tortillée" as "twisted or crooked, but also possibly alluding to Fowke's head of luxuriant ringlets,"[58] to which Fowke herself refers in "Clio's Picture." While it certainly makes for a more salacious story to cast Haywood as the virtuous and silently suffering Montamour victimized by the baroness/Fowke who steals away Beauclair/Hill's affection, Hill's wife, Margaret, may be more suitably cast.

In the *Miscellany*, Margaret Hill and Fowke conduct a poetic dialogue as Miranda and Clio on the subject of sleep and jealousy. Miranda writes how sleep offers the jealous woman comfort because it "Secures her Wand'rer from suspected Arms; / [She] Smiles in triumphant Slumber with Disdain, / And blasts the hated Cause of Rival Pain; / But waking into Anguish, raves to see, / That all her Joys were left behind with [Sleep]."[59] Gerrard observes that Miranda's poem is "an encoded message . . . to Clio, and Clio knew it"; Clio's answer poem "To MIRANDA; Occasion'd by Her Verses on SLEEP" "seems intended to reassure Mrs. Hill that the rumours of her affair with Aaron Hill have no substance; there is no cause for jealousy."[60] Miranda replies to Clio's effusive compliments on her verse by saying that although she is not as talented as Clio gives her credit for, "One way to Merit I can make Pretence, / 'Tis from *Affinity* to Excellence; / For if on Earth there can Perfection be, / Heav'n, that bestow'd *Hillarius*, gave it *Me*."[61] Margaret Hill's claim to excellence is her husband, and she clearly demarcates for Fowke her marital territory.

Miranda also warns another woman apparently in the circle, Aurelia, away from Hill upon "hearing she was an Admirer of HILLARIUS." Rather than being angry with Aurelia, Miranda mentions the danger inherent in Hill's own character, referring to him as "this Woman-catching Snare" and in an analogy wherein women are likened to birds: "The watchful Sportsman [Hill] smil[es] to see them fall, / And [springs] th' unerring Net upon 'em all."[62] From this description it would seem that Margaret feels her husband, unwittingly or not, entraps women through their attraction to him. Though we do not know the identity of the woman behind the pseudonym Aurelia, Hill does write a secret love poem to her titled "The Messenger." He carefully reworks the poem and expurgates her name from it so that by the time it is collected in his *Works* it is more innocent than the original "sexually charged love-lyric"[63] that appeared (probably without Hill's permission) in Richardson's second volume of *Pamela*.[64] In her

own poetry, Margaret Hill demonstrates that she is well aware of how attractive her husband is to women and that she suspects or may even know about his love affairs. One can imagine the tensely electric air of some meetings of the Hillarian assembly when it was time for their poems to be circulated and discussed.

As a member of the coterie, Haywood is a very interested observer of the interactions of those around her: her works include observations on Savage and Fowke, Fowke and her husband Arnold Sansom, and the dynamics of the Hill marriage. Our only intimate glimpse into the Hill household's early days appears in *Memoirs*, in which Haywood includes a story about the two Hill brothers, Aaron (Lauranus) and Gilbert (Constantius), and their wives. Lauranus's young wife's "gentle Breast [is infused with] the Poison of Jealousy" by her sister-in-law, Flirtillaria, who "repeated to her all the little Gallantries she had ever heard of *Lauranus*" and "told her it was a jest for her to expect Constancy from him, whose Inclinations were the most amorous and roving of any Man in the world." Haywood goes on to write that the young wife—Margaret was 16 when she wed the 25-year-old Hill—"conceal'd the Cause of her Chagrin" from her husband, but he soon guesses that "she had been told something which had embitter'd the natural Sweetness of her Temper."[65] Discovering Flirtillaria's lies, Lauranus forces Constantius and his wife to leave his house, upon which he achieves marital happiness. Haywood's anecdotal scene in *Memoirs* and Margaret Hill's poems to Clio and Aurelia in the *Miscellany* are suggestive of some unrest within the Hill marriage for which Hill himself does not seem entirely blameless, but gossip and lies are also responsible. That the *Memoirs* scene immediately precedes the introduction of Fowke as Flirtillaria's friend suggests that Fowke, too, may be involved with those who threaten the Hills' marriage.

When Haywood was at work on *The Injur'd Husband* in 1722, Margaret Hill was 28 years old and had just given birth (in June) to the Hills' ninth child in 12 years. Haywood's novel follows a character named Tortillée (née la Motte) whose history very closely resembles Fowke's own as she describes it in both *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon* and Clio's *Letter to Hillarius*: both are of French descent; they are each left wealthy and independent upon the deaths of their fathers; neither lacks wit, but both behave promiscuously. After Mlle. la Motte's last lover, Don Philip D'Esperanz (whose name means "hope"), returns to his wife and family in Spain (paralleling Fowke's lover Nicholas Hope's return to his family in Barbados before she took up with Hill), she begins an affair with the Baron de Tortillée: "[P]retending her speedy Compliance with his Desires was the

Effect of a Passion, which Desert, like his, could not but create, [she] deluded the enamour'd *Baron* with a Belief he was the happiest of his Sex; and they contriv'd to huddle up the Wedding." The similarity to Clio's confessed live-in relationship with Sansom, whom she says her brother insisted she marry for the sake of her family's reputation, is clear. Where Clio writes to Hillarius that she wed Sansom because she wanted to use his money to help others, Tortillée aims only to "gratify her Inclinations" and give "a Loose to all the Sallies of her ungovern'd Passions." Once married, Tortillée embarks on a series of illicit affairs, acquiring five different lovers at one time, each believing he is her only one. But as soon as she gains one, her inconstant and ambitious nature compels her to engage another. Although comparable to the male rake with his voracious sexual appetite and need for variety, Tortillée's particular fault is not sexual lust but a homosocial compulsion to lord power over other women: "[B]eing naturally of a most malicious Disposition to all amiable Persons of her own Sex, [she] took an inexpressible Pleasure in having it in her Power to mortify 'em"; "to give *Disquiet* to her *own* Sex heightned her Satisfaction in the Enjoyment of the *other*: . . . The Embraces of a God, *unenvy'd*, wou'd have been tasteless and insipid."[66] For Tortillée, love is a competitive sport; her affairs must be known and envied by another woman for her to truly enjoy, for a time, her relationship with a man. Haywood accuses Fowke of a similar fault in *A Spy upon the Conjurer*: "[W]hat will not a Woman do to torture one esteem'd more worthy than her self."[67]

In *The Injur'd Husband*, Haywood reviles the baroness's character not for her promiscuity but for the lies she spreads about Montamour and her lack of genuine passion for the men she engages in sexual affairs. Tortillée merely mimics the gestures of love; she does not sincerely experience it. Throughout the novel, Haywood juxtaposes the histrionic behaviors of Tortillée with the severe repression of Montamour's very real suffering; she uses the language of bodies as well as the psychological repercussions on the mind to demonstrate the differences between real and performed passions and, interestingly, how they are both fraudulent behaviors. The triangle of desire that was Martha Fowke, Aaron Hill, and his wife, Margaret, offers Haywood a compelling template on which to fashion her characters as they battle their own and manipulate each other's passions.

Of course, Haywood herself can still fit into this formula just as well as Margaret. As Kathryn King points out, "Texts separated by nearly two years," *The Injur'd Husband* and *Memoirs* "repeat the same charge: Savage, acting for [Fowke], uses lies and innuendo to

besmear a certain virtuous woman and destroy her high-minded and deeply cherished friendship with a certain man."[68] As Hill's visible support of Haywood disappeared after 1721 when he provided the Epilogue for her play *The Fair Captive*, it is imaginable that something, or someone, may have estranged him from her. Equally likely is that the established Haywood no longer required Hill's mentorship. Fowke could have encouraged Savage to sully Haywood's reputation and ruin her friendship with Hill. Either Margaret Hill or Eliza Haywood could be likened to Montamour, who refuses to confront Beauclair about his abrupt abandonment of her. Following precisely Haywood's prescriptive advice to the heartbroken woman in her "Discourse," Montamour exhibits "Constancy of Mind, and Steadiness of Resolution . . . [S]he lov'd, she worshipp'd, she ador'd him still; within her gentle Soul no Storms of Anger rag'd, no wild Revenge, no Jealousy had Place; . . . she consider'd [his behavior] only as a Flaw in his Disposition, a Frailty influenc'd by *Fate*, unavoidable and therefore pardonable. Never Woman bore the *Disappointment* of her Hopes with so little Resentment . . . she chose to die away in fruitless Wishes, rather than let the *dear Unkind* be sensible of what she felt."[69] There is no absence of passion here because Montamour continues to love Beauclair. The language is suffused with feminine attributes (gentleness, softness, tenderness), including a catalogue of the woman's positive feelings ("she lov'd, she worshipp'd, she ador'd him still") juxtaposed with an equal number of negative ones that she lacks ("no . . . Anger, no wild Revenge, no Jealousy"). But the absence of strong negative passions, though socially laudable, seems to result in Montamour's own physical deterioration by melting and dying away "in fruitless Wishes." The energy and harsh consonants in *Anger*, *Revenge*, and *Jealousy* give way to the whispery sibilance of *Disappointment*, *languishments*, *secret Meltings*, and *fruitless Wishes*. By choosing to conceal what she really feels, Montamour herself seems to disappear.

By keeping her emotions hidden, Montamour attempts to prohibit others from interpreting her as anything but unmoved over Beauclair's abandoning her. But though she can remain silent and consciously suppress her words, she cannot restrain her body from displaying her symptoms of suffering: "[H]er *Eyes*, whenever she attempted to speak of *Beauclair* with Indifference, declar'd her *Heart* was far from consenting to what she said: His very Name but mention'd spread soft Confusion over all her Face; with stifled Sighs her lovely Bosom heav'd! and gentle Tumults trembled in each Limb." Although she can "so well dissemble the Disorders of her

Soul" in public, when she is alone she must give "loose to the long labouring pent-up Passions of her Soul,—her Couch,—her Bed, were now no longer able to sustain the force of her wild Grief,—she grovell'd on the Floor,——she beat her Breast,——she wrung her lovely Hands,——the celebrated Lustre of her shining Eyes was now extinct in Tears; and whoever had seen her in this Condition wou'd have believ'd it impossible she cou'd, but some Moments before, have worn such an Appearance of Serenity."[70] Montamour must give way to the physical expression of her passions because they are of such strength that they essentially erupt from her. In two specific scenes, Haywood describes the physical as well as psychological force of these "pent-up Passions" in two competing languages: the sublimely epic describing the spiritual and the medically analytical describing the physical effects. For the first example, Haywood employs a jarring epic simile that is strangely out of place in the amatory style and so draws attention to itself:

> As subterranean Fires prey on their Mansion, and consume with certain, tho' unseen, Destruction; the various and violent Agitations which rag'd in the Breast of this unhappy Lady, not having Liberty to vent themselves, roll'd stormy for a while, then growing too mighty for Restraint disdain'd all Bounds, and wou'd have burst in Exclamations suited to their Cause, had not her gentle Soul, entirely unaccustom'd to such Struggles, refus'd to obey the Dictates of her Fury; when she was about to shew herself, to speak, and to upbraid, she lost the Power, her Voice forsook her, and her every Sense flew frighted at the Tempest, and left her Body motionless on the Earth.[71]

The epic simile originates in the Longinian sublime: the destruction brought about by a volcanic eruption and the violent agitation of a storm are both images of natural grandeur and power that, as Addison and Hill mention in their essays on the sublime, generate awe and terror. As David Fairer points out, "[T]he 'sublime' mode . . . is centrifugal in tendency—its energies are directed outwards beyond the self."[72] Such a figure of power and destruction applied to a woman struggling to keep her emotions under control may seem unduly disproportionate; however, Haywood had employed a similar image to describe a similar eruption of repressed passion in her third "translated" poem in *Poems on Several Occasions*: a whirlwind riding over buildings on fire.[73] While Haywood uses the sublime for describing the effects of personal emotions, Hill is more concerned with restricting that figurative style to natural events or the religious

sublime as Longinus described. In Hill's 1721 poem *The Judgment-Day*, which he would have been writing at the same time Haywood was writing her novel, he personifies oceans and earth with passions in language apparently closely affiliated with Haywood's for Montamour:

> Deep-swallow'd *Earth*, mean while, still *loos'ning more*,
> Lets *in* old *Ocean*, to her *Central Fires*;
> Th' astonish'd Deluge, ne'er so check'd before,
> *Shrinks* from the *Pain*, and in loud *Roar*, retires!
> Close, in *Pursuit*, the bursting *Flame* breaks *thro'* th' unusual Vent,
> O'ertakes the rolling Floods slow Flight, and climbs th' *Immense* Extent!
> On all Sides, now, the Fire-assaulted Waves,
> Feel themselves *boil*; and *curl* to shun the Heat;
> . . .
> Melting *within*, Earth's sulp'hry Solids *flow*,
> Pierc'd by the Force of her expanding Flame;
> *Metals*, dissolv'd, in blazing Lakes, below,
> With *liquid Burnings*, dash her *concave* Frame!
> *Victor*, at length, out *bursts* the *flooding Fire*,
> And *rolls*, *triumphant*, o'er the *bellow'ing Sea!*[74]

While Hill's passage depicts the day of reckoning when "fire and water wrestle for supremacy" and the "universe [is] suddenly released from all laws,"[75] Haywood's images convey an inner landscape; she simultaneously juxtaposes and coalesces the powerful, violent motions of the earth within Montamour's delicate and feminine body. Haywood's language, as discordant as it may seem at first, conveys the potential within a woman to be overcome with rage, fury, and violence—to explode outward in her passions rather than remain quiescent. The image divides Montamour into three parts: her body ("the Mansion"), her passions ("subterranean Fires"), and her "gentle Soul" that refuses "to obey the Dictates of her Fury." The conflict between her "various and violent Agitators" that strive to "burst in Exclamations" and her reason that will not permit them to be vented results in her complete deprivation of bodily senses: "[E]very Sense flew frighted at the Tempest, and left her Body motionless on the Earth." The sentence carries within it the alliteration and meter of a poetic line, and even epic Miltonic diction, suggesting the heroic effort of Montamour in her struggle to subdue her passions. For Hill, who constantly polices his own and others' passions in print, Haywood's language expressing personal interiority must have seemed somewhat impolite.

Juxtaposed against the language of the sublime that radiates passionate expressions outward, exploding a person's responses out into the world, are the narrator's observations on the negative physical and psychological effects of repressing excessive passion. She notes that "Passions of all kinds find Ease in the discovery, but smother'd Anguish preys on the very Vitals, the stifled Sighs recoil on the tormented Heart, and crack the Strings of Life." The suffocation references suggest that though the passions are a life force that can be aggressively suppressed, this only makes them more powerful, turning on the body that houses them and cracking the heartstrings to damage the very core of a person. Though Montamour is resolved "rather to dye than recede from that Indifference she had vow'd to wear for ever in her Behaviour" toward Beauclair,[76] Haywood's language makes it clear that such pride is detrimental to her well-being. The simplicity and grace of the first part of her sentence ("Passions of all kinds find Ease in the discovery") imitates the naturalness of allowing them expression; the harsh consonants and destructive actions describing the tortures inflicted on the "Vitals," the "Heart," and the "Strings of Life" ("smothered," "preys," "stifled," "recoil," "crack") demonstrate the seemingly vengeful, forceful violence enacted against the body and soul in repressing one's natural feelings. Just one year later, in *The Rash Resolve* (1723), Haywood repeats in almost the same words her anatomical analysis of repressed passion: "[W]hen our Woes are of a nature, as will not admit revealing, they prey on our very Vitals, and waste the Spirits with unintermitting Anguish, and seldom fail of bringing on Death or Distraction."[77] Haywood's language conflates the physical with the psychological to convey an intensely visceral image of the passions eating away at the internal organs. More than revealing the inner emotions on one's countenance, Haywood delves into the very core of each of us ("our woes" and "our . . . Vitals") to exploit and uncover these destructive feelings. Her language's graphic quality far exceeds Blunt's metaphor of the "Garrison of the Mind" being attacked, besieged, and defeated and even the Mind-Midwife's curing of Jyngle's "Pain in his Stomack" and "Load, at his Heart." In spite of Blunt's (and Hill's) insistence that "*True Politeness* is . . . *civiliz'd Plain Dealing*,"[78] and his almost prudish attempt to eschew in his discourse the body's passionate responses, Haywood imbues her language with a visceral vitality that wrenches the guts to affect the mind.

Beauclair's passions upon seeing Montamour after he has learned how he was duped by DuLache and Tortillée's lies about her are described with similar anatomical intensity: "[H]ow impossible would it be to set forth the Confusion he was in: the sudden Rush of painful

Ecstasie! the darting, throbbing, tingling Mixture of Delight and Terror, which every Vein confess'd! and shook the alarm'd Heart with almost mortal Tremblings: not all the natural Boldness of his Sex, not all that Presence of Mind which us'd to be his inseparable Companion, not all the Resolutions he had form'd, not all the Care he had taken to arm himself for this Encounter, were sufficient to defend him when once the lovely injur'd *Montamour* appear'd!" The four repetitions of the phrase "not all" places the strong, intellectual characteristics of boldness, presence of mind, resolution, and care in direct opposition to the "Confusion" of passionate and bodily symptoms that overwhelm Beauclair at the sight of Montamour. The list of physical symptoms are reminiscent of those in Hill's "The Picture of Love," especially the accumulative "darting, throbbing, tingling" in the veins, the simultaneous "Delight and Terror," and paradoxical "painful Ecstasie!" The list of sensations, including the shaking of "the alarm'd Heart with almost mortal Tremblings," rushes over the reader with an energy that mimics the onslaught of the physical responses and contrasts with the orderly and weighty four-times-repeated phrase "not all" that attempts but fails to counterbalance the passions. In another scene in which Beauclair is overcome with emotion, Haywood again describes how the (im)potent combination of "Words and Actions" manifest the turmoil of the struggling soul. Interestingly, she does not provide examples of "his faultering Speech" or "his unconnected Expressions" that normally she would, interjected with dashes and exclamation marks. It is as though *here*, she does not want to be at all eloquent or artful. She offers only short phrases and a multiplicity of commas and adjectives to sketch Beauclair's inarticulate and vibrating state: "All that the tenderest Love, the fiercest Wishes, the most bleeding, burning, Passion, made desperate, and raging, can inflict, was to the Life demonstrated in all his Words and Actions; his trembling Limbs, his wild distracted Looks, his faultering Speech, his unconnected Expressions, display'd the Deity in his full genuine Force. Unshadow'd, Undisguis'd, with any of those Pageant Arts of Pompous Eloquence, which oft adorn a counterfeited Flame; but are forgot and lost amidst the Ardors of a true Affection."[79] As we saw in *The British Recluse*, where physical descriptions of desire were evidence of true emotion and more trustworthy than words, here we see Haywood mastering two languages—one for base matter, another for sublime spirit—to communicate the "whole truth" of the passions experienced. In her description of Beauclair's reaction to the sight of Montamour, Haywood skillfully balances the sublime and the physiological languages to convey a "true" passion in all its dimensions.

The Baroness de Tortillée, on the other hand, indulges the performance of the passions, even though she is not often subject to those she enacts. She lacks interiority—a heart. Her desires are worldly and mostly material; she does not yearn for an ecstasy beyond language. She neither strives for nor comprehends the sublime. Like Lysander, the consummate actor in *The British Recluse*, Tortillée knows how to use "Art and Study" as well as "Dissimulation" to convince others that she is passionately affected: "[A]ssuming an Air all soft and tender, talk'd to him, and look'd on him with that sort of kind Concern as is usual between the most near and affectionate Relations; . . . [she] wou'd now and then let fall a Word, cast an amorous Glance and vent a Sigh, as if it had escap'd her in spite of her Endeavours to restrain it." Haywood's employment of parenthetical remarks to describe Tortillée's carefully performed responses to Beauclair's actions not only allows readers to visualize the movements of the characters; they also function like stage directions to demonstrate that Tortillée is only acting according to her own script—she is not sincere: "Oh unhappy and unguarded Woman that I am (said she, seeming to weep)"; "Oh I am undone for ever (pursu'd she after a Pause, and mustering all her Force to dart one piercing Glance)"; "As she spoke these Words she sunk by degrees, and at last fell quite back, in a counterfeited Swoon." Later the narrator points out that Montamour, too, practices feigned behavior when she is described "(counterfeiting an Air of Gaiety)."[80] But this cannot compete with Tortillée's performance of the victimized heroine in the attempted rape scene that she acts out for her husband. Parentheses, dashes, repetition, exclamations, and physical gestures are all at her disposal and used so hyperbolically that the reader must laugh at her excess. In fact, Haywood takes the reader out of the moment to appreciate not only the histrionics of Tortilleé's performance but the reactions of the other onstage characters:

> The Scene must certainly have been pleasant enough to observe, if any disinterested Person had been Witness of it: to behold a couple of Men stand gazing on each other without Power of Speech or Motion, while a Woman was acting over a thousand various Passions in Gestures and Grimaces suited to them all——sometimes rejoicing at the *Deliverance* she pretended to have had——sometimes feigning to look back with Horrour on her past *Danger*——now *weeping*, as it were thro' Tenderness,——then *exclaiming* against the Baseness of Mankind——with one Breath *Cursing* her own Charms for being the occasion of inspiring loose Desires,——and with the next, *Blessing* Heaven for giving her the Means of resisting them.[81]

Tortillée, like an actor performing a director's methodical instructions, progresses through a series of outward movements. What is lacking in her "Gestures and Grimaces," as well as from the language describing them, is any indication of *feeling* them subjectively. Tortillée deliberately mimics but remains unaffected; "rejoicing," "exclaiming," "weeping," and looking horrified can all be effectively dissembled, but when Haywood wants to show how passions overwhelm, her sentence structure becomes disordered and energetic, her descriptions become more adjectival and exclamatory, and she stresses the internal symptoms as well as the physical manifestations of the passion. Haywood incorporates the characters' souls into her descriptions. What continually damns Tortillée is her "Presence of Mind": her deliberate decision not to be transported by, or susceptible to, any passion. She is always capable of "Artifice" and "counterfeiting," as she coldly assesses a situation and then adapts her behavior to best suit her needs. The only fleeting moment of sympathy the reader has for the Baroness is when she is genuinely overcome with passion for Beauclair: she "was for some Moments too much transported to have Recourse to Artifice: Scarce knowing what she did, she mix'd her Breath with his; and as he held her, press'd him closer still!" Here she *feels* rather than thinks. Even this brief glimpse of being "transported" and mixing "her Breath with his," with its suggestion of her soul (in the breath) being involved, provides a hint of what Tortillée denies herself. Like Beauclair, who discovers "in spite of all the Strength of Reason he was master of, that *Love* is not a Passion liable to control,"[82] Tortillée, too, can be overcome by love; however, she *chooses* not to be, because ambition and power are more important to her. To achieve what she wants, she must remain rational and in complete control. Tortillée can go through the motions of love that may trick her body into responding passionately, but her soul remains unaffected. For Haywood, Fowke's performances of love, such as those she describes in her poetry, are simply imitations; Fowke is guilty of a kind of sacrilege, as she acts out the motions of love but is insensible of its real power.

Beauclair manifests what it is to be a genuine victim of the passions through his lack of control and his complete subservience to love upon his recognition of what he has lost in Montamour:

> [A] sudden burst of wild impetuous Passion broke thro' all Disguise! blaz'd in his Eyes! and shew'd the burning Lover plain! Forgetful of what his cooler Thoughts had form'd, he threw himself on her Bosom, grasping her with a Violence scarce supportable, and fixing close to

> hers his glowing Lips, had Power no other way to express the Ecstasie he now again began to re-enjoy——a thousand fond endearing things crowded at once into his Soul, and press'd for Utterance——he wou'd have spoke 'em all, but the tumultuous Meanings were too great, too many, and overthrew each other in the Throng, and all he cou'd bring forth was *Montamour!*——Angelick *Montamour!*——Divine, Adorable *Montamour!*[83]

The disjointed fragments and exclamations; the description of his body responding seemingly of its own volition, overthrowing "his cooler Thoughts"; the repeated phrases ("too great, too many") imitating the piling up of ideas; and the speed with which the "Throng" of "endearing things" he wishes to say mimicked by the phrases being crowded but separated by dashes that supersede grammatical punctuation—all these devices are packed into one long sentence that becomes more chaotic until the reader, as well as Beauclair, can barely breathe out Montamour's name. The reader gets caught up in the passionate energy of the description, which seems to get beyond the writer's control but is, in fact, carefully crafted.

Montamour's continual ability to repress her passions in the company of Beauclair may appear similar to Tortillée's performance of passions she does not feel: both deny genuine expression. However, Haywood permits us to witness at what personal cost Montamour maintains her outward reserve for the good of her reputation and to teach Beauclair her value. Though Montamour is supposed to be exemplary, we become exasperated with her strict adherence to the demands of social behavior, more so than with Tortillée's hypocritical performances to manipulate her lovers. Each woman behaves in an extreme fashion antithetical to common sense, denying real passion, but it is Montamour whom we wish to see free herself from society's behavioral demands so that she can act according to her desire. Montamour continues to love Beauclair but must mask her feelings. Tortillée has no such love against which to fight, making her less human. Ironically, Haywood's description of Montamour's resistance to follow her heart, even when she is urged by others to marry the man she loves, suggests that she verges on being as inhuman as her nemesis.

Montamour must disguise herself as a man, Vrayment (meaning "truly"), to explain to Beauclair the need for "the Cruelty and unforgiving Temper of his Mistress": "[H]ad *Montamour* granted to your Inconstancy that kind Reward its contrary had merited, she had proved the *Lover*, but not the Woman of *Discretion*, and had

been guilty of an Injustice to herself, which I know not how she wou'd have been able to account for." As Vrayment, she becomes Beauclair's physician for the soul: "Whenever [Vrayment] found him more than ordinarily sad he wou'd endeavour to divert his Griefs, or when he found him . . . transported with Excess of Passion, and appearing like one totally depriv'd of Reason, he wou'd for a while give way to the Tempest of his Despair, then gently parly with the Fury, till by degrees he sooth'd it to a Calm . . . [Beauclair] look'd on him as his Guardian Angel, sent down from Heaven to soften his impetuous Passions, and restore his Peace." Using the same therapeutic discourse that will be employed in *The Plain Dealer*'s "Midwife for the Mind" papers in 1724, Vrayment is able to guide Beauclair toward a proper expression of his feelings because she has struggled with the same need for philosophical control over her own behavior. Classically, the physician for the soul can successfully treat the afflicted because he can sympathize with his patient, having suffered in the same way himself. Haywood advises that her readers, too, must experience the same passions as these characters in order truly to understand her language: "[T]o comprehend in any measure what it was he felt, 'tis necessary to be possest of all those burning Passions!——those distracting Whirls of tortur'd Thought."[84] The only truly effective language to describe the passions must be built on sensory, sensual, and passionate experience, and one must have suffered the passions to understand the feelings others attempt to describe. Such language can work only if those using it are sympathetic to the desire of others to communicate their interiority and are willing to use their imagination and their own feelings to fill in the gap between word and intended meaning.

Montamour and Beauclair are finally rewarded with marriage, while Tortillée, her stratagems exposed by a foolish lover who is careless with her letters, swallows poison and dies. To the very end, Tortillée is interested only in herself: her pride suffers, but never her heart. Readers learn the humanism and heroism in loving, suffering, and being possessed by all the "burning Passions," so that they become critical even of Montamour's restricted behavior. For Haywood, to be like Tortillée, manipulative of the passions of others, is detestable, but to deny one's feelings in order to please society is almost as bad. The passions must be expressed for the good of one's mental and physical health, and a language for them aids people in sharing them and understanding each other, even if only through the private reading of literature.

The Rash Resolve: or, The Untimely Discovery

Almost a year to the day after *The Injur'd Husband*, *The Rash Resolve* was published on December 12, 1723. Though *The Rash Resolve* continues *The Injur'd Husband*'s theme of the dangers of evil-intentioned lies, its main focus is on a mother's devotion to her illegitimate child, connecting the novel, through a reversed image, with Richard Savage and his claim to be the bastard son of Anne Brett, the former Countess of Macclesfield, and the late Earl Rivers. Hill and Haywood took it on themselves to campaign publicly for Macclesfield to acknowledge Savage as her son. In 1724, *The Plain Dealer* included three essays (Nos. 15, 28, and 73), along with poems by and about Savage, on the subject of unnatural mothers, and the first edition of the 1726 *Miscellany*, "almost certainly facilitated by Hill, had been transformed in appearance from an innocuous 'benefit' volume into a persecuting public finger pointing at Lady Macclesfield."[85] Haywood's novel does not take such an aggressive approach. Instead, it relates the love, devotion, and self-sacrifice of a mother for her illegitimate son—a conciliatory, wish-fulfillment fantasy for Savage, as well as perhaps a reflection of Haywood's own passions as a new mother herself. (Spedding estimates that her eldest child "was *probably* born between April and December 1722.")[86] Kathryn King wonders if the novel is Haywood's "attempt to win back Savage with whom, if her hostile treatment in *The Injur'd Husband* . . . is any indication, she seems already to have been on rocky terms."[87] But at the end of 1723, before *Memoirs* was published in September of 1724, Savage was happy enough with Haywood and her novel to provide it with a dedicatory poem praising her writing: "In thy full Figures, Painting's Force we find, / As Music charms, thy Language lifts the Mind. / Thy Pow'r gives Form, and touches into Life / The Passions imag'd in their bleeding Strife."[88] Again, it is Haywood's language, her ability to convey the passions with a tangible intensity, that is commended.

The language throughout *The Rash Resolve* emphasizes the power of love and how it cannot be resisted even by a sensible and high-minded person. This theme is one that the Hillarians must have discussed often, as we see it recur and debated throughout their works.[89] The incremental description of love's progressive power over Emanuella and Emilius manifests how it builds, rendering them virtually blameless for its ultimate possession of them: "[T]hat Tyrant Passion lords it o'er the Mind, fills every Faculty, and leaves no room for any other Thought——drives Consideration far away——overturns

Reflection——and permits no Image but it self to dwell in Fancy's Region"; "O how dangerous is it to transgress, even the least Bounds of that Reserve which is enjoined by Virtue for our Guard! . . . rapacious, greedy Love, too conscious of his Power, encroached on all, and nothing left for Honour."[90] The personification of love as a tyrannical and cognizant god depicts it as a power outside of oneself, in contention with one's own choices. It must be battled, but because it is godlike, the outcome is already decided in its favor. Emanuella is inhabited by love like Tortillée never could be, and because of that, Emanuella is a sympathetic character.

Like Montamour, Emanuella does not verbally express her resentment or sorrow to Emilius when he abandons her without explanation: "Few Women but in such a Circumstance would have writ, and upbraided the cruel Destroyer of their Peace; but *Emanuella*'s Soul disdain'd those Testimonies of continued Weakness, which however bitter they may appear in the *Expression*, the *Meaning* still is *Love*; for the Indifferent give not themselves the Pains." Her pride and "fatal Consciousness, how little she had deserved the Treatment she had found" give her some strength and sustain her, but those traits, along with her "*Resentment*" and "*Modesty*," are described as "pernicious"—life-threatening—because they prevent her from seeking out Emilius and clearing up the matter.[91]

The Rash Resolve actually contains very little dialogue or impassioned speech by the characters, and it is relatively barren of even the narrator's psychological analysis of their feelings. An often-quoted passage describing Emanuella's state of mind upon discovering her pregnancy is one of very few in the novel that attempt to articulate and anatomize the passions that accost the mind:

> She found she was now destined to go through all that can be conceived of Shame—of Misery—of Horror—in fine, she found herself with Child!—With Child without a Husband!—with Child by a Man who she had heard from all hands was going to be married to another!——and what was yet worse, by a Man whom she accounted the vilest, and most perfidious of his Sex!—What Words, nay, what Imagination can paint out her Distress as it deserves!———She was infinitely more wretched than any other Woman would have been in the like Circumstances, by the Addition of a superior Understanding—and the Greatness of her Spirit, and that Fortitude which had so well enabled her to bear all other Misfortunes, serv'd here but to increase the Misery of her Condition, and prevent her from stooping to those Measures by which she alone could hope to secure her Reputation, and screen what had happen'd from the Knowledge of a censorious and unpitying World.[92]

John Richetti summarizes passages like this as "evocations of specifically female disaster that defy adequate description, indeed that can illustrate the irrelevance of language . . . for depicting female suffering." The circumstances that evoke Emanuella's distress are gendered: no man could be in her particular predicament. But Haywood is concerned with finding language for the passions for *both* sexes, not just women. We are focused on Emanuella's emotions in this quoted paragraph, and although it is easy enough for the unwary critic to become sidetracked by the sensational "female disaster" of Emanuella's pregnancy, the particular interest is on *what* and *how* she feels, not necessarily that she is a *woman* feeling. Emanuella denies herself expression, not because society is constantly surveilling her actions (which was Montamour's concern in *The Injur'd Husband*), but because, as Haywood continually emphasizes, she is an especially proud and sensitive person, with "a superior Understanding" and a "Greatness of Spirit." She progresses through "Shame," a moral passion arising from the awareness of having done something that offends her own as well as society's sense of modesty and decency; "Misery," a psychological feeling of wretchedness but also physical suffering; and "Horror," a psychological response of loathing and fear combined with the physical symptom of trembling. What Richetti calls "a breathless rush of erotic/pathetic clichés"[93] is, in fact, a catalogue of complex physiological and psychological reactions, the experience of which Haywood's writing style in this passage deliberately mimics.

Haywood uses repetition with variations and qualifications to convey the several stages of Emanuella's realization as well as the personal implications of her pregnancy: she "found herself with Child!" implying that the condition is surprising; quickly followed by the realization that she is "with Child without a Husband!" aggravating her predicament because she is alone and will therefore be judged harshly by society; and then the realization that she is "with Child by a Man who . . . was going to be married to another!" so that she cannot remedy her situation through marriage. The accumulation of social complications serves to convey how these circumstances build up her wretchedness. After these three phrases of "with Child," the focus moves to Emilius, who is not only the "Man" wedding another woman but the "Man whom [Emanuella] accounted the vilest, and most perfidious of his Sex!" The narrator admits that neither words nor imagination "can paint out her Distress as it deserves," but the weight of the repeated phrases imitates the bombardment of passions Emanuella withstands, so that the reader's impression of her suffering is visceral as well as intellectual.

At the end of the tale, the narration takes a pathetic turn when Emilius and his wife desire Emanuella and her son to live with them. The once distressed and abandoned mother is overwhelmed with kindness and dies of "a broken Heart," though the modern reader may interpret Haywood's description less poetically as heart failure: "Resentment was all which for a long time had kept the Lamp of Life awake, and that being now extinguish'd in a Flood of softer Passions, the other must of necessity expire."[94] The figurative language here suggests that the heart must be stoked with fiery, aggressive passions to counteract more sentimental loving passions that can overwhelm it. Popular belief held that the flame of the corporeal soul was precariously susceptible to all inordinate passions: anger causes it to blaze "to a dangerous excess"; sudden joy may result in it "being blown out"; while terror and grief may suffocate it.[95] Emanuella is "over-press'd with Shame, with Gratitude, with Tenderness, and perhaps, a mixture of another Passion more difficult to be supported than all the rest," but Haywood leaves that hypothetical passion unnamed.[96] So long supported in her trials by her resentment against Emilius, Berillia, and the world, Emanuella is left powerless when her negativity is overwhelmed by her love. Rather than a sublime experience that radiates outward, Emanuella's heart drowns in a "Flood" of "softer Passions." Haywood's language presents a confusion of fire and water, burning out and being extinguished, soft passions being more destructive than aggressive ones, and finally the inability even to name the passion Emanuella finds most difficult to bear. Once again, Haywood portrays the passions in a language that conveys the physiological and the psychological, the sensual and the spiritual—a complication of responses emulated in contradictory figures that yet communicate feelings with which we can sympathize.

Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia, Part 1

The optimism of *The Rash Resolve*'s plot of ultimate reconciliation and the possibility of everything made right by a combination of fate and communication is not repeated in Haywood's final work of 1724, *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*. Instead, this long-anticipated scandal novel ends in the violent destruction of the Enchanted Well and the shrines of Pecunia and Fortune with the weapons of Astrea (Justice) and Reason. The novel exposes the greed and other passions precipitated by Britain's general enchantment with the possibility of monetary gain through

the South Sea Company's stocks. As Kathryn King points out, it also "seeks to cultivate feeling for the sufferings of the obscure, helpless, and vulnerable," making it, like *The Rash Resolve* before it, a "pioneering contribution to the rise of literary sensibility."[97] The Hillarians, however, focus their attention not on Haywood's sympathetic portrayals but on her ire with specific members of their assembly, most notably Martha Fowke.

As we have seen, Haywood's resentment of Fowke had been escalating in print since 1721, but with *Memoirs* Haywood leaves no holds barred. Critics are uniform in their declaration that the members of the Hillarian circle were so incensed with Haywood's impropriety in publishing the novel that they forced her from their company: Gerrard remarks that *Memoirs*'s portrayal of Savage and Fowke "disgusted the other members of Hill's circle and won the pair some sympathy. [The scandal novel] provoked a backlash of criticism of Haywood which effectively ended her association with the circle";[98] King states that "the Hillarians more generally closed ranks after the attack on Martha Fowke and others in *Memoirs*."[99] In June 1725, David Mallet wrote to Savage to offer "my best and tenderest wishes for Clio's health: May every blessing attend her; all that can sooth her solitude, and quiet her cares! After I have begged her pardon, for mentioning Mrs. H[aywood]. in the same place with her, I must tell you, that if I may judge by that Fury's writings, one that thoroughly knows her is acquainted with all the vicious part of the sex."[100] Mallet's disgust with Haywood and the *Plain Dealer* essay on detraction each demonstrate the ill-feeling *Memoirs* evoked from the group; however, there is no evidence that the Hillarians forced Haywood out. She may have used the publication of *Memoirs* as one last desperate attempt to make the Hillarians see Fowke for what she really was before simply abandoning the circle.

The language of *Memoirs* is definitely passionate; it expresses the resentment and hostility that Haywood's earlier virtuous heroines, Montamour and Emanuella (and, to this point in the Hillarian history, Haywood herself), had avoided as unfeminine and self-revelatory. But as Haywood's explorations in her fictions of the physical and mental effects of repressing those passions revealed that they cause more personal harm than social good, in *Memoirs* she dares to express her own negative feelings and provide reasons why Fowke rouses these passions in her. Unfortunately for us, Haywood obscures the details of Fowke's crimes against her. Because of this, her anger and seemingly impractical decision to publicize Fowke as Gloatitia is difficult to

justify. What event could have so ignited the temper of the private and usually pragmatic Haywood to publish her feelings?[101]

Memoirs is rife with men and women embodying vices similar to those of which Fowke is accused. The god Cupid complains that the island has come under the spell of the Enchanted Well (the South Sea Company) and now, rather than paying its respects to him, it is driven by cupidity: "Pimps and Bauds usurp my Power—the Women are wholly led by Interest—the Men by Lust—and Love has no Part in Enjoyment." His other complaint—that "if they love at all, it is always an Object undeserving Affection——— . . . a little superficial Beauty, or the Reputation of a trifling flashy Wit, triumphs over the most excellent Qualifications of the Soul"—encapsulates Haywood's complaint against the Hillarian circle's infatuation with Fowke. Cupid mentions that Gloatitia "pretends . . . to have an intimate acquaintance with the Muses—has judgment enough to know that *ease* and *please* make a *Rhyme*, and to count ten Syllables on her Fingers—This is the Stock with which she sets up for a Wit, and among some ignorant Wretches passes for such; but with People of true Understanding, nothing affords more subject of ridicule, than that incoherent Stuff which she calls Verses."[102] For Haywood, Fowke's trite verses devalue poetry, yet the male members of the circle idolize her. Alluding to Hill and the other writers with whom Haywood had been associating for nearly three years as "ignorant Wretches" incapable of judging good poetry certainly does not disguise her feelings.

Where Haywood and the Hillarians had been entranced with the positive elements of the Longinian sublime—its ability to capture and convey *ekstasis*, filling the reader with "the unexpected astonishment and pride, arousing noble thoughts, and suggesting more than words can convey,"[103] ravishing and transporting readers through its evocation of religious feeling or romantic love—in *Memoirs*, as in her *Poems on Several Occasions* that depict the effect Hill's poetry has on her, Haywood is drawn to the sublime as a dynamic crisis between power and subject (as we have seen Jonathan Lamb describe it). Contrary to the overwhelming power of Hill's sublime over her, in *Memoirs* Haywood depicts Fowke as the terrible and diabolical force (rather than the sublime's godlike one) that Haywood must confront and subsume or risk being destroyed by. By describing Fowke in this way, Haywood is in danger of adopting some of the characteristics she abhors and castigates in Fowke. As witnessed in Mallet's comments to Savage, it is Haywood, not Fowke, who is labeled a fury, a devil, a liar, and vicious. Though Fowke may not quite measure up to a sublime "irresistible force," she does represent a threatening power for Haywood. The

threat embodied by Fowke—ruining Haywood's reputation through rumors, cheapening the figure of the woman writer, manipulating men with her sexuality—is confronted by Haywood so that she can enable her own subjectivity. By writing out her passions evoked by Fowke's behavior, Haywood takes control of her writing and her life, in effect exorcising her demons.

Haywood uses two female characters to depict Fowke's vices: Gloatitia and the "vile Woman" who corrupts the young Riverius with her lies, though Flirtillaria, identified in the key as the wife of Gilbert Hill and discussed earlier in this chapter, also bears an uncanny resemblance to Fowke. Flirtillaria's "Pride consisted in the Reputation of a number of Adorers, and to those she had in reality, she added in her Report a thousand more"; she feeds off admiration, and her pride demands that she be always noticed and recognized as universally adored. Her notion of scandal is the opposite of most women's: she cannot bear "[t]o be neglected" by men and so "would yield to any thing."[104]

Gloatitia's history immediately follows Flirtillaria's, because the women conform in manners and are intimates. Cupid admits that although he cannot confirm that Gloatitia is guilty of "so horrible, so shocking . . . an Act [as] Incest," it is certain that she and her father "scrupled not to be seen in the same Bed together." Haywood plays on Fowke's affection for her deceased father, which she wrote about in *Epistles of Clio and Strephon* and "Clio's Picture," while she exaggerates Clio's anecdote about her father asking her to write love letters for him to his mistresses. Gloatitia's career in promiscuity begins when she is 16. The "timely discovery" of some of her letters to another lover breaks her engagement with a "young Mechanick," but she is soon taken up by "a certain Duke" by whom she has a child. Unable to be constant, she cheats on him with "the most dirty and disagreeable of all his Footmen," forcing the duke to quit her. Living on the streets, she "was common even to the meanest Rank of Men, and at last despis'd by the vilest, and most profligate." Eventually, the "old and infirm" Rutho pays her 400 crowns a year to be his nurse, and he is tricked into marrying her rather than being permitted to "[discard] a Woman who had been so false to him." As Cupid continues to relate Gloatitia's crimes against love, his language reveals his moral disgust: "[H]er Inclinations now appear bare-faced, and so monstrous impudent is she in pursuing the gratification of them, that she waits not for being address'd, nor thinks it beneath her to make the first application"; she employs "Two or three indigent Persons" as bawds "to procure her a variety of those Pleasures she most delights in"; and

she "charm[s] her Lovers with the Spirit of *Poetry*" even though she possesses no real talent for it.[105] In an example of a kind of antisublime, Haywood describes Gloatitia's inability to raise the interest of a young officer "with all the tempting languishments of loose Desire":

> [H]e remain'd insensible!—he was not to be provoked!—he was not to be mov'd!—cold as a *Greenland* Rock, not all her Fire cou'd melt him! in vain her swimming Eyes declared what 'twas she wish'd—in vain her Robe thrown by, disclos'd her naked heaving Breasts rise swelling to be press'd—in vain her glowing trembling Hands grasp'd his, and gently stole themselves into his Bosom—in vain her longing, her expecting Soul, seem'd to evaporate in Sighs—in vain she fainted, dy'd away before him—all her Blandishments were lost on him— . . . but Favours offer'd in a manner so free, so unsought, so unthought of, instead of gently touching the Passion she endeavour'd to raise, quell'd all the motions of Desire, and shock'd the Soul.[106]

Haywood offers a comical scene of failed seduction rendered more humorous because it parodies all the amatory rhetoric and strategies that usually succeed when a manipulative libertine uses them against an innocent heroine. With the addition of one word here and there, Haywood undermines the romance to reveal Gloatitia's desperate pursuit of sex: Gloatitia acts the role of the virgin whose desire is communicated through her eyes, but "swimming" suggests bleariness rather than tears, and rather than having her nakedness revealed by treacherous clothes that fall away, Gloatitia herself has thrown aside her robe. Unfortunately, Gloatitia performs these behaviors to no avail; in fact, the phrase "in vain" is repeated five times not only to emphasize her growing frustration over the many failed attempts to interest the officer sexually but also to demonstrate her own vanity in believing that these tactics could work in a woman her age (Fowke would have been 35 years old in 1724). We have already seen in *The Injur'd Husband* how a repeated phrase can serve to imitate the emotional and physical conflict within a lover—Beauclair's "not all the Natural Boldness of his Sex, not all that Presence of Mind . . . not all the Resolutions he had form'd, not all the Care he had taken"[107]—but here in *Memoirs* the repetition, the exclamation marks and the dashes (nine of them!) are countered by the young officer's own objections to her actions, which he finds "so free, so unsought, so unthought of" that they shock his very soul.

The second portrayal of Fowke in *Memoirs* appears in Haywood's more or less sympathetic depiction of Savage as the young Riverius, a

good-natured youth (he would be 26 years old to Fowke's 35) misled by the evil influence of that "vile Woman" who has caused him to lose "many Friends on her account," including Haywood herself. Cupid notes, "This Person [Haywood] receiv'd a more than common Injury from him, thro' the Instigations of that female Fury [Fowke]; but yet continuing to acknowledge his good Qualities, and pitying his falling into the contrary, took no other Revenge than writing a little Satire."[108] It is this tantalizing hint about "a more than common Injury" that continues to tease scholars. What injury could motivate Haywood to write her scathing attack on Fowke? It was one that piqued Haywood's pride and sense of self. King speculates that it was based in literary rivalry: Haywood "was highly focused on herself as a writer, specifically a poet, and was immensely ambitious"; she "behaved rashly in her near obsession with being taken seriously by the male poets surrounding her."[109] But after 1721 (i.e., after she had written the poems for *Poems on Several Occasions*), Haywood devotes herself to novel writing, not as a second-best surrogate because she is an unsuccessful poet, but because the genre provides her with a new way to express and explore the passions and to experiment with the sublime. I suspect that Fowke cast aspersions on Haywood's *novel* writing, saying that it was not a respectable art and that it was vastly inferior to the poetry Fowke and the rest of the Hillarians were producing. Whatever the injury, Haywood's writings were retaliatory, often punishing characters that were thinly guised portrayals of Fowke and Savage for duplicitous behavior, infidelity, feigned passions, rumormongering, and falsehoods. She published *Memoirs* with its incendiary portrayals of Fowke as her final attempt to convince the Hillarians of Fowke's diabolical character.

Haywood's "little Satire," her poem "To the Ingenious RIVERIUS, on His Writing in the Praise of Friendship," seems to be a response to Savage's poem "The FRIEND. Address'd to AARON HILL, Esq.,"[110] suggesting that part of her resentment of Savage stems from his ungrateful treatment of Hill. Haywood's poem accuses "Riverius" of knowing the virtues of friendship in theory only, and she compares him to Thersites and Pandarus: "In budding Youth too much to Mischief prone, / In vile Thersites' Mind might'st paint thy own! / Nor could a Pandarus thy Strokes escape, / Who thy late Deeds dost from his Pattern shape."[111] Thersites is characterized in the *Iliad* as deformed in body and soul: "the ugliest man who ever came to Troy. / Bandy-legged he was; with one foot clubbed, / both shoulders humped together, curving over / his caved-in chest, and bobbing above them / his skull warped to a point." Thersites

is abusive, obscene, and he insults his chiefs; he is beaten by Odysseus for verbally disrespecting the "majestic Agamemnon, / . . . with strings of cutting insults."[112] Could these be references to Savage's treating Hill's kindnesses with disrespect and rudeness? The Hill and Savage correspondence at this time certainly shows Hill's exasperation with his young friend's rashness and surly, argumentative language.[113]

Pandarus is better known from his incarnation in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* as the lecherous, degenerate pimp of his niece. Haywood says that Riverius "has been betray'd by [Fowke's] Wiles, to further her leud Designs on those of his Acquaintance who appeared amiable in her Eyes" by performing "this Office, shameful and scandalous." Savage could then be one of those employed by Gloatitia to secure her lovers. Though Haywood admits that "When [Savage's] loose Pen on Love and Honour turns, / The ravish'd Heart with Admiration burns, / My Wrongs are hush'd, my Indignation dies, / Or lull'd by thy sweet Notes suspended lies," she also tells him that he must "From the long-reigning Fiends set free [his] Mind" and "Believe in humble Innocence [so that he may] know / Delights, which pompous Vice could ne'er bestow."[114] Apparently this praise of his talent, yoked to advice to change his lifestyle, was not enough to make him overlook the comparisons to Thersites and Pandarus or to renounce his friendship with Fowke. Savage remained estranged from Haywood and actively worked against her.[115]

Judging from *Memoirs*, Fowke's primary fault, as already put forward in the character of *The Injur'd Husband*'s Tortillée, is her slandering of other women, but now it is imbued with diabolical intent: "[T]he Monster whose Soul is wholly compos'd of Hypocrisy, Envy, and Lust, can ill endure another Woman should be esteem'd Mistress of those Virtues she has acted with too barefaced an Impudence to pretend to, and is never so happy as when by some horrid Stratagem she finds the means to traduce and blast the Character of the Worthy."[116] Language motivated by the passions can be a very dangerous weapon, even when it is not used to convey the passions one feels. An adept performer, Fowke can hide her passions of envy and hatred behind a mask of honesty and the desire to help others. How can one battle a person who forges true-seeming lies?

Over the course of her association with the Hillarian circle from 1719 until her publicizing the "real" character of Martha Fowke Sansom in *The Injur'd Husband* and the first part of *Memoirs*, Haywood demonstrates a real interest in the language(s) of the passions and about how language functions, particularly in communicating one's subjectivity, making interiority public. Where Aaron Hill is always

under some doubt whether language should be used at all to convey one's private feelings, Haywood is intent on maintaining physical and psychological health, not only by allowing people to express their thoughts and feelings, but by sharing them through literature so that they can realize that their feelings are not alien or absurd; they are human and sympathetic. By 1723, Haywood decides that it would be more harmful than beneficial to her own peace of mind to hide her mounting passions against Fowke. She allows her own "subterranean Fires . . . too mighty for Restraint"[117] to explode in language too passionate to ignore. And then Haywood leaves the circle. She could not have been under the illusion that the "ignorant persons" could be shown the light. The Hillarians would have to discover Fowke's true character for themselves.

Conclusion

Hill's, Fowke's, and Haywood's Progress through the Passions

> Believe me, Sir, the Italian maxim, of *an open face, but lock'd bosom*, is a lesson which will be always worth your remembering.
>
> —Aaron Hill to Richard Savage

> Certainly if the Passions are well represented, and the Frailties to which Humane Nature is incident, and cannot avoid falling into, of one kind or another, it cannot fail to rouze the sleeping Conscience of the guilty Reader to a just Remorse for what is *past*, and an Endeavour at last of Amendment for the *future*.
>
> —Eliza Haywood, *The Tea-Table*

Six months after the publication of Haywood's *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* with its angry and intemperate portraits of Martha Fowke Sansom, *Plain Dealer* No. 105 for March 22, 1725, presents an intriguing story about two women friends, one of whom is in love with the other woman's husband. It could be read as a naïve and idealistic vision of what the Hillarian circle's mixed assembly of writers could have been. Blunt begins by commenting on how often jealousy arises between women over a man. He rationally deduces that "while they torment their pretty Hearts with a Thousand *Alarms*, and *Suspicions*, [they] never take it into their Heads to *discover*, that they hate the Object of their Resentment, for only *thinking*, and *loving as They do*; and that what they are *pursuing* with *Revenge*, ought, rather, to be *met*, with *Compassion*."[1] Anticipating Francis Hutcheson's concept of sympathy, Blunt

theorizes that rival women should be compassionate, consider their similarities (specifically their love and appreciation of the same man), and better understand each other rather than hate each other. One cannot help but draw connections between Blunt's reflections and Hill's own situation. As Hill is caught between the excessive passions of Eliza Haywood and Martha Fowke (not to mention his wife, Margaret), Blunt (it could be Bond or Hill) offers a fantasy about how two female friends can rise above their petty jealousies and rivalry over one man by behaving rationally and sympathetically. If this were the expectation, it was not to be realized. Christine Gerrard notes that the Hillarian circle "never came close to transforming itself into a 'fair assembly.' Although its members seem to have been obsessed with the idea of perfect friendship, and celebrated the Platonic love tradition of the equality of souls, the close relationships between the men and women in it were subject to misinterpretation, perhaps even by the participants themselves."[2]

In *Plain Dealer* No. 105, Blunt introduces a letter from a woman correspondent, Angeletta, who writes about visiting a friend who had retired to the country "to indulge a silent Grief." Angeletta discovers her friend writing: "Her lively Features were soften'd into a *Languishment*, that was lovelier, than *Health*, and more charming, than *Transport!*—Her *Eyes* seem'd to have *conspir'd*, against the Purpose of her *Hands:* For they stream'd down *Tears* upon the Paper, as if they would *efface* the mournful Words, as fast as she had written them. And, now and then, a *Sigh*, (such as *Love alone* inspires) swell'd her conscious, and distracted, Bosom."[3] The lady's body language of tears, sighs, and her languishing expression convey her sorrow and distress. Angeletta's written language describing her friend's position also conveys how she is affected by the sight. She finds her friend lovely and charming in her pain, and the unseen voyeur enjoys a kind of homoerotic experience in watching her.

Upon the lady's finding she is not alone, she embraces her friend, presses her letter into Angeletta's bosom, bursts into tears, and runs from the room. Angeletta reads the letter that is addressed to her to discover an ambiguous beginning that echoes her own homoerotic language: "OH! my ever-lov'd!—my faithful Friend!—my Heart is flowing to you, with *such* Shame, and *confessing Penitence* . . . let me hasten to *impart*, to you, the only Grief, I cou'd have had a Reason for *hiding* from you—I *love*—Oh! how shall my Confusion preserve Strength to go on?" As Angeletta reads further, we discover that her friend loves Angeletta's husband and has chosen "to bury myself, in

the *Innocence* of *Solitude*; till Absence, or Death, shall have put an End to the Tyranny, with which *Love* has triumph'd over me."[4]

The Plain Dealer responds to this touching scene, and to Angeletta's request for his advice, by confessing that he is "*lost*, in *Admiration*" for "these generous Friends." Rather than providing any wise counsel, he remarkably expresses his envy of the husband: "[T]he Man must be *infinitely Happy*, who is *so belov'd*, by Two, *such*, *Lovers!*——He will become the *Envy* of my Readers; and, I am afraid, He is *mine*, already.——When I hear of such *Women* as *These*, I own, I wish my self *Young* again—— . . . Let me *adore* the Female *Greatness*, that can triumph over *Nature*; despise the Motives of *Self-Love* and *Vanity*; and smile at the Assaults of *Malice*, *Ingratitude*, or *Jealousy*; Faults, which, sometimes, are to be met with, in the *softest*, and fairest Bosoms!"[5] His response seems entirely inappropriate, as he envies the too-much loved husband at the expense of the pain of the two women. Whether we imagine the essay as written by either Hill or Bond, it still makes for uncomfortable reading, as Blunt, representing either author, basks in the idea of being beloved by admirable women who rise above sexual jealousy.

In his admiration for Angeletta and her friend, Blunt celebrates their "Female *Greatness*." His language is filled with ecstatic expressions ("*Admiration*," "Amazement," "Delight," "*adore*"); his italics and exclamation marks ("so peculiarly refined! so great minded! and so generous!") demonstrate how transported he is to discover these women's virtues. But we quickly realize that we know very little about how the women behaved—how they managed their passions. We assume that Angeletta probably responded as sympathetically as her friend wished, especially as she refers to the "noble Letter" and leaves it to the Plain Dealer's "beautiful Imagination" to conceive "the Influence it had, on [her] Soul," but she keeps to herself what action she actually took. Although she asks for the Plain Dealer's advice, we find that she doesn't really need it; she is simply curious about his perspective: "[W]hen I hear how I *ought* to have acted, you shall know, in a second Letter, how I really *did* act; and its Consequences." Blunt promises to "devote a future Paper to Reflections on these generous Friends," but he never does.[6] In No. 117, he announces he is ending the periodical, giving up plain dealing to marry Patty Amble. His reflections, and Angeletta's actions, are left to the readers' "beautiful Imagination[s]" to figure out how the situation could best be managed.

The friend has already employed language, in the form of a letter, to explain to Angeletta that she is in love with her husband, that she feels ashamed and confused, and that she is therefore hiding herself in the

country. Confessing her passions—for both Angeletta's husband and Angeletta—allows the friend some respite from her grief. Because she expresses her passions in words, appealing to Angeletta as a physician for her soul who will offer tears and pity and occasional visits, she can begin to heal. Angeletta, upon learning of her friend's grief for falling in love with a man who is so deserving of affection, will not permit her to "bury [her]self, in . . . *Solitude*" until "Absence, or Death" puts an end to her passion. The mediating epistle permits both women the space and the time to reflect rather than react spontaneously. The passions on both sides are managed with reason and control as thought intervenes before passions erupt. As ever, Blunt hopes to regulate the expression of the passions and domesticate them into social virtues. Love, in all its sublimity, should finally be regarded intellectually, as a foretaste of the soul's immortality: "[T]he *Mind*'s Part [should be] strongest, even where the *Body* pretends most influence."[7]

In 1726, Martha Fowke, newly christened "Mira" by David Mallet to avoid the negative qualities now associated with the name "Clio," published her last known poem. "To Mr. THOMSON, On His Blooming WINTER" is featured as a dedicatory poem at the front of the second edition of James Thomson's poem "Winter." The penultimate stanza of "Mira's" poem draws parallels between the declining year and Fowke herself:

> In Thee, sad *Winter*, I a Kindred find,
> Far more related to poor human Kind;
> To Thee my gently-drooping Head I bend,
> Thy *Sigh* my *Sister*, and thy *Tear* my *Friend:*
> On Thee I *muse*, and in thy hastening Sun,
> See Life expiring e'er 'tis well begun.[8]

Fowke relates how the seasonal reality is reflective of her own subjective state: winter mirrors her interiority. Winter is sad, sighing, and shedding a tear, all of which Fowke finds kindred, sister, and friend to her own experience. She reverentially bends her "gently-drooping Head" to the season, not unlike a flower or an elderly person bent over in age. As winter's "hastening Sun" shortens the days, so too does Fowke's life expire before it is "well begun." Martha Fowke was 37. Former references to the physical body as a sexual entity are nonexistent here. The poet mentions only the soft emissions of a sigh and a tear.

In what David Fairer identifies as the "romantic mode," in this poem Fowke "assumes a sympathetic reception from a reader who can imaginatively identify with the feelings being voiced. In particular

[the mode] is interested in a secret unviolated space that can be entered only on the poet's terms."[9] Fowke's language here conveys less of the passionate body and more of the contemplative mind. No longer celebrated is the vibrant connection between mind (or soul) and body, or the sheer *enargeia* (the supreme animation in language) of the passions overwhelming the body and the blood as in "Clio's Picture," "The Innocent Inconstant," and her *Letter to Hillarius* wherein "the Mind bleeds thro' every breathing Vein."[10] Where Clio dares to send her passions out into the world like Longinus's interpretation of Sappho—"the effect desired is that not one passion only should be seen in her, but a concourse of the passions"—Mira is more subdued, perhaps even chastened. Still, her poem on Thomson's "Winter" does strive to communicate her sense of self at that moment: she adapts the image of the season to foster an understanding of her own subjectivity—not a passionate subjectivity as in 1723, but her own fading of the passions as well as of the self. After 1726, Fowke published nothing that has been identified as hers. There was talk in 1731 of putting together a collected volume of her works, but such a volume never materialized.[11] Nothing is known of her last years. She died in 1736 and was buried in Leicester.

In the early 1720s as the Hillarian circle began to establish itself, the works of Hill, Fowke, and Haywood all exhibit, in varying degrees, a physically infused, body-oriented, almost medical discourse of blood, veins, atoms, hearts, breasts, and eyes, allied with traditional philosophy's figurative language of floods, storms, and flames in an effort to transcribe the sublime—a unique discourse that would effectively convey the personal passions. Their endeavors to communicate their own subjectivity and self-awareness as well as their sensory, sensual experiences lead them to the Longinian sublime: that mixture of word, subject, emotion, and the ineffable "something more" that together reach earnestly toward signification but always fall short of actually achieving it.

First and foremost, language strives to connect people: to communicate ideas and feelings so that we don't feel that we are isolated and alone in the way we respond to the world. Just as some of the Hillarians were interested in developing a way to convey the ineffability of the *religious* sublime in "*living Words*" as Hill called them, Haywood was determined to find a language for the passions—the essential components of humanity—that could close the gap between individual, solipsistic minds, each of which (suggested Locke's theory) perceived the world uniquely. For Haywood, the human passions accessed the Longinian sublime: "[A] feeling of ecstasy or transport,"

"holding . . . complete domination over our minds," it "scatters everything before it like a bolt of lightning."[12] This could be a religious experience in the Biblical sense or, interpreted more secularly, sexual love. Longinus held that "[w]ords will be great if thoughts are weighty,"[13] but Haywood wanted words to convey weighty passions as well as thoughts—passions being a confluence of body and mind. Haywood theorized, like Francis Hutcheson, that successful communication of the passions depended on one first knowing how another feels through one's own feelings—a reworking of the Bible's Golden Rule to treat others as you would like to be treated. Her fiction encouraged and helped readers to practice sympathy before morally judging characters who fall victim to their passions. It was a lesson that she would learn herself over the years as she gradually moderated and assessed her anger with Martha Fowke.

In 1736, when Richard Savage wrote to Hill with news of Fowke's death at the age of 47, Hill's response lacked real sympathy and understanding of her character: "If half what her enemies have said of her, is true, she was a proof, that *vanity* overcomes *nature* in *women* . . . For desire of glory wants power to expel the pusillanimity, natural to some ambitious princes, and generals; while, in that amiable persuer of conquests, it prevail'd, not only against the finest reflection, but impell'd an *assum'd lightness*, over even *constitutional modesty*."[14] As Hill understood Fowke, vanity and the desire for fame drove her: she was a paradoxical combination of feminine vice and masculine quality, resulting in the overpowering of "the finest reflection" (was Hill referring to her mind or her face?) and modesty. Hill concludes that Fowke was driven by a *lightness*—inconstancy, even wantonness—that was not natural to her. Haywood, too, had accused Fowke of lightness, but so did Fowke herself; she describes herself as "*All Mercury!* too sprightly to be fix'd."[15] Hill seems to have become frightened by the ferocity of Fowke's passions. She was capable of loving with an intensity like his (such as he evidenced in his courtship letters), but her desires did not lessen after consummation. Despite her declaration of platonic love, her needs were exceedingly physical: she demanded presence, body, and intimacy; she wanted to absorb Hill into her very blood and being. When Hill and Bond created *The Plain Dealer*, they recast Hill's recently ended affair with Fowke as Blunt's revitalization by his love for Patty Amble. Their fictional relationship is imbued with a playful, childish quality, but Patty's teasing baby-talk and Blunt's orgasmic dreams gradually give way to discussion, civil behavior, and finally marriage.

For Haywood, Fowke comes to represent the embodiment of passion—afflicting Haywood, getting under her skin and into her

mind, and making her behave just as irrationally as Hill had. But where Fowke first induces love in Hill (and eventually disgust), from Haywood she evinces hatred and resentment. Haywood's early fictional portrayals of Fowke—most noticeably in *The Injur'd Husband*, and then, as she tries to purge herself once and for all of Fowke's ascendancy over her and the circle, in *Memoirs*—are motivated by passion. Revenge is the passion that Haywood seems most determined to satisfy; it is one of the most potently described passions in her works after 1724. In *Life's Progress through the Passions*, she remarks that it is "the most restless and self-tormenting emotion of the soul," torturing the person who attempts to resist it. In many cases, revenge must be exacted for one's psychological well-being. Haywood notes that some "provocations . . . it is scarce possible, nor indeed consistent with the justice we owe to ourselves, to bury wholly in oblivion; and likewise there are some kinds of revenge, which may deserve to be excused."[16] What Fowke had done to provoke Haywood, we may never know. For Haywood, her harsh public treatment of Fowke and the expression of her ire against her in *Memoirs* was a duty she owed herself. By purging Fowke from her system and by venting her passion, Haywood was able to move on—from the Hillarian circle, and from frustration and resentment, to further explorations of and writing about the passions and the self.

But the Hillarians' and Martha Fowke's influence was not forgotten. In *Life's Progress through the Passions* there is suggestion of Haywood reconsidering her earlier vindictive behavior toward Fowke, and in *The History of Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), Haywood's portrayal of Flora Mellasin may be read as yet another incarnation of her former friend. Rebecca Tierney-Hynes notes that "Flora's passions are physically manifested and graphically described," rendering her a type of "the unsavory, mundane representation of Haywood's heroines of the 1720s. [Flora's] letter to Trueworth after he has lost interest in her reads almost precisely like the complaints of Cleomira, the British recluse."[17] But Flora also resembles Haywood's portrayals of Fowke, and the Flora/Trueworth relationship can be read as a more mature perspective on the Fowke/Hill affair of 1721–23, this time to the detriment of Hill. Just as Hill was intrigued enough by Clio's *Epistles* to court and meet Fowke, Trueworth is driven by curiosity to meet the Incognita who sends him a letter of assignation. Their subsequent affair "afforded him a pleasing amusement for a time, and, without filling his heart with a new passion, cleared it of those remains of his former one." Though Flora loves Trueworth desperately, he feels nothing. When he decides that he will wed the virtuous Harriot, he

desires to break with Flora. He imagines that she will react with reason: "[A]n amour, such as theirs had been, ought to be looked upon only as a transient pleasure;—to be continued while mutual inclination and convenience permitted, and when broke off remembered but as a dream."[18] His rational appraisal of their affair robs it of any passion and treats Flora inhumanely. Trueworth's lack of love and compassion render him cruel and selfish. The problematic portrayal of Trueworth (whom most readers do not find truly worthy of the reformed coquette Betsy because of his earlier sexual relationship with Flora and his sexual double standards) betrays Haywood's ambivalence toward his (and perhaps Hill's) behavior. Though Fowke may have behaved rashly by giving her passions free rein, Hill's rejection and subsequent denial of any love for her was unfeeling and cold. A thorough examination of the passions, and therefore a thorough familiarity with them, permits one "to see into the secret Springs which gave rise to the Actions . . . to judge of the various Passions of the human Mind, and distinguish those imperceptible Degrees by which they become Masters of the Heart, and attain the Dominion over Reason."[19] Such a knowledge might allow Haywood to sympathize even with Martha Fowke.

Haywood progresses in her career from depictions of love in excess to the more "quotidian passions" in her late novels.[20] What remains constant is her interest in a language that ensures not only sympathetic comprehension of the passions but an epistemological understanding of passionate subjectivity. Like Hill, she does come to reflect on the value of the more solid emotions over the violent passions. In her last novel, *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy* (1754), her narrator remarks on the titular couple:

> [N]either of them were possess'd of any strong passions; and though the affection they had for each other was truly tender and sincere, yet neither of them felt those impatiencies,—those anxieties,—those transporting hopes—those distracting fears,—those causeless jealousies, or any of those thousand restless sensations that usually perplex a mind devoted to an amorous flame;— . . .
>
> Yet that they did love each other is most certain, as will hereafter be demonstrated by proofs much more unquestionable than all those extravagancies;—those raging flights commonly; [sic] look'd upon as infallible tokens of the passion, but which, how fierce soever the fires they spring from may burn for a while, we see frequently extinguish of themselves, and leave nothing but the smoke behind.[21]

Haywood here contrasts the "truly tender and sincere" affections of the couple, offered in a simple, graceful phrase, with the "strong passions" she communicates in her 1720s style by using an ever-qualifying catalogue, repetition, and dashes to represent their sheer number, their positive and negative effects of ups and downs, and the speed with which they assault and then leave the mind: "those impatiencies,—those anxieties,—those transporting hopes—those distracting fears,—those causeless jealousies." Such a list does not convey the sublimity of love, only "those raging flights" and fierce fires it can produce "for a while."

As the members of the Hillarian circle attempted to theorize the aesthetic sublime and develop a language that could effectively convey subjective feelings and demonstrate that there was indeed a shared commonality in people, they became embroiled in the passions themselves. Letters, fictional and real; poetry, public and personal; prose, didactic and descriptive; and fair assemblies and clandestine affairs were all touched by or created from the passions of Hill, Fowke, and Haywood. Hill became more reticent about expressing the physical, erotic aspects of the passions, recognizing that they could be a dangerous liability in a society that constantly scrutinized people for evidence of illicit behavior or thoughts and required that everyone conduct themselves with civility and decorum. Fowke and Haywood, on the other hand, discovered that the passions' intimate connection with consciousness, subjectivity, and the expression of body and mind, if put into a comprehensible language, could be liberating for them as women and writers. To make public one's private self, to heed the stirrings of one's own body and soul, and to put those feelings into words was a formidable and intimidating task that these three Hillarians each dared to attempt in their own way. All realized that putting the passions into language was both a threat and a comfort: Hill wrote that "words give way, like quicksand, beneath too weighty a pile of building,"[22] but they could also "fall feath'ry, like descending Dew."[23] Language for the passions might still be asymptotic—frustrating and teasing—but it can nonetheless bestow a hopeful and refreshing sensation of grace.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. John Dennis, "The Grounds of Criticism," in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1939), 1:359.
2. Geoffrey Sill, *The Cure of the Passions and The Origins of the English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 3.
3. Aaron Hill and William Bond, *The Plain Dealer*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: 1734), 1:213; 217; 216; 215 (henceforth *PD*).
4. Leo Damrosch, "Generality and Particularity," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Volume 4: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 382; 383; 382; 388.
5. Sir Joshua Reynolds, "Discourse VII," in *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), 132.
6. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning the Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979), 405.
7. Brean Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670–1740: "Hackney for Bread"* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 287.
8. *PD* 1:3.
9. Joseph Mitchell, "To Aaron Hill, Esq.," in *Poems on Several Occasions,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: 1732), 1:312.
10. Benjamin Victor, "Letter XXIV. To the Rev. Mr. John Dyer, at Hereford," in *Original Letters, Dramatic Pieces, and Poems*, 3 vols. (London: 1776), 1:68.
11. Christine Gerrard, *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector 1685–1750* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 73.
12. Eliza Haywood, *A Spy upon the Conjurer* (London: 1724), 53.
13. David Erskine Baker, "Heywood, Mrs. *Eliza*," in *The Companion to the Play-House*, 2 vols. (London: 1764), 2:n.p.
14. Gerrard, 70.
15. Kathryn R. King, "Eliza Haywood, Savage Love, and Biographical Uncertainty," *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 59.242 (2007): 725; 735.
16. Eliza Haywood, *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (New York: Garland, 1972 [1725]), 43; 44; 46; 49 (henceforth *Memoirs*).

17. Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess; or, The Fatal Enquiry*, ed. David Oakleaf, 2nd ed. (Peterborough: Broadview, 2000), 122.
18. Aaron Hill, *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.*, 4 vols. (London: 1753), 1:338.
19. David L. Jeffrey, *People of the Book* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 16.
20. Alan T. McKenzie, *Certain Lively Episodes: The Articulation of Passion in Eighteenth-Century Prose* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1990), 25.
21. Ibid., 30.
22. Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1985), 38.
23. Quoted in Norman S. Fiering, "Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37.2 (April–June 1976): 201.
24. Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1971), 8.
25. Francis Bragge, *A Practical Treatise of the Regulation of the Passions* (London: 1708), 1–2.
26. Isaac Watts, *The Doctrine of the Passions Explain'd and Improv'd*, 3rd ed. (London: 1739), 9; v.
27. Jean-Francois Senault, *The Philosophy of the Passions*, 2 vols. (London: 1772), 1:90.
28. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. R. Howard (New York: Pantheon, 1965), 88.
29. G. S. Rousseau, "Nerves, Spirit, and Fibres: Towards Defining the Origins of Sensibility," in *Studies in the Eighteenth Century III*, ed. R. F. Brissenden and J. C. Eade (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1976), 146; 148; 152.
30. George Cheyne, *George Cheyne: The English Malady (1733)*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1991), 71.
31. George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: 1724), 153.
32. *An Essay on Man*, in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. Maynard Mack, 6 vols. (London: Methuen, 1950), 3i:7.
33. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald P. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 2:8–9 (henceforth *Spectator*).
34. Eliza Haywood, "A Discourse concerning Writings of This Nature. By Way of Essay," in *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier*, 2nd ed. (London: 1724), 16.
35. *PD* 1:1.
36. Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003), 150; 160.
37. Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 7; 19.
38. Spacks, 97.

39. *Spectator* 3:560.
40. Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, Introduction to *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 11.
41. Aaron Hill, "Preface to Mr. Pope," in *The Creation* (London: 1720), vii; vi; xiii.
42. George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, "An Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry," in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: 1712), 172.
43. Stephen K. Land, *From Signs to Propositions: The Concept of Form in Eighteenth-Century Semantic Theory* (London: Longman, 1974), 37; 14.
44. Kathryn R. King, "New Contexts for Early Novels by Women: The Case of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and the Hillarians, 1719–1725," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, ed. Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 268.
45. G. Gabrielle Starr, *Lyric Generations: Poetry and the Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004), 63; 68.
46. Following Starr's reformatting of Behn's prose into lyric form, I have reworked a passage from *Love in Excess* (p. 258) to highlight its lyricism:

> A while their lips were cemented!
> rivetted together with kisses,
> such kisses!
> as collecting every sence in one,
> exhale the very soul, and mingle spirits!
> Breathless with bliss,
> then would they pause and gaze,
> then joyn again,
> with ardour still encreasing,
> and looks, and sighs, and straining grasps
> were all the eloquence that either could make use of.
> Fain would he now have obtained
> the aim of all his wishes,
> strongly he pressed,
> and faintly she repulsed.
> Dissolved in love,
> and melting in his arms,
> at last she found no words
> to form denials,
> while he, all fire,
> improved the lucky moment [. . .].

Note the repetition ("with kisses," "such kisses!"), alliteration ("Breathless with bliss"), and use of monosyllables to mimic their awe and movement ("then would they pause and gaze, then joyn again"). The description also balances and opposes the lovers with alliteration

and imagery ("strongly he pressed, and faintly she repulsed"; she is "Dissolved in love, and melting," while he is "all fire" and aggressive).

47. John J. Richetti, *The English Novel in History, 1700–1780* (London: Routledge, 1999), 41.
48. Emily Hodgson Anderson, "Performing the Passions in Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina* and *The History of Betsy Thoughtless*," *The Eighteenth Century* 46.1 (Spring 2005): 2.
49. James Sterling, "To Mrs. Eliza Haywood on her Writings," in *Secret Histories, Novels, and Poems. In Four Volumes*, by Mrs. Eliza Haywood, 3rd ed. (London: 1732), 1:n.p.
50. Ryan Welsh, "Ekphrasis," The University of Chicago Theories of Media, Keywords Glossary, http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/ekphrasis.htm.

CHAPTER 2

1. Eliza Haywood, *Life's Progress through the Passions: or, The Adventures of Natura* (New York: Garland, 1974 [1748]), 231 (Henceforth citations to *LP* in this chapter will be parenthetical). Kathryn King notes that the anonymously published *LP* was "attributed to an unnamed man" and its narrator self-presents as male: King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 188. The only evidence I can find that might support this is a passing remark on the first page of Book 2 that notes "we are then at an age to think ourselves men, without the power of acting as becomes reasonable men" (63). I am not convinced that this means the narrator is male; rather, I think the narrator references the race of man, as in "Mankind" or "humankind." The voice and the attitudes of *LP*'s narrator are similar to those of the *Female Spectator* persona, who is also practical, scientific, intellectually curious, and liberally educated. As the narrator of *LP* has much in common with the Haywoodian voice we have come to know in her novels and periodicals, I use "the narrator" and "Haywood" interchangeably.
2. Carol Stewart, *The Rash Resolve and Life's Progress* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), xvii, reads *LP* as "a narrative showing that conventional morality, most particularly in the form of marriage, always ends badly." While I agree that one of Haywood's themes in her oeuvre is that "conventional morality" often restricts or manipulates natural behavior to fit a preconceived form, the focus of my study on *Life's Progress* is Haywood's exposure of the flaws in conventional discourses on the passions.
3. William Shakespeare, "As You Like It," in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. David Bevington, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 1992), 2.7.139–66.
4. John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, ed. John W. and Jean S. Yolton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 182–83.

5. Eliza Haywood, *Three Novellas: The Distress'd Orphan, The City Jilt and The Double Marriage*, ed. Earla A. Wilputte (East Lansing: U of Michigan P, 1995), 72.
6. Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense (1728)*, ed. Aaron Garrett (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002), 77.
7. Kathleen Lubey, "Eliza Haywood's Amatory Aesthetic," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39.3 (2006), 321.
8. Eliza Haywood, dedication "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Suffolk and Bindon," in *Lasselia: or, The Self-Abandon'd, The Injur'd Husband and Lasselia*, ed. Jerry C. Beasley (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1999), 105.
9. Locke, *Essay*, 403.
10. Thomas Sprat, "The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge," in *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969), 27.
11. Thomas Willis, *Two Discourses concerning the Soul of Brutes, Which Is That of the Vital and Sensitive Man*, trans. S. Pordage (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1971 [1683]), 43.
12. Bragge, 21–22.
13. Watts, iv.
14. Senault, 1:90.
15. Watts, v.
16. John Wilmot, "A Satire against Reason and Mankind," in *Restoration Literature: An Anthology*, ed. Paul Hammond (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), lines 64–65; 175–78; 373–76.
17. Watts, 9.
18. "Sonnet 129," in *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 1691.
19. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 76.
20. Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, ed. Kathryn R. King and Alexander Pettit, vol. 2 of set II of *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, ed. Alexander Pettit and Margo Collins, 6 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), 2:14.66; 67; 70 (henceforth *Female Spectator*).
21. Sir Richard Blackmore, preface to *Creation. A Philosophical Poem. Demonstrating the Existence and Providence of a God* (London: 1712), xxxv–xxxvi.
22. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 227.
23. McKenzie, 31.
24. Alexander Pope, "Eloisa to Abelard," in *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems*, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson, 6 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (London: Methuen, 1954), vol. 2, lines 213–14; 209; 316.
25. *Spectator* 3:524; 526.
26. *Female Spectator* 2:3.100.

CHAPTER 3

1. Haywood, "Discourse," 6. Howell's poem is found in his *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Foreign*, 8th ed. (London: 1713), 11–12.
2. Donna Kuizenga, "Writing in Drag: Strategic Rewriting in the Early Epistolary Novel," *EMF: Studies in Early Modern France* 8 (2002): 150.
3. Martha Fowke Sansom and William Bond, *The Epistles of Clio and Strephon (1720)* (New York: Garland, 1971), 37; 42; 45 (henceforth *Clio and Strephon*).
4. Ibid., 71–72; 99; 111–12; 115.
5. Ibid., 124; 129; 130–31.
6. Phyllis J. Guskin, ed., *Clio: The Autobiography of Martha Fowke Sansom (1689–1736)* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997), 149n55.
7. Though I have not located a specific reference connecting Fowke as Clio to Sappho's daughter, she and her work were often lauded as being comparable to Sappho and continuing her legacy. Guskin quotes Giles Jacob's 1721 poem "To Mrs. Fowke, with the Second Volume of My Lives of the Poets," in which he identifies her as "thou *Sappho* of this Isle in Fame," picking up from Strephon's encouragement to Clio to "*Copy* the *Language* . . . of SAPHO's *flame*." Martha Fowke Sansom, *Clio: or, A Secret History of the Life and Amours of the Late Celebrated Mrs. S–n—m. Written by Herself, in a Letter to Hillarius*, ed. Phyllis J. Guskin (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997), 45n6 (henceforth *Clio*).
8. *Clio and Strephon*, 22; 69.
9. John Porter, *A Critical Essay, Containing Some Remarks upon the Nature of Epistolary and Elegaic Poetry* (New York: Garland, 1971), xxvi–xxvii; 1; lxiii.
10. Richard Savage, "To Mrs. Eliz. Haywood, on Her Novel Called Love in Excess, &c.," in *Love in Excess*, ed. David Oakleaf, 2nd ed. (Peterborough: Broadview, 2000), 82.
11. Eliza Haywood, "The Preface," in *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (London: 1721), iii–iv (henceforth *LLQ*).
12. Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 100.
13. Aaron Hill, *The Creation* (London: 1720), vi.
14. Mary Helen McMurran, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2010), 78, 83.
15. *LLQ*, v.
16. Bernard Lamy, *The Art of Speaking*, 2nd ed. (London: 1708), 73.
17. Anthony Blackwall, *An Introduction to the Classics*, 3rd ed. (London: 1725), 182.
18. Séverine Genieys-Kirk, "Eliza Haywood's Translation and Dialogic Reading of Madeleine-Angelique de Gomez's *Journées amusantes* (1722–1731)," in *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900*, ed. Gillian E. Dow (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 37–54; 40.

19. See, for instance, Hill's letter to Savage offering corrections to his writing for a *Plain Dealer* essay: "As to the stile, it is not enough in prose, except in some paragraphs, which you have touched with no more elevation than serves to heat and enliven them. But, among others, these following may point out where your expression is too poetical." Hill, "Letter VIII. To Mr. Savage," *The European Magazine* (London: 1784), 6:278–79.
20. Porter, xxxix.
21. *LLQ*, Letter II, 7.
22. Edme Boursault, *Treize lettres amoureuses d'une dame à un cavalier*, ed. Bernard Bray (Paris: Editions Desjonquere, 1994 [1709]), 53.
23. I am indebted to Jalisa David and Professor Edward Langille for this and subsequent translations of Boursault's *Treize lettres* into English.
24. *Clio and Strephon*, 7.
25. *LLQ*, Letter VIII, 52.
26. Boursault, 95.
27. *LLQ*, Letter II, 10.
28. Boursault, 55.
29. Gary Schneider, "Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behavior, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern Letters," *Prose Studies* 23.3 (2000): 57.
30. Lord Kames [Henry Home], *Elements of Criticism*, ed. Peter Jones, 2 vols., 6th ed. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005 [1762]), 1:69.
31. Haywood, "Discourse," 7.
32. *Clio and Strephon*, 43; 97.
33. *LLQ*, Letter I, 3.
34. Boursault, 49.
35. *Clio and Strephon*, 59; 65.
36. *LLQ*, Letter VII, 45.
37. Boursault, 87.
38. *Clio and Strephon*, 68.
39. Porter, xxvii.
40. Haywood, "Discourse," 29; 6.
41. Jeremy Collier, "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (1698)," in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Comedy*, ed. Scott McMillin, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 497.
42. Haywood, "Discourse," 6.
43. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998), 397.
44. Haywood, "Discourse," 1–2; 21.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 16.
47. Aaron Hill, Letter V of "Love Letters," in *The Dramatick Works of Aaron Hill, Esq.*, 2 vols. (London, 1760), 2:399–400.

48. Ibid., VI, 402; VII, 404.
49. Ibid., IV, 398.
50. Hill, Letter 1 in *Clio*, 168–69.
51. Ibid.
52. Gerrard, 81.
53. Guskin notes that *Julius Caesar* (Hill's poem within his letter is titled "To the Never Enough Admir'd Mrs.———, after Seeing Her at *Julius Caesar*") was performed on both January 26 and April 26, 1721, at Drury Lane, though "they may have seen each other at other theatrical events." Guskin, "'Not Originally Intended for the Press': Martha Fowke Sansom's Poems in the *Barbados Gazette*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34.1 (2000): 23n22.
54. Hill, Letter 2 in *Clio*, 170–71.
55. Martha Fowke, "Clio's Picture," in *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations*, ed. Anthony Hammond (London: 1720), 258–59 (henceforth *New Miscellany*).
56. Hill, Letter 2, in *Clio*, 171.
57. Hill, Letter 3, in Guskin, 172.
58. Hill, *Dramatick Works*, V, 399.
59. Hill, Letter 3, in *Clio*, 173.
60. Ibid., 172–73.
61. Ibid., 172.
62. Roach, 24.
63. Hill, Letter 3, in *Clio*, 175.
64. Hill, Letter 5, in *Clio*, 177.
65. Hill, Letter 4, in *Clio*, 176.
66. Richardson to Miss Westcomb, September 15, 1746, in *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 32.
67. *Clio*, 131; 142.
68. Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002), 414.
69. *Spectator* 2:393.
70. *Clio*, 58.
71. Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 97.
72. Richard Savage, ed., *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands. Publish'd by Richard Savage, Son of the Late Earl Rivers* (London: 1726), 100–101 (henceforth *Miscellany*).
73. *Clio*, 136.
74. Ibid., 93.
75. Ibid., 93; 99.
76. Karen E. Davis, "Martha Fowke: 'A Lady Once Too Well Known,'" *English Language Notes* 23.3 (March 1986): 34.
77. Foucault, 88.

78. *Clio*, 99.
79. Ibid., 66; 132.
80. Ibid., 67.
81. Dawson, *Lovesickness*, 156.
82. *Clio*, 115.
83. Ibid., 111; 115; 119.
84. Lesel Dawson, "'New Sects of Love': Neoplatonism and Construction of Gender in Davenant's *The Temple of Love* and *The Platonick Lovers*," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 8.1 (May 2002): 4.9, http://purl.oclc.org/emls/08-1/dawsnew.htm.
85. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. A. R. Shilletto, 3 vols. (New York: AMS, 1973), 3:214.
86. *Clio*, 119; 104.
87. Ibid., 104.
88. *Spectator* 2:392.
89. Jonathan Culler, *Literary Theory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 76.
90. Land, 37.
91. Norma Clarke, *The Rise and Fall of the Woman of Letters* (London: Pimlico, 2004), 138.
92. Dawson, *Lovesickness*, 165–66.
93. *Clio*, "To My Soul's Adoration," 135; "To My Heavenly Charmer," 136; "Friday Evening," 139.
94. Roy Porter, *Flesh and the Age of Reason: How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls* (London: Penguin, 2004), 57.
95. See Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, ed. Ian Campbell Ross (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983), 6, for Tristram's description of the "homunculus," "the miniature human figure which early microscopists believed they saw in a spermatozoon" (540n1).
96. Guskin notes that because Haywood observed in 1724 that a child had recently been born to the Sansoms, "Fowke may have written her autobiography while she was pregnant" (31), and Gerrard comments that "Fowke's morbid frame of mind and frequent references to imminent death might be explained by the possibility that she was in the late stages of pregnancy when she wrote *Clio*." Also citing Haywood's 1724 claim of Fowke's recent delivery, Gerrard goes so far as to admit, "It is tempting to speculate that the child was Hill's" (87).
97. *Clio*, 138.
98. Dawson, *Lovesickness*, 49; 47.
99. *Clio*, 132.
100. Ibid., 146; "My Last Will," 148.
101. Haywood, "Discourse," 25.

CHAPTER 4

1. Those poems in Savage's *Miscellany* that are related to the theme of painting and pictures are Richard Savage's "*To Mr.* John Dyer, *a* Painter, *advising him to draw a certain* Noble *and* Illustrious Person, *occasioned by seeing his Picture of the Celebrated* Clio" (26–30); Aaron Hill's "*To the Author of the foregoing Verses, a* Painter, *on his attempting a* Lady's *Picture*" (58–59); Dyer's "*An* Epistle *to a famous* Painter" (102–6); William Popple's "Verses, *occasion'd by seeing a Picture of* Perseus *and* Andromeda" (151–52); Hill's "*The Picture of Love*" (193–204); Hill's "*On seeing Mr.* Ellys's *Picture of Mrs.* Oldfield, *drawn by Fancy, without her Sitting for it*" (256–58); Hill's "*Sent by a Gentleman, with a Pocket Looking-Glass, to a Lady who was curious to see the Picture of his first Mistress*" (266–67); and Savage's "*The* Picture. *To Mr.* Dyer, *when in the Country: Occasion'd by the foregoing* Verses" (294–98).
2. Seemingly embarrassed about the strength of his feelings for the married Fowke, Dyer ended their friendship in a letter in which he tried to explain the conflict between his passion for her and his own moral integrity: "Had custom made us all free to unrestrained love, had law exacted no vows, I could then disturb the confidence of no man; I could then see and hear my Charmer, without doing any injury, real or imaginary . . . For the future I am bent to do nothing, that, were it known to all the world, would be thought unjust to any one. O Clio, forgive me" (quoted in Gerrard, 80).
3. Welsh, "Ekphrasis."
4. Land, 38.
5. Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 2nd ed. (London: 1725), 3; 4.
6. In *Spectator* No. 226, Steele argues that painting is a visual form of poetry that can "be understood with much less Capacity, and less Expence of Time, than what is taught by Writing" (2:378). He echoes William Aglionby, who remarks that painting permits one "to see . . . above all, the *Expression* of our *Passions, Customs, Manners, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacred* and *Prophane*: All this, . . . is a *Charm*; which no other Art can equal." Aglionby, preface to *Choice Observations upon the Art of Painting* (London: 1719).
7. Charles Le Brun, preface to *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*, trans. John Williams (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980 [1734]), ix–x.
8. Marisilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, trans. Sears Jayne. (Dallas: Spring, 1995), 115.
9. Ashfield and de Bolla, 1.
10. Elizabeth C. Mansfield, *Too Beautiful to Picture: Zeuxis, Myth, and Mimesis* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007), 32.
11. *Miscellany*, 26–27; 30; 26; 27.
12. Ibid., 58.

13. Ibid., 59.
14. Ibid., 58–59; 28; 59.
15. Ibid.
16. Shakespeare, 4.1.205–7.
17. Marguerite A. Tassi, *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna UP, 2005), 26.
18. *Spectator* 3:560–61.
19. *Miscellany*, 59.
20. *Spectator* 3:538.
21. *Miscellany*, 27.
22. Quoted in Alison Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709–1791* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001), 20–21.
23. *Spectator* 3:538.
24. *Miscellany*, 308.
25. Lamy, 79–80.
26. *Miscellany*, 58; 59; 256.
27. Hill, *Creation*, vii.
28. *New Miscellany*, 258.
29. *PD* 2:20.
30. *New Miscellany*, 260.
31. *Miscellany*, 257.
32. *New Miscellany*, 258–59.
33. *New Miscellany*, 259.
34. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey P, 1935), 122 (4.306–7).
35. *New Miscellany*, 258.
36. Ibid.
37. *PD*, 1:287–88; 377; 378; 378–79.
38. *PD*, 1:386.
39. *Miscellany*, 194; 199; 201; 197; 196; 200.
40. Kames, 1:12.
41. *Miscellany*, 200.
42. Ibid., 202.
43. Ibid., 203; 59; 201.
44. Ibid., 203.
45. Ibid., 193; 199; 200; 202.
46. Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen, 1950), 3i:92 (Epistle 3, lines 7–8).
47. *Miscellany*, 202–3.
48. Ibid., 204.
49. Ashfield and de Bolla, 11.
50. *Miscellany*, 162.
51. Vincent B. Leitch, "Longinus," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 133; 153.

52. "'Longinus' on the Sublime," in *Aristotle, The Poetics; "Longinus," On the Sublime; Demetrius, On Style*, ed. W. Hamilton Fyfe (London: William Heinemann, 1953), 125.
53. Internal evidence dates most of Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions* as written between 1720 and 1721, though her last "Translated from the French" could have been written as late as 1724. Walter Bowman, to whom the first ode is addressed, had been helping Hill with cosmological background for his *Creation* poem (1720) and *The Judgment-Day* (1721), and the poem "To *Hillarius*, on His Sending Some Verses, Sign'd *M.S.*" refers to Fowke by her married name, which she took in 1720. The third "Translated from the French" poem is based on a poem from Madame de Gomez's novel that Haywood translated as *La Belle Assemblée* in 1724.
54. Jonathan Lamb, "The Sublime," *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: Vol. IV: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 399.
55. Longinus, 139.
56. King, "New Contexts," 264.
57. Dennis, 1:332.
58. King, "New Contexts," 265.
59. *Miscellany*, 210; 213; 256; 286; 290.
60. Eliza Haywood, "An Irregular Ode, To . . . Bowman," in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: 1724), 1 (henceforth *PSO*).
61. Gerrard, 74.
62. Hill, *Creation*, iii.
63. Gerrard, 74–75.
64. *PSO*, 2.
65. Jayne Lewis, "Compositions of Ill-Nature: Women's Place in a Satiric Tradition," *Critical Matrix* 2.2 (1986): 31.
66. *PSO*, 1.
67. Longinus, 149.
68. *PSO*, 2.
69. Ibid.
70. Locke, *Essay*, 525.
71. Sprat, 27.
72. *PSO*, 1.
73. Locke, *Essay*, 13; 516–17.
74. Dennis, 1:337.
75. *PSO*, 3; 4.
76. Pope, "Eloisa to Abelard," 2:327 (line 366).
77. *PSO*, 4.
78. Ibid., 9–10.
79. Eliza Haywood, *La Belle Assemblée* (London: 1724), 108–10.
80. Madeleine-Angelique de Gomez, "Reflexions d'Olympe sur l'inconstance des hommes," in *Les journées amusantes*, Huitieme éd. revue et corrigé (Amsterdam: 1777), 101–2:

Dans un bois solitaire, au bord d'une onde pure,
L'autre jour en rêvant je conduisois mes pas;
De ces lieux cultivés par la seule nature,
J'admirois en rêvant les rustiques apas.
Voilà, dis-je en secret, comme tout devroit être.
La beauté paroîtroit sans secours & sans fard,
Et le coeur ne tenant que de son premier étre,
S'expliqueroit toujours sans détour & sans art.
L'amant seroit fidele, & l'amante sincere;
Dans des jeux innocens le tems s'écouleroit.
On se plaîroit toujours, sans trop chercher à plaire,
Et l'estime sur-tout jamais ne finiroit:
Mais, hélas! où trouver un ami véritable?
De la tendre amitié les temples sont déserts,
De son frère cruel le culte condemnable
Lui ravit la moitié des coeurs de l'univers.

Translated into English, it is a simple pastoral dream about happiness between the sexes: "In a lonely wood, on the edge of a pure river, / The other day, dreaming, I steered my footsteps; From these places cultivated from the isolation of nature, / I admired, while dreaming, the rustic charms. / This, I said in secret, is how all should be. / Beauty would then appear without trickery or guile, / And so too would the heart, / Without cunning or deceit / Its true love willingly express. / He would be faithful, and she sincere; / In innocent games, love would pass / We would always please one another, without looking to do so, / And esteem, most importantly, would never wane: / But, alas! Where can I find a real friend? / The temples are devoid of real friendship, / From his cruel brother, the condemnable cult / Wins him half the hearts of the universe." The theme of Gomez's ode is the sincerity of feeling versus artifice. Haywood's ode examines the tortured state of the woman's mind. Apart from Haywood's speaker "seek[ing] Solitude befitting [her] sad Mind" in "unfrequented Wilds" (9), Gomez's ode is not at all comparable to the "Cruel *Remembrance*" (9) and the contest between Hope and Fear that "with convulsive Fury rend[s] [her] bleeding Breast" (10) and passionately afflicts the woman abandoned by her lover, Timolion, in Haywood's poem. (My gratitude to Prof. Edward Langille and Jalisa David for the English translation).

81. *Clio*, 138.
82. Leitch, 139.
83. *Clio*, 141; 143; 143.
84. *New Miscellany*, 267; 271.
85. *PSO*, 6; 7; 9.
86. Leitch, 139.
87. *PSO*, 10.
88. Ibid.

89. Leitch, 137. In her epic simile, Haywood may also be playing on Longinus's example from Sophocles of the "pseudo-tragic": "Yea, though they check the chimney's towering flame. / For, if I spy one hearthholder alone, / I'll weave one torrent coronal of flame / And fire the steading to a heap of ash. / But not yet have I blown the noble strain" (Longinus 129).
90. *PSO*, 11.
91. *Miscellany*, 210.
92. Aphra Behn, "Preface to *The Lucky Chance*," in *The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters 1660–1800*, ed. Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster (East Lansing: Colleagues, 1991), 65.
93. Shakespeare, "Sonnet 151," 1695.
94. Ovid, "The Poet Concludes," in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. John Dryden (London: 1717), 15:548.
95. Gerrard, 69.
96. *PD*, 2:140.
97. *Miscellany*, 75–76.
98. Gerrard, 69.
99. Ibid., 270.
100. *PD*, 2:147.
101. Dennis, 1:359.
102. *PSO*, 13.
103. Lamb, 396.
104. Leitch, 142.
105. *PSO*, "The Vision," 13.
106. Gerrard, 70.
107. *PSO*, 12; 13; 13.
108. Dennis, preface to "Remarks on a Book Entituled, Prince Arthur, An Heroick Poem" (1696), 1:47.
109. Ibid.
110. *PSO*, 12; 13.
111. Ibid., 13.
112. Lamb, 396.
113. *PSO*, 13.
114. Plato, "Ion," in *Great Dialogues of Plato*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (New York: New American Library, 1956), 18.
115. *PSO*, 14; 13.
116. Ibid., 12.
117. *PSO*, "To *Diana*," 15; 16.

CHAPTER 5

1. Gerrard, 103.
2. *Clio*, 81–82.
3. Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 2:341–42n7.

4. Dorothy Brewster, *Aaron Hill: Poet, Dramatist, Projector* (New York: AMS, 1966), 157, states that "in the first group of six nothing suggests Hill; in [7 through 12], three are in his style; in [13 to 18], none; in [19 to 24], at least two are unquestionably his," and of "Nos. 25–30 . . . three are certainly Hill's."
5. Ibid. A thorough, scholarly examination of *The Plain Dealer* has never been undertaken, and no one, as yet, has assigned authorship to each of its 117 essays. Gerrard mentions in her discussion of the periodical that Nos. 30 ("Both the essay and the poem are almost certainly by Hill"), 36, 46, 54, 67, 71, 95, and 117 are among those by Hill, and that Hill used "more than ten . . . issues as a platform to promote . . . his aims and ideals of poetry" (104; 109). King also includes Nos. 40, 63, and 87 as Hill's. Other contributors to the paper included Savage (No. 116), Dennis (No. 57, the letter in No. 60, No. 96), and, apparently, Fowke (No. 53).
6. Citations to *PD* in this chapter will be parenthetical.
7. Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Christopher Rowe (London: Penguin, 2005), 237e–38a.
8. Jon R. Stone, *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 321.
9. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: U of Indiana P, 1955), 2:30–31.
10. Eva Brann, *Feeling our Feelings* (Philadelphia: Paul Dry, 2008), 23.
11. Stone, 22.
12. The second epigram is reiterated by the Plain Dealer at the end of the first paragraph: "[A] wise Man of *Greece*, said of *Happiness*, That it can never be determin'd, 'till Death" (No. 3, 1:15). Blunt quotes Herodotus's *Histories*, wherein Solon rebukes Croesus, the King of Lydia, for thinking he is happy.
13. Senault, 1:89–90.
14. Cheyne, *Essay*, 157.
15. Ibid., 161–62; 169–70.
16. Josiah Blackmore, "Melancholy, Passionate Love, and the *Coita d'Amor*," *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009): 642.
17. Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, 334.
18. Bragge, 21.
19. Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, ed. Joanna Lipking (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 55.
20. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 61.
21. Jyngle's use of the word "Affectation" may mislead modern readers. The *OED* specifies that *affectation* is "a striving after, aiming at; a desire to obtain, earnest pursuit." It is not, in Jyngle's usage, "an artificial or non-natural assumption of behaviour" but a misconceived passion that needs to be expelled from the afflicted mind.
22. Dennis, 1:332; 337.

23. Sill, 11.
24. Brewster, 157.
25. Gerrard, 105.
26. *Memoirs*, 43.
27. Quoted in Gerrard, 95.
28. Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 2.
29. Aaron Hill, *The Prompter*, ed. William W. Appleton and Kalman A. Burnim (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966), No. 66, 85.
30. McKenzie, 82.
31. Martha Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 14.
32. Sill, 26.
33. Ivan Day, "Further Musings on Syllabub, or Why Not 'Jumble It a Pritie While'?" *Petits Propos Culinaires* 53 (1996): 4, http://www.historicfood.com/Syllabubs%20Essay.pdf.
34. Quoting Sir Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health . . . Augmented* (1612), in Day, "Further Musings on Syllabub," 5.
35. Alan Ingram, *The Madhouse of Language* (London: Routledge, 1991), 41. See Dr. Patrick Blair's *Some Observations on the Cure of Mad Persons by the Fall of Water* (1725) in which he describes a female patient who insists she is not a "whore" and refuses to act as a wife to her husband. Blair's therapy involves blindfolding and stripping her, tying her to a chair and letting water fall down on her head until "she promised she would do what I desired" (cited in Ingram, 41).
36. Hill, *Works*, 4:411–12.
37. Hill, *Prompter*, No. 64, 80.
38. Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Differend*, trans. Georges Van Den Abbeele (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1988), 13; 9.
39. Hutcheson, 70.
40. Rumble represents none other than Sir Richard Blackmore, poet, critic, and court physician to William III and Queen Anne. Jyngle's diagnosis of Rumble's "*Narrative Cacoethes*!" (an incurable passion for writing) refers to Blackmore's recent 1723 production *Alfred: An Epick Poem in Twelve Books* (456 pages), "Dedicated to the Illustrious Prince Frederick of Hanover." The quotations from Blackmore's dedication are modified only slightly by Hill to emphasize the knight's vanity. Jyngle quotes Rumble's dedication as telling the prince that "Examples [are] better than Precepts, especially, when presented in the *Works of Celebrated Authors*; Men of *copious Invention*, and a *Fruitful Imagination*: It was *for that Reason, Sir!* That I wrote the following Poem!" (*PD*, No. 23, 1:181–82).
41. John J. Richetti, *Philosophical Writing* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1983), 29.
42. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 251a–55c.

43. *Miscellany*, 201.
44. "Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful or arrogant or rude. It does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice in wrongdoing, but rejoices in the truth. It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things." 1 Corinthians 13:4–7. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible. New Revised Standard Version*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010).
45. Longinus, 139.
46. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 124; 258.
47. I am grateful to Kathryn R. King for sharing her paper, "When Eliza Met Aaron: A Story of Sublime Sensation," in *The Sensational Centuries*, ed. Kevin L. Cope and Robert C. Leitz III (New York: AMS Press, forthcoming).
48. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 185; 186.
49. Eliza Haywood, "The Tea-Table," in *Selected Work of Eliza Haywood I: Miscellaneous Writings, 1725–43*, ed. Alexander Pettit, 2 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), 1:10; 11.
50. Hill, Letter 5, in *Clio*, 177.
51. Haywood, "Discourse," 16.

Chapter 6

1. Aaron Hill, dedication to *The Fatal Vision*, in *The Dramatick Works of Aaron Hill, Esq.*, 2 vols. (London: 1760), 1:149.
2. Aaron Hill, "An Essay on the Art of Acting," in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.* (London: 1753), 4:357. The ten dramatic passions, according to Hill, are Joy, Grief, Fear, Anger, Pity, Scorn, Hatred, Jealousy, Wonder, and Love, "all others being relative to, and but varied degrees of, [those ten]."
3. Catherine Ingrassia, "'The Stage Not Answering My Expectations': The Case of Eliza Haywood," in *Teaching British Women Playwrights of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, ed. Bonnie Nelson and Catherine Burroughs (New York: Modern Language Association, 2010), 215.
4. Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction: Novels and the Theater, Haywood to Austen* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 18.
5. Hill, *Prompter*, No. 66, 84.
6. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 46; 46–47.
7. Ibid., 82.
8. King, "New Contexts," 265.
9. Lubey, 320.
10. Richetti, *English Novel*, 41.
11. John J. Richetti, "Ideas and Voices: The New Novel in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 12.2–3 (2000): 339;

338. Richetti uses this auditory image again to describe the language of Behn's false Philander in Part 1 of *Love Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*: "unrelenting amatory rhetoric of the most flatulent sort" (in *English Novel*, 22).
12. Eliza Haywood, *The Rash Resolve: or, The Untimely Discovery* (New York: Garland, 1973), 49 (henceforth *RR*).
13. Eliza Haywood, "The British Recluse," in *Popular Fiction by Women 1660–1730*, ed. Paula Backscheider and John Richetti (New York: Oxford UP, 1997), 155 (henceforth *BR*).
14. Juliette Merritt, *Beyond Spectacle: Eliza Haywood's Female Spectators* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004), 79.
15. Ibid.
16. *BR*, 160–61.
17. Lubey, 321.
18. *BR*, 183; 193; 223; 193.
19. Hutcheson, 31.
20. *BR*, 223.
21. Ibid., 165; 168; 222; 193; 193; 194.
22. Ibid., 181.
23. Scott Paul Gordon, *The Power of the Passive Self in English Literature, 1640–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 180.
24. *BR*, 204.
25. Hill, *Prompter*, 83–84; 95.
26. Longinus, 125.
27. Dennis, 1:359.
28. *BR*, 164; 165.
29. Ibid., 203; 169–70.
30. *PD*, 1:385; 379–80.
31. Hill, *Prompter*, No. 113, 128.
32. Ibid., 178.
33. Elaine Hobby, introduction to *The Midwives Book; or, The Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered (1671)*, by Jane Sharp (New York: Oxford UP, 1999), xx.
34. *BR*, 211.
35. Ibid., 166.
36. Merritt, 82.
37. *BR*, 168.
38. Ibid., 165.
39. *LLQ*, Letter II, 7.
40. *BR*, 209.
41. Paula R. Backscheider, "Literary Culture as Immediate Reality," in *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture*, ed. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 533.
42. *BR*, 163–64.
43. Haywood, *Love in Excess*, 128.

44. *PSO*, 2–3.
45. Lana Cable, *Carnal Rhetoric* (Durham: Duke UP, 1995), 16.
46. Ibid., 24. Quoting Paul Ricoeur, in *The Rule of Metaphor*.
47. Jeffrey, 16.
48. Merritt, 82.
49. *Spectator*, 3:567.
50. Cable, 25.
51. *Miscellany*, 100.
52. *Memoirs*, 47.
53. Eliza Haywood, *The Injur'd Husband and Lasselia*, edited by Jerry C. Beasley (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1999), 10 (henceforth *IH*).
54. Jerry Beasley, introduction to *IH*, xx.
55. *Clio*, 30.
56. Gerrard, 92.
57. Beasley, 151n3.
58. Gerrard, 91.
59. *Miscellany*, 261.
60. Gerrard, 98.
61. *Miscellany*, 265.
62. Ibid., 278.
63. Gerrard, 205.
64. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 288–89. The lyric writer bids his love letter to lie "underneath [Aurelia's] *Pillow*" and "There, in *soft Dreams*, my *LOVE* reveal" (288).

    III.
    Tell fair *AURELIA*, she has Charms,
    Might in a *Hermit* stir Desire.
    T' attain the Heav'n that's in her Arms,
    I'd quit the *World's* alluring Harms,
    And to a *Cell*, content, retire.

    IV.
    Of all that pleas'd my ravish'd Eye
    Her *Beauty* should *supply* the Place;
    Bold *Raphael's* Strokes, and *Titian's Dye*,
    Should but in vain presume to vye
    With her inimitable *Face*. (289)

    Hill's own published version of "The Messenger" in his *Works* sanitizes the first stanza as follows: "OH! tell her—were her treasures mine, / *Nature*, and *art* would *court* my aid; / The *painter's* colours want her *shine*; / The *rainbow's* brow not half so fine, / As her sweet eye-lids shade!" (3:155). The "ravish'd eye," with its suggestion of love entering there to overwhelm the imagination and soul of the spectator,

is gone, and Raphael and Titian are replaced with the more innocuous and much less sensual reference to a generic "*painter's* colours" not being as vibrant as the woman. Hill's rewrite, without mention of the Italian Renaissance artists' sublime style, but including numerous references to eyes (alluding back to "Miranda's eyes" in "The Picture of Love"), suggests that once again Hill is recycling material between his wife and would-be mistresses, still intent on policing his public expression of his passions.

65. *Memoirs*, 36.
66. *IH*, 6; 7; 38; 55.
67. Haywood, *A Spy upon the Conjurer*, 52.
68. King, "Eliza Haywood, Savage Love," 734.
69. *IH*, 35–36.
70. Ibid., 36; 42.
71. Ibid., 45.
72. David Fairer, *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century 1700–1789* (London: Longman 2003), 116.
73. *PSO*, 10.
74. Aaron Hill, *The Judgement-Day, A Poem* (London: 1721), 5–6.
75. Fairer, 126.
76. *IH*, 80.
77. *RR*, 86.
78. *PD*, No. 3, 1:15; No. 29, 1:230; 2:497.
79. *IH*, 71–72; 79.
80. Ibid., 24; 25; 27; 48.
81. Ibid., 52.
82. Ibid., 27; 28.
83. Ibid., 72.
84. Ibid., 88; 89; 89–90; 98.
85. Gerrard, 66.
86. Spedding, 54.
87. King, "New Contexts," 271.
88. *RR*, xi.
89. As discussed in Chapter 5, the topic occurs in *Plain Dealer* Nos. 40 and 45, as well as Haywood's *Love in Excess*, Hill's "Picture of Love," and Haywood's *The Tea-Table, Part One*.
90. *RR*, 40; 56.
91. Ibid., 65–66; 86.
92. Ibid., 84–85.
93. John J. Richetti, "Voice and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Haywood to Burney," *Studies in the Novel*, 19.3 (1987): 266.
94. *RR*, 127.
95. Walter Charlton, *A Natural History of the Passions*, 2nd ed., enlarged (London: 1701), 20–21; 25.
96. *RR*, 126.

97. King, *Political Biography*, 52.
98. Gerrard, 94–95.
99. King, "New Contexts," 271.
100. David Mallet, "Letter X. To Mr. SAVAGE," in *European Magazine*, 280.
101. Leah Orr, "The Basis for Attribution in the Canon of Eliza Haywood," *The Library* 12.4 (2011), 351, notes that because "Haywood's name never appeared on *Memoirs of a Certain Island*, the assignment of this work to her is doubtful rather than certain." I am in agreement with Kathryn King, who observes that Haywood "was recognized by the [Hillarian] circle to be its author and the attribution should be accepted" (*Political Biography*, 29).
102. *Memoirs*, 58; 128; 47.
103. Leitch, 133.
104. *Memoirs*, 183; 39.
105. Ibid., 43–44; 45–46; 46.
106. Ibid., 47–48.
107. *IH*, 71–72.
108. *Memoirs*, 183; 185.
109. King, "Eliza Haywood, Savage Love," 738; 739.
110. *Miscellany*, 126–28.
111. *Memoirs*, 185–86.
112. Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin, 1998), Book 2:106, lines 250–54; 258–59.
113. Hill writes to Savage on August 13, 1724: "You are rude and ungrateful in what you say of the three offers I made you . . . [I]f ever you send me such another letter as this was, it shall put an end to our acquaintance and correspondence for ever. You judge giddily, and then act as if your ingenuity was only given you to be made the *dupe* of your self-affection" ("Letter V. To Mr. SAVAGE," *European Magazine*, 6:194).
114. *Memoirs*, 184; 186.
115. In 1725 Savage published the poem "The Authors of the Town" and in 1729 the pamphlet *An Author to be Lett*, both including satiric portrayals of Haywood. Sometime after 1727, he is believed to have become Pope's chief informer for his *Dunciad Variorum*, providing him with gossip and anecdotes about Grub Street authors, including Haywood.
116. *Memoirs*, 184.
117. *IH*, 45.

Conclusion

1. *PD*, 2:400.
2. Gerrard, 77.
3. *PD*, 2:401–2.
4. Ibid., 2:402–4.
5. Ibid., 2:405.

6. Ibid., 2:404–5.
7. Ibid., No. 45, 1:385.
8. Martha Fowke [Mira], "To Mr. THOMSON, On His Blooming WINTER," in *Winter. A Poem*, by James Thomson, 2nd ed. (London: 1726), n.p.
9. Fairer, 105.
10. *Clio*, 104.
11. Guskin, introduction to *Clio*, 37.
12. Leitch, 133; 153; Longinus, 125.
13. Leitch, 139.
14. Hill, *Works*, 1:338.
15. *Miscellany*, 100.
16. Haywood, *Life's Progress*, 186.
17. Rebecca Tierney-Hynes, "Fictional Mechanics: Haywood, Reading, and the Passions," *The Eighteenth Century* 51.1–2 (2010): 165.
18. Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, ed. Christine Blouch (Peterborough: Broadview, 1998), 313; 396.
19. *Female Spectator*, 1:1.18.
20. Tierney-Hynes, 165.
21. Haywood, *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy,* ed. John Richetti (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2005), 25–26.
22. *Clio*, 170.
23. "The Picture of Love," *Miscellany*, 201.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Unless otherwise indicated, all primary works cited are from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), Gale Group, Dalhousie University, http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ecco.

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

Aglionby, William. *Choice Observations upon the Art of Painting*. London: 1719.

Anonymous. *The Art of Rhetoric Laid Down in an Easy Entertaining Manner, and Illustrated with Several Beautiful Orations from Demosthenes, Cicero, Sallust, Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, &c. Being the Sixth Volume of the Circle of Sciences, &c*. London: 1746.

Aurelius, Marcus (Emperor of Rome). *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Newly Translated from the Greek: With Notes, and an Account of His Life*. Glasgow: 1742.

Baker, David E. "Haywood." *Biographica dramatica*. 2 vols. New York: AMS, 1966.

———. "Heywood, Mrs. *Eliza*." In *The Companion to the Play-House; or An Historical Account of All the Dramatic Writers (and Their Works) That Have Appeared in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement of Our Theatrical Exhibitions, down to the Present Year 1764 . . . in the Form of a Dictionary*, vol. 2. London: 1764.

Behn, Aphra. *Oroonoko*. Edited by Joanna Lipking. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.

———. "Preface to *The Lucky Chance*." In *The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters 1660–1800*, edited by Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster, 62–66. East Lansing: Colleagues, 1991.

Blackmore, Sir Richard. *Creation. A Philosophical Poem. Demonstrating the Existence and Providence of a God. In Seven Books*. London: 1712.

Blackwall, Anthony. *An Introduction to the Classics: Containing a Short Discourse on Their Excellencies; and Directions How to Study Them to Advantage*. 3rd ed. London: 1725.

Boursault, Edmé. *Treize lettres amoureuses d'une dame à un cavalier*. Edited by Bernard Bray. Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1994.

Bragge, Francis. *A Practical Treatise of the Regulation of the Passions.* London: 1708.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy.* Edited by A. R. Shilleto. 3 vols. New York: AMS, 1973.

Charlton, Walter. *A Natural History of the Passions.* 2nd ed., enlarged. London: 1701.

Cheyne, George. *An Essay of Health and Long Life.* Doddington, Kent: Doddington, 1977 [London: 1724].

———. *George Cheyne: The English Malady (1733).* Edited by Roy Porter. London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1991.

Collier, Jeremy. "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (1698)." In *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Comedy*, edited by Scott McMillin, 2nd ed., 493–97. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.

Coogan, Michael D., editor. *New Oxford Annotated Bible.* 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010.

Dennis, John. *The Critical Works of John Dennis.* Edited by Edward N. Hooker. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1939.

Dryden, John. "The Preface to Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands." In *Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays*, edited by George Watson, 2 vols., 1:262–68. London: J. M. Dent, 1962.

Ficino, Marsilio. *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love.* Translated by Sears Jayne. Dallas: Spring, 1995.

Fowke, Martha. *Clio: or, A Secret History of the Life and Amours of the Late Celebrated Mrs. S–n—m. Written by Herself, in a Letter to Hillarius.* Edited by Phyllis Guskin. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997.

———. "Clio's Picture." In *A New Miscellany of Original Poems, Translations and Imitations*, edited by Anthony Hammond, 257–60. London: 1720.

———. *Epistles of Clio and Strephon (1720).* New York: Garland, 1971.

——— [Mira, pseud.]. "To Mr. THOMSON, On His Blooming WINTER." In *Winter. A Poem*, by James Thomson, 2nd ed., n.p. London: 1726.

Gildon, Charles. *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the Late Eminent Tragedian. Wherein the Action and Utterance of the Stage, Bar, and Pulpit, Are Distinctly Consider'd.* London: 1710. Google ebook.

Gomez, Madeleine-Angelique de. *Les journées amusantes,* 8th ed. revised and corrected. Amsterdam: 1777. Google ebook.

Granville, George (Baron Lansdowne). *Poems on Several Occasions.* London: 1712.

Haywood, Eliza. *La Belle Assemblée: or, The Adventures of Six Days. Being a Curious Collection of Remarkable Incidents Which Happen'd to Some of the First Quality in France. Written in French for the Entertainment of the King, and Dedicated to Him by Madam de Gomez. Translated into English.* London: 1724.

———. "The British Recluse; or The Secret History of Cleomira, Supposed Dead." In *Popular Fiction by Women 1660–1730*, edited by Paula R. Backscheider and John Richetti, 153–224. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

———. "A Discourse Concerning Writings of this Nature, by Way of Essay." In *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier. Translated from the French. By Mrs. Haywood*, 1–29. London: 1721.
———. *Fantomina and Other Works*. Edited by Alexander Pettit, Margaret Case Croskery, and Anna C. Patchias. Peterborough: Broadview, 2004.
———. *The Female Spectator*, edited by Kathryn R. King and Alexander Pettit, vols. 2 and 3 of set II of *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood*, edited by Alexander Pettit and Margo Collins, 6 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001.
———. *The History of Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy*. Edited by John Richetti. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2005.
———. *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*. Edited by Christine Blouch. Peterborough: Broadview, 1998.
———. *The Injur'd Husband and Lasselia*. Edited by Jerry C. Beasley. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1999.
———. "The Lady's Revenge." In *The Female Spectator: Selected Works of Eliza Haywood II*, edited by Alexander Pettit, 3:58–74. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001.
———. *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier. Translated from the French. By Mrs. Haywood*. London: 1721.
———. *Life's Progress through the Passions: or, The Adventures of Natura*. New York: Garland, 1974.
———. *Love in Excess*. Edited by David Oakleaf. 2nd ed. Peterborough: Broadview, 2000.
———. *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*. Introduction by Josephine Grieder. New York: Garland, 1972 [1725].
———. *Poems on Several Occasions*. London: 1724.
———. *The Rash Resolve: or, The Untimely Discovery*. Introduction by Josephine Grieder. New York: Garland, 1973 [1724].
———. *A Spy upon the Conjurer: or, A Collection of Surprising Stories, with Names, Places, and Particular Circumstances Relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, Commonly Known by the Name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the Astonishing Penetration and Event of His Predictions*. London: 1724.
———. "The Tea-Table. Part One." In *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood I: Miscellaneous Writings, 1725–43*, edited by Alexander Pettit, 1:1–34. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000.
———. *Three Novellas: The Distress'd Orphan, The City Jilt and The Double Marriage*. Edited by Earla A. Wilputte. East Lansing: U of Michigan P, 1995.
Hill, Aaron. "The Art of Acting." In *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.*, 4:387–408. London: 1753.
———. *The Creation. A Pindaric Illustration of a Poem, Originally Written by Moses, on that Subject. With a Preface to Mr. Pope*. London: 1720.
———. "An Essay on the Art of Acting." In *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.*, 4 vols., 4:355–414. London: 1753.
———. *The Judgment-Day, A Poem*. London: 1721.

———. "Letter V. To Mr. SAVAGE." In *The European Magazine, and London Review; Containing the Literature, History, Politics, Arts, Manners, and Amusements of the Age*, 6:193–94. London: 1784.

———. "Letter VIII. To Mr. Savage." In *The European Magazine, and London Review; Containing the Literature, History, Politics, Arts, Manners, and Amusements of the Age*, 6:278–79. London: 1784.

———. "Love Letters." In *The Dramatick Works of Aaron Hill, Esq*., 2:396–401. London: 1760.

Hill, Aaron, and William Bond. *The Plain Dealer: Being Select Essays on Several Curious Subjects, Relating to Friendship, Love, and Gallantry, Marriage, Morality, Mercantile Affairs, Painting, History, Poetry, and Other Branches of Polite Literature. Publish'd Originally in the Year 1724. And Now Collected into Two Volumes.* London: 1734.

———. *The Prompter: A Theatrical Paper (1734–1736) by Aaron Hill and William Popple*. Edited by William W. Appleton and Kalman A. Burnim. New York: B. Blom, 1966.

Homer. *The Iliad*. Translated by Robert Fagles. New York: Penguin, 1998.

Howell, James. "To the Knowing Reader Touching Familiar Letters." In *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Foreign. Divided into Four Books. Partly Historical, Political, Philosophical, upon Emergent Occasions*, 8th ed., 11–12. London: 1713.

Hume, David. "*A Treatise of Human Nature,* Book II: Of the Passions." In *Hume's Moral and Political Philosophy*, edited by Henry D. Aitken, 3–27. New York: Hafner, 1948.

Hutcheson, Francis. *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations of the Moral Sense (1728)*. Edited by Aaron Garrett. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002.

Johnson, Samuel. *Lives of the English Poets*. Edited by George Birkbeck Hill. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1905.

Kames, Lord [Henry Homes]. *Elements of Criticism*. Edited by Peter Jones. 2 vols. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005 [1762].

Lamy, Bernard. *The Art of Speaking: Written in French by Messieurs du Port Royal: In Persuance of a Former Treatise, Intituled, The Art of Thinking. Rendred into English*. 2nd ed., corrected. London: 1708.

Le Brun, Charles. *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions*. Translated by John Williams. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1980 [1734].

Leitch, Vincent B. "Longinus." In *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 2nd ed., 133–54. New York: W. W. Norton, 2010.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Peter H. Nidditch. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.

———. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. Edited by John W. and Jean S. Yolton. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.

"'Longinus' on the Sublime." In *Aristotle, The Poetics; "Longinus," On the Sublime; Demetrius, On Style*, edited by W. Hamilton Fyfe, 119–254. London: William Heinemann, 1953.

Mallet, David. "Letter X. To Mr. SAVAGE." In *The European Magazine, and London Review*, 6:279–80. London: 1784.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. Edited by Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: Odyssey, 1935.

Mitchell, Joseph. *Poems on Several Occasions*. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. London: 1732 [1729].

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: U of Indiana P, 1955.

———. *Ovid's Metamorphoses in Fifteen Books. Translated by the Most Eminent Hands. Adorn'd with Sculptures*. London: 1717.

Plato. "Ion." In *Great Dialogues of Plato*, translated by W. H. D. Rouse, 13–27. New York: New American Library, 1956.

———. *Phaedrus*. Translated by Christopher Rowe. London: Penguin, 2005.

Pope, Alexander. "Eloisa to Abelard." In *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems*, edited by Geoffrey Tillotson, 6 vols., 2nd ed., 2:298–327. London: Methuen, 1954.

———. *The Poems of Alexander Pope, Volume III i: An Essay on Man*. Edited by Maynard Mack. London: Methuen, 1950.

Porter, John. *A Critical Essay, Containing Some Remarks upon the Nature of Epistolary and Elegaic Poetry*. New York: Garland, 1971 [1720].

Reynolds, Joshua. "Discourse VII." In *Discourses on Art*, edited by Robert R. Wark, 117–42. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997.

Richardson, Samuel. *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*. Edited by Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

———. "Richardson to Miss Westcomb, 15 Sept, 1746." In *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, edited by John Carroll, 32. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.

Savage, Richard, editor. *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands. Publish'd by Richard Savage, Son of the Late Earl Rivers*. London: 1726.

Senault, Jean-Francois. *The Philosophy of the Passions; Demonstrating Their Nature, Properties, Effects, Use and Abuse*. 2 vols. London: 1772.

Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. Edited by David Bevington. 4th ed. New York: Longman, 1992.

Sprat, Thomas. "The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge." In *Eighteenth-Century Literature*, edited by Geoffrey Tillotson, 22–30. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969.

Sterling, James. "For Mrs. Eliza Haywood on Her Writings." In *Secret Histories, Novels, and Poems*, by Eliza Haywood, 4 vols., 3rd ed., 1:n.p. London: 1732.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Edited by Ian Ross Campbell. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.

Victor, Benjamin. *Original Letters, Dramatic Pieces, and Poems.* 3 vols. London: 1776.

Watts, Isaac. *The Doctrine of the Passions Explain'd and Improv'd: or, A Brief and Comprehensive Scheme of the Natural Affections of Mankind, Attempted in a Plain and Easy Method; with an Account of Their Names, Nature, Appearances, Effects, and Different Uses in Human Life: To Which Are Subjoin'd Moral and Divine Rules For the Regulation or Government of Them*. 3rd ed. London: 1739.

Willis, Thomas. *Two Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes, Which Is That of the Vital and Sensitive of Man*. Translated by S. Pordage. Edited by Solomon Diamond. Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1971.

Wilmot, John. "A Satire against Reason and Mankind." In *Restoration Literature: An Anthology*, edited by Paul Hammond, 174–78. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

Wright, Thomas. *The Discourse on the Passions in Early Modern England*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher, 2004.

———. *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*. Edited by Thomas O. Sloan. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1971.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Anderson, Emily Hodgson. *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction: Novels and the Theater, Haywood to Austen*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

———. "Performing the Passions in Eliza Haywood's *Fantomina* and *Miss Betsy Thoughtless*." *The Eighteenth Century* 46.1 (2005): 1–15.

Ashfield, Andrew, and Peter de Bolla. Introduction to *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory*, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998 [1996].

Backscheider, Paula R. *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2005.

———. "Literary Culture as Immediate Reality." In *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel and Culture*, edited by Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia, 504–38. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

Beasley, Jerry C. Introduction to *The Injur'd Husband and Lasselia*. In *Eighteenth-Century Novels by Women*, ix–xxxvii. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1999

Blackmore, Josiah. "Melancholy, Passionate Love, and the *Coita d'Amor*." *PMLA* 124.2 (March 2009): 640–46.

Brann, Eva. *Feeling Our Feelings: What People Know and Philosophers Think*. Philadelphia: Paul Dry, 2008.

Brewster, Dorothy. *Aaron Hill: Poet, Dramatist, Projector*. New York: AMS, 1966.

Cable, Lana. *Carnal Rhetoric: Milton's Iconoclasm and the Poetics of Desire*. Durham: Duke UP, 1995.

Clarke, Norma. *The Rise and Fall of the Woman of Letters*. London: Pimlico, 2004.

Conway, Alison. *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709–1791*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001.

Cook, Elizabeth. *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth-Century Republic of Letters*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996.

Culler, Jonathan. *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.

Damrosch, Leo. "Generality and Particularity." In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism; Volume 4: The Eighteenth Century*, edited by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 382–83. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

Davis, Karen E. "Martha Fowke: 'A Lady Once Too Well Known.'" *English Language Notes* 23.3 (1986): 32–36.

Dawson, Lesel. *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

———. "'New Sects of Love': Neoplatonism and Construction of Gender in Davenant's *The Temple of Love* and *The Platonick Lovers*." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 8.1 (May 2002): 4.1–36. http://purl.oclc.org/emls/08-1/dawsnew.htm.

Day, Ivan. "Further Musings on Syllabub, or Why Not 'Jumble It a Pritie While'?" *Petits Propos Culinaires* 53 (1996). http://www.historicfood.com/Syllabubs%20Essay.pdf.

Day, Robert A. *Told in Letters: Epistolary Fiction before Richardson*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1966.

Fairer, David. *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century 1700–1789*. London: Longman, 2003.

Fiering, Norman. "Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37.2 (1976): 195–218.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Translated by R. Howard. New York: Pantheon, 1965.

Genieys-Kirk, Séverine. "Eliza Haywood's Translation and Dialogic Reading of Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez's *Journées amusantes* (1722–1731)." In *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700–1900*, edited by Gillian E. Dow, 37–54. Bern: Peter Lang, 2007.

Gerrard, Christine. *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector 1685–1750*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003.

Gordon, Scott Paul. *The Power of the Passive Self in English Literature, 1640–1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Guskin, Phyllis J., editor. *Clio: The Autobiography of Martha Fowke Sansom (1689–1736)*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997.

———. "'Not Originally Intended for the Press': Martha Fowke Sansom's Poems in the *Barbados Gazette*." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34.1 (2000): 61–91.

Hagstrum, Jean H. *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1958.

Hammond, Brean. *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670–1740: "Hackney for Bread."* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.

Hobby, Elaine. Introduction to *The Midwives Book; or, The Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered (1671)*, by Jane Sharp, xi–xxxv. New York: Oxford UP, 1999.

Hudson, Nicholas. "Theories of Language." In *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, edited by Knud Haakonssen, 1:335–48. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

Inglesfield, R. "James Thomson, Aaron Hill and The Poetic 'Sublime.'" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 13.2 (1990): 215–21.

Ingram, Allan. *The Madhouse of Language: Writing and Reading Madness in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Ingrassia, Catherine. "'The Stage Not Answering My Expectations': The Case of Eliza Haywood." In *Teaching British Women Playwrights of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, edited by Bonnie Nelson and Catherine Burroughs, 213–22. New York: Modern Language Association, 2010.

Jeffrey, David L. *People of the Book*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.

Johns, Adrian. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998.

King, Kathryn R. "Eliza Haywood, Savage Love, and Biographical Uncertainty." *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 59.242 (2008): 722–39. DOI:10.1093/res/hgm110

———. "New Contexts for Early Novels by Women: The Case of Eliza Haywood, Aaron Hill, and the Hillarians, 1719–1725." In *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century English Novel and Culture*, edited by Paula R. Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia, 261–75. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005.

———. *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012.

———. "When Eliza Met Aaron: A Story of Sublime Sensation." In *The Sensational Centuries: Essays on the Enhancement of Sense Experience in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries*, edited by Kevin L. Cope and Robert C. Leitz III. New York: AMS, forthcoming.

Köveces, Zoltán. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Kuizenga, Donna. "Writing in Drag: Strategic Rewriting in the Early Epistolary Novel." *EMF: Studies in Early Modern France* 8 (2002): 149–72.

Lamb, Jonathan. "The Sublime." In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: Vol. IV: The Eighteenth Century*, edited by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 4:394–416. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

Land, Stephen K. *From Signs to Propositions: The Concept of Form in Eighteenth-Century Semantic Theory*. London: Longman Linguistics Library, 1974.

Lewis, Jayne. "Compositions of Ill-Nature: Women's Place in a Satiric Tradition." *Critical Matrix* 2.2 (1986): 31–69.

Lipking, Lawrence. *Abandoned Women and Poetic Tradition*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.

Lubey, Kathleen. "Eliza Haywood's Amatory Aesthetic." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39.3 (2006): 309–22.

Lyotard, Jean-Francois. *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute*. Translated by George Van Den Abbeele. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1988.

Mack, Maynard. Introduction to *The Poems of Alexander Pope, Volume III i: An Essay on Man*, xi–lxxx. London: Methuen, 1950.

Mansfield, Elizabeth C. *Too Beautiful to Picture: Zeuxis, Myth, and Mimesis*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007.

Marker, Lise-Lone, and Frederick J. "Aaron Hill and Eighteenth-Century Acting Theory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 61.4 (1975): 416–27.

McGann, Jerome. *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

McKenzie, Alan T. *Certain Lively Episodes: The Articulation of Passion in Eighteenth-Century Prose*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1990.

McKeon, Michael. *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2002.

McMurran, Mary Helen. *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2010.

Merritt, Juliette. *Beyond Spectacle: Eliza Haywood's Female Spectators*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004.

Mist, Charles. "Mme de Gomez and *La Belle Assemblée*." *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 34 (1960): 212–25.

Mullan, John. *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.

Müller, Marion. *"These Savage Beasts Become Domestick": The Discourse on the Passions in Early Modern England*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher, 2004.

Nussbaum, Martha. *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994.

Oakleaf, David. Introduction to *Love in Excess*, by Eliza Haywood, 2nd ed., 7–24. Peterborough: Broadview, 2000.

Orr, Leah. "The Basis for Attribution in the Canon of Eliza Haywood." *The Library* 12.4 (2011): 335–61.

Patey, Douglas Lane. "'Aesthetics' and the Rise of Lyric in the Eighteenth Century." *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 33.3 (Summer 1993): 587–608.

Perry, Ruth. *Women, Letters, and the Novel*. New York: AMS, 1980.

Porter, Roy. *Flesh and the Age of Reason: How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls*. London: Penguin, 2004.

Potter, Tiffany. "The Language of Feminised Sexuality: Gendered Voice in Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* and *Fantomina*." *Women's Writing* 10.1 (2003): 169–86.

Richetti, John J. *The English Novel in History, 1700–1780*. London: Routledge, 1999.

———. "Ideas and Voices: The New Novel in Eighteenth-Century England." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12.2–3 (2000): 327–44.

———. *Philosophical Writing: Locke, Berkeley, Hume*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1983.

———. "Voice and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Haywood to Burney." *Studies in the Novel* 19.3 (1987): 263–72.

Roach, Joseph R. *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1985.

Rousseau, G. S. "Nerves, Spirits, and Fibres: Towards Defining the Origins of Sensibility." In *Studies in the Eighteenth Century III*, edited by R. F. Brissenden and J. C. Eade, 137–46. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1976.

Saxton, Kirsten T., and Rebecca P. Bocchicchio, editors. *Passionate Fictions of Eliza Haywood: Essays on her Life and Works*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2000.

Schneider, Gary. "Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behavior, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern Letters." *Prose Studies* 23.3 (2000): 31–62.

Schoenfeldt, Michael C. *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Sill, Geoffrey. *The Cure of the Passions and the Origins of the English Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.

Spacks, Patricia M. *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003.

Spedding, Patrick. *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004.

Starr, G. Gabrielle. *Lyric Generations: Poetry and the Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004.

Stewart, Carol. Introduction to *The Rash Resolve and Life's Progress*, by Eliza Haywood, xi–xxi. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013.

Stone, Jon. *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations: The Illiterati's Guide to Latin Maxims, Mottoes, Proverbs and Sayings*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Tassi, Marguerite A. *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama*. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna UP, 2005.

Tierney-Hynes, Rebecca. "Fictional Mechanics: Haywood, Reading, and the Passions." *The Eighteenth Century* 51.1–2 (2010): 153–72.

Welsh, Ryan. "Ekphrasis." The University of Chicago Theories of Media, Keywords Glossary. http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/ekphrasis.htm.

Wheelright, Philip. *Metaphor and Reality*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1962.

Williams, Kate. "'The Force of Language, and the Sweets of Love': Eliza Haywood and the Erotics of Reading in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*." *Lumen* 23 (2004): 309–23.

Williams, Ralph M. *Poet, Painter and Parson: The Life of John Dyer*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1956.

Wilputte, Earla. "Eliza Haywood's *Poems on Several Occasions*: Aaron Hill, Writing, and the Sublime." *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture* 6 (2011): 79–102.

———. "Midwife for the Mind: Delivering the Passions in Aaron Hill's *The Plain Dealer*." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31.1 (2008): 1–15.

Index