

'Heroines of their own romance': Creative Exchanges between Life-Writing and Fiction, the 'Scandalous Memoirists' and Charlotte Lennox

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Abstract: This article examines the creative relationship between lives and stories and the intrinsic relationship between autobiography and fiction, with particular attention to the 'scandalous memoirists' of the mid-eighteenth century. By using the more flexible concept of life-writing, the article highlights the porous nature of genres at this time and the way in which strict categorisation has limited understandings of literary exchanges. Concluding with Charlotte Lennox, the article demonstrates the potential in recognising fluidity of genre and challenges the superficial division between the 'respectable' Lennox and the 'scandalous' memoirists.

Keywords: autobiography, scandalous memoirist, life-writing, Lady Vane, Laetitia Pilkington, Teresia Constantia Phillips, Charlotte Lennox

Without a blush behold each nymph advance;
The luscious heroine [*sic*] of her own romance.¹

According to Paul John Eakin, the telling of stories has a profound and integral relationship with how we construct our identities. We continually narrate who we are, whether through speech or writing: 'our life stories are not merely *about* us but in an inescapable and profound way *are* us.'² Not only are our lives intricately connected to narrative acts, but the telling can also be informed by fictional narratives. The writing of a group of mid-eighteenth-century women life-writers demonstrates this relationship through their engagement with fictional stories and social scripts. Lady Frances Anne Vane, Teresia Constantia Phillips and Laetitia Pilkington, who are often categorised as the 'scandalous memoirists' and in many ways segregated from broader examinations of literary culture in this period, are central figures in the utilisation of fiction in some of the earliest pieces of what we now consider as being autobiography. This article will examine how, for this particular group of women writers of the mid-eighteenth century, literary stories proved an integral part of their (life) story.

The classification of these women's works through their 'scandalous' lives and by generically categorising their work as memoir and autobiography is limiting.³ By using the more inclusive concept of life-writing, this article will demonstrate the fluidity and exchange between life-writing and fiction in these women's works and show how fiction functioned as an essential part of their negotiation of personal identity in the public sphere. Life-writing is a term now used to acknowledge the heterogeneity of autobiographical writing, which may include letters, journals, travel writing and confessions, but more generally the term can address how autobiography exposes the porosity of literary genres as well as the restrictions implied by 'autobiography'.⁴

Life-writing is thus a more inclusive concept that embraces the textual interplay between genres and texts that may not conform to the laws of 'autobiography proper'. However, autobiographical studies have always highlighted and struggled with the relationship between lives and stories. Despite the reliance on the factually referential status of the autobiography, the problematic translation of life into written form is accompanied by an inescapable tendency towards fiction. The recreation of a life into written text necessarily has a creative dimension, through the selection process of what details to include, for example, and that often involves novelistic devices to structure the life in the text.⁵ At the conclusion of this article Charlotte Lennox is examined as an example from the 'fictional' side. Her works can be read as similarly using the fluidity of form as a means for self-expression. Lennox may have had and may continue to have a respectable image in comparison with the memoirists, but this does not mean her works should not be read in relation to her fellow negotiators of female identity in this period. In fact, a closer reading of Lennox's early works as life-writing, rather than ultimately fiction, demonstrates how far she trod a fine line between respectability and scandal that means she could and should be read alongside life-writing of the period.

There is a tendency to separate fictional texts from the diaries, memoirs and journals of the eighteenth century, and none more so than with the literary ghetto of the 'scandalous memoirists' of the mid-century. Pilkington, Vane and Phillips were among the most well-known female life-writers of the mid-century period, publishing their life stories in the period 1748-54: Pilkington's *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington, Written by Herself* (1748-54), Vane's 'Memoirs of a Lady of Quality', published in Tobias Smollett's novel *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751), and Phillips's *Apology for the Conduct of Mrs Teresia Constantia Phillips* (1748-9).⁶ Pilkington, Phillips and Vane were often grouped together as a notorious trio. However, their grouping is not entirely on generic grounds but is instead determined by their expressions of sexuality. In John Duncombe's poem *The Feminiad* (1754) they are described as the modern-day Manley, Centlivre and Behn. Regardless of form (Duncombe's footnote observes that Centlivre and Behn were remembered for 'the indecency of their plays'), their work was first and foremost defined by their public relation of private life, their alleged tendency to 'immortalize their shame, by writing and publishing their own memoirs'.⁷ Segregating these women as a group of 'scandalous memoirists' diminishes the generic differences between their individual texts as 'Apology', 'Memoir' and 'Narrative'.⁸ Moreover, it distances them from the diversity of fiction from which they drew their literary models and inspiration. In fact, the eighteenth-century criticism that was levelled against the memoirists was actually *because* their work was comparable with fiction and they were seen to situate themselves as 'horoines of their own romances', as a contemporary poem announced:

Renown'd Constantia, Pilkington, and –,
Grown old in sin, and dead to am'rous joy,
No acts of penance their great souls employ;
Without a blush behold each nymph advance;
The luscious horoine [*sic*] of her own romance;
Each harlot triumphs in her loss of fame,
And boldly prints and publishes her shame.⁹

Although the content of the works of early female practitioners of prose fiction was sometimes far from respectable – such as the commonly referenced Manley, Haywood and Behn – the striking difference between their work and the memoirists' was that the mem-

oirists made explicit the connection between author's life and written text. Not only did these women transgress social expectations in their personal lives, but they took the audacious step of publishing the details. For early female authors the life and the text were inextricably linked, and they often worked hard either to loosen the ties or to make the content virtuous, in order to hold a favourable mirror to themselves. For one of the most influential scholars of autobiography, Philippe Lejeune, the autobiography is determined by the direct correspondence between the name on the title-page and the narrator in the text: 'The autobiographical pact is the affirmation in the text of this identity, referring back in the analysis to the name of the author on the cover.'¹⁰ Pilkington, Phillips and Vane made their autobiographical pact with the reader clear: the author was also the subject of the text. Phillips went so far as to assert her inextricable ties with her text by signing each copy, and not only on the title-page but on selected pages throughout.¹¹ What is interesting about this poetic attack is that a fictional framework is still used to describe these memoirists' work: 'horoine of her own romance'. In a period before autobiography was a classifiable genre, these texts entered into a time of authorial subterfuge where the line between fact and fiction was never entirely distinguishable. Lynda M. Thompson clarifies their distinctiveness: 'The memoirists' deliberate and assertive strategy of proclaiming their texts (their literary 'deeds') their own, at a time when established authors often sought to disguise or 'screen' their authorship, went totally against the grain of female modesty.'¹²

Often read as fabrications, fictions and outright lies, paradoxically, the factual nature of these women's memoirs came under heavy attack from contemporaries. The novelty and scandal of their memoirs spawned an abundance of parodies, replies and fakes. As well as the 'scandalous' content, it was also the novelty of their project, arguably as examples of the first autobiographical texts, that caught the world off-guard. In a literary market-place characterised by distrust, where fictional first-person narratives posed as 'true relations', authors posed as editors and male hacks posed as female whores, these women's assertive ownership of their textual lives met with a lively response. It was not wholly negative, however, as some, including Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, appreciated the honesty and freshness.¹³ The attention was also, of course, due to the scandalous nature of the lives that they shared with their readership. Pilkington brought us intimately into the Swiftian circle, exposing domestic life and her subsequent efforts to survive; Vane and Phillips trawled out their lists of lovers and intrigues.

It was no coincidence, Thompson argues, that these women articulated their private lives at this point in history: they 'take bold advantage of ideological contradictions, a burgeoning literary market and a developing public sphere'.¹⁴ Their writing engaged with the public discourse on female identity that Clare Brant usefully describes as the choric: 'This term covers a number of processes and products, including collective discourses such as hearsay, gossip and scandal (and, in other contexts, news), and social constructions of identity, such as character [...] an interface between private and public spheres.'¹⁵ Crucially, Brant contends, the choric is fluid, 'in flux', and hence offers the opportunity for women to negotiate their version of identity in the public sphere in the face of exaggeration, distortion and misrepresentation.¹⁶ Brant examines the memoirists' negotiation of (sexual) reputation, class and legality, but another potential strand in the choric is fiction. Narrative patterns and stories from early eighteenth-century prose fiction played a role in defining and constraining female identity, but also served productively for the memoirists in harnessing these narratives for their individual portrayals and personal objectives. Despite their rather novel 'autobiographical pact' with their reader, Pilkington, Phillips and Vane's life-writing was intricately connected with fiction, and their autobiographical

texts were far from entirely factual revelations. These women participated in the history of crafting female identity that in recent times had been productively explored through fiction.¹⁷ The field of autobiographical studies observes the inherent fictionality in life-writing through, for example, its necessarily selective nature, whereby the autobiographer crafts a version of their life in a way akin to fiction.¹⁸ Notwithstanding the rather seductive honesty in their approach and style, all these women participate in a particular self-crafting that is comparable to fiction in its method but which also explicitly uses existing fictional narratives.

Lady Frances Anne Vane's memoirs, 'Memoirs of a Lady of Quality', are the most overtly connected with fiction. They were published within Tobias Smollett's picaresque novel *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, in which are included '*Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*' (1751), and although Vane's authorship of the memoirs is not entirely verifiable, they still demonstrate this significant dialogue between reality, facts and fictional narrative in the representation of female identity (for ease of understanding, I am using 'Vane' rather than 'the narrator').¹⁹ The frankness of Vane's account of her marriage and extra-marital affairs was recognised by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who felt they 'contain more Truth and less malice than I ever read in my Life'.²⁰ However, this 'truth' is always permeated by the fictions within which the narrative is situated. The memoirs are framed by Pickle as an incomplete account and spliced into the novel.²¹ Although there are factual elements, with real persons and some commonly known details, including rumours about Lord Vane's sexual impotence, the memoirs themselves seem to respond to the novel form in which they are contained.²²

Vane's story is filtered through an amatory lens. In her self-romanticising she is indeed, as the contemporary poem contended, the 'horoine of her own romance'. Her narrative is infused with the cult of sensibility as Vane is led by her heart and emotions, rather than her head. The opening tableau sets the scene for Vane's subsequent emotive relation of her life, as Peregrine Pickle discovers her caring for the poor and specifically a widow's child. Vane had 'all the graces of elegance and beauty, breathing sentiment and beneficence, and softened into the most enchanting tenderness of weeping sympathy'.²³ The sentimental aspect is continued when she begins her story with a defence: 'I hope, to perceive, that howsoever my head may have erred, my heart hath always been uncorrupted, and that I have been unhappy, *because I loved, and was a woman.*'²⁴ Her double disclaimer here highlights a key difference between this memoir and the others: her work is not an 'apology', as she does not hold herself up as an example or offer a critique of society; instead her actions are presented as the natural result of her feminine nature.

Her account is a novella of sensibility. The intensity of her emotions is manifested in bodily effects in graphic detail throughout the work. During the illness of her first husband she raves down the street with grief, and when he finally dies, she clutches his body, covering it in kisses. Her rejection by one of the men she loves displays feminine susceptibility to emotions: 'Heaven and earth! what did I feel at this dire conjecture! The light forsook my eyes, a cold sweat bedewed my limbs, and I was overwhelmed with such a torrent of sorrow and surprise, that every body present believed I would have died under the violent agitation.'²⁵

The memoir sweeps the reader along with her picaresque life story, from naive and innocent childhood, the common way to begin a novel of amatory fiction, to her sexual awakening and exploitation by men, with subsequent bed-hopping, pistols and duelling and chase scenes as she escapes with lovers and from her husband across England and into France. If indeed this story was propaganda to support her case for divorce from William Holles Vane, then it utilised fictional narratives to bring the reader into sympathy with her,

as it did Lady Montagu. Her romantic self-fashioning relies on conservative gender binaries that reiterate her essential femininity: her social transgressions, this memoir argues implicitly, were due to the failings of men to conform to their gender roles. Her first husband, Lord W—m (Lord William Hamilton), is used as the benchmark for the ideal relationship: 'Never was a passion more eager, delicate, or unreserved, than that which glowed within our breasts. Far from being cloyed with the possession of each other, our raptures seemed to increase with the terms of our union.'²⁶

From the idyll of 'mutual love' and happy complicity in marriage, Vane turns to her second husband, William Holles Vane.²⁷ She 'had no notion of marrying for any thing but love', and a loveless marriage is, for the romantic heroine, doomed to fail.²⁸ Holles Vane is systematically feminised and exposed to be wholly inadequate as a husband, particularly for such a sensitive creature as Lady Vane. The disastrous and also terribly funny wedding night in which 'this manly representative sat moping in a corner, like a criminal on execution-day'²⁹ sets an elongated scene that is both mocking and ridiculous, but also sinister in its detail: 'His attempts were like the pawing of an imp, sent from hell to teize and torment some guilty wretch, such as are exhibited in some dramatic performances, which I never see acted without remembering my wedding-night.'³⁰

Vane maintains her defence for her extra-marital affairs through the extended descriptions, which build a novel-like characterisation of Holles Vane as a feminised villain. His viability and ownership of his wife are proven to be illegitimate as he fails to conform to social as well as novelistic expectations for the masculine suitor/husband. As Aileen Douglas argues, the story is crafted to expose the

clash between the validity of female physical experience and oppression of matrimonial law. In the cult of sensibility the body generates meaning, but in political terms that body has already been assigned a meaning as the foundation of property [...] the 'Memoirs,' dividing Lady Vane's body into an object of property and sensible, virtuous being, records an incongruity between her sensible experience and legal definitions of the body.³¹

In addition, the exposure of this cultural and political impasse, by situating the life within this picaresque escapade, enables a crafting of the self as feminine heroine and hence beyond rebuke. Laetitia Pilkington's memoirs similarly construct an idealised feminine self-image, which in Pilkington's case provides a counterpoint to her husband's accusations of adultery. Although the memoirs begin with claims to be an unbiased account, 'a strict Adherence to Truth', and that in relating 'all my *Faults*, my *Follies*' she will prove 'not as an Example, but a Warning' to women, this entire memoir is a self-crafting of herself as a feminine victim.³² Moreover, it is also an assertive literary manifesto that utilises earlier prose fiction forms as part of its structure. It is this tension between the passive heroine and Pilkington's literary ambition that results in an inconsistent representation of self and which must have affected Elizabeth Montagu's feeling that 'one sees through her character' and Virginia Woolf's pronouncement that Pilkington is an odd combination, 'a very extraordinary cross between Moll Flanders and Lady Ritchie, between a rolling and rollicking woman of the town and a lady of breeding and refinement'.³³

Despite holding herself up as a warning, Pilkington's three-volume memoir crafts a different story. The nature of her relationship with her husband, Matthew Pilkington, reveals her as subject to his failure, rather than hers, in the relationship. Felicity Nussbaum identifies Pilkington's self-construction here as very much in a novelistic vein of social scripts as 'passive, persecuted, and helpless as she falls into seduced-maiden

tropes'.³⁴ With all these memoirists the making public of the private was a cause for contemporary anxiety and outrage, but Pilkington aggravates the process with her inconsistency: she paints herself in terms of a novelistic passive heroine, yet has an irreconcilable 'masculine' literary ambition.

Pilkington uses two male figures to develop her self-image as suffering heroine and literary prodigy. Matthew Pilkington functions as her failed husband and literary nemesis, and Jonathan Swift as her pseudo-father figure and literary mentor. Through the presentation of these key male figures Pilkington seeks to placate ideological expectations through her feminine identity and also to fortify her literary worth. Men are the villains in her seduction narrative: 'Is it not monstrous that our Seducers should be our Accusers? Will they not employ Fraud, nay, often Force to gain us? What various Arts, what Stratagems, what Wiles will they use for our Destruction?'³⁵

Similarly to Vane's susceptible heart, Pilkington's is also softened by emotion when Matthew faints when told not to visit her again in courtship: 'As I was naturally of a soft compassionate Temper, the Condition I saw him in pierced my very Soul.'³⁶ And here, as with Vane, Pilkington takes care to construct her husband as feminised and inadequate. Her feminine sensibility is awakened by his fainting fit and his self-harm, although details are related with more than a hint of sarcasm: 'only a scratch, on Purpose to terrify us, and had just such a desperate Wound as I have frequently received from the Point of a Pin, without complaining'.³⁷ She develops a portrayal of the women in Matthew's life (his mistress and his landlady) that heightens her femininity, respectability and, specifically, her cleanliness that aligns her with Swift. These women become caricatures of filth and baseness as Pilkington draws from Swift's poems of social satire. Pilkington even references Swift's poem 'The Lady's Dressing-Room' as a point of comparison, which, coupled with their friendship, emphasises their kindred spirit. Matthew, perversely, finds her cleanliness a concern, Pilkington contends: 'I beg leave here to remark, that my Husband's Complaints were very different from those of most married Men; their general Excuse for going astray is, that their Wives are dirty, slothful, ignorant, &c, the Very Reverse of which swinish Qualities made my good Man hate me.'³⁸

Her feminine respectability in the face of this perverse masculinity prevents her from being entirely culpable for the marital breakdown. Furthermore, Matthew's inferior intellect is a point of contention, and Pilkington uses Swift to argue her case. Although Pilkington asserts that this is a biography of Swift – 'It was a very great Loss to the World, that this admirable Gentleman never could be prevailed on to give us the Particulars of his own Life' – it is actually a means through which to recognise her own value, specifically her literary worth.³⁹

In Pilkington's narration Swift assumes a fatherly role, taking over from her mother in his rough kind of education. Both educate in a manner that is marked by a close bond between teaching and violence: a box on the ears from her mother and a 'deadly Pinch' from Swift. Despite the renowned oddities in their relationship, from his name-calling to physical harassment, Pilkington shows herself to accept this 'abuse' – further still, to give examples of her wit. At one point Swift smears her face with pitch and rosin from the wine bottles to incite a reaction. Pilkington claims that she 'told him he did me great Honour in sealing me for his own'.⁴⁰ In this flux between teasing and witty retort, in Swift's assertion of dominance and Pilkington's sense of pride, we see the complex relationship between the father figure, Swift, and his *protégée*.

Swift does the talking for her, whether in his verbal defence of her intellectual superiority or through his actions in allowing her entrance into the literary world of wits. On expressing her desire to be a man, Pilkington is given a tobacco pipe (though empty) and

allowed to play cribbage. This is the physical rendition of her acceptance as it is with provisions: her pipe signals acceptance into the male group, although its emptiness mirrors that of her social and sexual lack. Ironically, Swift's, Dr Delany's and her husband's pipes are also empty. Pilkington's desire to be accepted within the witty community of men puts her outside acceptable modes of female behaviour, and she describes herself as an anomaly: 'I am, in short, an Heteroclite, or irregular Verb, which can never be declined, or conjugated.'⁴¹ Her negotiations of domestic and marital obligations with her literary ambition are common to women writers of the eighteenth century. However, Pilkington stands apart because of her fleeting and personally influential relationship with one of the literary heavyweights of the early eighteenth century, which led her to recognise her literary intellect and worth. The sub-narrative of her memoirs charts her negotiation of domestic ties and literary ambition, treading a fine line in terms of how she situates herself between the two.

As well as crafting a feminine, literary heroine that is similar to Vane's as it upholds a patriarchal masculine value, Pilkington's narrative also draws from the more formal style of earlier prose fiction. The framed novella serves as an important precursor to these memoirists' work. Josephine Donovan describes the form as 'an assemblage of short tales that are linked by a frame narrative, usually that of the social interaction among storytellers'.⁴² In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries authors adapted the form by 'using a modified framed-novelle format, offering realistic and often comic details, and providing sensible female protagonists'.⁴³ Jane Barker's autobiographical strategies were evidently influential on subsequent women life-writers, potentially including the memoirists. Using the narrative device of the patchwork screen, Barker pieced together the differing elements of her story to form three novels.⁴⁴ This enabled her to construct an assemblage of material that was not dependent on a single, first-person narrative thread.

Pilkington's 'memoir' is also an assemblage of texts. She also utilises the form to include her poetry and thus build evidence of her literary ability to support the anecdotal reports of Swift. In Barker's work verses interlace her life story, contributing the conscious crafting of a female literary woman, and the same can be said for Pilkington. Furthermore, the serialisation of Pilkington's memoirs added yet another dimension to the fictional precedents in popular serialised works such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740-41) and *Clarissa* (1747-8). The volume-by-volume publication method meant that reader anticipation increased, as did the financial potential. The same was true with Phillips's three-volume work: both Pilkington's and Phillips's memoirs were undoubtedly financially driven. Phillips's lengthy court battles against her husband, Muilman, who sought to annul their marriage, had been costly. The exposure of Muilman and threats to expose other former lovers was a means to secure money through blackmail as well as through the disclosure of scandal to an intrigued reading public.

However, there was also a narrative aspect to the serial form that Thomas Keymer observes.⁴⁵ The deferred narrative, the success of which proved a matter of life and death for Scheherazade in the highly popular contemporary translations of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, was a significant reflection on the nature of the self. Keymer observes how the serialised work dramatises the nature of identity, 'in all its shifting complexities' and through 'a mode more responsive than others to the instability of identity over time'.⁴⁶ For Keymer, Phillips's work represents 'less high-minded purposes', although he acknowledges the autobiographical purpose too.⁴⁷ And, indeed, as well as the financial gains from a serial work of scandal, Phillips's deferred narrative is much more than this. There are a range of narrative devices to explore personal concerns with reputation, arguing against the sexual double-standard and society's treatment of fallen women.

Phillips's *Apology* is perhaps the most distinctive of the group of memoirists in terms of novelistic influence and strident self-representation. It is definitely the most complex in its form and narrative voice. Phillips offers a distinctive account of her life that integrates a dizzying range of details and has a structure that Phillips aptly describes as a spider's web and a labyrinth.⁴⁸ As with Lady Vane, Phillips's authorship of this memoir is doubted. For some, it was ghost-written (for ease of understanding I will refer to 'Phillips' and 'she' as the narrator).⁴⁹ One of the factors that has surely influenced this opinion is the narrative voice, which is not in the first but in the third person. Phillips's life is told by an anonymous narrator who has 'known Mrs. Muilman about these twenty years'.⁵⁰ The narrative style and also sexual innuendo here hint at Phillips's inspiration and potentially indicate her possible authorship, as she had a precursor in Delarivier Manley. Manley's *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714) was also a third-person account of her scandalous life.⁵¹ In her work Manley utilised the benefits of a third-person male narrator to tell her life in a way that exposes male perceptions and misconceptions of female identity. It also released Manley from accusations of falsehood and the romanticising that a first-person (female) account could instigate more readily. Phillips's third-person account also lends an air of impartiality, and this is particularly important for the vindication of her legal battles against her husband, Muilman. The assumed male voice provides authority and an assumed judicial impartiality. Indeed, the three-volume work is in many ways the giving of evidence.

Throughout the memoir there are repeated claims of truthfulness, and statements are supported by evidence such as reproduced letters, court dialogues and transcripts as well as facts and dates. In terms of historical significance Lawrence Stone finds it a treasure for its detailed and intimate account of marital laws and legal proceedings in this period, and it made a considerable impact on the campaigns for the abolition of clandestine marriages at the time.⁵² The narrator contends: 'We hope that the Reader will consider Mrs. *Muilman* [Phillips's married name] as an *Historian*, not a *Novellist* [*sic*]; and therefore obliged to tell Facts as they were, and not as we could wish they might have been.'⁵³ And yet it is a life that is informed and shaped by fiction. Whether Phillips wrote the piece, co-authored or commissioned it, the significance of fiction is undoubtedly integral to this work. Even those very claims to truth in the *Apology* bear a marked resemblance to their fictional counterparts. Phillips asserts 'those Facts which she could not be herself a Witness of, she has had from Persons of Credit who were intimate with both the Families'.⁵⁴ This is very similar to, for example, Mary Davys's statement of novelistic authenticity in her prose fiction *The Fugitive* (1705): 'they are not barely probable only, but almost exactly true, to the greatest part whereof I am a witness, and have had the rest from the Parties themselves who were concern'd.'⁵⁵

Notable in Phillips's account is the relation of her childhood ruin in the first volume of her memoirs, which blends fictional scripts with factual details. Fiction is pivotal to Phillips's comment on women's sexual subjection to men. Phillips describes her rape using recognisable tropes of seduction fiction. There is the innocent child (Phillips), the persistent man (Grimes, who symbolically forces love letters into her clothes) and the procuress (the corrupt petticoat-hoop maker who negotiates on behalf of Grimes). However, the story is interwoven with details appropriate to evidence in a legal case: copies of Grimes's letters and a meticulous account of the rape. As Thompson observes, it was 'as if she were testifying in a court of law'.⁵⁶ Phillips specifies the drink Grimes plies her with as '*Barbadoes Water*', and it is stated categorically that, despite the influence of alcohol, she does not consent to his application to stay the night: 'What Effect soer the Liquor had upon her, it was not sufficient to lull her into a quiet Submission to such a Proposal.'⁵⁷ She notes her position in the room, seated on an 'old-fashion'd high-back'd Cane Chair' and details

Grimes's exact movements, from 'catching hold of her Arms, drew her Hands behind the Chair, which he held fast with his Feet' to the 'ripping up the lacing of her Coat with a Penknife', with an aside noting that he cut her in the process.⁵⁸ To recapitulate, Phillips then outlines her early life narrative into specific dates and events, as if documentation for a court trial:

14th of *February*, (1721), her Mother died; she was then thirteen Years and one Month: The 11th of *November*, the same Year, she was ruined; The 11th of *November*, 1722, she was married to Mr *Devall*; and the 9th of *February*, 1723, to Mr. *Muilman*; the whole making from the death of her Mother three Years within five Days.⁵⁹

In a memoir premised on revealing her affairs with men, Phillips offers little sexual detail apart from in this rape scene. Her factual account jars palpably with the descriptions that draw from fiction. Vivien Jones observes that this is a distinct challenge to contemporary humanitarian efforts to support fallen women, which relied on certain models of identity that Phillips stridently rejects: 'she refuses to maintain the attitude of penitent passivity, the role of seduced victim that was becoming necessary to the (male) reformist project.'⁶⁰ Phillips's self-assertion uses fictional tropes in order to undercut them with a harsh reality, but also to explore the fallen woman further, which she does in volumes II and III. Again, as with Pilkington, the framed novella can also be read as an influence in Phillips's memoir, where she integrates two novellas: 'The Amours of Tartufe' and the story of Charles and Peggy. Although both are allegedly based on facts and real stories, the nature of their telling and form is fictional and the claims conform to a history of novelistic authenticity. Both inset novels serve to bolster and dramatise Phillips's central argument about the better treatment of fallen women and the need for moral education. Phillips's life alone is insufficient to make this argument, and she turns to the novel for assistance.

Phillips' first inset novella, 'The Amours of Tartufe', is a reflection on the duplicitous nature of men, drawing from the meaning of 'tartuffe' ('hypocrite') and Molière's play *Tartuffe* (1664). There are also further links with Manley's work. The seduced maiden in Phillips's tale is Delia, who was also Manley's semi-autobiographical persona in *The New Atalantis*, in which she fictionalises her own seduction in amatory form.⁶¹ Phillips's novella recalls the warm language used by Manley in addition to the more general usage of melodrama and excess in seduction fiction:

The Fate of *Delia* hung upon his Lips; she soon felt the Power of this artful Invader: Alas! She loved! And the ungenerous *Tartufe* took the Advantage of an unguarded Moment to ruin her! – Fatal Period of a Woman's Life; where, nothing suspecting, they hazard all! for, in that Hour of Danger, Virtue and Reason sleeps. – There is no Guard. – Nothing awakes but their Attention: They hear, – believe, – and are undone! –.⁶²

This emotive description focuses on the moral implications rather than the exact circumstances. It is a mental rather than a physical seduction. Far from explicit details, this sexual scene is rendered with a tasteful euphemism: 'and are undone'. True to the seduction narratives in contemporary fiction, the heroine is socially ruined, and she conforms by repenting and hiding from society and, in this particular case, dies repentant.⁶³ In the first of Phillips's explicitly fictional accounts of sexual relationships there is a marked contrast with her own situation, which exposes the absurdity of seduction narratives. The tonal contrast here is clear in comparison with the return to the main narrator, who asserts in practical manner that 'debauching and ruining innocent Young Girls [...] is a Crime of the Blackest Dye'.⁶⁴ Phillips continues her argument in volume III with a fictional tale, which

she claims, naturally, is true. Charles and Peggy's story sees the results of the lack of education for young girls and also the effects of female (sexual) repression. Peggy's intense and unexpressed feelings for her childhood friend Charles result in her silence and physical degeneration, leading to incarceration in a mental institution. She eventually communicates by writing on scraps of paper, and the reader is led to expect a happy conclusion when she and Charles marry. However, Charles, prompted by a dream of his wife in trouble, discovers Peggy in bed with her father's 'Journey-man'.⁶⁵ Phillips anticipates the double shock to Charles as well as the reader: 'Here we imagine the Astonishment of our Reader may reasonably force him to throw down the Book!'⁶⁶ Both Charles and his father die from the trauma, and this story serves to make a sharp point: that women need the 'necessary Advantages of Education' in addition to chastity.

In part, then, the *Apology's* purpose is to serve as a pro-female education tract, and Phillips has done her research: she directs the reader to Sarah Fielding's recent educational work *The Governess* (1749). Phillips seeks to vindicate the fallen woman from the perils of seduction narratives, which, as Vivien Jones has shown, have permeated humanitarian missions and constructed a limited identity for these women.⁶⁷ For Phillips, poor education is identified as one cause of women's susceptibility to seduction, but the narratives themselves are a concern. Phillips makes valuable use of the entertainment of fiction in seducing her reader further into her memoir and, in the case of the Charles and Peggy story, integrating a pointed argument to warn society. The inset novellas dramatise Phillips's rationalisation of the unfair treatment of fallen women and the perpetuation of this victimhood through seduction fiction. Her real-life story renders the fiction ridiculous as she observes of her rapist, Grimes, that 'He was no longer that dying, *passionate Swain*.'⁶⁸

Thus far, these memoirists have demonstrated a sustained engagement with fictional narratives in order to portray their lives and engage in the choric. By implication, their works should not be read in isolation from prose fiction of the period as it was not only the memoirists who decided to craft their lives in relation to fiction at this time. If anyone of this period was a 'heroine of her own romance', then it was Charlotte Lennox. In her first novel, *The Life of Harriot Stuart Written by Herself* (1750), Lennox's semi-autobiographical protagonist embarks on a romantic adventure with clearly biographical aspects interwoven into the narrative, and the autobiographical aspect is signalled with her title, 'written by herself', which gestures to the assertions made by the memoirists in the authenticity of their accounts. In terms of literary attention *Harriot Stuart* remains a comparatively under-studied novel, especially in relation to Lennox's most famous work, *The Female Quixote* (1752). Further still, Lennox's literary reputation has been largely a respectable one, and she has been grouped with writers such as Francis Burney and as part of Samuel Johnson's intellectual coterie.⁶⁹ However, this first novel was published in the midst of these 'scandalous' memoirists, and its content was far from respectable. Rather than being seen in the context of Lennox's later works such as her successful *The Female Quixote* and that of the Burney literary circle, *Harriot Stuart* should be acknowledged as occurring in relation to both the history of prose fiction and Lennox's female novelist predecessors, but also in relation to these contemporaneous 'scandalous' memoirists.

Much has been made of the didactic thread in *The Female Quixote* and the danger of the romance in creating women's (false) perception of the world, particularly the relationship between men and women. Indeed this was even a concern of Phillips, with her specific attack on seduction narratives. Lennox's earlier works explore a female naivety, but one where the romantic novelistic notions actually prove central to female survival. The eponymous heroine of Lennox's later novel *Henrietta* rejects Haywood's novels and Manley's *New Atalantis* quite literally: 'she threw it away', in favour of the more substantial

Joseph Andrews.⁷⁰ Here Lennox appears to reference Fielding as one of her inspirations and makes a point about reading choices, but not what one might presume. As Jennie Batchelor observes in her astute article on the sustained influence and significance of early amatory fiction, Lennox actually subtly recommends and promotes the reading of works by writers such as Manley and Haywood,⁷¹ for 'Henrietta's choice of *Joseph Andrews* is not so much a badge of honour, but a sign of the heroine's naivety.'⁷² By *not* reading amatory fiction, Henrietta is open to abuses of power.

In Lennox's first novel, *Harriot Stuart*, the coquette is promoted and reveals the beginnings of Lennox's engagement with coquettishness in female identity. This novel is also significant because of its autobiographical elements. Although a fictional and novelistic text for the most part, there are clearly personal details that indicate some shared aspects between Harriot and Charlotte. Susan Kubica Howard's edition of the novel has Lennox's portrait on the front, and in her introduction, despite noting a 'lack of autobiographical parallels', Howard observes that 'Lennox's acquiescence to such an association must have arisen from a powerful attraction to the heroine [...] to Harriot's intelligence, wit, charm and independent spirit.'⁷³ Lennox does draw on certain details from her life in the text, and other critics have noted the comparable nature of Harriot and Lennox.⁷⁴ For example, Lennox, like her heroine, emigrated to America, where she probably read Indian captivity narratives, one of which is present in this text.⁷⁵ Harriot's attack upon her patron, Lady Cecelia, was a thinly veiled satirical attack aimed at Lennox's former patron, Lady Isabella Finch, which was distinctive enough for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to remark on it with disgust.⁷⁶

Through her first novel Lennox was engaging in the choric, and with a personal interest. Notwithstanding the autobiographical inflections in Harriot's character and the autobiographical signal in the title, Lennox's work here was also on a symbolic level as she sought to negotiate women's identity in this period with specific use of the coquette. Lennox had already begun examining the figure in her poem 'The Art of Coquetry', where femininity is wielded as a weapon.⁷⁷ Crucially, the coquette must paradoxically 'Avoid Disguise, and seem at least sincere'.⁷⁸ Flirtatious, manipulative and duplicitous, Harriot Stuart, the self-confessed coquette, however, manages to avoid scandal. Her coquettish nature paradoxically serves to protect her chastity. The text is densely populated by abductions and threats to her virginity, all of which are successfully thwarted due to her gutsy independence and wit. Her character is modelled on the independent heroines of French romances and the authoritative 'rival queen' of the stage, Statira, whose dramatic and show-stealing portrayal by actresses from the seventeenth century onwards was highly popular.⁷⁹

Harriot is frank and unashamed in her admissions of vanity and flirtatiousness, in her expressions of love for her eventual husband, Dumont, and in her courageous, swash-buckling defence of her virginity, specifically on board ship. Here she rips apart romantic conventions as she stabs her would-be rapist, in a witty retort to his romantic speech: 'swearing he would possess me or die. "Die then!" cried I, (suddenly drawing his hanger from his side, and thrusting it with all my force into his body) die, villain! by her hands whom you have sworn to ruin.'⁸⁰

Not only have Harriot's heroic influences given her the self-assurance to protect herself physically in this case, but her knowledge of feminine wiles also proves a significant weapon. When trapped in a bedroom with her other would-be-seducer, Bellmein, Harriot utilises her coquettishness to its best purpose. She feigns indecision and plays to the constructions of femininity to lead him to assume her repressed desire for him: 'I strove under the appearance of raillery, to hide the confusion which my weakness, in not being

able to keep my resolution, must necessarily cause.⁸¹ It is such a convincing performance that he leaves her secure in the belief that she will elope with him.

Such utilisation of femininity draws attention to its performative nature and bears comparison with Lennox as author. It is significant, then, that men were her strongest advocates in these early years. Her fellow women writers do not appear to have admired her so strongly. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu disliked her attacks on the aristocracy; Elizabeth Carter noted how she and her friends were 'scandalized' by Lennox's poetry; and Hester Thrale observed, 'although Lennox's books are generally approved, nobody likes her'.⁸² Lennox's close connection with male writers could be read as a real-life performance of the coquettish persona exemplified in *Harriot*. For Joan Riviere, the intellectual woman needs to compensate for her transgression into male domains, and femininity and flirtation can serve to do this.⁸³ Lennox was a literary professional and, as Betty Schellenberg's important work has demonstrated, writers such as Lennox need acknowledging as 'agents rather than victims'.⁸⁴ Samuel Johnson famously celebrated the novel *Harriot Stuart* at his club, sticking laurel leaves into an apple pie and continuing the festivities until dawn.⁸⁵ This scenario is symbolic of the contradictory nature of Lennox's heroine and novel. The juxtaposing of the domestic (apple pie) with the literary (laurels) demonstrates Lennox's specifically female entrance into the literary world. Furthermore, the all-night party in a men's club, which Lennox attended, provides the atmosphere for scandal, undercut by the more reputable non-alcoholic drinks of tea, coffee and lemonade. This epitomises the nature of *Harriot Stuart*'s character: she contains the potential for scandal, but it is neatly blended with a strong sense of virtue and a clever twist of wit. The symbolic worth of *Harriot* as a figure for Lennox shows her flirtation with the ideological expectations for women writers, as she toys with the increasingly moral climate in which they work, inserting glimpses of the autobiographical in an amatory fictional context. This work, therefore, cannot be definitively categorised as a novel but instead should be seen as working along the permeable borders between fiction and what we now call autobiography.

Generally speaking, Vane, Pilkington and Phillips were doing something different in terms of autobiographical writing in this period. Lynda M. Thompson contends that they 'blazed a trail' and that their particular autobiographical writing, which involved 'much-disapproved-of sexual adventuring' and insistence upon 'their right to speak out in their own defence', was 'a new direction for women's writing, and one without real precursors'.⁸⁶ Pioneers of a new and more clearly definable genre of autobiography they may have been, but they were not entirely without precursors or contemporaries. As this article has explored, the infamous trio all engaged with a history of fiction. Lady Vane interpolated her memoirs within a novel, and both she and Pilkington used feminine heroines for self-justification, and Phillips exposed the pernicious nature of seduction narratives as a mode of female self-identification. They represent the new generation, where ties between the author and their autobiographical text are less ambiguous, yet they were still very much working with porous literary boundaries that resist reading them conclusively as factual 'autobiographies' and distinct from writers such as Charlotte Lennox.

The veil of fiction may have protected Lennox from more explicit and public attacks on her respectability and demarcation as another autobiographical female writer, but this does not mean she, or indeed others, should be segregated from their fellow negotiators of female identity. Despite their seemingly overt generic differences, both Lennox and the memoirists were exploring the significance of novelistic narratives for female identity within the more inclusive concept of life-writing. However, one publication does make a

link between them: Lennox's novel is the first in a list of bawdy literature of the moment sold by unscrupulous publishers to a susceptible male audience. Her novel is juxtaposed with John Cleland's pornographic pseudo-memoir/novel of 1747 (*Fanny Hill*), the anonymously authored tale of a debauched girl (*Charlotte Summers*, 1750) and Dr John Hill's even more scandalous version of Lady Vane's memoirs (*Lady Frail*, 1751): 'Many an honest country gentleman, and many a raw university boy fall prey to them; they pick his pocket and debauch him from morning to night. – The most noted of these – are Harriot Stuart, Fanny Hill, Charlotte Summers, lady Frail, &c. &c.'⁸⁷

This publication identifies a commonality between these scandalous works and Lennox's flirtatious and forthright novelistic heroine, which indicates the dangerous game Lennox was playing. The way forward for the respectable autobiographical woman writer, illustrated by Lennox's cheeky heroine Harriot, would be to play with and explore the restrictive terms of women's self-revelation, making sure they deferred to or flirted with male expectations, or better still decline to write so explicitly about the self. In fact, just over thirty years after the publication of these women's works, Mary Wollstonecraft would go on to describe her semi-autobiographical work *Mary, A Fiction* (1788) in terms that highlighted the potential that fiction offers for constructing 'woman' and, perhaps, the way forward for women's autobiographical writing:

In an artless tale, without episodes, the mind of a woman, who has thinking powers is displayed. The female organs have been thought too weak for this arduous employment; and experience seems to justify the assertion. Without arguing physically about *possibilities* – in a fiction, such a being may be allowed to exist.⁸⁸

What Wollstonecraft reaffirms here, albeit with sarcasm, is what Lennox, Vane, Pilkington and Phillips had already begun exploring: how the exchange between autobiography and fiction, lives and stories, offered *possibilities* for women to create themselves in written form. But, as this examination of Vane, Pilkington, Phillips and Lennox's work has shown, this needs addressing in those texts that one might have formerly classified discretely as 'autobiography' and 'fiction'.

NOTES

1. 'The HEROINES: or, Modern Memoirs', *The London Magazine* (March 1751). Reproduced in Lionel Kelly (ed.), *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1987), p.75.

2. Paul John Eakin, *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), p.x.

3. 'Autobiography' is applied anachronistically, and these works can be categorised as discrete subgenres of the memoir form.

4. On 'life-writing' as a term to encompass the range of autobiographical writing, see, for example, Marlene Kadar (ed.) *Essays on Life Writing: From Genre to Critical Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), and the introduction and examples in Carolyn A. Barros and Johanna M. Smith's anthology, *Life-Writings By British Women 1660-1850* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2000), p.3-34. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson offer a succinct context and reasons for opting for 'life narratives' in *A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For an excellent account of the troubled history of 'autobiography' see Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourses: Theory, Criticism Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

5. See, for example, Liz Stanley, *The Auto/biographical I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

6. Charlotte Charke followed in quick succession, with her autobiographical account *Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke* (1755). This article will concentrate on the first three, whose works directly precede Lennox's and have received considerably less critical attention. For an excellent examination of the significance of Charke's novels in relation to her autobiographical negotiations, see Erin Mackie, 'Desperate Measures: The Narratives of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke', *ELH* 58:4 (Winter 1991), p.841-65. The complete title of Phillips's memoir was *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs Constantia Phillips, More Particularly That Part of it which*

relates to her Marriage with an eminent Dutch Merchant: The Whole authenticated by faithful Copies of his Letters, and of the Settlement which he made upon her to induce her to suffer (without any real Opposition on her Part) a Sentence to be pronounced against their Marriage; Together with such Original Papers, filed in the Cause, as are necessary to illustrate that remarkable Story.

7. John Duncombe, *The Feminiad: A Poem* (London, 1754).

8. For the importance of precise generic description that defines Pilkington's and Phillips's works as a sub-genre of the memoir, the 'appeal memoir', see Caroline Breashears, 'The Female Appeal Memoir: Genre and Female Literary Tradition in Eighteenth-Century England', *Modern Philology* 107:4 (May 2010), p.607-31.

9. 'The HEROINES: or, Modern Memoirs', *The London Magazine* (March 1751); repr. in Kelly (ed.), *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage*, p.75.

10. Phillipe Lejeune, 'The Autobiographical Pact', in Paul John Eakin (ed.), *On Autobiography* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p.14.

11. Two editions held at Cardiff University Library have Phillips's signature on the title-page of each of the three volumes and on p.65, 119 and 183 of vol. II and p.61, 125, 181 and 245 of vol. III.

12. Lynda M. Thompson, 'THE SCANDALOUS MEMOIRISTS': *Constantia Phillips, Laetitia Pilkington and the Shame of 'Publick Fame'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.127.

13. In a letter to the countess of Bute (16 February 1752) Montagu notes the memoirs 'contain more Truth and less malice than I ever read in my Life. When she speaks of her own being disinterested, I am apt to believe she really thinks her selfe so'. Kelly (ed.), *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage*, p.88. See this text for more general contemporary criticism and reception of *Peregrine Pickle*, which includes comments on the memoirs, particularly p.47-80 and p.88-9.

14. Thompson, 'THE SCANDALOUS MEMOIRISTS', p.13.

15. Clare Brant, 'Speaking of Women: Scandal and the Law in the Mid-Century', in Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (eds.), *Women, Texts and Histories, 1575-1760* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.245.

16. Brant, 'Speaking of Women: Scandal and the Law in the Mid-Century', p.246.

17. See, for example, Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

18. See, for example, Stanley *The Auto/biographical I*, and Leigh Gilmore, *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

19. Neil Guthrie argues that Lady Vane did not write the memoirs but suggests that she was probably involved in the production. Neil Guthrie, 'New Light on Lady Vane', *Notes and Queries* 49 (2002), p.376.

20. Kelley, *Tobias Smollett*, p.88. See note 13 above.

21. The integration of an autobiographical section was a classical epic format, but Smollett differed in his use of a real story. Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle in which are included Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, ed. James L. Clifford (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.xxvi-xxvii.

22. Lord Vane's supposed impotence was common knowledge, it seems, as contemporary publications reveal. Horace Walpole's notes in his unpublished manuscript 'Sunday or the Presence Chamber: A Town Eclogue' include Lady Vane as 'Liquorissa'. To a line commenting on Liquorissa's running off from her Lord he adds a footnote stating 'Lord Vane was said to be Impotent, yet at any time would give his Wife great Sums to return to Him, which as soon as She had got, She always ran away again'. See Clifford's footnotes for p.457 and 485.

23. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.431.

24. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.432-3.

25. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.469-70.

26. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.445.

27. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.441.

28. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.434.

29. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.451.

30. Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, p.90-91.

31. Aileen Douglas, *Uneasy Sensations: Smollett and the Body* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.88.

32. Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington, Written by Herself*, ed. A. C. Elias, Jr, 2 vols (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), p.9. For the most recent account of Pilkington's life and works, with particular attention to her autobiographical work, see Norma Clarke, *Queen of the Wits: A Life of Laetitia Pilkington* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008). See also Daniel Cook's chapter on Pilkington, 'An Authoress To Be Let: Reading Laetitia Pilkington's Memoirs', in Daniel Cook and Amy Culley (eds), *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.56-75.

33. *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montague* ed. Matthew Montagu (London, 1813), P.96-7. Virginia Woolf, 'The Lives of the Obscure: Laetitia Pilkington', in *The Common Reader* (London: Hogarth Press, 1975), p.161.

34. Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p.193.

35. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I.67.

36. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I.17.

37. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I.20.

38. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I.85.

39. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. I.43. Pilkington's memoirs have been used by Swift's biographers, although they are often scathing about her account. See, for example, Thomas Sheridan, *Life of Swift* (1784), and Henry Craik, *Life of Jonathan Swift* (1894). For an examination of the truth in Pilkington's account, see A. C. Elias, Jr. 'Laetitia Pilkington on Swift: How Reliable Is She?', in Christopher Fox and Brenda Tooley (eds.), *Walking Naboth's Vineyard: New Studies of Swift* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), p.127-42.
40. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. III.309.
41. Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, vol. III.273.
42. Josephine Donovan, *Women and the Rise of the Novel, 1405-1726* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p.29.
43. Donovan, *Women and the Rise of the Novel*, p.83.
44. See, for example, work by Kathryn King, including *Jane Barker, Exile: A Literary Career 1675-1725* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), and 'The Unaccountable Wife and Other Tales of Female Desire in Jane Barker's *A Patch-work Screen for the Ladies*', *The Eighteenth Century* 35 (Spring 1994), p.155-72.
45. Thomas Keymer, 'Serializing a Self', in Harold Bloom (ed.) *The Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004), p.365-98.
46. Keymer, 'Serializing a Self', p.366.
47. Keymer, 'Serializing a Self', p.367.
48. Teresa Constantia Phillips, *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs Constantia Phillips*, vol. I.4 and vol. II.47.
49. Paul Whitehead has been identified as Phillips's ghost-writer, although Thompson has disputed this. See Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy (eds), *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* (London: Batsford, 1990), p.852. See Thompson, 'THE SCANDALOUS MEMOIRISTS'.
50. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. I.13.
51. For an examination of *Rivella's* autobiographical trickery see, for example, Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
52. Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions and Broken Lives: Marriage and Divorce in England, 1660-1857* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.270.
53. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. II.78.
54. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. III.65.
55. From the dedication to Mrs Esther Johnson. *The Fugitive* (London: G. Sawbridge, 1705), p.6.
56. Thompson, 'THE SCANDALOUS MEMOIRISTS', p.36.
57. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. I.64.
58. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. I.65.
59. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. I.64-5.
60. Vivien Jones, 'Scandalous Femininity: Autobiography and Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Narrative', in Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (eds.), *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), p.65.
61. See, for example, Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740*, p.151.
62. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. II.105-6.
63. For an account of seduction trope in fiction, see Susan Staves, 'British Seduced Maidens', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14:2 (Winter, 1980-81), p.109-34.
64. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. II.44.
65. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. III.95.
66. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. III.96.
67. See Jones, 'Scandalous Femininity'.
68. Phillips, *An Apology*, vol. I.41.
69. See Norma Clarke, *Dr Johnson's Women* (London: Pimlico, 2005).
70. Charlotte Lennox, *The Life of Harriot Stuart, Written by Herself*, ed. Susan Kubica Howard (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), p.22.
71. Jennie Batchelor, 'The "Latent Seeds of Coquetry": Amatory Fiction and the 1750s Novel', in Susan Carlile (ed.), *Masters of the Marketplace: British Women Novelists of the 1750s* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press and Boydell and Brewer, 2011).
72. Batchelor, 'The "Latent Seeds of Coquetry"', p.149.
73. Susan Kubica, 'Introduction' to *The Life of Harriot Stuart, Written by Herself* by Charlotte Lennox (London: Associated University Presses, 1995), p.17.
74. These include: Clarke, *Johnson's Women*, p.71-3; Susan Kubica Howard, 'Introduction', p.13-57; Susan Carlile, 'Expanding the Feminine: Reconsidering Charlotte Lennox's Age and *The Life of Harriot Stuart*', *Eighteenth Century Novel* 4 (2004), p.103-37.
75. For an account of the colonial aspects of Lennox's experiences, see Eve Tavor Bannet, 'The Theater of Politeness in Charlotte Lennox's British-American Novels', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 33:1 (Autumn 1999), p.73-92.
76. Lady Mary remarks to her daughter Lady Bute that this was 'monstrous abuse of one of the very few women I have a real value for' (1 March 1752). Lord Wharnclyffe (ed.), *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 2 vols (London: Swan Sonnechein, 1893).
77. Charlotte Lennox, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: S. Paterson, 1747).
78. Lennox, *The Life of Harriot Stuart*, p.66.

79. Harriot remarks, 'I was nothing less than a Clelia or Statira' (p.66). Statira is from Alexander Lee's play *The Rival Queens* (1677). For its sustained popularity into the eighteenth century, see Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

80. Lennox, *The Life of Harriot Stuart*, p.154.

81. Lennox, *The Life of Harriot Stuart*, p.113.

82. Mrs Elizabeth Carter to Miss Talbot, 1 December 1750. Rev. Montague Pennington (ed.), *A Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from 1741-1770* (London, 1809), p.367.

83. Joan Riviere, 'Womanliness as a Masquerade', in Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan (eds), *Formations of Fantasy* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p.35-44.

84. Betty A. Schellenberg, *The Professionalisation of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.3.

85. For a transcription of the account see Clarke, *Dr Johnson's Women*, p.15-16.

86. Thompson, 'THE SCANDALOUS MEMOIRISTS', p.ix.

87. From *Magazine of Magazines* (April 1751); repr. in Ronald Paulson and Thomas Lockwood (eds), *Henry Fielding: The Critical Heritage* (London: Kegan Paul, 1969), p.287-8.

88. Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mary, A Fiction*. Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mary and Maria*, and Mary Shelley, *Matilda*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Penguin, 2004).

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