LONDON LETTERS (1720-1728)

Written by Mary (Granville) Pendarves to her Sister,

Anne Granville, in Gloucester.

A Sequence from the Autobiography and Correspondence of

Mary Delany, formerly Mary Pendarves,

née Granville (1700-1788).

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Errata

Letters 20 and 21 should be in reverse chronological order.

Page 244 is a blank, inserted to correct an error in pagination.

FSW

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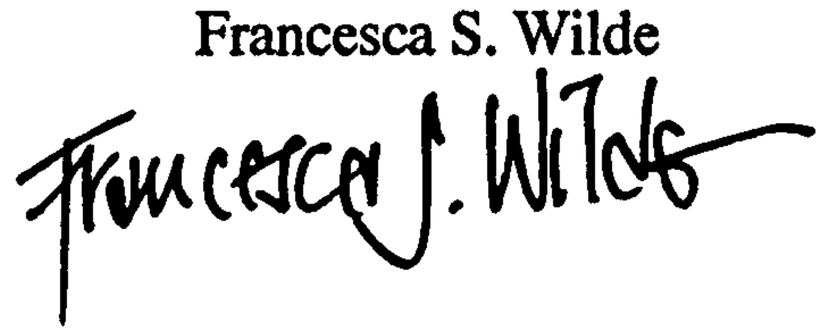
DECLARATION

I certify that this research project is all my own work and has not been submitted in application for any other degree.

Francesca S. Wilde



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ABSTRACT

This research project takes the form of a scholarly edition. "London Letters (1720-1728)" offers an accurately transcribed and fully annotated sequence of letters from the holograph correspondence of Mary Delany, formerly Mary Pendarves, née Granville (1700-1788). Although it is unusual to find a cultural history of the Eighteenth Century which does not refer to the nineteenth-century version of Delany's *Autobiography and Correspondence*, there has been to date no edition of Mrs. Delany's autobiography and correspondence affording either a reliable text or adequate annotation. "London Letters" is the first step towards supplying that lack.

To Eppie and Phoebe

and in loving memory of their brother Finbar

and to my fellow students,

the first women to study at

Balliol

Here is a true woman's postscript - longer than the letter

Frances Boscawen in Delany,

Autobiography and Correspondence

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations. 11

Acknowledgements. 14

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION. 16

"London Letters" in Context 19

"Polite Society", Gentry and Aristocracy — Some Definitions 20

Public, Private and Domestic Spheres 21

Family, Political and Economic Background, 1700 - 1718 25

First Marriage, 1718 - 1724/5 32

Polite Widowhood 36

Urbane Publicity: Mary Pendarves in London, 1725 - 1731 39

Politeness and the Town 40

Letters and the Public Sphere 41

Shopping for Gentility 43

"The Butterflye Men": Mary Pendarves as Object of Desire, 1725 - 1731 44

Marriage and Self-Determination 50

"My Dearest Sister": Friendship and Sisterhood 53

A Tour through Ireland, 1731 - 1733 58

Return to the Metropolis, 1733 - 1744 64

A Companionate Freedom: Marriage to Patrick Delany, 1744 - 1768 69

Second Widowhood and Bluestocking Friendship, 1768 - 1785 76

Royal Patronage, 1785 - 1788 77

EDITORIAL POLICY 80

The Manuscripts 83

Transcription and Presentation 84

Key to Symbols 85

Manuscript Collections 86

Artwork 87

Previous Editions 88

Abbreviations 89

Chapter Two

"LETTERS FROM LONDON" 117

Index to Letters 121

Appendices

Appendix One: Granville Family Tree 326

Appendix Two: Text of the Stratton Note 327

Appendix Three: Mary (Westcombe) Granville's Legal Nomination of George Wise as her Executor 329

Appendix Four: Facsimile of Letter Written by Anne Granville 330

Appendix Five: Description of the Coronation Procession from *Parker's Penny Post* 331

Appendix Six: "Nicknackatory" verse from *The Universal Spectator* 332

Appendix Seven: Letter Written by Mary Pendarves in Facsimile, Photocopy from the Llanover Edition and Transcript Version 333

BIBLIOGRAPHY 341

ILLUSTRATIONS

		Page
Frontispiece	Miniature enamel portrait of Mrs. Delany, ca. 1745, by ?Barber. Ruth Hayden, *Mrs. Delany and her Flower Collages*, rev. ed. British Museum Press, 1992), 60.	
Figure		
1a.	Portrait of Anne Granville, from a drawing in crayons by Mary (Pendarves) Delany (n.d.), Ibid., 36.	118
1b.	Portrait of Mary (Westcombe) Granville (n.d.), Ibid.,21.	118
2.	Extract from John Roque, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark, with the Contiguous Buildings* (London: printed for John Pine Bluemantle and John Tinney, 1746).	119
3.	Map of Gloucester town centre, with Cathedral Close, *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from Earliest Times to 1800,* vol. I, ed. M. D. Lobel (London: Lovell Johns - Cook, Hammond and Kell, 1969), n. p.	120
4a.	Plan of Somerset House, *The History of the King's Works,* vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), Fig. 22.	131
4b.	View of Somerset House, Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain,* ed. and abr. P.N. Furbank et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).	131
5.	Mantua sleeve of brocaded silk lustring. Avril Hart et al., *Historical Fashion in Detail: the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (London: V. & A. Publications, 1998), 91.	141
6.	Mantle and hood, C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century*, rev. ed. (London: Faber, 1972), 151.	152

7a.	The Deanery, Gloucester, David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 308.	161
7b.	Deanery interior, Welander, 524.	161
8.	Tent stitch, Donald King and Santina Levey, *The Victoria and Albert Museum's Textile Collection: Embroidery in Britain from 1200 to 1750* (London: the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1993), 112.	162
9.	Deer in Bulstrode Park, enlarged cut paper picture by Mary Delany, original 4 inches in diameter, Hayden, 52.	170
10.	Hogarth, "The Countess's Levée", *Marriage à la Mode*, Sean Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth: 107 Prints* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), Plate 54.	171
11.	Pair of shoes made in the 1720s; fan (1740s) and quilted pink satin petticoat (1740s), from Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 200), 132.	180
12.	Hogarth, "Time Smoking a Picture", *Hogarth: the Complete Engravings*, ed. Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), Plate 250.	202
13.	Facsimile of stomacher riddle from Letter 10, from microfilm in the Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Gwent, Wales.	213
14.	Diagram of stomacher, Hart et al., 200.	214
15.	Hogarth, *Masquerades and Operas*, Burke, 42.	222
16a.	The Rectory at Stanton, John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard Edition, vol. I, ed. Nehemiah Curnock (London: Robert Culley, 1909),25.	231
16b.	Buckland Manor, Curnock, 64.	231

17. Mantua, *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, ed. Natalie Rothstein et al. (V & A Publications, 1999), 16. 242

18. Mary Pendarves's handwriting practice on exterior of Letter 13. 243

19. Hogarth, masquerade ticket. Burke, plate 114. 269

20. Tippet, Cunnington, *Handbook*, 363. 270

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Chapter

One

INTRODUCTION

> It is an extraordinary fact that the name of a private individual, who always shunned publicity, should have been . . . remembered for more than a hundred years.
>
> Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover

The life of Mary Granville Pendarves Delany (1700-1788) almost spans the century, and her *Autobiography and Correspondence*[1] has been an encyclopaedic scholarly resource since its first publication in 1861-62.[2] A superlative letter-writer in the eighteenth-century polite style, she was also one of the foremost social commentators of her era. Mary Delany's correspondence and memoirs provide an invaluable record of gentry and aristocratic life in eighteenth-century England and Ireland. They are comparable in scope and value to the notable correspondences of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) and Delany's protegée, Frances Burney (1752-1840). Mary Delany was a member of the Bluestocking circles which included Elizabeth Montagu, Elizabeth Carter, Hannah More, Elisabeth Vesey, Frances Boscawen, Hester Chapone, Frances Burney and Sarah Scott. She included among her wide acquaintance Jonathan Swift, Edmund Burke, George Frideric Handel and John Wesley. She was, and is, recognized as an artist, botanist and landscape gardener: her unique collection of botanically-accurate cut paper flower pictures, the *Catalogue of Plants copyed from Nature in Paper Mosaick, finished in the year 1778, and disposed in alphabetical order, according to the*

generic and specific names of Linnaeus, or, as she humorously called it, the *Flora Delannica*, is now preserved in the British Museum.[3] She was so prolific that despite the deliberate destruction of hundreds of letters, those which survive fill the greater part of six volumes.[4] The mere fact of survival lends any eighteenth-century document significance, but such historical value is greatly increased by the remarkable, almost self-contextualizing variety of Mary Delany's texts. Yet, rather than taking her place alongside her notable female contemporaries, Mary Delany as an historic and literary persona remains anonymous, and her work is rarely considered as a literary artefact.[5]

The prime cause of this neglect is the lack of a modern edition of the *Autobiography and Correspondence*. Both Montagu's and Burney's letters are readily available in twentieth-century redactions,[6] but Delany's *Autobiography and Correspondence* is currently accessible only in the rare nineteenth-century edition compiled by Mary Delany's great-grandniece, Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover.[7] This edition, as well as being difficult to obtain, makes obscure and difficult reading, since it offers an incomplete and expurgated text annotated chiefly with genealogical material. Lady Llanover's great achievement was to bring into print the vast majority of Mary Delany's surviving letters, and to refrain from defacing the manuscripts or excising from them those passages which she chose, or felt obliged, to suppress.[8] Ironically, however, in bringing to light her great-great-aunt's letters and autobiography, Lady Llanover engaged in a project of reconstruction and suppression which has all but guaranteed Delany's continuing obscurity. She omitted passages from letters and suppressed or falsified aspects of Delany's family history in order to construct her ancestor as a model of respectability and virtue more in accordance with Victorian than eighteenth-century ideologies of femininity and social status.[9] She follows Burke in making Mary Delany the "High-Bred Lady" of his late-century encomium: "she was a truly great woman of fashion, . . . not only the woman of fashion of the present

age, but she was the highest bred woman in the world, and the woman of fashion of all ages . . ."[10] There is a fascinating study to be made of the tension between the ideologies of gender and social status as encoded in Lady Llanover's and Mary Delany's respective documents, (see Editorial Policy below), but the first, most urgent task must be accurately to represent the "primary documentary witnesses" to Mary Delany's text: her manuscripts.[11] Lady Llanover suppressed, on average, one-third of each letter. Nevertheless, her six-volume edition runs to some 3,600 pages; the task of transcribing the manuscripts, restoring excised passages and editing the letters according to modern scholarly protocols is a great challenge. However, the text of "London Letters", replete with new evidence and hermeneutic potential, speaks powerfully the need for a full modern edition.[12]

"London Letters" presents a chronological sequence of letters written by Mary Pendarves in London to her sister Anne Granville in Gloucester, during the third decade of the eighteenth century.[13] A more scholarly and user-friendly text for the modern reader is provided: one which offers clear, accurate transcriptions of the original manuscripts preceded by contextual information, followed by detailed footnotes illustrative of linguistic, literary, historical and socio-cultural matter in each letter.

" London Letters " in Context

1720-30 was the decade of Mary (Granville) Pendarves's first adult experience of "town" and court life, and her first taste of economic and social independence as a jointured widow. The early eighteenth century was a time when, according to Jürgen Habermas, the literary and political "public spheres" (or early manifestations of critical public opinion) were forming among educated men of the aristocratic, gentry and upper-middling ranks, in the "golden age" of coffee-house debate (1680-1730). "London Letters " and the *Autobiography and Correspondence* as a whole provide a wealth of

valuable new evidence for the study of gentry and aristocratic women's contributions to the public and private spheres; the relationship between the metropolis and the increasingly urbanized provincial towns;[14] and the further analysis of the social, political, intellectual and affective nature of what became the Bluestocking phenomenon. They offer valuable evidence that, as Lawrence Klein suggests, "the public and the private realms are less well segregated from one another and less exclusively gendered than they are sometimes represented to be".[15]

"Polite Society", Gentry and Aristocracy — Some Definitions

Mary Delany's intermediate social status, her membership of "polite society" and her ability to mediate between different social orders offer some of the most resonant readings of her texts. I would like to define my terms here, since contemporary categorizations of the middle and upper social strata in eighteenth-century England are not homogeneous. Susan Lanser adopts the term "gentry" "in its largest and loosest sense", to describe

> the different national and local configurations that are encompassed in what is sometimes loosely called the "bourgeoisie" but that usually feature landed and titled persons, as well as educated bureaucrats, people of letters, and entrepreneurs, . . . that class defined (and self-defined) by "gentleness" of birth *or* breeding, "distinguished by descent *or* position" and "having the *character* appropriate to one of good birth," to borrow and underscore phrases from the *OED*. This concept seems to me to best describe the social formation that is emerging into cultural and eventually political authority in the eighteenth century — the broad class that more or less constitutes the Habermasian "bourgeois public sphere" and that both Lawrence Klein and Dena Goodman have associated with polite sociability.[16]

Amanda Vickery, however, in her groundbreaking survey of the lives of gentlewomen in the English provinces, uses the word "genteel" to describe the "commercial, professional and gentry

families" with whom she is concerned, *excluding* the aristocracy.[17] Mary Delany was of aristocratic descent and kinship, but born into the gentry, like many of the women studied by Vickery. However, as a result of her residence in London, she was generally in closer contact with her aristocratic kin than Vickery's provincial gentry, and was therefore also a member of the expanded notion of "gentry", or urban/metropolitan "polite society" as defined by Lanser, following Habermas, Goodman and Klein. I will therefore, like Vickery, preserve the distinction between aristocracy and gentry, by the usage "aristocracy/gentry", while acknowledging with Lanser that both these and other social groups such as "educated bureaucrats, people of letters, and entrepreneurs" can be subsumed into the larger phenomenon of "polite sociability".[18]

Public, Private and Domestic Spheres

Feminist historiography and literary criticism evinces a long-standing interest in the terms "public" and "private".[19] The former is usually categorized as the site of male political and hegemonic agency, while the latter is often conflated with the "domestic"; a conceptual space organized around ideas of the home, privacy and seclusion, into which women are ideologically inscribed. In this binary and hierarchized opposition, the approbative term is "public", defined as the field of action, the discourse of power, while "private" is the secondary, disprized term, indicating passivity and powerlessness. Hélene Cixous argues that the ability to determine a binary hierarchy of value which promotes one of its elements at the expense of the other is:

> [a] male privilege, which can be seen in the opposition by which it sustains itself, between *activity* and *passivity*. Traditionally, the question of sexual difference is coupled with the same opposition: activity/passivity.[20]

Feminist writing seeks to expose the ideologies which condition(ed) women into acceptance of domestic constraint, to recover and document individual women's hitherto unrecognized agency in both the private and public domains, and latterly, to remodel interpretations of the relationship between public and private realms.[21]

Jürgen Habermas's model of the public and the private is both flexible and suggestive, useful in feminist terms as much for what it leaves out as what it delineates. As far as it concerns the society of England, Habermas's account is predicated on the gradual decline, or "privatization", during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century, of the royal court and the Church of England; the development of early capitalist economy and the concomitant commodification of culture; all of which contribute to the emergence of a "public sphere of civil society".[22] The bourgeois, or more accurately, *liberal* public sphere is made up of mutually influential "spheres" of a) burgeoning literary and cultural debate and b) political opposition to "authority", or the state.[23] These interdependent literary and political discourses are said to derive from and feed back into the private and commercialized subjectivity of what Habermas terms the *bourgeois homme* [*sic*] a phrase in which the first term signifies the economically-active individual, and the second, the individual in "his" "pure humanity", or transcendent non-economic subjectivity. This *humanitas* is said to be born, nurtured and replenished in the intimate sphere of the conjugal home, and through the literary public sphere "serve[s] to increase the effectiveness of the public sphere in the political realm".[24] The growth of this composite *zeitgeist* (Habermas's own term), or "public opinion" *avant la lettre*, is attributed to the development of a print culture deriving from commercial imperatives and critical public debate, which, taking place in locations such as coffee-houses, was socially-inclusive in concept, if not in actuality.

Since Habermas's model is predicated on a patriarchal historiography of the patriarchal social organization of classical Athens and Rome, it is unsurprising that it relegates such social groups

as "women and dependents" to the margins, if not total oblivion.[25] The society of the ancient Greek city-state is described as being divided between *oikos*, or the private household of wife, children and slaves under the absolute dominion of the father (*oikodespotes)*, and the strictly separate public sphere of male freeborn citizens engaging in discussion (*lexis*) and common action (*praxis*). Habermas observes that

> this model of the Hellenic public sphere, as handed down to us in the stylized form of [masculine] Greek self-interpretation, has shared with everything else considered "classical" a peculiarly normative power. Not the social formation at its base but the ideological template itself has preserved continuity over the centuries — on the level of intellectual history.[26]

His own model of the development of the "bourgeois public sphere" in early eighteenth-century Europe does little to subvert this process. He acknowledges, for example, that a "plebeian" public sphere existed, but only as "a variant that in a sense was suppressed in the historical process" and was in any case "oriented toward the intentions of the *bourgeois* public sphere". [27] The loosely defined category of female readers, apprentices and servants were "factually and legally excluded from the *political* public sphere" but active in the *literary* public sphere (presumably through their reading, discussion and correspondence amongst themselves and with the periodicals of the day). The "educated classes", or, to use an anachronistic phrase, the opinon-formers, however, conflated the two spheres, considering them identical: "in the self-understanding of public opinion the public sphere appeared as one and indivisible".[28] Rather than engage with this intriguing and problematic contradiction, Habermas executes a deft act of linguistic elision; the category of "women, apprentices and servants" is subsumed and negated both by Habermas and his construction of the "educated classes".

> The fully developed bourgeois public sphere was based on the fictitious identity of the two roles assumed by the privatized [masculine] individuals who came together to form a public:

> the role of property owners and the role of human beings pure and simple.[29]

It is clear that the "individuals" to whom Habermas refers are all male, since the "women and dependents" have been ruled out by the self-construction of the "educated classes" above.

Written in 1962, before the efflorescence of feminist politics and scholarship in the 1970s, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* does not have the benefit of the work of "recovery, scholarship and debate" now available to historians and social commentators.[30] It is not so much, as Nancy Fraser suggests, that "gender norms run like pink and blue threads" run through his work, as that the surface of his text is pricked by inadequacy; that the pink threads are snipped off here and there, leaving provocative holes, and a text blushingly acknowledging its own indecency. Or to use another metaphor, the masculist millpond of Habermas's text is intermittently disturbed by the ideational intrusion of groups it cannot accommodate.[31]

Amongst the most notable recent feminist accounts of eighteenth-century women's public and private roles, Amanda Vickery's *The Gentleman's Daughter* provides an engagingly polemical riposte to the "separate spheres" hypothesis, concluding that "there was neither a loss of female freedoms, nor a novel retreat into the home" in the period and Harriet Guest's subtle and challenging account of female representation in the discourse of patriotism, *Small Change*, argues persuasively for "the complex involvement of women and gender difference in all areas of eighteenth-century life and thought".[32] My discussion below draws upon both these works, in apposition to the formulations of "public" and "private" in Habermas's model and its modifying successors. I present a brief biographical account, focusing in detail on the background to, and period of, the "London Letters", and more broadly on Mary Delany's later life, interspersed with thematic discussion where it becomes relevant.

The section which follows provides a short biography of Mary Granville, from her birth in 1700 to her first marriage in 1718, focusing on the political and economic vicissitudes of her branch of the family, especially as they impinged on her ability to control her own life, construct a public identity and maintain her social position.

Family, Political and Economic Background, 1700-1718

> Whenever it went well with the Grenvilles, it went well with the Church of England.[33]
>
> You are upon an uncommon Foundation in that Part of the World: Your Ancestors, for at least Five Hundred Years, never made any Alliance, Male or Female, out of the Western Counties: Thus there is hardly a Gentleman, either in Cornwall or Devon, but has some of your blood, or you some of theirs.[34]

Mary Granville was born on 14 May 1700, the daughter of Colonel Bernard Granville (1670-1723) and Mary Westcombe (d.1747). She was the elder daughter and second of four children, the others being Bernard, the eldest son (ca. 1696-1775), Bevill (1705-1736) and Anne (1707-1761).[35] The Granvilles were an Anglo-Norman family, tracing their descent from Rollo, first Duke of Normandy (d. 917 A.D.),[36] and were originally lords of Corbeil, Thorigny and Granville on the Cotentin Peninsula of France.[37] They came to England with William the Conqueror, who granted them lands at Kilkhampton in Cornwall. The elevated social position of the Granville family was historically the result of noble birth, royal patronage and the skilful manipulation of kinship ties. They consolidated their regional power over generations, chiefly through judicious intermarriage with noble Cornish families and conspicuous loyalty to successive monarchs. Court service provided a significant conduit to power and influence, or "public authority",[38] and posts in the household were frequently assigned on the basis of family connection.[39] Consequently, gentry/aristocratic families "tended to raise their offspring with some

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knowledge of the protocol, usage, and taboos of the household departments they administered"; in Bucholz's view, "there was an apparent logic in the fact that family networks supplied the court with its personnel, since the hereditary monarch was the "apex of a social system founded upon birth and marital alliances".[40] Most of the Granvilles were staunch supporters of the House of Stuart, and as one of a small group of "court families" exercised great political influence in the Tory-Royalist courts of Charles II and James II.

However, Mary's branch of the family, and consequently Mary herself, paid dearly for their service and loyalty to the Stuarts. Bernard, Mary's grandfather, married (1664) an heiress, Anne Morley, of Haunby in the county of York.[41] They had two daughters: Anne (d.1730) and Elizabeth (n.d.); and three sons, of whom Bevill (d.1706) was the eldest, George (d. 1735), the second, and Bernard, Mary's father (d. 1723), the youngest. At the Restoration, Bernard senior was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber and Gentleman of the Horse to Charles II. [42] He was, however, financially insecure, not only because he was a younger son, but also thanks to a combination of political and domestic misfortunes. He forfeited his estate and was immured in the Fleet Debtors' Prison during the Interregnum, and thereafter was enmeshed in a web of lawsuits. These included an unsuccessful one for the arrears of his pension from King Charles — on the death of the King in 1685 Granville was owed £5,000 (ten years' pension at £500 per annum); another suit against the "caretaker" of his father-in-law's estates confiscated during the Commonwealth; and yet another against the Earl of Scarsdale, his wife's grandfather, for non-payment of her marriage portion.[43] Moreover, Mary's grandmother, Anne (Morley) Granville, was a failed speculator in her own right: she "lost [the] family £2,000 a year in Yorkshire by throwing away [her father's] estate in hopes of doubling it by a copper mine".[44] Of their children, Bevill, the eldest, was knighted by James II in 1686; he died on his return from Barbados, where he had been Governor. Elizabeth remained single and lived as a dependant in the household of her

brother George.[45] Anne and George made advantageous marriages: the former to a baronet, Sir John Stanley (1659-1744), of Grange Gormon, Ireland; the latter to Barbara Thynne, née Villiers, mother of the infant Viscount Weymouth, heir to Longleat. Bernard, Mary's father and the youngest son, with little or no fortune to offer, presumably faced a more limited choice. He married in 1692 Mary, a daughter of Sir Martin Westcombe, the Consul-General of Great Britain at Cadiz (d. 1747). In so doing, he became party to a secret history.[46]

There exists scarcely any information about Mary (Westcombe) Granville apart from glancing and somewhat formulaic references in the *Autobiography and Correspondence* to her piety, sensibility and charitable works. The reason for this reticence may be that before her marriage to Bernard Granville, she was either the mistress or bigamous wife of James, second Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745). The chief source of this information is a note written by Lady Llanover (Appendix 2) recording a conversation with Lady Stratton, a nineteenth-century descendant of the Carterets, a family to whom the Granvilles were allied by marriage. Although the account given by Lady Stratton has never before appeared in print, its content is corroborated both in the letters of Mary Delany and in other published sources.[47] Lady Stratton asserted that the second Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745) posed as a single man, despite having married (1680) Lady Anne Hyde (d. 1684), and (1685) Lady Mary Somerset (d. 1733); courted Mary Westcombe and entered upon a private, bigamous marriage with her. The couple had at least two, and possibly three illegitimate children, and the Westcombes, Ormondes and Granvilles colluded to cover up the seduction.[48] Mary's father, Bernard Granville, married Mary Westcombe having been fully apprised of the situation and sworn to secrecy.[49] In return, he seems to have received much-needed financial support. Sir Martin, Mary Westcombe's father, bought the couple a house on Holles Street, and the Duke of Ormonde provided a dowry based on income from his own estates.[50]

Mary, one of two illegitimate daughters of the bigamous relationship, married first Martin Carter of Saling, Essex (d. 1720) and secondly, William Viney (1693-1745) a family friend of the Ormondes, with whom she lived in rigorously enforced domestic seclusion in Gloucester, near or in the same house as Mary Pendarves's mother.[51] She is only ever referred to in the Llanover edition as "Mrs. Viney", and disingenuously described by Lady Llanover as either "the family nurse, 'Nanny Viney'", or "an old friend" of Mary's mother.[52]

The Granvilles retained a considerable degree of courtly and governmental influence under William and Mary, even after 1689, when the King and Queen expanded the royal household's payroll but dismissed over half of James II's appointees.[53] Mary's great-uncle, John, Earl of Bath, had declared for William at the Revolution, and voted against a Regency; he was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council, retained the Lieutenancy of Devon and Cornwall and control over forty rotten boroughs. He was also re-appointed Lord Warden of the Stannaries, Captain and Governor of Plymouth, and Ranger of St. James's Park. His eldest brother, Sir Bevill, was also "a favourite" of William III.[54] Bernard, Mary's father, joined Bevill's regiment, and both were elected to the second Parliament of the reign, as was their father, Bernard senior. Mary's uncle, Sir John Stanley, was Secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury during his tenure as Lord Chamberlain to William III (autumn 1699-spring 1700).[55] However, the middle brother, George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, an ardent Jacobite, retired to political obscurity in Yorkshire for the duration of the reign, and his uncle Denis, brother of Bernard senior, went into exile with James II.[56]

On her accession in 1700, Queen Anne retained just over half of William's household servants, who themselves constituted the majority of a rationalized, smaller court. She dismissed the Dutch and Whig/Republican appointees of her predecessor and restored some Tory families to their former positions. Lansdowne returned to the political arena first as Secretary at War, replacing Robert Walpole

(September 1710-June 1712), then Comptroller of the Household (July 1712-August 1714), member of the Privy Council (August 1712-July 1714) and finally Treasurer of the Household (August 1713-October 1714). He also inherited from John Granville, Earl of Bath (d. 22 August 1701), £3,000 per annum out of the Duchy of Cornwall, a sum Bucholz calls "spectacular".[57] Mary's father was appointed Carver-in-Ordinary to the monarch (1702-1714) and came into what little inheritance he had when Bernard senior died in 1701.[58]

As the elder daughter of the family, Mary was brought up in the expectation of following the family tradition of court service: "Queen Ann had set me down for maid of Honour with her own hand, and given her promise to my Father."[59] Such an appointment was likely to yield rich benefits: as a daily attendant on the Queen, Mary would be a visible reminder of the Granville family and its social status. She would relieve her father of the expense of providing for her and enter upon the only respectable paid employment open to women of her social position, since ladies-in-waiting were salaried and housed during their periods of duty.[60] She would be well-placed to petition the monarch for further appointments and favours on behalf of her kinsmen and women, while simultaneously displaying herself as a marriageable commodity in the public arena of the court.[61] At the age of eight, Mary was sent from home to join the household of Sir John Stanley, to be trained in courtly deportment by her aunt, Lady Anne (Granville) Stanley (d.1730), herself a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Mary.[62]

However, the opportunity for this small degree of self-determination did not materialize. The death of Queen Anne in June 1714 adversely affected all the Granvilles, but brought Bernard's family to its knees. As Delany states: "[W]e were of the discontented party, and not without reason; not only my father, but all my relations that were in public employments, suffered greatly by this change."[63] George I acceded to the throne on 8 August. Tory placeholders, including Mary's father, were immediately supplanted by Whigs.

George had established links with the Whigs before his succession, primarily because of their mutual opposition to the Tory peace with France at Utrecht in 1713, and he favoured a Whig administration, although he employed a handful of senior Tories until the Jacobite rebellion in 1715. In March, a new parliament met, with a large Whig majority, and Robert Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lansdowne's mentors, Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, were impeached along with James, second Duke of Ormonde, Mary (Westcombe) Granville's former spouse/lover. Ormonde and Bolingbroke escaped to France, but Lord Oxford was captured and sent to the Tower. In February 1715, Lansdowne was arrested and held in the Tower for his part in organizing the main campaign of the Jacobite rebellion in the west of England.[64] The Stanleys fared better: Sir John continued as Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain until ca. 1719, when he resigned and was granted a pension of £400 per annum. He also retained his post as Commissioner of Customs (1708-1744), and Lady Stanley became Housekeeper of Somerset House, an office created in 1719 and worth £200 per annum. [65]

Delany recalls in her *Autobiography:*

> My father being a younger brother, his chief dependance was on the favour of the Court and his brother's friendship; the first being withdrawn, he had recourse to the latter, and was offered by him a retreat in the country, and an addition to the small remains of his fortune; he retired with my mother my sister and myself.[66]

The facts were apparently more shocking than this neutral statement suggests. Elsewhere in her *Autobiography*, Delany relates that Lord Townshend, then Secretary of State for the Northern Department, evidently perceived Lansdowne's younger brother as a serious threat. He despatched a force of sixteen soldiers, two officers and two messengers to arrest Bernard and his family, on the night before they were due to leave London.[67] Only the influence of the redoubtable Lady Stanley, a personal friend of Lord Townshend, prevented Mary

and her little sister Anne from being hauled off for questioning with their parents: she managed to parlay their return to her own lodgings, with the promise that she would be answerable to the Secretary of State.[68] Bernard was only detained for two months.[69] In November 1715 he and his family finally removed to Buckland, a village near Broadway in Gloucestershire, where they lodged at the Manor. [70]

Lansdowne was released from the Tower in February 1717. In September that year, he and Lady Lansdowne invited Mary to join them on a restorative and fashionable visit to Bath, then to spend the winter at Longleat. She recalls that Lansdowne entertained lavishly: "there was a great deal of company in the house, and the design of going to the Bath was put off till the spring: we danced every night, and had a very good band of music". She was to remain there for eight months, and at first thought her "present state and future prospects as happy as this world could make them".[71] However, the return to polite publicity had unpleasant consequences. It brought Mary the specular attention of Lansdowne's friend Alexander Pendarves, whose unprepossessing appearance ("excessively fat, . . . negligent in his dress", spattered in snuff, of which he took "a vast quantity", "altogether a person more disgusting than engaging") and clumsy movements were initially amusing diversions to herself and a young male relation, "who had wit and malice".[72] However, her amusement turned to revulsion when she realized that Alexander Pendarves wanted her for his wife. She relates,

> I formed an invincible aversion towards him, and everything he said or did by way of obliging me, increased that aversion. He was fat, much afflicted with gout, and often sat in a sullen mood, which I concluded was from the gloominess of his temper. I knew that of all men living, my uncle had the greatest opinion of, and esteem for him, and I dreaded his making a proposal of marriage, as I knew it would be accepted.[73]

Pendarves was nearly sixty, Mary seventeen years old. He proposed, and Lansdowne used strong emotional blackmail to oblige Mary to

accept. She recounts that he urged her to consider how unhappy she would be if she "disobliged" the "friends" (that is, family) who were working in her best interests, highlighted her father's financial problems, her own lack of fortune and her suitor's offer of settling his whole estate on her. From Lansdowne's perspective, it was a purely political match: as one of the Earl of Bath's heirs, and caretaker of the Thynne estates, Lansdowne was responsible for great multi-county and multi-regional electoral interests, which he was then working hard to mobilize in the embattled Tory cause. As Delany comments, he "rejoiced at an opportunity of securing to his interest by such an alliance, one of some consequence in his country [Pendarves was MP for Launceston, in Cornwall], whose services he at that time wanted".[74] For her part, Mary obeyed her uncle's commands for entirely economic reasons: her father was in desperate financial straits; having lost his court post, and "practically ruined by the loss of his post as Governor of Hull, and the non-payment of his wife's dowry (a fixed charge on the sequestrated estate of the Duke of Ormonde)", he was entirely dependent on his brother's support.[75] After a short and painful courtship, the couple were married at Longleat on 17 February 1718.[76] She writes powerfully of her predicament:

> I was married with great pomp. Never was woe drest out in gayer colours, and when I was led to the altar, I wished from my soul I had been led, as Iphigenia was, to be sacrificed. I was sacrificed. I lost, not life indeed, but I lost all that makes life desirable — joy and peace of mind.[77]

The following section evaluates Mary (Granville) Pendarves public-private roles as wife, and mistress of a household.

First Marriage, 1718-1724/5

Mary Pendarves' married life did not belie her apprehensions. There is tension in the language of the *Autobiography* at this point, between Delany's pious expressions of regret that she could not love

this man as a good wife should, and a barely concealed sub-text of outrage that she should be required to do so. She writes, "I have often reproached myself bitterly for my ingratitude (if it can strictly be called so), in not loving a man, who had so true an affection for me", and recalls that during the two months the couple spent at Longleat after the wedding, "Gromio shewed me all the respect and tenderness he was capable of, and I returned it with all the complacency I was mistress of, *and had he known how much it cost me, he must have thought himself obliged by my behaviour*."[78] Pendarves conveyed his bride to Roscrow, his Cornish seat in Gluvias, near Penryn. She writes of the leave-taking:

> The day was come, when I was to leave all I loved and valued, to go to a remote country, with a man I looked upon as my tyrant — my jailor; one that I was determined to obey and oblige, but found it impossible to love.[79]

The journey to Cornwall took about a fortnight, as Pendarves "being desirous of introducing [Mary] to all his friends" stayed at the houses of several relatives along the way. His young wife, who as an unmarried girl of fifteen, had bitterly lamented the leaving of public places: "court, assembly, play &c.", now longed for complete obscurity: "I would rather have hid myself in a cave, than have been exposed to the observation of anybody".[80] No explicit mention of her sexual relations survives in the letters, but there were no children, and her view of marriage is very jaundiced in subsequent letters: she talks of the "thousand unavoidable impertinences" to be expected from a husband. She did not marry again until she was forty-four, despite numerous proposals.[81]

While married to Alexander Pendarves, Mary preserved, she relates, the character of a virtuous wife, a construction which probably originated in Habermas's "classical ideological template", and was purveyed in christianized form by conduct books such as Richard Allestree's *Ladies' Calling*.[82] The *Autobiography* catalogues the

constraints and privations which this role entailed, from those of emotion and affect: "I . . . received no satisfaction from anything but a few stolen retired moments, to vent my heart by my tears, which I took great care should not be seen by Gromio," to the social: "I never made any visits without him, and as he was often confined with the gout, I always worked and read in his chamber," and the physical: "My greatest pleasure was riding, but I never indulged myself in that exercise unless he proposed it."[83] However, in constructing herself as a model, if not a loving wife, Mary Pendarves had to demonstrate, not just personal restraint and compliance, but domestic virtues with public manifestations, such as prudent economy, including the art of generous, but not extravagant, entertaining. As Vickery notes, the management of a household was recognized as a female occupation, and a powerful one at that: women had the governance of servants, the power to hire and fire them, and were responsible for their moral and physical welfare. Vickery notes that "gentlemen bestirred themselves to ensure that a kinswoman presided over their housekeeping" and "when gentlemen dabbled in the marriage-market they hoped to procure a bride as prudent and economical as she was charming and genteel". For her part, "[a]s the mistress of a household, the genteel bride tasted of administrative power and exuded quasi-professional pride". [84] The same could be said of an aristocratic wife:

> The Management of all Domestic Affairs is certainly the proper Business of Woman; and . . . 'tis certainly not beneath the Dignity of any Lady, however high her rank, to know how to educate her children, to govern her servants, to order an elegant Table with Oeconomy, and to manage her whole family [including employees] with Prudence, Regularity and method.[85]

Delany recalls that in Cornwall, "all the neighbourhood came and paid their compliments, and the house was continually full of company".[86] In later life, more than one widower with children was to seek her hand to guide and manage his household.

Mary Pendarves was not only visible as a genteel hostess, however. In the context of opposition to the Hanoverian succession, she became a token of her husband's political allegiance:[87] on one occasion, she attended church without Pendarves, and was courteously escorted back to her coach by a gentleman acquaintance, who consequently fell under suspicion of Jacobite sympathies.[88] Delany relates that her husband behaved decorously for two years after the wedding, but then "fell in with a set of old acquaintance, a society famed for excess in wine, and to his ruin and my misery was hardly ever sober".[89] Moreover, the couple's standard of living declined. Delany writes,

> [h]itherto I had lived in great affluence, and I had never known the want of money: I was as prudent in the management of my domestic affairs, as I thought our circumstances required; in the country I had not the demands for money that attended the life [in London] I was now engaged in, and I was so well furnished with clothes and pocket-money by Lord Lansdown on my marriage, that I had no notion of ever wanting. . . . This was the last misfortune I could have expected; I thought myself at least secure of an easy fortune.[90]

In 1720 Pendarves brought his wife to London, and lodged her in Rose Street, Hog Lane, Soho, "a very unpleasant part of the town" along with his sister, Jane Livingstone, who had married and been deserted by a profiteer who stripped her of her fortune. Pendarves had promised Mary when they married that his sister "never should be imposed upon [her]", but he reneged, and installed Mrs. Livingstone in the house, to watch over his young wife's behaviour and society.[91]

Delany records that in London and Cornwall alike, she was beseiged by hopeful lovers, often married themselves, and seeking sexual dalliance.[92] Despite the machinations of her aunt Lansdowne (whom she portrays as devious, predatory and libertine, and eager to convert her niece to the same values),[93] Delany asserts that she was able to maintain both her dignity and her chastity; she presents herself to the reader, the Duchess of Portland, as indomitably virtuous.[94] She

recounts, for example, that she narrowly avoided being raped by the Earl of Clare, set on by Lady Lansdowne, who "kept [her] by violence" a prisoner in her house. Beauty, as Davis and Farge point out, was a "social and historical issue for women, not just a 'natural' one", in a society whose "aesthetic system was so codified that a poor but beautiful woman was at great risk while a poor but ugly one had no identity at all".[95] Mary Pendarves was accounted an attractive woman, and on the evidence of her letters she undoubtedly used her sexual power, in the guise of charm and flirtatiousness, to enliven her friendships with both women and men, and to consolidate her public presence, and thereby her social position. Her management of the male expectations raised by the disparity between her youth and beauty and the age and decrepitude of her partner are a major theme in this section of her *Autobiography*.

Mary was released by her husband's death in 1724/5, a grotesque experience as she narrates it: after lying awake for hours listening to his laboured breathing, she finally fell into a brief sleep, from which she awoke to find him dead beside her, black in the face. Lansdowne had failed to secure a written agreement from Pendarves, to make Mary his heiress, negotiating instead a moderate jointure and only implicitly depending upon Pendarves to change his will in her favour. He did not. Francis Basset of Tehidy, a nephew by marriage, inherited under the terms of Alexander Pendarves's original will, and Mary was deprived of the generous provision envisaged by her family at the time of her marriage.[96] The implications of her social position as a widow are examined in the next section.

Polite Widowhood

As Amy Froide notes, "[w]idows had a public and independent place within the patriarchal society".[97] Rather than return to her natal family or go to live with her husband's family, a widow normally became the head of her deceased husband's household: "[s]he had

earned this role by marrying and helping to create a household, which it was her responsibility to continue after her husband was gone".[98] Mary Pendarves's status as a widow was severely diminished by her husband's failure to change his will, and rather than taking her place as chateleine of Roscrow, their Cornish seat, which she had indeed refurbished and run as a household during her early married life, she was left without a permanent home and with only her jointure to live on. Had she been her husband's main beneficiary, it is likely she would have been able to take over the lease of their London house and continue to live there.[99] However, lacking the property which should have devolved to her on her husband's decease, her social position became almost that of a single woman. Her options were: to live with kin, such as adult children (she had none); or with siblings (Bernard, her elder brother, does not appear to have offered, and Bevill, her younger brother, was not in a financial position to do so); with parents (this was economically impossible, her mother being a widow in straitened circumstances herself); or with friends (an option she benefitted from in later life). Mary's uncle Lansdowne had gone into political exile in France; Lady Lansdowne invited Mary to stay with her at the couple's London house, but this would not have been advisable.

Writing of Mary (Villiers) Granville, Lady Lansdowne, in the1740s, Delany recalls:

> I found her conduct . . . had been very indiscreet. . . . she was very handsome and gay; she loved admiration — a most dangerous disposition in an agreeable woman, and proved a most ruinous one to Lady Lansdown. The libertine manners of France accomplished what her own nature was too prone to. No woman could less justify herself than she could.[100]

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu reported of her former friend, in the year of Pendarves's death: "Lady Lansdown is in that sort of figure here [London] no body cares to appear with her." In July 1727, Montagu wrote: "I suppose you have heard how good Lady Lansdowne has

pass'd her Time here; she has liv'd publicly with Lord Dunmore, Fam'd for their Loves, their mutual happy Loves."[101] For Mary Pendarves to join a household headed by a woman alone, and one of dubious repute at that, would have been social suicide.

Mary opted instead to live in the Stanley household. This was a shrewd decision in both political and economic terms: it probably permitted Mary to husband her resources by living with her aunt and uncle, and certainly to recover the access to court and London society lost on the death of Queen Anne. Moreover, it enabled her to maintain her social status, or "publicity of representation".[102] She placed herself under the patronage and protection of a male relative, who, as a government officer, had public authority; Sir John Stanley was a Commissioner of Customs. Her aunt, Lady Stanley, as Housekeeper at the Queen's residence, Somerset House, was a senior court servant and participant in the "peculiarly free-floating but clearly demarcated sphere of 'good society' centred on the court".[103] At a stroke, Mary Pendarves removed the taint of her husband's and the Lansdownes' Jacobitism and re-entered the public domain. This politicized choice of household — between pro-Stuart and pro-Hanoverian family members — can also be seen in the light of the Whig apologists' pervasive discourse of "politeness". After the revolution of 1688 writers such as Addison and Steele inveighed against the influence of the Restoration court, which they presented as debauched and morally bankrupt, while recommending, for both men and women, self-control, improved manners and a greater spirituality.[104] Delany herself presents the choice of household in similar terms, as being made *solely* to protect her virtue, an essential component of the genteel persona: the Stanley domicile was "the surest refuge I could fly to at a time when I might be exposed to the insinuating temptations and malicious arts of the world. I was now to enter it again, on a new footing". [105]

Despite the small scale of her jointure (£400 per annum), Mary Pendarves now enjoyed the volition conferred by her freedom from the

tedious and exhausting charade of domestic and wifely duty, a change she expresses in the language of sensibility:

> I was so much affected by the surprising manner of Gromio's [Pendarves's] death, that I did not recover my spirits in a great while. I was not hypocritical in the concern I showed, for to a fearful nature such as mine, there could not have happened a more terrifying accident; but my natural good spirits, time, and *finding myself freed from many vexations*, soon brought me to *a state of tranquillity I had not known for many years.*[106]

Her letters and *Autobiography* reveal that Mary Pendarves refused numerous matches, preferring to retain and safeguard by financial prudence the independence conferred by her social and economic status as a jointured widow. She writes,

> [a]s to my fortune, it was very mediocre, but it was at my own command. Some uneasiness attended it at first, the case of most widows, but I gave myself little anxiety about it. A lawyer recommended to me by Alcander [Lansdowne], in whom I had confidence, managed very well for me. I had not then a turn for saving or management so as to make the best of my fortune, but I endeavoured to act prudently, and not run out[.][107]

Since this was the time of Mary Pendarves's first real self-definition, it may be appropriate at this point to investigate her ability, as a woman, to participate in public and private arenas. The following section explores the connection between metropolitan life and polite public representation as evidenced in the *Autobiography and Correspondence.*

Urbane Publicity: Mary Pendarves in London, 1725-1731

It is at this period of her life that Mary Pendarves achieves the self-determination necessary to embark on what on the evidence of her extant writing, I take to be her lifelong project: to construct and fortify a polite public persona against the incursions of economic mediocrity,

the disadvantages of familial (Jacobite) political allegiance, and the sexual indiscretion of female relatives (Mary (Westcombe) Granville and Mary (Villiers) Lansdowne). Freed by the death of Alexander Pendarves from the dependent filial status which had made her into a commodity, she reinforced and protected her position as a widow, that is, an independent private individual, by deliberately weaving herself into a complex web of social connection. Her conformity to the value systems of the (female) élite, in combination with her strength of character, personal attractiveness and sensitivity to the nuances of private and public interaction enabled her to become, in Trumbach's hyperbole, "England's most accomplished kin-keeper".[108]

Politeness and the Town

The polite persona was best viewed against the backdrop of the Town, specifically, the metropolis. Addison, in comparing town and country mores, observed that residence in the early eighteenth-century town fostered "an unconstrained Carriage, and a certain Openness of Behaviour" as opposed to the more formal "Manners of the last Age" practised by "People of Mode in the Country". Both Addison and Steele linked politeness to the development of a commercial economy, and consequently located polite society in the town, the epicentre of the consumer revolution. As David Hume commented, people who moved to the cities could more easily display "their wit or their breeding" and feel "an encrease of humanity, from the very habit of conversing together, and contributing to each other's pleasure and entertainment".[109]

After the death of her first husband, Mary Pendarves made London her permanent home. It was not the case, however, that she made a simple transition from domesticated seclusion in provincial Cornwall to fashionable display in the sophisticated metropolis. It would be more accurate to say that she exchanged one admixture of domestic seclusion and polite publicity in Cornwall for another, slightly different combination of the domestic, the public and the

private in London. Amanda Vickery comments that "[b]y the 1730s in most large towns it was possible for wealthier women to pursue a host of public activities and yet remain well within the bounds of propriety — as even the most fastidious observers understood it".[110]

She was able to enjoy the company and visits of the "butterfly men",[111] at Somerset House, and later in her own lodgings, within a framework of mannerly restraint imposed, if her own representation is factual, by her own reserve and propriety. She had licence to immerse herself in the cultural life of the capital without danger to her virtuous reputation, provided she chose respectable company. In this she allowed herself to be governed by a female mentor, Lady Stanley, whom she "consulted on all occasions".[112] She attended the "drawing rooms" of both George I and II, and was "transported" by the operas of Handel, a family friend to whom her brother Bernard, and later Mary herself, acted as patrons; her letters describing the *opera seria* and oratorio are a staple of modern Handelian studies. While her knowledge and critical appreciation of music shine out from her letters, her regular presence in an opera box at the King's Theatre, borrowed from Lady Oxford, was also an important part of her diligent construction of a polite persona. By this means, Mary Pendarves not only preserved her publicity of representation (an expensive opera box was a potent symbol of status, and decorative frame for her elegant dress and demeanour) but also (and despite her lack of equity) found a place in the new public sphere defined by Habermas: "a public of music lovers to which anyone who was propertied and educated was admitted".

Letters and the Public Sphere

Mary Pendarves was in the habit of making, and communicating by letter (and doubtless also in conversation), "lay" aesthetic judgements, arguably contributing thereby to Habermas's nascent "public opinion".[113] As he and others have noted, the eighteenth-century letter was by no means a purely private document.

Letters were permissively borrowed and copied, while some correspondences were written with publication in mind.[114] Harriet Guest convincingly argues that when eighteenth century gentle/aristocratic women exchanged letters, it was

> an activity of very limited public importance, public only in the sense that it created a 'bond of company' between them and absent friends; but when they marked parts of their letters as suitable only for the eyes of the addressee, and indicated that other parts could be read to assembled company; or when, indeed, they prepared their letters for (most usually posthumous) publication, they made them available to an audience who might hear, or mis-hear, in them . . . public opinions being formed and disputed.[115]

That Delany wrote two versions of her autobiography,[116] and carefully sorted, edited and preserved letters, to the extent of bequeathing a collection of them to her niece, suggests that she too may have imagined posthumous recognition as a writer. She even, at one point, nominated a literary executor and editor; she wrote to her sister in 1745/6: "[y]ou remember Madame de Sevigné: Mary must be my Pauline".[117] Mary Delany does not, at least in the Llanover edition, expand on this point, but Alice Anderson Hufstader draws attention to the fact that Pauline de la Simiane was the grand-daughter of Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sevigné (1626-1696). It was Pauline who supervised the publication of Sevigné's letters to her daughter, Mme. de Grignan, and other friends and relatives.[118] Mary Delany's will leaves her business papers in the hands of her brother-in-law, but the correspondence of "intimate friends' is entrusted to the discretion of her niece:

> [A]ll the papers and letters I leave behind I desire may be put in the possession of my neice Mary Port[;] papers relating to business to be disposed of by Mr. Dewes as he thinks proper other papers and letters particularly those of intimate friends I trust to the said Mrs.Mary Port's discretion to burn or keep that no frivolous or disagreeable communications may be exposed.[119]

Her phraseology is formal, as befits the legal diction of a will, but does not suggest that the correspondence should necessarily remain entirely private. Her use of the word "exposed" may even be an indirect reference to possible publication, since, if her letters remained entirely within the family, "exposure" would not be an issue.

Whatever Mary Delany's intentions, it is clear that letter-writing, as an activity both polite and ladylike,[120] was for her both a way of consolidating her position within society, and of imagining herself as (female) citizen, one who could express her views and make informed judgements on a variety of matters, not all of them domestic.

Shopping for Gentility

Shopping was an important tool in the preservation of genteel representation.[121] Mary Pendarves's letters of this period are an index to the expansion of commerce, and the two-way consumer traffic between London and the provinces. Mary Pendarves intelligently exploited the commercial and professional resources of the metropolis in order to assist her mother and sister to preserve their social status despite straitened circumstances. She helped them to maintain their household, keep up appearances and engage in the fashionable leisure pursuits of early eighteenth-century ladies. She shopped with skill and discernment, packing, itemizing, and sending various kinds of provender, household linen, dress fabrics, laundered and mended garments, furniture, luxury items such as tea, silks and china, craft equipment, music, books, and jewellery by coach from the metropolis.[122] For their part, Anne, Mrs. Granville and the Vineys sent joints of meat, and fish from Gloucester's bi-weekly markets, which specialized in these items. The town itself was becoming increasingly urbanized, and taking its place as a fashionable tourist destination for the well-to-do; it was one of several county towns in the period 1660-1720 which enjoyed special status as a social centre for the landed gentry who came "to shop and enjoy themselves". Turnpike roads had

improved communications, and by the early eighteenth century Gloucester could boast many London-style specialist retail shops.[123]

As Amanda Vickery states,

> [a] polite lady . . . laid claim to wider cultural horizons through reading and exchanging periodicals, pamphlets, papers and novels, through letters, and through cultural consumption on an unprecedented scale. The domesticates of the morning were the polite adventurers of the afternoon."[124]

During this period, Mary Pendarves read widely and eclectically in French and English, and sampled many of the classical authors in translation.[125] She read plays, opera libretti, tragedies, novels, periodicals, sermons, histories, biographies and philosophical tracts. In addition to these, she was a great consumer of romances and popular ballads. She prosecuted her polite duty and sustained her moderately elevated social position through ritualized social visits, and in costly display, dressing "to make a tearing show"[126] at Court, balls, routs and masquerades. She refined an interest, both practical and intellectual, in the fine and applied arts, taking lessons, for example, from Hogarth.[127] Her letters of this period critique in remarkable detail the London fashions and the splendid apparel worn at Court to celebrate royal birthdays; they describe the progress of courtships and notable marriages, focusing as much on the economics of such matches as the likelihood or otherwise, of the couple's future happiness; and the (scandalous) behaviour of members of the gentry and aristocracy. Situated as she was between aristocracy and gentry, Mary Pendarves used her keen observation of manners and mores to maintain her own and her family's social position. She was both the public ambassador of the Gloucester Granvilles and the mirror which reflected polite publicity back upon them.

"The Butterflye Men": Mary Pendarves as Object of Desire, 1725-1731

This section details the courtships of Charles Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, and others, showing that Mary Pendarves found ways to sidestep the expectations raised by her beauty, birth and widowed status, in order to preserve her financial and individual independence.

Between 1725 and 1729, Mary Pendarves was intermittently courted by Charles Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore (1699-1751), a Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales. His suit was the only one of many at this period which she was inclined to favour, since she found the man attractive and the match promised an elevation of social and economic status. She recalls,

> I had been a widow about six months, when Herminius [Lord Baltimore] sent to know if I would give him leave to wait upon me . . . The next day he came, with the permission of Valeria [Lady Stanley], whom I consulted on all occasions. His conversation turned chiefly upon my circumstances, which he enquired into, not with an impertinent inquisitiveness, but with an air of friendship which obliged me;[128]

Having thus tactfully established Mary Pendarves's diminished financial status, Baltimore appears to have been undecided as to whether he should court Mary Pendarves as wife or mistress. The *Autobiography* relates that Lady Stanley had "received an impression to the prejudice of [Baltimore]," and was opposed to his visiting Mary, suggesting instead that she marry a nephew of Sir John Stanley, Henry Monk, whom Stanley would then make his heir, uniting family interests. However, Monk was a man of limited *understanding*, her chief criterion for judging a potential husband's worth and a charge Mary levelled at almost all the young men who had hopes of marrying her. She writes,

> I was much astonished at my aunt's being so zealous for him [Henry Monk], and that fortune should ever sway so far with her generous nature as to wish me united to so insignificant a man! I was extremely perplexed and persecuted for some time,

> not only with his addresses, but Valeria [Aunt Stanley] set several of my relations to endeavour to prevail with me to alter my resolution."[129]

They did not succeed.

Another potential suitor was John Wesley (1703-1791). He socialized with Mrs. Pendarves and her sister Anne Granville at the home of the Kirkhams, Stanton Rectory, near Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire (see Fig. 16a). He was assiduously courting Mary's lifelong friend, the learned Sarah Kirkham, "Sappho"(1699-1764). She is generally acknowledged to be the anonymous author of *Hardships of the English Laws in relation to Wives* (1735), a searing indictment of statutory discrimination underpinned by legal knowledge and recent case history. Sarah rejected Wesley in favour of the Revd. John Chapone, whom she married in 1725. Their son John was to marry the notable second-generation Bluestocking, Hester Mulso (1727-1801). Between 1730 and 1731, there was a brief but intense exchange of letters between Mary Pendarves and Wesley, which was flirtatious enough for Mary to ask him to burn her contribution to it. He complied, but kept copies, apparently verbatim. These letters have been published in *The Works of John Wesley*.[130]

In Christmas week 1729 there was a final confrontation with Lord Baltimore, at the opera. The text of this encounter repays some scrutiny, as it is suggestive of the unstable nature of gender representation in the early part of the century. There are two accounts of the meeting in the *Autobiography and Correspondence*: one in a letter to Anne Granville, dated "Xtmas Day, 1729" and the other in the *Autobiography* itself. I follow here the account given in the former, since it was written soon after the meeting with Baltimore, and since the differences between the published and the manuscript letter are instructive. It is clear that Mary Pendarves wished to play a more active part in managing the courtship than she had hitherto, in order to gain some control over her own future. She relates in the *Autobiography* that she had known Baltimore for five years, and

throughout that period, he had been paying her that particular gallant attention which led her to believe he wanted her for his wife, without, however, actually proposing to her. The first half of "Xtmas Day" letter, omitted by Lady Llanover, includes some advice for one of Anne Granville's female friends, agonizing over a beau who had not made his intentions clear. The parallels with Mary Pendarves's case are clear. She suggests that the next time "Paris" — the man in question — visits, if he should say "anything very particular", Anne's friend should ask him

> why if he has realy any design he will not speak his inclination. for when she knows what they [his intentions] are she will be able to answer him and not till then. I give not other advise then what I mean to take if my Resolution will hold out but I a little suspect it[131]

— that is, she should take the initiative and challenge him to make his position clear. This advice gives context to the passage which immediately follows it, in which Mary Pendarves describes a meeting with Baltimore at the opera, after which he led her to her sedan-chair, and, talking "in the old strain of being unhappy", accused her of being the cause of "all his flights and extravagances". She roundly replied that "it was so large a charge that [she] should be sorry to have it placed to [her] account". "I nettled him and he me", she writes, in a phrase omitted by Llanover, and continues: "however on Monday he came, when he came into the Room I could not help wishing his Mind might be answerable to his Person ["appearance" in Llanover] for I never saw him look so well." He asked "immediatly" "if [she] did not think they were miserable people that were strangers to love", adding that she was "so great a philosopher" that he dreaded her answer. She replied:

> [A]s for Philosophy[,] I did not pretend to it but I endeavoured to make my Life easy by Living according to reason, and that

> my opinion of Love was that it either made people very Miserable or very Happy.[132]

Baltimore declared that love made him miserable, to which she reports that she countered: "that I suppose my Lord . . . proceeds from your Self[:] perhaps you place it on a wrong Foundation". I take this to be an invitation to Baltimore to put the relationship on a "right foundation" by proposing marriage, or to ask her on what foundation *she* believed the relationship to be, in accordance with her resolution. The letter continues (text omitted by Llanover in italics):

> [H]e look'd Confounded *I thought*[.] turn'd the discourse and went away immediatly after[.] I must confess I could not behave my Self with indifference *& I am sure he must perceive that what I had said affected me.* I have been in no Publick Place since[;] I shall not care to meet him[,] if I do I will let you know how he behaves for the future.[133]

The first modifying phrase edited out by Llanover suggests Mary Pendarves's concern to "read" Baltimore and act accordingly; the second, her embarrassment at having all but made a declaration. The omission of the latter leaves more ambiguity: "I could not behave myself with indifference" could be read as the haughty indignation proper to a great lady, rather than the embarrassment of a woman who has made a *faux pas*. In the *Autobiography*, Delany appears to rebuild the encounter more in accordance with her resolution of forcing the "flutterer" to show his hand. She has Baltimore declare that he was "determined never to marry, unless he was well assured of the affection of the person he married". Her reply is dignified, rational and straightforward: "Can you have stronger proof if the person is at her own disposal than her consenting to marry you?"[134]

This section of the letter is interesting on several counts. Baltimore represents himself as the repining lover, at the mercy of his ungovernable and unrequited passion, who has lost his virtuous self-control, and become subject to "flights and extravagances". Amongst the discourses at work here is that of courtly love: Baltimore casts

himself as the "fond lover" of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, etiolated by his unrequited passion, and begging his lady to take pity on his distress.[135] There is also, perhaps, an acknowledgement of the contemporary ideology which made Woman a civilizing agent. Addison, for example, "identified the virtuous woman, characterised by her softness and modesty, as best equipped to 'temper Mankind and sooth them into Tenderness and Compassion', and who, in so doing, 'polishes and refines [men] out of those [uncouth] Manners which are most natural to them'".[136] Philip Carter draws attention to the importance of qualities such as "independence, moderation, courage, and self-command" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century definitions of the Gentleman. The validation of such attributes, he notes, "owed much to the renewed popularity of the Roman stoical philosophers, notably Epictetus, whose work first appeared in English translation in 1567". The male virtues of forbearance and self-command delineated by such writers became "an integral part of the image of dignified and public-spirited nobility".[137] As Carter warns, there was no single dominant discourse of masculinity operating in the period, rather the patriarchal system was "based on the hard-won dominance of a male identity itself characterized by contradictions, limitations and challenges".[138] What is interesting, here, however, is that Mary Pendarves's text presents her as appropriating the discourse of "masculine" Roman virtue, while Baltimore uses his emotional incontinence as as a manipulative device: his love for her has destroyed his virtuous self-control, and it is implicitly her duty both to pity his distress and restore him to order.

There can be no doubt that Mary Pendarves was conversant with the works of the Roman authors in translation; in a letter written in February, 1728, to take just one example, she records that "Cicero charms me with his eloquence and I am delighted to have that Sensual Philosopher [Epicurus] confuted in his notions".[139]Moreover, quite apart from Baltimore's significant designation of her as a "Philosopher" in the passage quoted above, her entire oeuvre is

permeated by the discourse of self-control, moderation, forbearance, and faith in Providence. She writes in 1732/3, for example,

> I have checked my whims as much as possible, but the anxiety that naturally arises for friends that are surrounded by any evil, is not always to be mastered by reason, and though I endeavour to rely on Providence on all occasions, there is a tenderness of heart that will rise sometimes and give me alarm.[140]

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mary Pendarves was aware of the power differential between men and women in her society, and aspired to a more "masculine" agency for herself, or alternatively, that women like herself, who had access to versions of classical humanism, read the generic "Man" in such texts as referring also to "Woman". I am not suggesting that Mary Pendarves could replace the "feminine" characteristics of modesty, piety and chastity with the "masculine" ones of restraint, self-control and moderation, but rather that she based her subjectivity on a combination of these discourses. In this way, she could construct herself as participating in a transcendent moral or spiritual *polis*.[141]

Marriage and Self-Determination

The Baltimore letter, if I may call it so, concludes with regret that Lady Abergavenny's scandalous behaviour,[142] and that of "some more wives of the same stamp has so disgraced Matrimony" that "I am not surpriz'd the Men are affraid of it, and if we consider the loose Morals of ye Men it is strange that women are so easily won to their own undoing."[143] It is possible that Baltimore had heard of her mother's illicit relationship with James Butler, and supposed that Mary might also be persuaded to become a mistress.

It is clear from the letters of this period that Mary Delany saw marriage as a necessary evil for women, which only on very rare occasions could provide happiness and contentment. In a letter which is not untypical of her views on marriage, written while Baltimore was still showing a particular interest in her, she fulminates:

> I marry! yes, there's a Blessed Scene before my Eyes of the Comforts of that State. a Sick Husband and Squawling Bratts, a Cross Mother in Law, and a thousand unavoidable impertinences. No, No, sister it must be a Basilisk [i.e. a Baltimore] indeed that makes me doat on those wretched incumbrances. but Stop my rage, be not too fierce, I may be dash'd on the very Rock I endeavour to avoid and therefore I will say no more against a Station of Life which in the Opinion of some People is not in our power to prevent.
> "if Fate be not then what can we foresee?
> or how can we avoid it if it be?["]

Only Baltimore would make the sacrifice of freedom worthwhile, but even marriage to him is described in negative terms, as an unavoidable "Fate", the phallic "Rock" on which she may be "dash'd". Describing her marriage to Alexander Pendarves in the *Autobiography*, Delany uses metaphors of incarceration and slavery: "my tyrant — my jailor"; Roscrow was her "prison", and her married life was measured in "degrees of misery".[144] In 1727, well before Lord Baltimore had rejected her, Mary Pendarves was recommending that Anne Granville and her circle of women friends in Gloucester should remain single, rather than ally themselves to inferior men:

> to speak Seriously Matrimony is no way in My favour, farr from it for I would much rather see you all as you are unless you each of you mett with a Man worthy of you, but that I realy think is hardly to be found, therefore you are better as ye are[.] [145]

The best Mary Pendarves can say about marriage at this time is that it is not in women's power to avoid it. The following, written in 1731, is her modified praise of a happy union:

> I never saw a couple I liked better; she says she never had the least wrangle with her husband in her life, for she always yields to him in great matters, and he never will dispute little things with her. *If that state could be envied,* I think it can only be when it is such as they make it.[146]

Unsurprisingly, the contrast between female sexual power before marriage and lack of self-determination after it were not lost upon her. In a letter of 1732, she urges, not wholly jocularly:

> [d]o display your fan, my dear sister, never spare it, and make those wretches tremble that would make you a slave, were you in their clutches.[147]

She was also scathing about the male double standard, and on one occasion at least, conjured the vision of a female oppositional *praxis*:[148]

> Would it were so that I went ravaging and slaying all the odious men, and that would go near to clear the World of that sort of animals, . . . They have so despicable an opinion of women and treat them by their words and actions so ungenerously and inhumanly. . . 'tis my observation on conversing a good deal with them, the minutest indiscretion in a woman 'though occation'd by the Men never fails of being enlarg'd into a notorious crime, but the Men are to Sin on without limitation or Blame, a hard case! not the restraint we are under [,] for that I extremely approve of but the unreasonable License tollerated in the Men. *Phill and I were wishing this morning that there were two or three hundred women of consequence that had the same indifference towards Men that we have, then their Pride might be a little Mortifyed,* how Amiable! how noble a Creature is man adorn'd with virtue how detestable when Loaded with Vice.[149]

Amanda Vickery observes that later in the century, "when wronged, genteel women rarely questioned the justice of the gender hierarchy; rather they bemoaned the fact that their menfolk departed so sorrily from the authoritative masculine ideal".[150] This is not the case here. Mary Pendarves eschews libertinage for all, "extremely approv[ing]" of the moral framework imposed on women, but questions men's immunity from the judgement and punishment meted out to women, and its disproportion to their crimes, "minute" compared to those of the men. She argues, that is, for men and women to practice an equal

restraint, and for erring members of either sex to be subject to equal censure. Her vision of rallying "two or three hundred women of consequence" to "mortify" the men's pride, whether by polite censure, cold rejection of their advances, or merely by presenting a united, numerous and revolutionary front, has more than a hint of feminist consciousness about it. It also envisions a female public sphere, or, to borrow and recondition the familiar Habermasian definition: "a forum in which the private people [female] came together to form a public [two or three hundred gentle/aristocratic women, and] readied themselves to compel public authority [gentle/aristocratic men] to legitimate itself before [female] public opinion."[151]

One refuge from male perfidy was female friendship, which could offer the comfort of a more trustworthy relationship between equals. In the section which follows, I examine the nature of Mary Pendarves's close friendship with her sister, and its implications for the women's position in the social and gender hierarchy.

"My Dearest Sister": Friendship and Sisterhood

> While Life shall Last thou hast me fast
>
> MP MP MP MP[152]

> "A FRIEND . . . one who acts kindly towards a Person."
>
> Bailey, *Dictionary*[153]

To the modern reader, one of the most striking, if not disconcerting aspects of Delany's *Correspondence* is the language of romantic bodily longing she uses to address her sister. Mary Pendarves frequently represents herself as the repining lover, as in this letter of 1724:

> Why so cruel my Nancy, why so cruel to me?
> Two Posts past and not one line! oh barbarous and inhuman!
> the Satisfaction of knowing you are well made me this Day
> some amends and to speak seriously of the matter I could not

> be so unreasonable as to expect a letter, but Lovers you know are unconsionable in their desires. . . . adieu my Dearest Sister . . . I am with unalterable Fidelity/Yours/M Pendarves[154]

While Delany's letters frequently emphasise the centrality of Christian obedience and duty, and it is undoubtedly the case that her Anglican faith was crucial to her conception of her identity, her pious reflections carry nothing like the emotive weight of her eulogia on Friendship, and particulary the friendship between women.

Randolph Trumbach notes that "[f]riendship and kinship were not. . . easily distinguished in the eighteenth century. . . . But 'friend' was also the most frequently used term of individual social classification."[155] Since the aristocracy and gentry of eighteenth-century Britain was a small and closely-knit group,[156] "kin-keeping" and social commerce between friends were intimately and often productively connected, and it is therefore no accident that the single most important *topos* in Delany's *Autobiography* and manuscript correspondence should be (female) Friendship. More than three-quarters of the "London Letters" make (often extended) reference to this theme, as do the great majority of her letters from 1728 to 1788. As Lanser points out, female friendship functioned as "a status symbol marking women as well-connected and well-bred." It allowed women to "establish their own value and a certain degree of psychic independence from men while at the same time helping to consolidate the privileges of their class." [157]

The language of female friendship in Mary Pendarves's letters to her sister creates an oppositional, utopian discursive space, "a place where inequality is rationalized in order to be transcended[.]"[158] As Lanser observes, citing texts as various as Mary Astell's *Serious Proposal*, Margaret Cavendish's *Convent of Pleasure* and the conversations of the *precieuses*, "women's writings often stressed the superiority of friendship over marital ties. . . [justifying] female bonding precisely as bonding against and away from men."[159]

This tendency is nowhere more obvious than in the two letters quoted above, a) relating the conclusion of Baltimore's attentions ("he look'd Confounded . . . I will let you know how he behaves for the future") and b) inveighing against the perfidy of men ("Would it were so that I went ravaging and slaying . . . how detestable when Loaded with Vice"). The first moves to a sentimental coda, contrasting reliable female friendship with the (male) perfidy of Cupid, and innocent pastoral retirement to the (implied) snares of city life:

> . . . if we consider the loose Morals of ye Men it is strange that women are so easily won to their own undoing.
> Oh! give me a Cot beside a Grove,
> where I may never hear of Love
> But such as Friendship does inspire,
> no higher Bliss do I desire
> With thee my Anna to Live & Dye,
> & Cupids arrows to defye.[160]

This elevated language serves not only an affective, but a social purpose; it encodes classical virtue and characterizes the writer as one of genteel, if not courtly, status. It is the appropriation , to adapt the formulations of Lanser and Heilbrun, by a female correspondent of the male "work and privilege" of Friendship, the highest practice of *vir*tue with its "reverberation upon the public sphere." [161]

In the second extract, a generalized lament on the subject of men's failings is immediately followed by a contrasting passage, omitted by Lady Llanover, in which Mary Pendarves expresses pleasure in her sister's letters, in typically tender terms:

> [H]ow Amiable! how noble a Creature is man adorn'd with virtue how detestable when Loaded with Vice. how many ways does my Dearest Love please me when I read your letters the pleasure they give me is so great that I am far from thinking our Separation a misery since it procures me such tender testimonies of y^{r}. Affection . . . [162]

Susan Lanser argues that the late seventeenth century saw "the emergence of [privileged] women as a self-conscious constituency, a

potential body politic", citing the "secular networks" established "in the courts of Henrietta Maria of England and Christina of Sweden, in the salons of Ramboullet and Scudéry, in Astell's proposal for a 'Protestant nunnery,'" and, crucially for interpretations of Mary Pendarves's position, in Katherine Philips's Royalist coterie. At the same time, a public discourse of transcendent female friendship emerged, as aristocratic/gentry women claimed some of the "ennobling capital"[163] of virtuous male attachment founded on the classical models of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Plutarch, and the Renaissance humanism of Erasmus and Montaigne. She focuses on Katharine Philips (1632-64), as one who "put female friendship on the literary map."[164], Philips was a poet, translator and letter-writer who a correspondence circle, the "Society of Friendship" each of whose members was assigned a name from classical literature and whose poetry uses the conventional language of courtship to express the friendship between women.[165] The similarity to Mary Delany's correspondence is remarkable, but it is another Royalist woman poet whom she mentions with honour: Ann Finch, Countess of Winchelsea. She was a Maid of Honour to Mary of Modena, James II's queen. and later Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne.[166] She was also also an exponent of romantic female friendship. Mary Pendarves writes (1728/9):

> I am affraid [Dr. Greville, a Gloucester friend] will think I set up for a Poet and that is a character I detest, unless I was able to maintain it as well as my Lady Winchelsea, nothing is so impertinent as your dabblers, nor so much despiz'd by Men of Sence; . . ."[167]

— it is notable that by the elision of her language, she appears to include herself in the category of "Men of Sence" and that she does not disparage women as poets, but only as bad poets.

Mary Pendarves expatiates in a letter of 1726 upon a passage she has just been reading in St. Evremond:

> tis not that the shareing ones grief to a Person one loves takes off its force, the way I take it is that after the insults of Fortune and the rubs that attend human Life, the compassion a Friend affords one, their advice, and the fresh proofs that such accidents of Life gains one of their esteem, is of that Healing nature, tis like Opiat to one in Violent Racking pains, it lulls these torments, and changes these Horror[s] into pleasing and delightfull Slumber, this is the advantage of Friendship in trouble.[168]

The writings of Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis, sieur de Saint-Evremond (1613-1703) were, as Lawrence Klein has indicated, instrumental in shaping the "polite culture of gentlemanly amateurism that prevailed among the eighteenth-century English élite."[169] This culture was founded, somewhat like Habermas's literary public sphere, on conversation about literature, ethics and politics. It is a discourse which pervades Mary (Pendarves) Delany's writing. Particularly evident is his stricture:

> The most essential Point is to acquire a true Judgment, and a pure Understanding. Nature prepares us for it, but Experience and Conversation with polite Persons, brings it to Perfection.[170]

I have noted above Mary's propensity to judge men on their "understanding" or lack of it, and her statement to Baltimore, "as for Philosophy[,] I did not pretend to it but I endeavoured to make my Life easy by Living according to reason", is redolent of St. Evremond, and along with many similar examples in the correspondence, reinforces the notion that Delany and her circle claimed at least a discursive share in the "polite culture of gentlemanly amateurism" [171] of their male contemporaries.

Armed with an income of her own, and the network of female friendships which publicly represented her as respectably embedded within the bounds of polite society, Mary Pendarves could refuse the diminished identities of daughter and wife. It was a tactic not without its own disadvantages, principally the limitations of being a guest in another's home, as she was in Ireland and later at Bulstrode, but her

girlhood attachment to Sarah Chapone,[172] and the sustenance she had received during her first unhappy marriage from the epistolary companionship and support of her younger sister appears to have alerted her to the power, pleasure and comfort of female connection in a male-dominated society.

A Tour through Ireland, 1731-1733

Delany relates in the *Autobiography* that Baltimore did not communicate with her again, and soon afterwards married an heiress, Mary Janssen. She recalls that caring for her aunt Stanley, who was dying of breast cancer, in combination with the last "extraordinary" visit of her suitor, took their toll on her health, and "[she] was for some days in a great deal of danger".[173] Unable to stay at North End, the Stanleys' Fulham villa, after her aunt's death, Mary invited her friend and distant relation, Anne Donellan, daughter of Nehemiah Donellan, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, to share lodgings in Richmond: "we joined in the expence", she writes, "and our situation was as pleasant as anything could be".[174] She was conscious as ever of her reputation, however, and wished to avoid the embarrassment of meeting Baltimore and his wife in public. However, "a too great retirement from public places would have looked remarkable", and an excuse to be absent from Town was required. Mary Pendarves seems to have suggested that Anne Donnellan visit her family in Ireland "as soon as it was convenient for her to go". [175]

In September 1731, Mary Pendarves and her friend went to Dublin, to stay with Anne's sister Katherine and her husband, Robert Clayton (1695-1758), Archbishop of Killala.[176] Touring with them, the two women became representatives of the Claytons' wealth and gentility, demonstrating by their presence that the Archbishop and his wife could afford to offer extended hospitality to a sister(-in-law) and her friend. Their own social visibility was improved rather than impaired by this arrangement, however, since they were shown off at

the Dublin court, and on visits to many of the Claytons' influential Anglo-Irish friends.

One of the first visits she made was to Delville, the home of her future spouse, Patrick Delany, and as a guest at his regular Thursday salons Mary Pendarves "began an acquaintance among the [W]its", including Mary Barber, Letitia Pilkington, Constantia Grierson,[177] and Jonathan Swift, with whom she corresponded after her return to London in 1733.[178] He was a friend of James, second Duke of Ormonde, who presented him, after some prompting, to the Deanery of St. Patrick's.[179] Swift was renowned for his charitable works and passionate identification with the poor, and especially with those who lived in his own parish, in the vicinity of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. This was the quarter where wool and silk had been produced, chiefly by Hugenot refugees. After the English Parliament passed the Irish Woollens Act in 1699,[180] the area suffered economic blight, and hundreds of weavers were left destitute.[181] In 1720 Swift wrote *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Clothes and Furniture of Houses &c.* It targets the mercantilist anti-Irish economic legislation of the English (British) Parliament, but also attempts to raise the consciousness of the Anglo-Irish, a political act, which caused the printer to be tried and convicted of sedition before the Dublin grand jury. The *Proposal*, the first in a long series written by Swift in protest at English political and economic repression, calls upon the Irish House of Commons to bring in a law forbidding the wearing of "any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom" and extend it "utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, calicoes and the whole lexicon of female fopperies [i.e. expensive English imports]; and [declare] that whoever should act otherwise, should be deemed and reputed an enemy to the nation". [182] Boldly, he urged men and women to wear Irish textiles at court to celebrate the King's birthday, and suggested that "If the men's opinion may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs [i.e. plain, usually woollen, cloth] as brocades; and since all will be equal,

there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in choosing and matching of patterns and colours." [183] It is in this context that Mary Pendarves and Ann Donnellan sported manteaus and petticoats made of Irish stuffs, at an assembly hosted by the Claytons:

> Yesterday was our Assembly a notable one we had as full as it could hold. Mrs. Donellan and I have each of us made up a Brown stuff Manteau and Pettycoat, and have wore them twice at assembly's, pretty things they have produced, 'tis said now that people are convinced fine feathers do not make fine Birds, we adorn our clothes other People are adorn'd by their clothes. We gave Sixteen pence a y^{d}. I wish I could convey a Suit to you but they are prohibited, however I will when I return, try if I can cheat for you.[184]

Lady Llanover, no stranger to political activism herself — she was a tireless campaigner in the cause of the Welsh language and culture — adds in a footnote: "Lady Betty Germain writes as follows about the Duchess of Dorset to Dean Swift, Nov. 4, 1731. 'I mightily approve of my duchess being dressed in your manufacture. If your ladies will follow her in all things, they cannot do amiss.'"[185] Some years later, living in Ireland after her marriage to Patrick Delany, Mary again made gentry/aristocratic publicity of representation serve political ends, by encouraging women of her acquaintance to buy and wear cloth of Irish manufacture at the Dublin court:

> On the Princess of Wales's birthday there appeared at Court a great number of Irish stuffs. Lady Chesterfield was dressed in one, and I had the secret satisfaction of knowing myself to have been the cause, but dare not say so here; but I say, 'I am glad to find my Lady Chesterfield's example has had so good an influence.' The poor weavers are starving, — all trade has met with a great check this year.[186]

As well as occasionally being active in the political public sphere (as defined by Habermas),[187] Mary Pendarves habitually, and in a manner that confirmed her membership of an élite, exerted herself on behalf of friends in financial difficulty, artists, and writers. A letter to

Anne Granville of 1731, for example, mentions that she is "making interest in getting off some subscriptions for [Nathaniel] Hooke's abridged *Roman History*", hinting that some of her sister's male acquaintance in Gloucester "will like to subscribe", adding that "my Lord Lansdowne desired me to be zealous about it". She goes on to relate that a friend, "[p]oor Mrs. Shuttleworth" has lost "every farthing she was worth in the world", through investment in the fraudulent Charitable Corporation, a body set up to assist the poor, whose managers embezzled its funds. The lady had sent a play over to Ireland, asking Mary Pendarves and the Claytons to "to try to get it performed, and for her to have the 3d night", i.e. a benefit performance.[188] This letter is but one example of many in the *Correspondence* of the way in which Mary Pendarves and the gentry/aristocratic women of her circle exercised their influence and patronage in a private capacity to assist kin, friends and acquaintances in economic difficulty, and in a more public capacity, to sponsor favoured writers, artists and, in the Duchess of Portland's case, botanists and astronomers.[189] In another notable instance, a letter written by Sarah Chapone procured some much-needed financial assistance for the Anglo-Saxon scholar, Mrs. Elstob. In a typical example of the labyrinthine mechanics of court politics, Mary Pendarves showed Sarah Chapone's letter to her friend Mrs. Poyntz, who gave it to her husband, who asked "the Duke" (presumably a Pointz relation) to read it to the Queen. "The Queen said she never in her life read a better letter, that it had touched her heart, and ordered immediately an hundred pounds for Mrs. Elstob".[190]

As Gary Kelly notes, "the founding members of the Bluestocking circle adapted elements of courtly and civil society" including "certain forms of cultural and economic patronage" to define their cultural endeavour.[191] They also used their "publicity of representation" [192] to dignify, for example, charitable concerts and plays whose box-office takings were no doubt increased by the

spectacular presence of "the quality". This public duty could become a chore, as a later letter records:

> Last Monday we were at a new play. . . a bad performance every way, but charity carried us thither. I wish people would be contented with one's money, and not insist on one's presence — it is hard to sacrifice three hours to nonsense wilfully.[193]

Mary Pendarves seems to have enjoyed both the generous hospitality and the relative informality of the genteel circles in which she moved in Ireland: "we live magnificently, and at the same time without ceremony".[194] She found "a heartiness among them that is more like Cornwall than any I have known, and great sociableness".[195] She also enjoyed a degree of liberation from the genteel restraint of the body, doing a good deal of dancing, walking and riding. As Desaive notes, "Along with riding, . . . dance was the only form of body language that allowed a woman to express herself an equal of, and in perfect symmetry with, a man. . . . A ball was thus a unique occasion for women to demonstrate that they too could move gracefully, vigorously, briskly, or with abandon. . . . Dance was the ultimate form of display, the fulfillment of the need to *se pavaner*, to show off."[196] Mary Pendarves was an accomplished and enthusiastic dancer, as many of her letters from her early stay in Ireland record. She describes, for example, with delightful literary panache, her management of a less than perfect partner:

> I wanted my good partner Mr. Usher; in his stead I had Captain Folliat, a man six foot odd inches high, black, awkward, ramping, roaring, &c. I thought he would have shook my arms off, and crushed my toes to atoms, every moment he did some blundering thing, and as often asked "my ladyship's pardon". I was pitied by the whole company; at last I was resolved to dispatch him with dancing since he was not worth my conquest any other way; I called a council about it, having some scruples of conscience about it, and fearing he might appear and haunt me after his death staggered my resolutions, but when it was made plain to me that I should do the world a great piece of service by despatching him, it solved all my scruples, and I had

> no more qualms about it. In the midst of his furious dancing, when he was throwing his arms about him most outrageously (just like a card scaramouch on a stick), snap went something, that we all thought had been the main bone of his leg, but it proved only a bone of his toe. Notwithstanding which (like Widdington) he fought upon his stumps, and would not spare me one dance; we began pegging it at eight, and continued our sport until one, without ceasing.[197]

Mary Pendarves's letters from Ireland contain much of interest to the modern historian of the Anglo-Irish "Ascendancy", and differ markedly from those of her contemporaries of the same social status, in that she observes with sympathy and compassion the destitution of the Irish working people: "The poverty of the people as I have passed through the country has made my heart ache, I never saw greater appearance of misery, they live in great extremes, either profusely or wretchedly."[198] The unhealthy state of the Irish economy was, however, not without its benefits for members of English and Anglo-Irish gentry and aristocracy. For them, the cost of living in Ireland was markedly lower than in London, and by staying there largely at the expense of friends, Mary Pendarves undoubtedly exercised prudent personal economy. However, to admit such a fact was to undermine her social position; she was highly indignant that her thrift was revealed after the publication of Swift's letters: "I have got Swift's last three volumes of letters and to my very great mortification find six or seven letters of Mrs. Pendarves' [i.e. her own] there! . . . she speaks of living in Ireland as much cheaper than living in London!"[199]

It is evident from the correspondence of this first Irish visit that Mary Pendarves was conscious of the economic, and therefore social disparity between herself and her hosts, and the instability of her own social position. Numerous little asides satirize "Cardinella," i.e. Mrs. Clayton's pretensions and bear witness to this unease. At a Dublin ball, for example, there were "[n]o lookers on but the Duchess [of Dorset] and Mrs. Clayton, who thought it beneath the dignity of a Bishop's wife to dance".[200] It was apparently difficult for Mary Pendarves, as a

member of an impoverished branch of ancient aristocracy, to witness the bishop's wife putting herself on a level with the Lord Lieutenant's lady. This, in addition to a humiliating rejection by the aristocratic Lord Baltimore infuses these letters with a status anxiety expressed partly in linguistic terms. I mean by this that one striking characteristic of the letters of this period is a marked increase in the intensity of the "tender familial greetings" at the head and tail of each letter, and the dominance of the discourse of female friendship discussed above.

The following section examines how, with the assistance of her good friend Margaret Bentinck, Mary Pendarves continued the polite independence she had established soon after the death of Alexander Pendarves, observing the London seasons and maintaining her social visibility. This is the period when Mary Pendarves joined the sociable network which, in the latter half of the century, when women's learning was celebrated rather than vilified, was to become both a literary and a political public sphere: that gathering of private individuals called the Bluestockings.

Return to the Metropolis, 1733-1744

On her return to London early in 1733, Mary resumed her daily round of cultural immersion, intellectual self-improvement and sociable display. Also in this year, she formed a closer friendship with Margaret Cavendish Harley, Duchess of Portland (1715-1785). Lady Harley was the daughter and heiress of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford (1689-1741), and his wife Henrietta (1694-1755), the daughter of John Holles (created (1694) Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne) and Margaret Cavendish. The latter was the daughter and co-heiress of Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (d. 1691). Through her mother and grandmother, Lady Margaret inherited not only the Welbeck estates but also many of the family papers of her Harley/Holles and Cavendish forebears. After her marriage (11 July 1734) to William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland, she used her social

position and considerable economic resources[201] to make Bulstrode a nexus of scholarship, creativity and sociability, offering regular and extended hospitality to friends such as Mary Pendarves, Elizabeth Carter, Elizabeth Montagu and Anne Donellan, nurturing and encouraging the female friendship that was the foundation of the first Bluestocking circle. Margaret Bentinck and her guests vigorously pursued the study of botany, conchology, mathematics, cosmology, theology and literature in the playful context of conversation, jokes and sociability. Learned men were also regular visitors; in 1741, for example, the party comprised: "Mary Pendarves, her sister Anne (Granville) Dewes, the poet and cleric Dr. Edward Young, Dr. Alured Clarke, Dean of Exeter, Dr. Thomas Shaw, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, traveller, botanist and conchologist, and Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert West. West (1706-56) was a poet and translator of Pindar."[202] Sylvia Harcstarck Myers sums up the appeal of Bulstrode as that of a "small society of congenial people, entertaining each other with the 'feast of reason and the flow of soul.'"[203]

Mary Pendarves continued to be pursued by men who perhaps perceived in her good sense, attractiveness and gentility the character of an able wife and mother. In 1734, Mr. Prideaux, a widower aged "forty or fifty" made his case as best he could; he had four sons away at school, whom he stressed were "to be kept abroad", and one nine-year-old daughter; an estate of "between two and three thousand a year", of which twenty thousand pounds was "unsettled and to be at [Mary Pendarves's] disposal" if she pleased; he averred that he lived constantly in the country, from which she could understand that he was not a citified spendthrift or libertine, but rather his character was "that of an honest gentleman and a man of sense." [204] Despite the advantageous nature of the match — a man of sense with a good fortune to boot — she remained very unwilling to exchange her hard-won independence and self-determination for the dubious privilege of being someone's wife. She writes:

> [T]he five children, without considering any other circumstance, determined me to say 'no'; I am afraid mama will think I was too rash, but to tell you the truth matrimony is so little my disposition, that I was glad to lay hold of a reasonable excuse for not accepting the proposal, and I was as glad to find he had five children as some people would have been at hearing he had five thousand a-year![205]

In March 1739, Mary took part in a political protest which turned upon the rights of the female aristocracy, specifically those of the wives of peers. The House of Lords had voted to exclude ladies from the public gallery, which was to be used instead by members of the House of Commons, rendering Parliament a completely male domain. Mary Pendarves was one of the party of ladies and duchesses who staged a protest against this exclusion, standing for five hours outside the House of Lords, without "either sustenance or evacuation".[206] "Like a most noble patriot", she wrote, using the language of Tory opposition, "I have given up all private advantages for the good of my country."[207] When members of the Commons were allowed access, the women charged in alongside them, and "with violent squeezing, and such a resolution as hardly was ever met with, we riggled ourselves into seats. I think that was the first time I wished to be a man — though nothing less than a peer."[208] This episode perhaps indicates that women of Mary Pendarves's station and above were able, at least on occasion, to imagine themselves as active in the political public sphere. She summarizes the debate thus:

> My Lord Chesterfield spoke most exquisitely well, — with good sense, wit, and infinite spirit: I never was so well entertained in my life as with his speaking! . . . Everything after him was dull and heavy; much circumfloribus stuff was talked of on the Court side. They might have spared their breath; their convincing argument was in their pockets — not on their tongue: they had a majority of twenty-one, and though they seemingly conquered, they made a poor figure! Am I not a furious politician?[209]

Her comments reveal much of her political position; she praises the Tory Chesterfield, and deploys the standard criticism of the Whig-dominated Court, that of corruption: "their argument was in their pockets". Her self-consciousness and sense of ambiguity about expressing partisan views, however, is revealed by her rhetorical question, "[a]m I not a furious politician?" and she immediately reverts to the discourse of virtuous friendship, itself coloured by conservative values:

> But enough of these affairs, those of friendship suit my nature better, where the struggles that arise are from very different principles than what animate courtiers and politicians, whose selfish views, under the glare of the good of their country, so often fill their hearts with a train of evil thoughts. Oh! how happy are we, not only ourselves to be free from these engagements, but to have no friend entangled by them![210]

Mary Pendarves appears here to be constructing a transcendent privatized realm of subjectivity, that of platonic Friendship, where "struggles" are defined inversely as *un*selfish and lacking the hypocrisy of public virtue: "the glare of the good of their country" which contains its opposite, the darkness of "a train of evil thoughts". As if deeming her political commentary improper to her gender, she retreats into the elevated discourse of christianized neoplatonism, then in a sudden shift of style, gives an idiomatic account of her day: "I walked to the Duchess of Portland's this morning, breakfasted with her — came back; twelve millions of impertinences." These shifts of subject-matter and style are not only richly suggestive with reference to current critical debate on the subject the construction of gender and social caste in early eighteenth-century England, but also provide evidence that Mary Pendarves was a mistress of the registers of the eighteenth-century polite letter, which required just such apparently spontaneous shifts from the elevated and public to the minutiae of affect.[211]

In July 1740, her sister Anne married John D'Ewes/Dewes (d.1780), another scion of an ancient Anglo-Norman family. In a letter which implies much about the triangular relationship between herself, her mother and her sister, as well as of the social position of the single woman, Anne writes, speaking in the third person:

> My friend thinks a *chez nous* with a man of sense and worth is preferable to the unsettled life she now leads [between London and Gloucester], and being continually divided in her heart what friend to remain with; for while she is with one [her mother] the other [Mary Pendarves] wants her, and makes a perpetual uneasiness in her mind. [212]

Mary Pendarves, by contrast, continued to cling to her independence. Also in this year, she was courted by Dr. Edward Young, author of the *Night Thoughts*. His first wife was Lord Baltimore's aunt, Lady Betty Lee/Leigh/Legh, who died on 29 January 1740. Young was a friend of the Duchess, who encouraged him to pay his addresses to Mary Pendarves.[213] In a letter to the Duchess of Portland following this refusal, Young compares the female sex to the vine and woodbine which entwine themselves around the male, represented as the rough, supportive oak and elm:

> [n]ow, Madam, a lady of genius that abounds in arts and accomplishments, she can agreeably employ every hour by herself; she can stand alone; she is free from that weakness which lays other ladies under the natural necessity of an embrace, and being superior to her own sex, affects an independency of ours.

He ruefully concludes, "I wish that this is not somewhat the case of your friend".[214] Young defines Mary Pendarves's independence in terms of her productive activity, suggesting that she has achieved the dignity of labour, perhaps, without the need to exchange it for the capital provided by a husband.

Towards the end of 1742, Mary Pendarves was living in Clarges Street and probably experiencing a degree of financial

difficulty. It is possible that the fixed sum of her jointure had run out, as she seems to have been seeking a court post. The Duchess of Portland approached Lady Granville, mother of John, Lord Carteret, and a figure of authority in her own right, to find out if the Queen would appoint Mary Pendarves as a lady-in-waiting. She received a classically dusty reply:

> [A]fter flattering her pretty sufficiently, she told me she knew nothing of the matter, she believed there was nothing in it, and that her son was never interested in anybody's business, his whole mind being taken up in doing good to the nation, and till the French was drove out of Germany, and Prague was taken, he could not think of such a bagatelle as that.[215]

Lord Baltimore, by now a friend, also took it upon himself to intercede on her behalf, but appears to have bungled the attempt. The question became academic when Mary Pendarves at last received a proposal of marriage that was welcome to her.The following section examines the self-definition that Mary Pendarves was able to achieve within marriage, following her acceptance of a generous, benevolent and liberal-minded man who appears to have possessed not only the nurturing qualities of her women friends, but to have valued Mary Pendarves on her own terms.[216]

A Companionate Freedom: Marriage to Patrick Delany, 1744-1768

Mary had taken greatly to Swift's friend Patrick Delany (ca.1685-1768) on her first visit to Ireland, describing him (in a letter omitted by Lady Llanover) as: "one who condescends to converse with women, and treat them like reasonable creatures", [217] and continuing to correspond with him after his marriage to Margaret Tenison (1732), as well as sending him good wishes in her letters to Swift.[218] In her *Autobiography*, she characterizes Patrick Delany thus:

> His wit and learning were to me his meanest praise; the excellence of his heart, his humanity, benevolence, charity, and generosity, his tenderness, affection, and friendly zeal gave me a higher opinion of him than any other man I had ever conversed with, and made me take every opportunity of conversing and corresponding with one from whom I expected so much improvement.[219]

He was a Tory clergyman of great reputation, published works, and very obscure birth, being the son of a servant of Sir John Russell, one of the English judges in Ireland. A Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, a popular tutor and celebrated preacher at the University, Patrick Delany was also the lifelong friend and biographer of Swift. In 1732 he published *Revelations Examined with Candour, Or, A Fair Enquiry into the Sense and Use of the Several Revelations Expressly Declared, or sufficiently Implied, to be Given to Mankind from the creation, as they are to be found in the Bible.* This was a series of treatises on diverse subjects including the legitimacy of eating meat (he was ridiculed for enjoining Christians to abstain from things strangled and from blood), the magnificence of Egyptian buildings, and inspiration by dreams. In 1734 a second volume of his *Revelations examined with Candour* appeared, and it was followed in 1737 by his *Reflections upon Polygamy and the Encouragement given to that Practice by the Scriptures of the Old Testament*, which considers the advantages of polygamy without reference to moral/ethical and religious aspects of the practice. In 1740 he published his *Life of David*, "for whose sins he was an apologist".[220]

In January 1743 the death of Patrick Delany's step-daughter was announced, coupled with a statement that her estate of £2,000 a year devolved to him for his life, and in April 1743, Delany came from Dublin to stay with his friend Sir Cottrell Dormer and propose to Mary Pendarves.[221] He did not wait to arrive in London, but wrote her a straightforward and dignified proposal of marriage, from the parlour of the inn at Dunstable. He framed his offer, kindly and astutely, in the

language of friendship and shared values, with a humble acknowledgement that his social standing was far below her own.

Mary Pendarves consulted her kin: her sister and mother supported her; her cousin John, Lord Carteret, and her brother, Bernard opposed the match. After some deliberation, Mary, exhorted by Patrick Delany to take responsibility for her own actions, defied her male relatives and accepted him.[222] They were married in early June, 1743, she in her forty-fourth, he in his fifty-ninth year. Unlike her first, this was more a companionate than an economic match; Patrick Delany's debts must have been considerable, despite his recent inheritance, since Mary's elder brother, Bernard, and brother-in-law, John Dewes, had to lend him £3,000 to settle her jointure.[223]

On 18 June 1744, the couple embarked from Chester to Ireland. Through the influence of Mary's cousin Lord Carteret, who was a former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1724-1730), friend of Swift and previously an occasional patron of Patrick Delany, they obtained the Deanery of Down (1744). They divided their married life between Dublin, County Down and London or Gloucester, so that Mary Delany could, as she had stipulated before their marriage, maintain close contact with her sister and mother, and the Dean could attend personally to his parishioners, a highly unusual practice at this period of clerical sinecures. He found that "although the church of Down [was] very large, the Curate ha[d] been so negligent as never to visit any of the poor of the parish", which had given "a very diligent and watchful dissenting preacher" the opportunity to attend to them "on all occasions of sickness and distress and by that means gained great numbers to the meeting".[224] Dr. Delany redressed the balance by making charitable and proselytizing visits not only his own parishioners, but also, remarkably, to the Presbyterians and Catholics.[225]

He also published fifteen numbers of a periodical entitled *The Humanist*,[226] containing essays on a wide variety of topics, including a denunciation of the practice of docking horses' tails.[227] The first issue

set before the public shining examples of the female character, "intended to inspire the fashionable ladies of the day with emulation of the good examples there portrayed, and disgust for the prevailing errors of the time" He wrote a piece in praise of Mary Delany, but she would not allow it to be published.[228] In 1754, Patrick Delany published anonymously his *Observations on Lord Orrery's Life of Swift*, a rebuttal of some of Lord Orrery's assertions about Swift's life and character.[229]

In his letter proposing marriage, Patrick Delany offers Mary a "good clear income" for the duration of his life; a small settlement to provide her jointure, "a good house (as houses go in our part of the world), moderately furnished, a good many books and a pleasant garden (better than when you last saw it)". [230] Marriage to Patrick Delany provided Mary Pendarves with the role and representation (wife of the Dean of Down; mistress of Delville) that finally assured her place in a social stratum in which she felt comfortable: the upper gentry. She writes, upon arrival at Delville, Patrick Delany's villa at Glasnevin, on the outskirts of Dublin:

> [N]ever was seen a sweeter dwelling. I have traversed the house and gardens, and never saw a more agreable place, . . . I have now the joy of seeing the kind and generous owner of it perfectly well, and well pleased to put me in possession.

Her pleasure and satisfaction at the prospect of taking control of this property are palpable. She was able, during the twenty-five years of their marriage, to indulge in moderately ostentatious expenditure, fitting out her own apartments at Delville, keeping "open house' to Patrick Delany's wide circle of friends and dependants, and playing the aristocrat on a small scale, in landscaping and cultivating their garden. It was a period of prodigious creativity for her: here she had space, financial security and active encouragement for her self-expression. At Delville, she had dedicated space for her activities:

> Mrs. H[amilton] threatens to leave me on Tuesday, but I will try to keep her one week more, for we are now deeply engaged in some shell carving that is to be placed *at the ends of my book-shelves in my work-room.*[231]

Mary Delany's daily life at Delville, situated in the environs of Dublin, was a pleasant combination of the sociability and culture of the Irish metropolis, whose diversions included the operas of Handel, and the outdoor activities of the country (walking, gardening and sightseeing). The day was rationally divided between work and diversion, only disrupted by the impromptu arrival of visitors, or more guests to dinner than anticipated. A typical day at Down, where visitors were fewer, is described in a letter of 1745:

> We rise about seven, have prayers and breakfast over by nine. In the mornings D.D.[Dr. Delany] makes his visits, I draw; when it is fair and he walks out I go with him; we dine at two; in the afternoon when we can't walk out, reading and talking amuse us till supper, and after supper I make shirts and shifts for the poor and naked wretches in the neighbourhood. I have begun to copy an old picture of Mary Queen of Scots, which is but indifferently painted but the face pretty; . . . to indulge the Dean, who is smitten with it . . . [232]

Patrick and Mary Delany seem here to have evolved a *modus vivendi* which is both co-operative and fulfilling. They have separate productive activities, he in a professional capacity, visiting his parishioners, she in a private one, pursuing her interest in drawing. *Together* they enjoy walking (always a favoured activity of Mary Pendarves); they read and talk *together* as intellectual equals, and fulfil their Christian/civic duty by providing and ministering to the poor — Mary Delany uses her needlework skills, her husband his clerical and humanitarian abilities. I share Amanda Vickery's scepticism with regard to Lawrence Stone's model of the rise of companionate, as opposed to dynastic marriage in the eighteenth-century. The union of Mary and Patrick Delany seems rather to support Keith Wrightson's

suggestion that in many cases, there existed in the *private* domestic sphere "a strong complementary and companionate ethos, side by side with, and often overshadowing, theoretical adherence to the doctrine of male authority and *public* female subordination".[233]

Ball has judged that "[t]hroughout his life Delany displayed an ambition of making a figure in the world, and in order to do so he lived in a style that his means did not justify. At Delville he sought to gain the reputation of an improver, and for many years he indulged there in reckless outlay".[234] Ball's view is borne out by Mary Delany's correspondence. Her second letter from Delville sets the material tone:

> I wish you had just such a chariot [coach and six] as ours, because I never went in so easy a one. . . . Yesterday morning . . . my upholsterer came, and my new apartment will be very handsome. Thedrawing-room hung with tapestry, on each side of the door a japan chest, the curtains and chairs crimson mohair, between the windows large glasses with gilt frames, and marble tables under them with gilt frames; the bedchamber within hung with crimson damask, bed chairs and curtains the same; the closet within it is most delightful, I have a most extensive and beautiful prospect of the harbour and town of Dublin. . . on the right is a very pretty square room, which I hope will be my dearest sister's apartment, when she makes me happy with her company.[235]

If his wife sought to exercise the "prudent economy" of a virtuous wife, (and she was much exercised on occasion by the obligation to provide lavish meals for numerous guests) she did not have much success. However, she appears to have enjoyed a degree of opulence which accorded with her sense of her own dignity and social station. Her views on propriety in dress speak volumes of her concept of social station in general:

> Dress ought always to be suited to the situation and circumstances of the person. The appearance of great economy, where economy is required, is most respectable, where it is not, it is reproachable; tho' never to be neglected by the most opulent.[236]

In 1747 Mrs. Granville died, while Mary was in Ireland, prompting her to write of her half-sister Ann Viney: "I own I feel my tenderness towards her greatly increased since the mutual loss we have had."[237] In 1761 Anne (Granville) Dewes died after a year of illness, leaving Delany in the position of surrogate mother to her sister's daughter, Mary Dewes. Mary Dewes was to become Mary Delany's principal family correspondent of this period, while Delany continued to correspond and socialize with members of the Bluestocking circle, building, through the medium of their friendship, a female literary public sphere which intercepted male agency and discourse.

In 1768, Patrick Delany died, aged eighty-three, at Bath, where the couple were living in order to retrench. While in London, en route to Bath, he had made his will, "in which he laboured to prove that Delville and his London house, which were all that he had to bequeath, would realize the amount which he had settled upon his second wife [Mary Delany]". [238] Mary was again left with little apart from her jointure. She was persuaded by the Duchess of Portland to spend summers with her at Bulstrode and winters in town, and to that end, Margaret Bentinck made her a loan of four hundred guineas to purchase a house in St. James's Place.[239] This enabled Mary Delany to continue to participate in polite urban life by observing the London "season". As Sylvia Myers notes, the polite social customs of eighteenth-century London actually fostered female autonomy. For those who could afford them, the customs of social interaction in London during the winter alternated with visits to country houses in the summer, interspersed with month-long visits to spas, relatives and friends. She suggests that the pattern of these social activities and the regular correspondence which absences provoked "helped to create a cadence to both male and female bluestocking friendships" which in turn "wove a fabric of connectedness which supported their autonomous interests". [240] The following section delineates Mary Delany's partially public role as "grand dame" and "Old Wit" and favourite of the royal family.

Second Widowhood and Bluestocking Friendship, 1768-1785

> I was struck enough to hear Mr. Burke say to Mrs. Crewe, 'I wish you had known Mrs. Delany! She was a pattern of a perfect fine lady, a real fine lady, of other days! Her manners were faultless; her deportment was all elegance, her speech was all sweetness, and her air and address all dignity. I always looked up to her as the model of an accomplished woman *of former times*.'
>
> Frances Burney[241]

Mary Delany had now a well-established reputation for virtuous gentility and moral probity, becoming a figure of some authority in her own right. She not only took responsibility for her niece's polite upbringing but was also guardian and mentor to her great-niece, Georgina Mary Anne Port (b. 1771), daughter of Mary (Dewes) Port. She wrote two essays on propriety for the use of her wards[242] and, at the Duchess of Portland's request, a lengthy sermon (1755) addressed to Lord Titchfield, Portland's "innocent and virtuous" but dangerously handsome son, on his going up to Oxford University from Westminster School. Mary Delany exhorts him, in dignified and elegant classical prose, to live up to his early promise and prove himself an excellent scholar, "a nobleman of the first quality, as distinguished for intellectual endowment and moral accomplishments as for all the advantages of his rank, family, and fortune".[243] She remained intellectually and creatively productive: at sixty-nine, she started work on a manuscript translation of the first edition of Hudson's *Flora Anglica*, (1762) which fills 474 quarto pages, with an appended list of the flower species in Latin.[244] At the age of seventy-three, Mary Delany began the enormous *Flora Delannica*, which she was obliged to finish when her sight failed in 1782, having completed almost one thousand pictures. [245] She was also one of Jonathan Richardson's circle of women friends.

Royal Patronage, 1785-1788

In 1776, she was introduced to George III and Queen Charlotte at Bulstrode. She loaned to the King her brother Bernard's 37-volume manuscript collection of the works of Handel[246] and formed a morganatic friendship with the Queen, who, educated by virtue of her position, seems to have sought out intelligent female company and conversation. After the death of the Duchess of Portland in 1785, the King, who seemed to view Delany as a mother figure, granted her a Grace and Favour house at St. James's, and a pension of £300 per annum. She became, if I may be allowed the anachronism, almost a "national treasure"; Horace Walpole compared her to the King's Madame de Maintenon. However, what was "private" for the royal family was intensely "public" for Delany, since she was never at ease or completely mistress of her own time. As Frances Burney records (and unlike Lady Llanover, who viewed Burney as an impudent *parvenue*, I have no reason to question this account):

> Mrs. Delany was touched by this benevolence [the offer of a Grace and Favour house and pension of £300 per annum]; . . . Yet she dreaded accepting what she feared would involve her in a new course of life, and force her into notice and connexions she wished to drop or avoid. She took the time the Queen so considerately gave her for deliberation, and she consulted with some of her old friends. They all agreed there must be no refusal, . . . Lady Weymouth was made the messenger of her Majesty's offer being accepted.[247]

In installing her so close to St. James's Palace, and taking her to Windsor when the royal family periodically removed there, the King and Queen gave themselves the semblance of an informal private domesticity and the convenience of calling on Delany whenever they pleased, often without warning, depriving her entirely of her own much-valued privacy and independence. [248]

Delany's letters of this period give an historically valuable account of Georgian royal family life, but make less enjoyable reading, peppered as they are with the grateful iteration of royal

"condescension". Their blandness, however, may be a function of their being, at least potentially, more public documents: as a royal servant, Delany was obliged to express gratitude and appreciation at all times. It is notable that the most comprehensive "cull" of her letters was undertaken with the help of Frances Burney just before Delany moved to St. James's. Moreover, she appears to have made political choices in the letters she destroyed. Lady Cowper, lady-in-waiting to Queen Caroline, burned "a considerable portion of her Diary and Correspondence" lest it should be seized in evidence after a warrant was issued to search her house, her husband having offended "a certain Person of distinction [the King]" by his offer to bail the Jacobite Bishop of Rochester in 1723.[249] It seems likely that Mary Delany was similarly fearful that her letters might be read by a court spy, and took pre-emptive action. Frances Burney's *Journal* bears out this supposition. Burney recalls that Mrs. Delany burned many letters written to her by the poet Mason, containing,

> many ludicrous sketches of certain persons, and caricatures as strong of the pencil as of the pen. . . . The highest personages, with whom she was not then, peculiarly, as afterwards, connected [George III and Charlotte], were held up to so much ridicule, that her early regard and esteem [for him] diminished as her loyalty [to the King and Queen] increased; . . . [250]

The letters of this period are, however, enlivened by her communications with Frances Hamilton, a lady-in-waiting and relation of the Duchess of Portland, with whom she maintained a sprightly friendship, notwithstanding the great difference in age between them. The irony of a member of an ancient Royalist family being sponsored by the Hanoverian monarchy did not go unnoticed; one of her correspondents incisively comments:

> Your Royal friends have combined private regard and affection with princely munificence — and I will say, tho' you are the grandaughter of Sr Bevil Granville, that none of the Stuarts, male or female, would have done so well![251]

Delany died on 15 April 1788, having, according to her servant Anne Astley, caught an "inflammation of the lungs" in going to meet the Royal family at Kew. After three days' illness, much against her better judgement, she submitted to the administration of bark, which as she had predicted, stopped the "defluxion on [her] lungs, and [her] breath with it". The reason she reportedly gave for obeying doctor's orders is instructive since it represents her adherence, even in extremis, to the code of polite virtue; she is reported to have said, "I never was reckoned obstinate and I will not die so." [252] She was buried in her parish church at St. James's. Her epitaph, written by Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, and formerly of Gloucester, to whom she bequeathed her own painting in oils of "the head of our Saviour",[253] defines her almost entirely by her relationship to male kin. However, it also acknowledges her "ingenuity", "politeness" and "unaffected piety". Hurd constructs her, that is, as a virtuous private individual, who, by the practice of her virtue, emerged into the light of royal publicity of representation: "illustrious" thanks to the "signal marks of grace and favour" from the King and Queen. By the end of her life, Mary Delany had become, within the limited sphere of courtly and royal sociability, a public person with a private face; her public persona an old-fashioned one by this period, endowed by others with nostalgia for a mythicized Stuart era. On the evidence of her extant published and manuscript correspondence, Delany retained the Tory-Royalist values of her family throughout her life, and built her subjectivity upon the Anglican and secular discourses by which that branch of gentry/aristocratic society identified and maintained itself. Her conformity to these norms codified her private and public personae; her departure from them suggests both personal development in response to experience and incipient changes in society at large.

NEAR THIS PLACE, LIE THE REMAINS OF
MARY DELANY,
DAUGHTER OF BERNARD GRANVILLE,
AND NIECE OF GEORGE GRANVILLE, LORD LANSDOWNE.
SHE WAS MARRIED, 1ST, TO ALEXANDER PENDARVES, OF ROSCROW, IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL, ESQ;
AND 2ND, TO PATRICK DELANY, D.D., DEAN OF DOWN, IN IRELAND
SHE WAS BORN MAY 14, 1700, AND DIED APRIL 15, 1788.
SHE WAS A LADY OF SINGULAR INGENUITY AND POLITENESS, AND OF UNAFFECTED PIETY. THESE QUALITIES ENDEARED HER THROUGH LIFE TO MANY NOBLE AND EXCELLENT PERSONS, AND MADE THE CLOSE OF IT ILLUSTRIOUS BY PROCURING FOR HER MANY SIGNAL MARKS OF GRACE AND FAVOUR FROM THEIR MAJESTIES.[254]

Editorial Policy

> What you choose and reject theoretically, then, depends upon what you are practically trying to do. . . . In any academic study we select the objects and methods of procedure which we believe the most important, and our assessment of their importance is governed by frames of interest deeply rooted in our practical forms of social life.
>
> Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*

> For Montagu, the trivial details which are the stuff of biography and memoir are a pleasing supplement to the truths of history, whereas Carter regards them as the key to the reality of acts which will otherwise appear fantastic.
>
> Harriet Guest, *Small Change*

A typescript is not a manuscript, and never can be. As Jerome McGann states, "Variation . . . is the invariant rule of the textual condition." [255] His radical reconfiguration of the theory of textual scholarship has been the focus of much scholarly debate. In a series of critical works produced over the last twenty years,[256] he has rejected the editor's traditional preoccupation with authorial intention, which he argues is predicated on a Romantic notion of the "originary moment" of authorial composition. He posits instead an act of social and collaborative construction, in which "the entire history of the work is a

fit subject for textual scholarship, and even posthumous changes by editors, publishers, friends and relations, are to be considered a perfectly valid part of the text."[257] His work has been described as an "unattributed gloss" on Pierre Macherey's contention that "the work is not *created* by an intention . . .; it is *produced* under determinate circumstances".[258] Alternatively, it is seen as an illustration of Stanley Fish's affective stylistics. Fish posits "interpretive communities" whose members fashion particular interpretations of texts based on their shared reading strategies or social assumptions.[259]

Textual scholarship, as Greetham observes, "participates in the ideological climate as do all other intellectual activities"[260] and while "intentionalist editions are still being produced more often than any other form", there is a growing recognition that "textual criticism . . . operates under various theoretical persuasions." [261] My own thinking has been influenced by my earlier work in Discourse Analysis, a branch of Linguistics; by feminist literary/linguistic theory, and by the "zeitgeist" of post-structuralism. I share McGann's view that meaning is socially constructed and historically variable. I acknowledge, for example, the textual, that is, conceptual and material, integrity of Lady Llanover's published version of Mary Delany's documents. The *Autobiography and Correspondence* encodes its own socio-historical moment, or rather, the post-structuralist interpretive community reads it as doing so. In this context, Llanover's omissions and editorial interventions, as well as matters such as publishing history and critical reception, merit analysis. However, my work in "London Letters" is founded on the significance of Mary Pendarves's manuscripts as "authoritative documents",[262] since I am chiefly interested in imagining an historic moment in the early eighteenth century from my perspective in the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, I am well aware of the paradoxical oppositional/collaborative commerce between my own work and its nineteenth-century predecessor. I hope ultimately to facilitate this correspondence by making both texts available online, with hyperlinks.

For the text of "London Letters" as presented here, however, I envisage a print edition. My text is a prototype in the sense that it does not conform precisely to any one of the categories in Greetham's taxonomy of scholarly editions. Rather, it combines a form of "diplomatic transcript"[263] with detailed annotation. Both my (re)construction of the manuscripts and my annotation predict a social collaboration with their interpretive community/ies.

As Greetham notes,[264] there has been considerable critical debate in recent years over what editorial practices are most suitable to the "diplomatic" form of transcription. At the eye of the critical storm is G. Thomas Tanselle, who, interestingly in relation to Habermasian critical theory, argues that the editorial distinctions should be made between documents intended for publication and those which are "private", for example, a letter addressed exclusively to the recipient is deemed to belong to the latter category. If the document was intended to be private when it was first produced, he states, "a scholarly editor has no right to guess what the author would have done if faced with the prospect of publishing [it]"[265] and should therefore reproduce it as faithfully as possible, without regard to the receptive/constructive comfort of the modern reader. This purist position is fiercely contested by editors wishing to publicise certain "key" texts as widely as possible. Greetham cites, for example, the American editors working on the personal papers of notable figures such as Adams and Jefferson, who view their texts as crucial to an understanding of national heritage. These historians "have felt it necessary to normalize, rationalize (and even modernize) authorial usage" to make these texts more widely accessible.[266] The difficulty of categorizing some documents as "public" or "private" is probably insuperable: eighteenth-century familiar letters, for example, including those of Mary Pendarves, belong to both domains. Moreover, on at least one occasion, Mary Pendarves envisaged, as did many polite ladies, the posthumous publication of her writing (see p. 42 above). Again, however, intention is not the point at issue; more important is the

historical moment to which these documents, partly throught their material nature, bear witness. The receptive and constructive requirements of the reader must also be addressed. My own pressing concern, particularly as I situate my work in the feminist tradition of recovery and publication, has been to remain as faithful as possible to the documentary integrity of the manuscripts without becoming entangled in the "'barbed wire' of scholarly apparatus that keeps readers away from texts".[267] I have not attempted the hypercorrect working edition which would be of benefit only to highly-specialized scholars, nor an arbitrarily sanitized twenty-first century printed document with modernized orthography and punctuation. In conception, and with the exception of its extensive annotation, "London Letters" bears some relation to the work of such editors as Lorna J. Clark, Edward and Lillian Bloom, and to the epistolary components of Gary Kelly's *Bluestocking Feminism* series. [268]

The Manuscripts

All but one of the manuscripts transcribed here are held by the Central Library, Newport, Gwent,Wales, donated in January 1948 by Mr. Walter F. Roch, a descendant by marriage of Lady Llanover. Letter Eight (below) does not survive and has been reproduced from the Llanover edition. I made a preliminary catalogue of these holdings in 1995, before they were unbound from their ten volumes and, for better or worse, individually encapsulated in acetate. There are therefore two reference numbers at the head of the transcribed letters; the first, my original numbering, gave an "a" to a second letter bound on the same page of the original volumes, hence "1" and "1a"; and the second, a revised sequential numbering referring to each individual encapsulated letter, with no suffix. I have preserved my first numbering for present purposes; before publication, I will standardize the referencing in consultation with the Central Library, whose staff are currently recataloguing the Roch Bequest.

Transcription and Presentation

The task of transcription has been made easier by the fact that the correspondence contained in "London Letters" was not published in Delany's lifetime, and, with one exception (Letter Eight), I have worked entirely from Mary Pendarves's holograph manuscripts, using Lady Llanover's edition only to supply small passages of text, usually at the foot of letters, or around the wax seal, which have been worn or torn away. I have been further assisted by Mary Pendarves's strong legible handwriting. She seems to have made it a point of honour to avoid crossings-out and blots. Exact spellings have been retained; when particularly ambiguous, they are marked [*sic*] or glossed. Numerals are reproduced as she wrote them, in number or word form. Mary Pendarves's abbreviations, such as 'Dss.' for 'Duchess' are not expanded, but footnoted if unintelligible; raised letters, for example, in titles such as '$M^{r.}$' and '$S^{r.}$' are retained. The stop, if Mary Pendarves wrote one (frequently she did not), appears next to the title, as in these examples. It is worth noting that in the eighteenth century,"Mrs." was the honorific usually used of an adult woman, whether married or single. Her ampersands are not expanded. Mary Pendarves's punctuation, or lack of it, is preserved; full stops are only added at the end of sentences when she has done so. Similarly, her use of the apostrophe is not corrected to conform with modern practice. However, punctuation is added in editorial brackets if the sense of a sentence is not clear. Her hyphens are retained in their original form: "=". Her capital letters, and lack of them, are retained, although in eighteenth-century handwriting it is not always clear whether the writer intended a capital or not. In cases of ambiguity, I have made a judgement; other scholars may make their own from the manuscripts. The long *s* is converted to the modern 's' for ease of reading. Paragraphs are only marked when Mary Pendarves herself uses them. I have standardized the spacing of the heads of letters, but left closing salutations in an approximation of their original spacing, since it seems

she often used such spacing to symbolic effect. Where Mary Pendarves has crossed a word out, and/or inserted a word in superscript, I have indicated this by a caret and superscript type. She also uses carets to indicate abbreviation; in this case, I have placed the caret to the right of the abbreviated word (see Abbreviations below). Finally, as Greetham notes, "a microform edition is not the same as reading the manuscript",[269] and the transcripts will be checked against the original documents before submission for publication.

The letters are presented in chronological order, each preceded by contextual detail from other sources. The principal of such sources is Delany's *Autobiography*, written as a continuous epistolary narrative, at the behest of her great friend Margaret Cavendish, 2nd Duchess of Portland. The letters were begun in 1740, and completed over an unspecified period thereafter.[270] The *Autobiography* as presented in the Llanover edition tallies closely with the facts retailed in other letters written over many years, suggesting that Mary kept a diary, or copies of her letters in orderly sequence, and lending weight to the suggestion that she was fabricating a persona for posthumous publication. The published *Autobiography* ends, mid-sentence, in the year 1733; it may have been curtailed by Mary Delany herself, or censored by a descendant. Although the manuscripts, if they exist, have not yet come to light, Delany's autobiographical letters are primary material and give valuable social and literary context to the letters. The print edition will include all these letters, transcribed from the manuscripts if they can be traced, or if not, in full from the Llanover edition.

Key to Symbols

The following symbols have been adopted in the text of the letters:

[roman]	words or letters supplied conjecturally
< >	uncertain readings.

[ ]	text illegible.
~~without~~	word overscored.
~~xxx~~	word overscored and illegible.
~~xxx xxx~~	phrase overscored and illegible.
^without	word or phrase inserted above line.
tho^	Mary Pendarves's abbreviation indicated by her caret.

Manuscript Collections

The Central Library, Newport, Gwent, Gift no. 4173.
The Walter Roch Bequest: ten volumes of the correspondence of Mrs. Delany and others, 1720-1788, donated to the Central Library, Newport, Gwent, by Mr. Walter F. Roch in January 1948. His wife Fflorens was the great-grand-daughter of Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover, who probably bequeathed the Delany papers to her daughter, the Honourable Augusta, who in turn left them to her eldest son and Fflorens's father, Ivor Herbert, Lord Treowen.

The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
Transcripts, largely incomplete and undated, of letters from Mrs. Delany and others; three letters, dated 1771-81, written to her by Mary Finch, Lady Andover, Charleton and Elford; a letter from the Duchess of Beaufort to Mrs. Delany and papers relating to the probate of her will. Copy of an autobiographical fragment, describing Mary Delany's lineage and childhood, dictated to an amanuensis, copied by a nineteenth-century descendant, Bernard Granville. Donated 1967/8.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Copy of poem on completing her 84th year, 35373 (fol. 64), correspondence with Francis North, Earl of Guilford, 49402 (fols. 105-6), 49408 (fols. 24-6), 49415 (fols. 89-91), 49416 (fols. 191,209-10,237), 49417 (fol.147), 49418 (fols.96,146,154), 49419 (fols. 83-4, 89-90,197-8,213), 49420 (fols. 33,142,147-8), 49421 (fols.29-

30,45,134-5,170),49422 (fols.72, 90-1) and verses addressed to her (1780), 40934 (fol.156). Also a copy of a letter from (or to?) Sir Bevil Granville, 42883 (fols.29-30).

The Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut.
Bound volume of fifty-one autograph letters to Miss Hamilton, loose letters and part of Mrs. Delany's later diary: ten pages from the 1780s.

The Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Yale University.
Eighty letters from the Delany correspondence.

The Henry E. Huntington Library, Art Collection and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California.
Incomplete letter from Mary Delany, Clarges Street, London, to Elizabeth Montagu, 9 December 1742, MO 733.

Richard Hatchwell Antiquarian Books and Manuscripts, London.
A British Flora after the Sexual System of Linnaeus, or an English Translation of the Linnaean Names of all the British Plants, 481 folios including index, dated 18th October 1769.

The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
Mary Delany's and Anne Granville's commonplace book, and "Marianna" (1759) unpublished moral romance.

Artwork

Mrs. Delany is know to have completed seventy-two paintings: copies of masters such as Van Dyke, Guido and Correggio and portraits of family and friends. Lady Llanover was able to trace only fifty-four, which she lists in an appendix to the *Autobiography and Correspondence.* [271]

The British Museum.
A Catalogue of Plants Copyed from Nature in Paper Mosaick, Finished in the year 1778, and Disposed in Alphabetical Order, According to the Generic and Specific Names of Linnaeus, donated to the British Museum by Lady Llanover, 1897.

The National Gallery of Ireland.

Album of 92 mounted drawings (1739-93), pencil, ink and wash, including sketches of scenes from Gloucestershire, Derbyshire and Dublin.

The Ulster Museum.
Sketches, and a quilt embroidered by Mrs. Delany for Thomas Sandford, son of her god-daughter Sally (Chapone) and the Reverend Daniel Sandford, presented the day he was born in 1765.

The National Portrait Gallery, London.
Engraving by Joseph Brown (1861) after Mary Delany's portrait of the Duchess of Queensbury.

Previous Editions

Llanover, Lady Augusta (Waddington) Hall, ed. *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, with Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte.* 6 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1861-2.

Llanover, Lady Augusta (Waddington) Hall, ed. *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, with Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte.* 6 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1861-2; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1974.

The following more minor editions comprise selections taken from the above, with the exception of George Paston (Emily Morse Symond)'s *Memoir* and the *Letters from Mrs. Delany to Mrs. Frances Hamilton,* which introduce a small amount of previously unpublished material. They are listed in chronological order.

Letters from Mrs. Delany . . . to Mrs. Frances Hamilton, from the Year 1779, to the Year 1788; Comprising Many Unpublished and Interesting Anecdotes of Their Late Majesties and The Royal Family. London: Longman, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820.

Chauncey Woolsey, Sarah, ed. *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany, Revised from Lady Llanover's Edition.* 2 vols. Boston, MA: Roberts Brothers, 1879, 1880.

Gearey, Caroline. *Royal Friendships. The Story of Two Royal Friendships as Derived from Histories, Diaries, etc.* Vol. II: *Queen Charlotte and Mrs. Delany.* London: Digby, Long & Co., 1898.

Paston, George [Emily Morse Symonds], ed. *Mrs. Delany — Mary Granville: A Memoir, 1700-1788.* London: Grant Richards,1900.

Brimley Johnson, R., ed. *Mrs. Delany at Court and Among the Wits, Being the Record of a Great Lady of Genius in the Art of Living. Arranged from The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany, with Interesting Remembrances of George III and Queen Charlotte.* London: Stanley Paul, 1925.

Vulliamy, Colwyn Edward. *Aspasia: The Life and Letters of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, 1700-1788.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1935.

Dewes, Simon [J. S. C. Muriel]. *Mrs. Delany.* London: Rich & Cowan, 1940.

Day, Angelique. *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the Correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-1768.* Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1991.

Hayden, Ruth. *Mrs. Delany and her Flower Collages.* Rev. ed. London: British Museum Press/British Museum Publications,1992.

Abbreviations

Below are listed the most frequently cited names and titles with their abbreviated forms.

MD	Mary Delany
MP	Mary Pendarves
AG	Anne Granville
Ll.	the Llanover edition of the Autobiography and Correspondence (see "Previous Editions" above).
LMWM	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

NT	The Central Library, Newport, Gwent: Walter Roch Bequest

Continues . . .

Notes

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[1] *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, with Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, ed. Augusta (Waddington) Hall, Lady Llanover, 6 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1861-2). The Llanover edition will hereafter be cited as "Ll.".

[2] Mary Granville married first, Alexander Pendarves (1717), and second, Dr. Patrick Delany (9 June 1743). She is designated throughout either by her forename alone or by her surname according to date: so for the years up to 1717, she is "Mary Granville"; from 1717 to1743 she is "Mary Pendarves"; and from June 1743 to 1788 she is "Mary Delany". As an author, and without reference to date, she is designated "Delany", in distinction from her husband, who is cited as "Patrick Delany".

[3] 120 of the Delany flower collages were exhibited at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in September 1986. To publicize and increase attention to the exhibition, Tiffany's produced dessert plates and coffee cups with designs by Sybil Connolly derived from the "Flora Delannica" and Brunswhig and Fils produced two fabrics, one echoing the collages, another based on Mrs. Delany's intricate embroidery on her court dress. Sybil Connolly, foreword to *Letters from Georgian Ireland, the Correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68*, ed. Angelique Day (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1991), vii-viii. Studies include: Ruth Hayden, *Mrs. Delany and her Flower Collages* (London: British Museum Press, 1980, 2001); an informal and lavishly illustrated account of Delany's life and art; Alain Kerhervé, "La Fabrication du paysage Irlandais dans l'oeuvre de Mary Delany (1700-1788)", *Kreiz 11, Etudes sur la Bratagne et les Pays Celtique* (1998): 127-153; Edward Malins, Mrs. Delany and Landscaping in Ireland, *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin* XI, 2 and 3 (1968); Ruth Hayden, "A Wonderful Pretty Rurality", *Irish Arts Review* (1999), 44-50.

[4] Fanny Burney assisted Mrs. Delany in the burning of large sections of her correspondence, a month after the death of the Duchess of Portland in July 1785. Burney records "'tis to me a sacred task, for she cannot read what she is trusting me with. Sometimes, with a magnifying glass, she examines, first, if what she is giving me is some manuscript of secrecy, with respect to the affairs or character of her friends; and as a word suffices to inform her, she destroys, unread, whatever is of that sort." Fanny Burney, St. James's Place, to Mrs. Locke, 29 August 1785. Charlotte Barrett, ed., *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, 4 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891), II: 8.

[5] Studies of Delany and her writing include: Alice Anderson Hufstader, *Sisters of the Quill*, a well-researched but unreferenced account of the lives and works of Fanny Burney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Mary Delany (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978); Janice Farrar Thaddeus, "Mary Delany, Model to the Age", in *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Athens, Georgia and London: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 113-140, an account of Delany's life and character in the context of eighteenth-century gender constraints; Alain Kerhervé, "La Bibliotheque Virtuelle d'une Grande Dame du XVIIIe Siecle: Les Livres dans la Correspondance de Mary Delany (1700-1788)", *Bulletin de la Societé d'Etudes Anglo-Américains des*

XVIIe et XVIIIe Siecles, XVII-XVIII 50 (June 2000): 137-166, an discussion of Delany's actual and likely reading-matter, based on the evidence of her *Autobiography and Correspondence.*

[6] *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, rev. ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1967); *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*, ed. Joyce Hemlow, Curtis D. Cecil, and Althea Douglas, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972-84).

[7] There is also an American reprint, not readily available in the UK: *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. Augusta (Waddington) Hall, Lady Llanover, 6 vols. (London: Richard Bentley,1861-2; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1974). All subsequent editions have been culled from Llanover's six volumes, with the exception of two works, which introduce a small amount of previously unpublished material: *Letters from Mrs. Delany (Widow of Doctor Patrick Delany,) to Mrs. Frances Hamilton, from the Year 1779, to the Year 1788; Comprising Many Unpublished and Interesting Anecdotes of Their Late Majesties and the Royal Family*, ed. ?, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820); *Mrs. Delany - Mary Granville: A Memoir, 1700-1788*, ed. George Paston, [pseud. Emily Morse Symonds], (London: Grant Richards, 1900).

[8] Some of the letters may have been cut by Lady Llanover, but the overriding impression one receives from examining the collections in Newport and Aberystwyth is that she endeavoured to preserve every scrap of documentary evidence, marking up in pencil those passages she wished to omit and pencilling "not fit for printing" on certain items.

[9] An example of Llanover's editing appears alongside a transcription from the manuscript of the same letter, in Appendix 7.

[10] Burke's remarks were apparently reported to a member of the Granville family by Samuel Johnson, while staying at Ilam, the house of Delany's niece, Georgina Mary Anne Port. Three identical copies survive, written on separate pieces of paper, with a note reading: "Copied from an Old Pocketbook [.] Dr. Johnson at Ilam in speaking of Mrs. Delany", and dated 11 July 1774. The full text reads: "[s]he was a truly great woman of fashion, she was not only the woman of fashion of the present age, but she was the highest bred woman in the world, and the woman of fashion of all ages; she was high bred, great in every instance and would continue fashionable in all ages." A man/woman of fashion is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a person "of high quality or breeding, of eminent social standing or repute, . . . who "moves in uppper-class society, and conforms to its rules with regard to dress, expenditure and habits." Ll. V:12; *OED, s.v. "(man, woman) of fashion"*, sense 12a.

[11] An example of Llanover's editing appears alongside a transcription from the manuscript of the same letter, in Appendix 7.

[12] See, for example, Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[13] Few of Anne Granville's letters to her sister survive, and none in the period of the "London Letters." A facsimile of a later letter written by Anne Granville can be found at Appendix 4.

[14] An authoritative study of this relationship is provided by Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[15] Lawrence Klein, "Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England", *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, ed. J. Still and M. Worton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 102.

[16] Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), cited in Susan S. Lanser, "Befriending the Body: Female Intimacies as Class Acts", *Eighteenth Century Studies* 32 (winter 1998-99): 185.

[17] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 1.

[18] Lanser, 185. Lawrence Klein has recently sought to expand the social application of the notion of "politeness" as a "medium facilitating access to shared experience" and suggesting that *all* social ranks participated in emulative forms of polite activity and self-definition. Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness", paper presented at the University of York Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 5 November 2002.

[19] See Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy", in *the Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

[20] Hélène Cixous, "Sorties" in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*, ed. David Lodge (London and New York: Longman, 1993), 286-293, 288.

[21] In eighteenth-century studies, see for example, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), which posits the existence in the late eighteenth century of a "bourgeois" ideal of masculinity in which men's public power was "embedded in networks of familial and female support" (p.13). The "separate spheres" thesis is challenged by the contributors to Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus's collection of essays, who argue that "contemporaries saw gender in a more complex, pluralistic and even idiosyncratic way than has been assumed previously". *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 2. Amanda Vickery argues that "*the* definitive separation of sexual spheres can be found in almost any century we care to look at". Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of Women's History", *Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993), 412. Harriet Guest suggests that in many eighteenth-century contexts, "domesticity *gains* in value

as a result of its continuity with the social or the public, and not only as a result of its asocial exclusion." Guest considers domesticity in relation to "learning, patriotic politics, and work in order to reveal the extent to which it is only ever one of a set of contradictory demands on women." Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women Learning, Patiotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 15 (my emphasis).

[22] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 23.

[23] Ibid., 27.

[24] Ibid., 56. Davidoff and Hall, building upon this assertion, maintain that a middle-class ideal of manliness emerged in which men's "power to command and influence people [was] . . . embedded in networks of familial and female support which underpinned their rise to public prominence". Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 13.

[25] These are Habermas's own categories, p. 56.

[26] Ibid., 56, 4.

[27] Ibid., xviii.

[28] Ibid., 56.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Quotation from Guest, 15.

[31] Nancy Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory: The Case of Habermas and Gender", in *Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory*, ed. Mary Lyndon Shanley and Carole Pateman (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 263, in Guest, 311.

[32] Guest, 1-2.

[33] The opinion of the parson of Probus in Cornwall, (n.d.), Coke MSS III: 104, London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, in Elizabeth Handasyde, *Granville the Polite: The Life of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, 1666-1735* (London: Oxford University Press, 1993), 73. The orthography of the family name was uncertain for generations. Besides "Granville", the variants "Greenvile", "Grenvil", "Grenville" and several others appear in old documents. John, Lord Bath (1628-1701) seems to have stabilized "Granville" as the spelling of his branch of the family, but the Buckinghamshire offshoot fixed on "Grenville". Basil Williams, *Carteret and Newcastle: A Contrast in Contemporaries* (London: Frank Cass for Cambridge University Press, 1966), 6.

[34] George Granville, Lord Lansdowne to his cousin, the young Earl of Bath, n.d., Handasyde, 83.

[35] Ll. I: 2; Augustus J. Hare, *The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen* (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co., 1879), I: 2-3.

[36] "Whether or not we should trace their descent from Rollo . . . we can certainly establish a Grenville (*sic*) as holding half a knight's fee in Bideford in the time of Henry II . . ." Muriel St. Clare Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), I: 302.

[37] See Llanover, vol. VI (inside front cover): pedigree of the Granville family, and family tree constructed by a descendant, Roger Granville; reproduced here as Appendix 2 .

[38] Post-Renaissance aristocratic society in northern Europe "no longer had to represent its own lordliness (i.e. its manorial authority), or at least no longer primarily; it served as a vehicle for the representation of the monarch. . . . Now for the first time private and public spheres became separate in a specifically modern sense." Habermas, 10-11.

[39] There were sound economic reasons for this practice, inasfar as "granting court office to the descendants of the previous officer relieved the Crown of the responsibility to provide pensions for retired servants or their dependents". Moreover, family connection was often indivisible from political and economic status: despite an ancient idea that court office was "a freehold, possessed independently of politics", most of Queen Anne's appointees, for example, were selected for their "interest", whether political, economic or social. R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993), 112, 199, 92.

[40] Bucholz, 112-13.

[41] Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family. Traced back to Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. With Pedigrees, etc.* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1895), 404.

[42] Court office was divided into three levels: high, middle and low. "Gentleman of the Bedchamber" was a top-level court office which involved close attendance upon the monarch and could only be held by a peer. In order to hold it, Bernard, along with the other younger sons and daughters of Bevill Granville, were granted by special warrant the staus of sons and daughters of an Earl. These honorifics and benefits were apparently in recognition of Bernard's sterling service as go-between in the negotiations between his distant relative General Monk and Charles II, for the latter's restoration. "Gentleman of the Horse" was a middle-ranking post. Bucholz, 38, 255; Granville, 404. Bernard Granville was also financially very well rewarded: he is described in Marvell's Tract as "a bedchamber man who had received in boons the sum of twenty thousand pounds." Granville, 404.

[43] Handasyde, 32.

[44] Mary Delany to Mrs. Port, of Ilam, Bulstrode, 20 October 1777, Ll. V: 325.

[45] "[S]inglewomen (*sic*) were expected to remain in a dependent position in which they lived as daughters, or if their parents were deceased, as sisters, kin, or servants in another male's household. The only acceptable role for the singlewoman was as a household dependent, not as an independent female head of household, outside the control of a father or master." Amy M. Froide, "Marital Status as a Category of Difference: Singlewomen and Widows in Early Modern England", in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 237. However, Froide takes a national overview which is not divided by social category; it is likely that gentry/aristocratic women were protected by the association of their social and economic status with polite virtue. See Lanser, 189.

[46] "I believe I have burnt this week an hundred of your letters: how unwillingly did I commit to the flames those testimonies of your tender friendship! . . . I thought it prudent to destroy letters that mentioned particular affairs of particular people, or family business." Mary Delany to Anne Dewes, Clarges Street, London, 3 April 1744, Ll. II: 291.

[47] For example: Mary Westcombe was apparently "kept" by the second Duchess of Ormonde, Lady Mary Somerset (d. 1733): "You must have remembered [Sir Antony Westcombe], *his sister [Mary (Westcombe) Granville] the Duchess of Ormond kept,* his aunt was Mrs. Clifford where we lay in Leicester Street, his father Sir Martin, an honest man and consul at Cadiz very many years." The Earl of Ailesbury to the Hon. Robert Bruce, 9 April 1727, Historic Manuscripts Commission Ser. 43, fifteenth Report, Appendix, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Somerset, the Marquis of Ailesbury and The Rev. Sir T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.* (London: HMSO, 1898), 229, (my emphasis; see Letter 3, n. 6 below). In Letter 53, Mary Pendarves appears to refer to her mother's jointure, in the care of Ormonde's brother, Lord Arran, while the former was in France: "I will tell Mrs. Badge [the housekeeper] what My Mama desires me but I fear it will be to no purpose, for my Lord Arran has settled the payments for every half year and will not alter them." Mary Pendarves to Anne Granville, Pall Mall, London, 4 April 1730, Ll. I:250.

[48] There is an unidentified "Mrs.[Charlotte] Butler" and a "Mr. Butler" mentioned in the letters, the second may be James Butler, subject of *The Case of J. Butler, Esq., late an officer in his Majesty's Navy, respecting his Connexions with the House of Ormond* (London: n.p., 1770). In Letter 8, "Mrs· Badge had in her Hands 5 Guineas of Mrs. Vineys which my aunt Clifford sent out of which five Guineas she has purchas'd what things my mother sent for", and Pendarves cannot send "the money Mr. Butler has for Mrs. Viney" because Mr. Butler has not come to town. Mary Pendarves also sends "kindest service to Mrs. Viney and Mrs. Butler" in a letter to Anne Granville, 9 October 1731, Ll. I:299. These are just three examples of the many references collocating Mr. and Mrs. Butler and Mrs. Viney, strongly suggesting their close relationship.

[49] Lady Llanover, handwritten note of the recollections of Lady Stratton, AMS, 19 December 1857, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. Lady Stratton was a descendant of John, Earl of Granville and Baron

Carteret. The full text of this note in Lady Llanover's hand is reproduced as Appendix 3; Bernard Granville (1804-1869), [Wellesbourne] to Lady Llanover, ALS, 10 March [1856/7], Waddington Correspondence, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[50] ". . . [Lansdowne's] brother Bernard [Mary's father],. . . practically ruined by the loss of his post as Governor of Hull, and the non-payment of his wife's dowry (*a fixed charge on the sequestrated estate of the Duke of Ormonde*) was now [1717] almost entirely dependent on the generous allowance made him by his brother." Tantalizingly, and in contrast to her usual scholarly rigour, Handasyde gives no source for this information about Mary (Westcombe) Granville's dowry. Handasyde, 165 (my emphasis).

This provision tallies with contemporary legal practice: "Bigamy was . . . a cause for annulment. [It] was more frequent in Britain than in France, perhaps because of the insistence by the Catholic clergy on the Continent on checking the credentials of the contracting parties before performing marriage . . . On annulment, the parties could go their separate ways and the wife could repossess her dowry, if she had one, and try her luck again." In this case, however, the dowry was provided by the former husband (Ormonde) and effectively constituted a jointure, or divorce settlement. Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, Volume One: 1500-1800* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), 280.

[51] Amelia Shaw, Mary (Carter) Viney's great-grand daughter, avers, "I know that all the Butlers up to the old [first] Duke of Ormond were in some way related to us [Vineys]". Letter from Amelia Mary Ann (Lyte) Shaw to Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover, 12 February 1856, Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales. "Mrs. Viney is too sensible a woman not to feel in time the blessedness of her present condition, to be rid of a tyrant, that would not suffer her to have any enjoyment of her friends (or even of her children) at home or abroad. Surely she ought to be thankful: I own I cannot help being thankful for her." Letter from Mary Delany, Holly Mount, Ireland, to her mother, 8 June 1744/5 [*sic*], referring to the death of Mr. William Viney, Ll. II: 358.

[52] Ll. II: 508, n. It is clear from documents in the National Library of Wales that Lady Llanover made herculean efforts to establish the veracity of this secret history, and the familial relationships of Vineys and Butlers mentioned in the correspondence. She was probably successful, but appears to have concealed her conclusions, perhaps because of sensitivities among contemporary descendants: Wardle House in Cathedral Close, tenanted by members of the Viney family from 1704 until the nineteenth century, was ultimately leased to the second wife of Benjamin Disraeli, herself a Viney descendant by marriage. Suzanne Eward, *No Fine but a Glass of Wine: Cathedral Life at Gloucester in Stuart Times* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1985), 296.

[53] Bucholz, 27.

[54] Granville, 386; *DNB*, s.v. "Granville or Grenville, Sir Bevil".

[55] Bucholz, 262, 83, Handasyde, 14. Bucholz notes (p. 84) that the twice-weekly correspondence between Stanley and his employer, (Historic Manuscripts

Commission, *Buccleuch at Montagu House*, MSS II, ii: 628-53), is "almost unique" in its detailed account of royal household patronage.

[56] Jacobites sought the restoration of the house of Stuart after James II went into exile in France following the "Glorious" Revolution of 1688. They supported the claims to the throne of James's son James Francis Edward Stuart (the "Old Pretender" or James III) and his two grandsons Charles Edward Stuart (the "Young Pretender" or Charles III) and Henry Stuart (the cardinal duke of York or Henry IX).

There has been much recent debate over Jacobitism, and particularly over the identities of Jacobite MPs. Some historians maintain that over one-third of Tory MPs were Jacobites, along with the major Tory party leaders; others claim that the bulk of the party were Hanoverian Tories who supported the Georges after 1714, despite the proscription of the party after the 1715 rebellion. The term "Jacobite" is not simple to define, and evidence of sympathy with the Stuart cause is sparse and ambiguous or misleading, since Jacobites covered their treasonable tracks with some efficiency. Moreover, "Jacobite" was also used as a "smearword" to damn political opponents. Although some historians believe "once a Jacobite, always a Jacobite", it would appear that the majority adopted or abandonned the stance as circumstances directed, in the way that the Earl of Sunderland did, negotiating with Jacobite MPs and peers to avoid being impeached for his involvement in the South Sea Bubble. Despite James II's Catholicism, most of his supporters were Protestants, and many were non-jurors, who refused to sign oaths of loyalty to William and Mary, forfeiting their religious or secular appointments. Still others who took the oath in 1689, and later swore allegiance to Queen Anne in 1700, refused to acknowledge the Hanoverian succession and turned Jacobite. *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 524.

[57] Handasyde, 108, 124, 133, 135; Bucholz, 131, 262; Granville, 390. George Granville, Baron Lansdowne of Biddeford, was one of the group of twelve peers created in December 1711, to enable the government to carry through negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht.

[58] Comptroller of the Household and Treasurer of the Household were top-ranking court posts and may have been granted to Lansdowne in recognition of his (Tory) influence over the electorates of Cornwall and the Thynne dominions. Mary's cousin, John, Baron Potheridge, eldest son of the Earl of Bath, was appointed Housekeeper and Under-Housekeeper at St. James's Palace (1703-1707). Bucholz,70, 262, 255.

[59] Transcript by Bernard Granville (a nineteenth-century descendant) of Mary Delany's notes appended to autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland,Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales, Ll. I: 16.

[60] Fanny Burney records that the courtier sent to offer her a post as lady-in-waiting "begged me to consider the very peculiar distinction shown me, that, unsolicited and unsought, I had been marked out with such personal favour by the Queen herself . . . [wishing] to settle me with one of the princesses, in preference to the thousands of candidates, *of high birth and rank, but small fortunes*, who were waiting and supplicating". Barrett, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, II, 62-64 (my emphasis). When Elizabeth Granville, daughter of Lord Lansdowne, changed her employment from Maid of Honour to Bedchamber-woman, she received the same salary and gown allowance, but not being required to "dress" for court appearance,

she saved the equivalent of house-rent and "board-wages", "nearly two hundred pounds a year, besides her salary". Mary Delany, Spring Gardens, London, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, 24 May 1756, Ll. III: 429.

[62] Delany describes her aunt as: "[a] woman of extraordinary sense, remarkably well-bred and agreeable, who had been Maid of Honour to Queen Mary, was particularly favoured and distinguished by her, and early attained all the advantages of such an education under so great and excellent a princess, without the least taint or blemish incident to that state of life, so dangerous to young minds." Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 8.

[63] Delany, autobiographical fragment, Ll. I: 7.

[64] Granville, 415.

[65] The "Chronological Diary" has her appointment as Housekeeper on 18 May 1729, but this was probably a formal renewal of contract. "The Chronological Diary for the Year 1729", *The Historical Register. Containing an Impartial Relation of all Transactions Foreign and Domestick*, XXIII (London: C. Meere, for the Sun Fire Office, 1729); John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967), 25, n.

[66] Autobiographical fragment in Llanover I: 7-8.

[67]Similar crises were faced all over London. Lord Dupplin scratched a hasty but carefully-worded note to Lord Townshend: "1715, Sept. 21st . . . Dated in Leicester Fields 'a quarter after seven in the morning' . . . My Lord — Mr Nightingale is here with your Lordship's Warrant to bring me to your Lordship. I'm ready to wait upon your Lordship whenever you please. I only beg the favour of your Lordship that the messenger may have orders to stay here with me, till your Lordship is ready to examine me, My wife is just now in labour, which makes me give you this trouble. " Historical Manuscripts Commission, eleventh Report, appendix, Part IV, *The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend* (London: HMSO, 1887), 162.

[68] Delany does not make clear in the *Autobiography* whether her two brothers were also taken to the Tower, or whether they were away at school at this time.

[69] [8 February 1717] "The Lord Lansdown, having receiv'd his Pardon, was releas'd from his Imprisonment in the Tower." "The Chronological Register [*sic*] for the Year 1717", *Historical Register* VIII.

[70] Buckland was part of the Thynne estate. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, married (15 December 1711) Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, the Jacobite Earl of Jersey, and Barbara Chiffinch, daughter of one of Charles II's "least reputable" courtiers. She was the widow of Thomas Thynne, Esq. of Longleat, who left a month-old son to inherit the Viscountcy. As step-father to the heir, Lansdowne made Longleat his seat and joined to his family interest in Cornwall and the West all the patronage of the Thynnes. Handasyde, 116, 117.

[71] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 21.

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[72] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 23.

[73] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I:34; 23, 24.

[74]Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 26; Bucholz, 199.

[75] Handasyde, 165.

[76] "*Alexander Pendarvis* of *Cornwal,* Esq; marry'd to Mrs. *Granville.*" "Chronological Register &c."[*sic*], *Historical Register*, XII, 17 February 1718.

[77] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 29-30.

[78] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 55, 30 (my emphasis).

[79] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 31.

[80] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 33, 17: 34.

[81] "A sick husband, squalling brats, a cross mother-in-law, and a thousand unavoidable impertinences . . . " Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 19 March, 1727/8, in Ll., I:165.

[82] Habermas, 4; *The Ladies' Calling* was reprinted several times during the eighteenth century and republished "for evangelical use" in the 1780s. Its values pervade Delany's writing: she consistently recommends the virtues it enumerates: modesty, meekness, compassion, affability and piety. Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling* (London: n.p.,1787 edn.), 11-12,18-19, 51, 55, 178, 268-70, in Richard Price, *British Society 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 207.

[83] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I:34, 55, 31, 50.

[84] Vickery, *Daughter*, 128, 129.

[85] Lady S. Pennington, An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters (n.p., 1761), 27, in Vickery, *Daughter*, 127.

[86] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 50.

[87] "[Pendarves] was good-natured and friendly, but so strong a *party man,* that he made himself many enemies, and was at one time involved in such difficulties that it was with great good luck he escaped being discovered." Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 34.

[88] "I have been informed that 'tis a mark of disaffection to the Government to lead you from the church to your coach, and that an unfortunate neighbour has lately been in trouble upon that account!" George, Lord Lansdowne [Longleat], to Mary Pendarves [Cornwall] 21 October 1718, in Ll. I: 44.

[89] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 34-5.

[90] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 62-3.

[91] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 62-3; "It is known that at this period the servants of Mrs. Pendarves were under orders to give a daily account of every place she went to; and it was doubtless the knowledge of this system which made her endure everything rather than ask for the removal of her duenna. This fact was mentioned by Mary Granville [*sic*] in the latter years of her life to her niece, the mother of the Editor, from whom she heard it." Footnote by Lady Llanover, Ll. I: 62.

Betty Rizzo, in an otherwise perceptive analysis, ascribes Mary Pendarves Delany's financial difficulties almost solely to the influence of her malign sister-in-law, Jane Livingstone, who, Rizzo claims, successfully poisoned Alexander Pendarves's mind against his wife. The account of Livingstone's character and actions, however, is unsupported by documentary evidence, and Rizzo's conclusions are directly contradicted by Delany's autobiographical letters (see Ll. I: 89, 107). Her conclusion, that: "The course of Delany's life was thus shaped in large part by the inimicable presence at a crucial moment of a spy and rival for her husband's regard", is fanciful. Betty Rizzo, "Agents, Rivals, and Spies: Empowering Strategies II", chapter eight, *Companions Without Vows: Relationships Among Eighteenth-Century British Women* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 170-74.

[92] Lawrence Stone suggests that this sexual pestering is indicative of "the way the arranged marriage positively encouraged adulterous attempts on the chastity of married women, while Mary's refusal of her suitors, and her subsequent attitude to men may well have been caused by frigidity induced by cohabitation with the odious Mr. Pendarves". Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, abr. ed. (London: Penguin, 1990), 211. However, there is little evidence of "frigidity" in her response to Lord Baltimore, which is expressed in the language of desire: "I thought him more agreeable than anybody I had ever known, and consequently more dangerous." Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 106. "[O]n Monday he came, when he came into the Room I could not help wishing his Mind might be answerable to his Person for I never saw him look so well." Mary Pendarves to Anne Granvile, 25 December 1729, Letter 39 below, Ll. I: 232.

[93] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 93-96.

[94] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 93-96; 38-40, 50-54, 81-84.

[95] Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, "Women as Historical Actors" in *A History of Women in the West III: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap for Harvard University Press,1993), 5.

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[96] Lansdowne wrote to Mary soon after Pendarves' death: "My daughter, Grace writes me word you are a handsome widow - I hope you will find yourself a rich one." George, Lord Lansdowne, Paris, 5 April 1725. in Ll. I: 115. Ironically, as Lansdowne himself had noted, the Bassets and Granvilles were related to each other and "half the important families of the West Country", through the "interchangeable matches with each other's stock" of their ancestors. St. Clare Byrne, I: 299.

[97] Froide, 237.

[98] Seventy per cent of households in early modern England were headed by married couples and 12.9 per cent by widows, the next most common familial arrangement. Froide, 238.

[99] One Elizabeth Rowte, of Southampton, is cited by Froide as an example of a widow who took out a new lease on a property originally leased by her husband, in which she continued to live as the head of a household comprising herself and several grown-up children. Froide, 239.

[100] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 81-82.

[101] John Murray, second Earl of Dunmore (1685-1752), never married, and in 1729 the two were still cohabiting. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (LMWM henceforth), ca. June 1725, *The Complete Letters*, ed. Robert Halsband, corr. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), II: 53; Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 81-82; ibid., II: 81 and n.

[102] "This publicness (or publicity) of representation was not . . . a public sphere; rather, it was something like a status attribute . . ." Habermas, 7.

[103] Habermas, 7-11. That aristocratic and gentlewomen were part of this "good society" by virtue of their social status and their employment as court servants is an observation Habermas does not appear to make. Their function, like that of their male counterparts, was to represent the monarch in a grandly formalized, or "festive" context. See Habermas, 10.

[104] Lawrence E. Klein, "Coffee-house civility, 1660-1714: an aspect of post-courtly culture in England", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59 (1997), 44-51.

[105] Ll. I: 109.

[106] [Georgina Mary Ann Port], mother of Lady Llanover, manuscript account of Mary Delany, watermark 1809, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales; Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 109, my emphasis.

[107] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 109-110. Marriage settlements and wills were frequently the subject of litigation. "Flaws" in the wording of a jointure could be found which made them null and void, and such anomalies were sometimes purposely inserted when the jointure was drawn up.

Charlotte Smith was abandoned by her husband, who had "another family by a Cook who lived with him, and . . . hid himself in Scotland by another name". Not only could she not find him to compel him to support their children, but flaws in her marriage articles deprived her of any jointure on his death, and no provision was made for separation. She laments: "I was not quite fifteen when my father married me to Mr. Smith and too childish to know the dismal fate that was preparing for me." She was obliged to scrape a living writing novels. Alan Dugald McKillop, "Charlotte Smith's Letters," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15 (1952): 239 in Susan Staves, *Married Women's Separate Property in England, 1660-1833* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 114, 115. It is interesting that Bevill should have approached Mary for financial assistance; rather than, or as well as, their elder brother, Bernard; I have not yet been able to uncover evidence as to why this was so.

[108] Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, San Francisco: Academic Press for Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), frontispiece.

[109] *Spectator* no. 119 (17 July 1711), I: 487; Hume, "Of Refinement in the Arts and Sciences", *Essays* (n.p., 1752), 271, both quoted in Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, (Harlow: Longman/Pearson Education, 2001), 36.

[110] Vickery, *Daughter*, 9.

[111] ". . . all the Butterflye Men were at Court last Night no great plenty of Females . . ." Letter 24 below; Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 19 March 1727/8, Ll. I: 165. The butterfly metaphor appears frequently in Delany's writing, always with a pejorative slant, for example, she dismisses one suitor, Lord Baltimore, as an indecisive "flutterer". Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 133.

[112] "I had no disguise, but told her every word that had passed, having no design of carrying on any secret commerce: I rather wished to have her advice and direction in everything, knowing what an advantage it would be to me, to be guided by so experienced and judicious a person." Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I:110, 112.

[113] Habermas, 39-40.

[114] Habermas, 49.

[115] Guest, 14.

[116] Late in life, Mary Delany embarked on a narrative autobiography dictated to an amanuensis. This fragmentary account was in the possession of a descendant of the Carteret family, in the late 1850s. A copy was made for Lady Llanover when she was preparing her edition of the *Autobiography and Correspondence*, which appears to have reproduced in painstaking detail the inconsistencies of eighteenth-century orthography and case, and includes a small amount (one phrase) of unpublished

Delany's autobiographical fragment, Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales, Ll. I: 1-6.

[117] Mary Delany to Anne Dewes, Delville, 8 March 1745/6, Ll. II:427.

[118] Hufstader, 169.

[119] Mary Delany to Anne Dewes, Delville, 8 March 1745/6, Ll. II:427; copy of Mary Delany's will, proved 7 May 1788, extracted from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales. Lady Llanover neither notes nor indexes "Pauline"; possibly a tactical omission, since her Introduction constructs Delany as the model of a great lady, who would shun publicity: "[T]he editor felt that as the descendant of her only sister, Ann Granville, it was a duty to [Delany's] memory to give these MSS. to the world, the simplicity of which, together with the fact of their never having been intended for public perusal, will disarm the severity of criticism". Ll. I: ix.

[120] See, for example, Ruth Perry, *Women, Letters and the Novel* (New York: AMS Press, 1980).

[121] See Amanda Vickery's perceptive analysis of the shopping phenomenon, "Elegance", chapter 5, *Daughter,* 161-94.

[122] See, for example, Letter 13; a classic Mary Pendarves "buying, packing, itemizing and sending" missive.

[123] The most fashionable of these shops were located in Westgate and upper Northgate Streets. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Gloucestershire* , C. R. Elrington, ed., Vol. 4, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1988), 101-104. For a study of this process, see Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance.*

[124] Vickery, *Daughter,* 9.

[125] See Alain Kerhervé, "La Bibliothèque Virtuelle d'une Grande Dame du XVIIIe Siècle: Les Livres dans la Correspondance de Mary Delany (1700-1788)", *Bulletin de la Societé d'Etudes Anglo-Américains des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles,* XVII-XVIII 50 (June 2000): 137-166.

[126] Mary Pendarves to Anne Granville, Somerset House, 4 March 1728/9, Ll. I: 191.

[127] "I am grown passionately fond of Hogarth's painting, there is more sense in it than any I have seen. . . . Hogarth has promised to give me some instructions about drawing that will be of great use, — some rules of his own that he says will improve me more in a day than a year's learning in the common way." Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 13 July 1731, Ll. I: 283.

[128] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 110.

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[129] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 130; 112.

[130] Wesley's regular Saturday self-inquisition for 29 January,1726 reads: "Have I loved women or company more than God? RESOLVE: Never to let sleep or company hinder me from going to prayers... Unclean thoughts? God's omnipresence." *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from Original MSS., with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations,* Standard Edition, Vol. I, ed. Nehemiah Curnock, (London: Robert Culley), 1909, 52-3, 62. See Letter 12 below.

[131] ALS, Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 29 December 1729, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

[132] Ibid.; Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 233.

[133] ALS, Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 29 December 1729, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

[134] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 240-41.

[135] A tradition satirized by Sir John Suckling: "Why so pale and wan, fond lover?/Prithee, why so pale?/Will, when looking well can't move her,/Looking ill prevail?" Sir John Suckling(1609-1642), (no title) in *The New Golden Treasury of English Verse,* ed. Edward Leeson, (London: Macmillan, 1987), 149.

[136] Addison, *Spectator*, no. 57 (5 May 1711), in Carter, 68.

[137] Carter, 70.

[138] Ibid., 70-71.

[139] Mary Pendarves [Northend] to Anne Granville, Gloucester, [early February 1728], Letter 20 below; Ll. I: 155.

[140] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 20 February 1732/3, Ll. I: 399.

[141] Habermas defines the sphere of the *polis*, or free (male) citizenry, as strictly separated from the domestic sphere of the *oikos*, or household. Habermas, 3.

[142] "[Lady Abergavenny] was taken en flagrant Delit by her Steward and her Butler (posted by her Lord for that Purpose) on a Bed with one Mr. Lydal, a friend of her Husband's, who used to be perpetually with him and then lay in the house with them in the Country... Upon this discovery Mr. Lydal was forced to give Bail for his appearance and my Lady was immediately sent to London with orders to the Servants if her Father would not receive her, to sett her down in the Street." Lord Hervey to his mother, Bristol MS ii.237, in LMWM, *Letters*, 295, n. 3.

[143] ALS, Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 29 December 1729, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

[144] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 31, 36, 50.

[145] Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 11 November 1727, Letter 16 below; Ll. I: 144-48.

[146] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 9 December 1731, Ll. I: 327.

[147] Mary Pendarves, Killala, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 6 September 1732, Ll. I: 382.

[148] Habermas defines ancient Athenian *praxis* as common action, whether it be the waging of war or competition in athletic games. Habermas, 3.

[149] Mary Pendarves to Anne Granville, Dublin, 17 January 1731/2, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales (my emphasis), Ll. I: 333; italicized text omitted by Lady Llanover.

[150] Vickery, *Daughter*, 8.

[151] Habermas, 25.

[152] Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, [Eastgate Street], Gloucester, 19 March 1727/8, Letter 24 below; Ll. I: 164-6.

[153] Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: printed for E. Bell et al., 1721).

[154] Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester, 27 November 1726, Letter 11 below; Ll. I: 124-28.

[155] Trumbach, 64.

[156] Randolph Trumbach estimates that there were approximately one hundred and sixty aristocratic families "whose eldest male possessed the hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords." Trumbach, 6.

[157] Lanser, 186.

[158] Davis and Farge, 4.

[159] Lanser, 182.

[160] ALS, Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 29 December 1729, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

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[161] Lanser, 181; "reverberation upon the public sphere" quoted by Lanser from Heilbrun, 100.

[162] Mary Pendarves to Anne Granville, Dublin, 17 January 1731/2, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

[163] Lanser, 181.

[164] Ibid., 180

[165] *Bloomsbury Guide to Women's Literature, from Sappho to Atwood, Women's Writing through the Ages and throughout the World,* ed. Claire Buck (London: Bloomsbury, 1992), 911.

[166] *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5.

[167] Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 14 March 1728/9, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales; Ll. I: 197.

[168] Mary Pendarves, Northend, Fulham, to Anne Granville, Aspley, Bedfordshire, 8 November 1726, Letter 10 below; Ll. I: 12.

[169] Klein, *Gender*, 106.

[170] Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis, sieur de Saint Evremond, *The Works of Mr. de St. Evremont,* (London: n.p. 1700), 170 in Klein, *Gender*, 106.

[171] Ibid.,

[172] Sally Kirkham (later Chapone), whom Delany calls "Sappho", was a near neighbour of the Granvilles' at Buckland. Mary's father's initial disapproval of the friendship is interesting in terms of gender ideology. Delany relates that "[Sally,] a clergyman's daughter of the neighbourhood, a girl of my own age. She had an uncommon genius and intrepid spirit, which though really innocent, alarmed my father, and made him uneasy at my great attachment to her. He loved gentleness and reserve in the behaviour of women, and could not bear anything that had the appearance of being too free and masculine; but . . . I saw no fault in Miss Kirkham." Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 15. Patrick Delany, drawing upon the *Autobiography,* describes the young Sarah Kirkham as "of very uncommon genius, of excellent understanding, but with a free, wild, manly, spirit." "Maria", pen portrait of Mary Delany, written for Patrick Delany's periodical, *The Humanist*, but suppressed by her, Ll. III: 387.

[173] Autobiographical letter to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 241.

[174] Ibid. Anne Donnellan seems to be the paradigm of a woman protected by her social station and aristocratic contacts from the ambiguities of unmarried status. That

she was a friend of the Duchess of Portland, and that Mary Pendarves chose to stay with her at Richmond indicate her accepted respectability.

[175] Autobiographical Letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 242.

[176] The letters from Ireland, which follow this sequence in chronology, have been excerpted and anthologized, along with those of Delany's later life in Ireland, in *Letters from Georgian Ireland, The Correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68*, ed. Angelique Day (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1991). This is a welcome addition to the corpus of Delany editions, but makes no claim to comprehensiveness: it consists of excerpts from the correspondence, linked by explanatory passages and commentary.

[177] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 9 October 1731, Ll. I: 301. Mary Barber (1690-1757), "Sapphira", poet and friend of Swift; Laetitia (Van Lewen) Pilkington (ca.1706-1750), poet and memoirist. Her unpublished comedy, "The Turkish Court, or the London Prentice" was acted in Dublin, in 1748. She was the daughter of John Van Lewen, an obstetrician, and named her son "John Carteret Pilkington". Constantia (Crawley) Grierson (ca. 1704-1732) a poet and scholar of Latin, Greek, history, theology, philosophy and mathematics. She also studied midwifery with Laetitia Pilkington's father in the early 1720s. She worked as a "corrector of the press" for her husband, George Grierson, King's Printer in Ireland. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English*, Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, eds. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1990), s.v. "Barber", "Pilkington", "Grierson".

[178] Mary Pendarves arrived in Ireland in mid-September 1731, and writes in a letter of early October "This morning we are to go out of town to a house of Dr. Delany's called Delville". Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 9 October 1731, Ll. I: 299. "I have just begun an acquaintance among the wits — Mrs. Grierson, Mrs. Sycon, and Mrs. Pilkington; the latter is a bosom friend of Dean Swift's, and I hope among them I shall be able to pick up some entertainment for you." Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 9 October 1731, Ll. I: 301.

[179] *Jonathan Swift*, The Oxford Authors Series, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 715.

[180] The Irish Woollens Act was passed in response to pressure from the English woollen industry lobby, and banned the export of Irish wool to anywhere but England, levying a duty on its importation there, and altogether banning the exportation of Irish woollen cloth. Ross and Woolley, 665.

[181] Peter Somerville-Large, *Dublin* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979), 149.

[182] Swift, *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture in Clothes and Furniture of Houses, &c. Utterly Rejecting and Renouncing Every Thing Wearable that Comes from England* (Dublin: n.p. 1720) in Ross and Woolley, 401. Swift produced *An Excellent New Song* following the printer's conviction, which makes clear that luxury materials, "Brocados, and damasks, and tabbies and gauzes" originate in England: "We'll buy English silks for our wives and our daughters,/ In

spite of his Deanship and Journeyman Waters [Swift and his printer]." Ross and Woolley (n.d, n. p.) 406.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ll. I: 334; Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 17 January 1731/2, Ll. I: 334.

[185] Ibid., note.

[186] Mary Delany, Delville, Ireland to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Welsbourne], England, 23 November 1745. Ll. II: 400.
"Mrs. Chenevix, the Bishop of Killaloe's wife, and I have agreed to go to the Birthday in Irish stuffs." Mary Delany, Delville, Ireland, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, ?Welsbourne, England, 15 October 1745, Ll. II: 394.

[187] "The *publicum* developed into the public, the *subjectum* into the [reasoning] subject, the receiver of regulations from above into the ruling authorities' adversary." Habermas, 26.

[188] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 9 December 1731. This is just one of three examples of patronage in this letter.

[189] The Duchess of Portland was a patron, for example, of the botanist Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), who accompanied Cook on the *Endeavour*. He was President of the Royal Society (1778-1820). *DNB*.

[190] Mary Pendarves, Upper Brook Street, London, to Anne Granville, [Gloucester], 15 October 1730, Ll. I: 263.

[191] Gary Kelly, "Bluestocking Feminism" in Elizabeth Eger et al., *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 169.

[192] Habermas, 7.

[193] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, [March 1732/3], Ll. I: 402.

[194] Mary Pendarves, Dangan, Ireland, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 27 May 1732, Ll. I: 348-9.

[195]Letter to Anne Granville, 26th September, 1731, Ll. I: 289.

[196] Jean-Paul Desaive, "The Ambiguities of Literature" in Davis and Farge, 291, 292.

[197] Mary Pendarves, Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 4 December 1731, Ll. I: 324.

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[198] Mary Pendarves, Newtown Gore, Ireland, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 12 June 1732, Ll. I: 353.

[199] Mary Delany to Mary Dewes, Bulstrode, 21 September 1768, Ll. IV: 165.

[200] Mary Pendarves Dublin, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 25 November 1731, Ll. I: 317.

[201] The Duchess's marriage portion was "Twenty Thousand Pounds of good and lawful money of Great Britain", and her personal income alone was £500 per annum, and her marriage settlement stipulated that it was a sum "the said Duke her intended Husband [was] not to intermeddle or to have any controlling power over". Myers, 90. Although some of Myers's critical conclusions are now being superceded, this is an invaluable documentary sourcebook for those wishing to elucidate the Bluestocking phenomenon.

[202] Myers, 40.

[203] Myers, 44, source of quotation not given, but probably from a letter by Elizabeth (Robinson) Montagu to the Duchess of Portland.

[204] For example, in 1741 Mary Pendarves was courted by Dr. Edward Young, a widower with three children. Rejected, he "resigned himself to a single life, looked after by lady housekeepers". Harold Forster, *Edward Young, Poet of the Night Thoughts 1683-1765* (Alburgh, Norfolk: The Erskine Press, 1986), 171.

[205] Mary Pendarves, Lower Brook Street, London, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 12 April 1734, Ll. I: 456-57.

[206] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu records that the "tribe of dames" comprised: "Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Queensbury, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmoreland, Lady Cobham, Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Archibald Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Scott [née Sarah Robinson, sister of Elisabeth Montagu] and Mrs. Pendarves, and Lady Frances Saunderson." She also records that they "every now and then [launched] vollies of thumps, kicks and raps against the door, with so much violence that the speeches in the House was scarce heard." Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Lady Pomfret, [March 1739], *Letters*, II: 136.

[207] The term "patriot king" was used chiefly by the Tory opposition in the early Hanoverian period. The defining characteristic of a "patriot king" was to align himself to no party but govern like the father of his people. By contrast, the Tories argued, George I and II interested themselves more in Hanover than Britain and placed exclusive confidence in the Whigs. Opponents to Robert Walpole took up the name "patriot" to distinguish themselves from adherents of a government they viewed as supine, corrupt and in thrall to Hanover.

[208] Ll. II: 42.

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[209] Mary Pendarves, Brook Street, London, to Anne Granville, [Gloucester], 3 March 1738/9.,Ll. II: 45.

[210] Mary Pendarves, Brook Street, London, to Anne Granville [Gloucester], Ll. II: 45.

[211] A useful, if somewhat New Critical survey of eighteenth-century epistolary style is provided by Bruce Redford, who points out that élite letters aspired to the condition of élite conversation, a virtuoso act defined by Samuel Johnson: "There must, in the first place, be knowledge, and there must be materials; — in the second place, there must be a command of words; — in the third place, there must be imagination, to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in; -- and in the fourth place, there must be presence of mind, and a resolution that is not to be overcome by failures . . ." James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 6 vols., ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-50), IV: 166, in Bruce Redford, *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Letter* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 3.

[212] Anne Granville to Lady Throckmorton, Gloucester, 20 February 1739/40, Ll. II: 76.

[213] Forster, 166-169.

[214] *The Correspondence of Edward Young*. ed. H. Pettit (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 112, in Forster, 171.

[215] The Duchess of Portland, Welbeck, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, 20 September [1742], Ll. II: 195. The pseudonyms are the Duchess's own.

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[217] Mary Pendarves, Ireland, to Anne Granville, Gloucester, 6 February 1732, *Mrs. Delany - Mary Granville: A Memoir, 1700-1788*, ed. George Paston [Emily Morse Symonds] (London: Grant Richards, 1900), 73.

[218] Lady Llanover omits a letter from Patrick Delany to Mary Pendarves, 8 February, 1735 in which he teasingly enjoins her to "abate a little of that ease & politeness that delicate fine turn of thought and phraze & come down Some degrees nearer to the level of common politeness." ALS, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Wales.

[219] Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 296.

[220] Francis Elrington Ball, *A History of the County Dublin: The Peoples, Parishes and Antiquities from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century* 6 vols. (Dublin: Alex Thom, 1902-06), 133. Two further parts were published in 1920 as extra volumes of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

[221] Ball, 136.

[222] "I beseech you, madam, leave me not to the caprice of any of your friends; and much less to the mercy of every humour of every friend. Where you owe duty, pay it; and let me rise or fall by the determination of duty; but let not the decision depend upon the fickle, the uncertain, and the selfish. God has blessed you with noble sentiments, a good understanding and a generous heart; are not these, under God, your best governors? I might venture to pronounce that even a parent has no right to control you, at this time of life, and under your circumstances, in opposition to these; and a brother has no shadow of right." Patrick Delany, London, to Mary Pendarves, London, 6 May 1743, Ll. II: 213.

[223] Extract from the will of Patrick Delany, Principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate in Ireland, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.

[224] Mary Delany, Hollymount, Ireland, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Wellesbourne], 11 June 1745, Ll. II: 359.

[225] "The church of Down is not very large, but it is not a quarter filled with people; the Curate has been so negligent as never to visit any of the poor of the parish, and a very diligent and watchful dissenting preacher has visited them on all occasions of distress, and by that means gained great numbers to the meeting. D.D. [Doctor Delany] has already visited a great number, when he has been with all the Protestants he designs to go to the Presbyterians, and then to the Papists; they bless him and pray for him wherever he goes, and say he has done more good already than all his predecessors; the last Dean was here but two days in six years!" Mary Delany, Hollymount, Down, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Welsbourn], 11 June 1745, Ll. II: 359.

[226] The advertisement for the first issue of the Humanist reads:
London, March 16th, 1757

ADVERTISEMENT.

This is to give notice
To all those few frugal and temperate ladies and gentlemen who can afford to sequester ten minutes in a week from pleasurable pursuits and important amusements,

That on Saturday the 26th instant (and so on every succeeding Saturday) will be published a new paper called---

THE HUMANIST

Which means not only amusement, like the rest of its contemporaries, but likewise something more than mere amusement; and is calculated to convey some little useful and entertaining knowledge of various kinds, historical, classical, natural, moral, and now-and-then a little religious, into the reader's mind. The author is much

concerned that this cannot be done under the great expense of two pence a-week, for reasons which shall be known hereafter.

Whether the advantages of such a paper will countervail the expense, the readers will judge for themselves.

Printed for John Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard.

* * * The first number will be distributed gratis.

[227] Patrick Delany, *Revelations examined with Candour, Or, a Fair Enquiry into the Sense and Use of the Several Revelations Expressly Declared, or sufficiently Implied, To be given to Mankind from the Creation, as they are to be found in the Bible, by a profess'd Friend to an honest Freedom of Thought in Religious Enquiries,* 3 vols. (London: for John and James Rivington, 1732, 1745, 1763); "Phileleutherus Dubliniensis" [Patrick Delany], *Reflections upon Polygamy and the Encouragement given to that Practice by the Scriptures of the Old Testament* (London: for J. Roberts, 1737); Patrick Delany, *Historical Account of the Life and Reign of David,* King of Israel: interspersed with Various Conjectures, Digressions and Disquisitions: in which (among other things) Mr. Bayle's Criticisms, upon the Conduct and Character of that Prince, are fully Considered (London: printed for J. Osborn, 1745); Patrick Delany, *The Humanist* (Dublin: printed for John Rivington, first issue 1757); Patrick Delany, *Character of Maria* [Mary Delany] *by Dr. Delany, sent as a Christmas Present to Mrs. Dewes,* Ll. III: 387-393.

[228] Editorial comment by Lady Llanover, Ll. III: 387. For a helpful discussion of this phenomenon, see Stephen Howard, "'A Bright Pattern To All Her Sex': Representations Of Women In Periodical And Newspaper Biography", *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities,* ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London and New York: Longman), 230-249.

[229] Patrick Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift: containing several Singular Anecdotes relating to the Character and Conduct of that Great Genius, and the most deservedly Celebrated Stella; in a Series of Letters...* (London: W. Reeve, A. Linde, 1754).

[230] Patrick Delany, Dunstable, to Mary Pendarves, London, 23 April 1743, Ll. II: 211.

[231] Mary Delany, Delville, Glasnevin, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Gloucester], 8 November 1750, Ll. II: 611.

[232] Mary Delany, Hollymount, Down, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, 11 June 1745.

[233] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (Lodon: n.p., 1982), in Vickery, *Daughter,* 60.

[234] Ball, 130.

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[234] Ball, 130.

[235] Mary Delany, Dublin, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Gloucester], 12 July 1744, Ll. II: 308-9.

[236] Essay on propriety addressed to Mary Delany's grand-niece, Georgina Mary Ann Port, Bulstrode, 3 August 1777, Ll. VI: 310.

[237] Mary Delany, Delville, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Wellesbourne],13 October 1747, Ll. II: 475.

[238] Ball, 141-42; extract from the will of Patrick Delany, Principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate in Ireland, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.
[239] Codicil to Mary Delany's will, Bulstrode, 18 August 1782, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales; Ll. VI: 484.

[240] Sylvia Myers, 19.

[241] *The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, ed. Charlotte Barrett (London: George Bell 1891), I: 519; III: 421, my emphasis.

[242] Ll. IV: 55-7; V: 308-11.

[243] Mary Delany, Bulstrode, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Wellesbourne], 3 March 1755, Ll. III: 338; advice to Lord Titchfield on going to Oxford, Ll. III: 340-43.

[244] Mary Delany, *A British Flora after the Sexual System of Linnaeus, or an English Translation of the Linnaean Names of all the British Plants,* 481 folios including index, dated 18 October 1769, Richard Hatchwell Antiquarian Books and Manuscripts, London.

[245] A full catalogue of the collages, with Delany's own number, Linnaean classification, place and date of composition, and donor of plant, or where it was grown, can be found in Hayden, *Delany Flower Collages,* 172-187.

[246] Ll. VI: 248-9.

[247] Barrett, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay,* II: 5-6.

[248] Despite Delany's own reluctance to accept the King and Queen's house and pension, with the concomitant loss of privacy, she nevertheless made use of her influence with the Queen to gain Fanny Burney a post as lady-in-waiting, a position which interred her in the claustrophobic environs of the court and imposed a regimen of domesticity (the daily care and preparation of the Queen's robes) which severely curtailed her independent life, and along with the "hours of standing" and bodily constraint required of the entourage which represented the monarch, contributed to the failure of her health. Barrett, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay,* II: 61, 81.

[249] *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales. 1714-1720,* ed. the Hon. Charles Spencer Cowper (London: John Murray, 1864), 13. As Natalie Zemon Davis observes, "The brilliant courts so important to the prestige of the royal person and to the whole system of monarchical governance required women and men both. Although women never actually sat in the sovereign's privy council [unless they were the Queen], they took part in the conversation, -- political and personal -- that filled the halls, chambers, and bedriooms of the royal palace." Through this conversation, they exercised political influence; the diary of Lady Cowper offers a wealth of evidence for this contention. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in Politics" chapter 6, in Davis and Farge, 170.

[250] Burney, *Diary*, III: 591.

[251] Frederick Montagu, Papplewick, to Mary Delany, [Windsor], 24 September 1785, Ll. VI: 288.

[252] Anne Astley's account of Mrs. Delany's death, Ll. I: 479, 481.

[253] Ll. VI: 487.

[254] Llanover describes this epitaph as being inscribed on a tablet on one of the columns of the church at St. James's, where Mary Delany was buried in a vault. Ll. VI: 481.

[255] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 185.

[256] This prodigious output includes: Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, repr. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), and the abovementioned *Textual Condition.*

[257] Greetham, 337

[258] John Sutherland, "Publishing History: a Hole at the Centre of Literary Sociology", *Critical Inquiry* 14 (1988): 581, in Greetham, 337.

[259] Stanley Fish, Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities,(London: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[260] Greetham, 341.

[261] Ibid.

[262] A category which includes, e.g. "holograph manuscripts, manuscripts or printed editions personally overseen by the author, copies made from lost holographs". Greetham, 362.

[263] That is, one which which does not attempt to reproduce "the actual physical appearance of the original" focusing rather on textual content, reproducing spelling, punctuation, and capitalization as exactly as possible. Greetham, 350.

[264] Greetham, 350.

[265] G. Thomas Tanselle, "Textual Scholarship", *Introduction to Literary Scholarship in the Modern Languages and Literatures*, ed. Joseph Gibaldi (New York: MLA, 1981), 34, in Greetham, 351.

[266] Greetham, 351.

[267] Quotation from Edmund Wilson, *The Fruits of the MLA*, (New York: New York Review of Books, 1968), n.p., in Greetham, 341. I have in mind here learned editions such as the magisterial Coburn edition of Coleridge's works. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn (London: Routledge/Princeton: Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series LXXV, 1971-).

[268] *The Letters of Sarah Harriet Burney*, ed. Lorna J. Clark (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1997); *The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi, 1784-1821*, ed. Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989); *Bluestocking Feminism*, 5 vols. ed. Gary Kelly et al., (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999).

[269] Greetham, 350.

[270] Lady Llanover's Introduction, Ll. I: vii-viii.

[271] Ll. VI: 499-501.

Chapter

Two

Letters from London

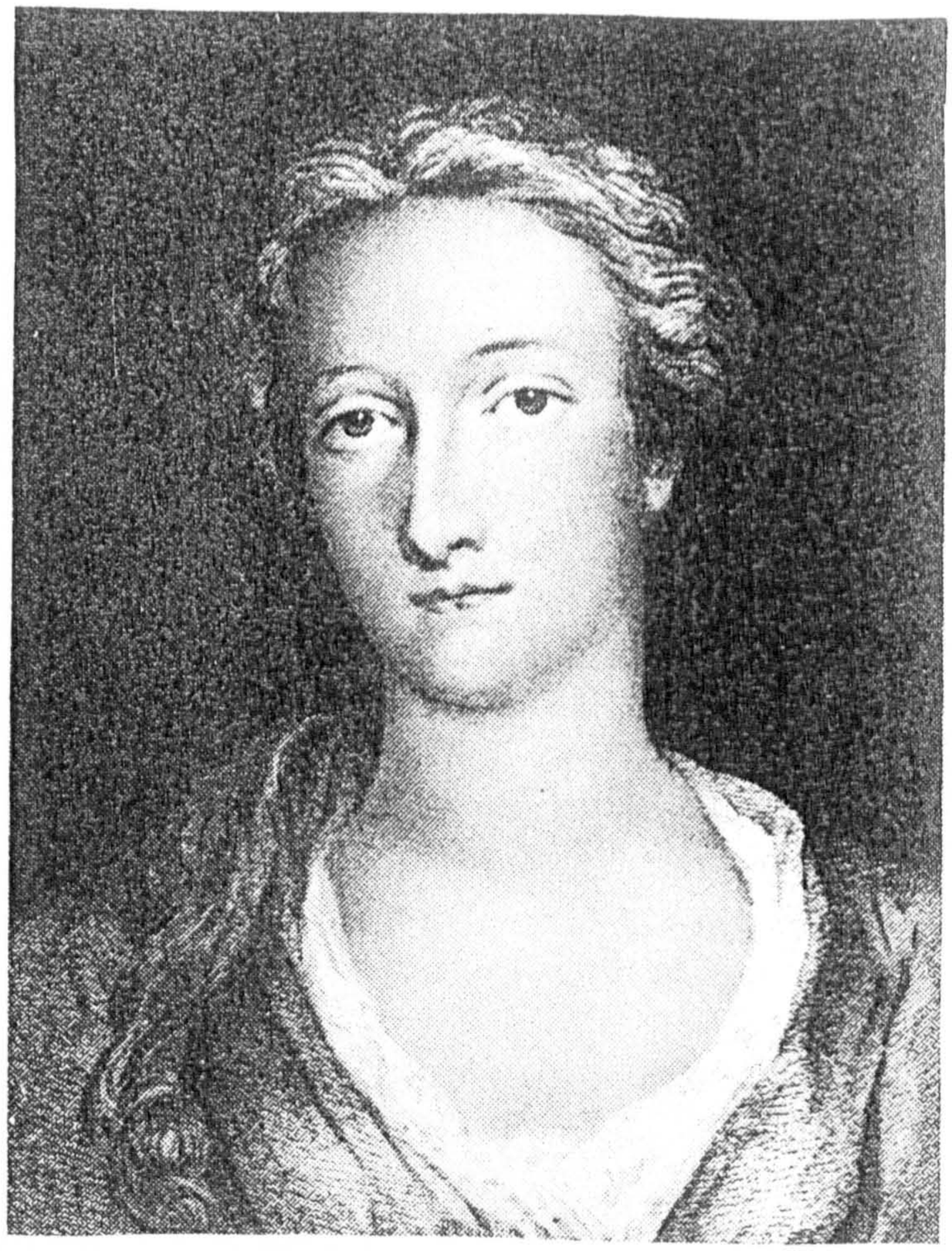

Fig. 1a. Portrait of Anne Granville

Fig. 1b. Portrait of Mary Westcombe, Mrs. Granville

Fig. 2. Extract Plan of London , 1746.

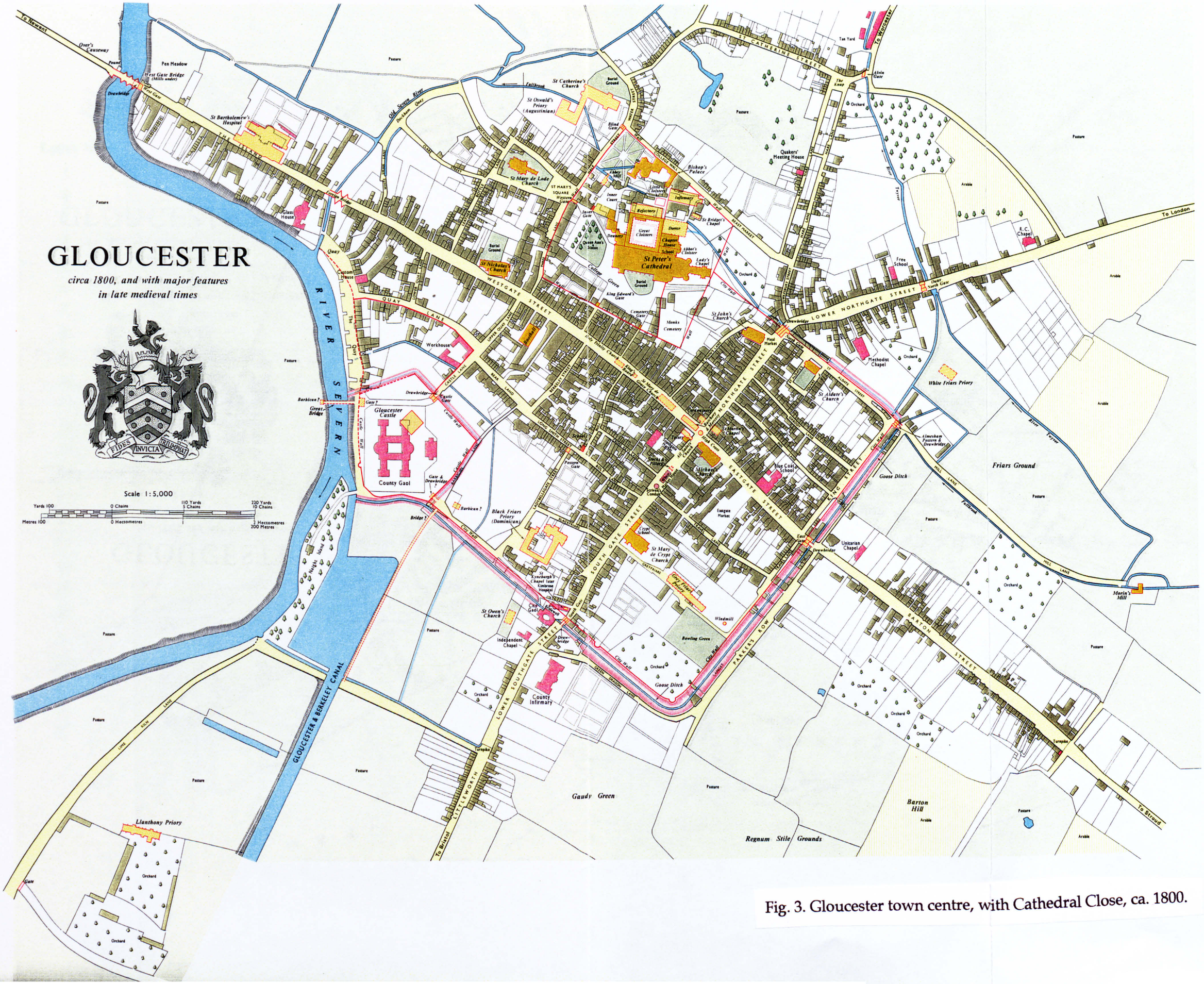

Fig. 3. Gloucester town centre, with Cathedral Close, ca. 1800.

INDEX TO LETTERS

Letter No.		Page
1	29 November 1720	122
2	14 July 1722	132
3	16 May 1723	142
4	28 March 1724	153
5	30 May 1724	163
6	12 December 1724	172
7	9 February 1724/5	181
8	22 August 1725	188
9	[Summer 1726]	191
10	8 November 1726	203
11	27 November 1726	215
12	26 January 1726/7	223
13	5 October 1727	232
14	[12 October 1727]	245
15	31 October 1727	255
16	11 November 1727	262
17	25 November 1727	271
18	1 January 1727/8	279
19	19 January 1727	285
20	26 February 1727/8	292
21	[Early February 1728]	298
22	14 March 1727/8	305
23	12 March 1727/8	310
24	19 March 1727/8	314
25	16 April 1728	320

Letter 1

Contextual Notes

Letter 1 is chronologically the first in the Newport collection, and the earliest autograph letter in the Llanover edition. It is possible, then, that this is the earliest extant letter of the Correspondence.

Letters 1-7 date from the period when Mary's first husband, Alexander Pendarves, was still alive, during her first permanent residence in London after her marriage. Her sister, Ann Granville, was living at that time with their parents, Bernard and Mary (Westcombe) Granville, at Buckland, in Gloucestershire. After Bernard Granville died (1723) Ann and Mrs. Granville moved to the Deanery at Gloucester.

Excerpted Autobiography

> I went to London in the year 1720, in the beginning of November. . . .
>
> Alcander [Lord Lansdowne], upon some discontents occasioned by political affairs, went with his family to France the year before I came to town. I was much disappointed at not finding him, for I loved him notwithstanding the unhappy settlement he had made for me, and I hoped for some redress from him. I at first lamented the absence of Laura [Lady Lansdowne] . . . but I found her conduct since my leaving her, had been very indiscreet. . . . The libertine manners of France accomplished what her own nature was too prone to. . . .

> Though I was on my coming to London disappointed of two friends, on whom I had depended, I was not of the third. My aunt Valeria [Lady Stanley], whose friendship, virtue, and good sense, guided and supported me through several difficult paths, was the only person in the world to whom I ever made any complaint, and even from her, I concealed the greatest part of what I suffered, except where I wanted her direction to act properly, and then I was forced to tell her my difficulties without disguise. She had a great partiality for me; she was infirm and unable to go to public places, but was very careful who I went with: my being young and new, and soon known to be married to a man much older than myself, exposed me to the impertinence of many idle young men. It was not my turn to be pleased with such votaries, and the apprehension of Gromio's [Pendarves's] jealousy kept me upon my guard, and by a dull cold behaviour I soon gave them to understand they were to expect no encouragement from me.
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 66, 81.)

There was one young man, however, whom Mary found more difficult to resist. Soon after her arrival in London in 1720, her husband introduced her to "a young lady, with whose husband [John Hyde, of Kingston-Lysle, Berkshire] he was very intimate." She was Mrs. Jane Hyde, née Calvert (1704-78), the sister of Charles, sixth Lord Baltimore (1699-1751), Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales (Ll. I: 105; 247-8).

> By being often at her house, I became acquainted with her brother Herminius [Baltimore], a young man in great esteem and fashion at that time, very handsome, genteel, polite and unaffected. He was born to a very considerable fotune, and was possesst of it as soon as he came of age, but was as little presuming on the advantages he had from fortune, as on those he had from nature. He had had the education bestowed on men of his rank, where generally speaking the embellishing the person and polishing the manners is thought more material than cultivating the understanding, and the pretty gentleman was preferred to the fine gentleman. I never went to Charlotte [Jane Hyde] that I did not find Herminius. . . . Herminius behaved with the greatest respect imaginable, and with so much reserve

that I had not the least suspicion of his having any particular attachment to me, but I was cautious in my behaviour towards him, and feared his growing particular, but from a different motive to what I had feared it in others. I thought him more agreable than anybody I had ever known, and consequently more dangerous.

Four years I passed in this manner, three years of which time I was acquainted with Herminius; and in all that time, though we often met, he never said a word that could offend me, or gave me just reason to avoid his company.

(Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 105-6.)

Transcript of Letter 1

ALS, NT, I: 1; Ll. I: 57-9

[Mary Pendarves, Rose Street, London, to Anne Granville, Buckland, Gloucestershire.]

To Mrs Anne Granville
at Buckland near Broadway
by Campden bag[1]
Gloucestershire
MT 29 NO[2]

[Rose Street, Hog Lane, Soho][3] London 29 November 1720

Dear Sister

I have been very rude in not sooner returning my thanks for your obliging letter, but I realy have so little time to my Self that I cannot do as I woud or as I ought. pray present my humble Duty to my Mama .[4] I design'd writing to her last post but I was engaged that whole day at Somerset House[5] & my papa[6] told me he woud write to my

Mother & make my excuse. I was last Wednesday at the Opera called Astartus[7] it is a new one, & there is very fine musick in it. the Stage was never so well Served as it is now there is not one indifferent Voice they are all Italiens. there is one Man called Serosini[8] that is beyond Nicolini[9] both in Person & voice, I wish my Mama & your self were in Town with all my Heart. I go as often to Somerset Ho[use] as I can for it is the greatest Satisfaction I have now I can't have your Company, you are now so perfect a woman in your behaviour that I don't doubt but your conversation makes the Hours pass away very agreably to my mother, but I find you have not much company. I expect my Lady Grandison[10] to make me a visit this evening. Lady Carteret[11] nor the Countess[12] have yet Honourd me with a visit but the reason is there is one of Lord Carteret's Sons dead.[13] I stick close to my Spinnett[14] & Mr Simmons[15] is very good & diligent, I have not been Mother Brown[16] with him since I came to Town. he and his Son have almost all the busyness of the Town & he has raised his price to two Guineas a month; but I shall give him but 30 Shilling. Mrs Langley (Miss Mercer that was)[17] has been to see me she is prettier than ever she was but prodigious fatt. My Aunt Stanley & Mrs Tellier[18] have both had bad colds Mrs Tellier is pretty well again but my Aunt is still much out of order. Mr Cowpers Gun & pistolls are Safe they shall be sent by the next return of the Carrier I beg his pardon that I have So long kept them[.][19] Poll[20] is very well & [at][21] present with my Father. I am affraid I have quite tired you with my long letter pray lett me hear from you very often, I beg my Daughters[22] pardon for not answering her letter but I will very soon; give my Service to her & I will certainly speak to her Uncle[23] when I see him but I have not yet, Service to all Neighbours & be assured I am My Dearest Sister

Yours most affectionatly,

M. Pendarves

don't brag of your long letter to any of
my correspondants, for I cannot afford to write to them so

all friends in Cornwall are well but Mrs Bassett[24] who grows weaker & weaker & she is breeding. Mr St Carb[25] has burried one of his Sons but I don't know which[26]

Notes

---

[1] "By Campden bag" is an instruction to the sorting-office (or "receiving house" as it then was; see n. 2 below) to place the letter in the *post*bag for the nearest significant town. Chipping Campden, called "Campden", was a parish and market town nine and a half miles southeast of Evesham, Gloucester. John Bartholomew, *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles, including summary of the 1951 Census* (Edinburgh: Geographical Institute, 1953), 121.

[2] Members of Parliament and peers were entitled to frank covers, and used this privilege to favour their own circle. Since Alexander Pendarves was MP for Launceston, in Cornwall, Mary Pendarves was able to use his frank. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 408-9. "MT" is probably an abbreviation for the location of one of the Post Office receiving houses (see Letter 3, n. 21).

[3] On coming to London to pursue his political interests, Pendarves took lodgings in Rose Street, Hog Lane, Soho, now Manette Street, W1. Mary Pendarves ("MP" henceforth) joined him there in the year of this letter. Rose Street was built in the early 1690s, and probably named after a tavern. In 1720, Strype (the reviser of Stow's *Survey of London*) observed: "This street hath some indifferent good houses but the greater part is taken up with coach houses and stables." MP describes it as "a very unpleasant part of the town . . . ; but I was very indifferent where my situation was." Rose Street was renamed Manette Street in 1895, after Dr. Manette in Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities*. Mary Delany, autobiographical letter in Ll. I: 61-3; John Stow, *Survey of the Cities of London & Westminster*, ed. John Strype,(n.p., 1720) in *The London Encyclopaedia*, ed. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, rev. ed. (London: Macmillan, 1993), 507.

[4] Mrs. Mary Granville, née Westcombe (d.1747), Mary Delany's mother.

[5] MP's paternal aunt, Lady Ann, married John Stanley, Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, in 1697. In 1699, Stanley received the baronetcy of Grange Gormon, in Ireland; in 1719, Lady Ann was appointed housekeeper of Somerset House. She also occupied a grace-and-favour apartment at Somerset House during her periods of service as lady-in-waiting to Princess Caroline. Handasyde, 73; Beattie, 25, n. For a

contemporary plan of Somerset House and historical notes, see *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M. Colvin, et al. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), V: 254-63. See Fig. 4.

[6] Bernard Granville (d.1723), MP's father.

[7] In the year of this letter, Giovanni B(u)ononcini (1670-1747) was invited to London by the newly-founded Royal Academy of Music. English audiences, already familiar with his works, gave him a warm welcome. He was sponsored by the houses of Rutland and Marlborough (see Letter 3, n. 15) in direct opposition to Handel, royal favourite and chief composer at the Academy, and he gradually encroached upon the latter's managerial territory. His first contribution to opera in England was the music for *Astarto*, premièred on 19 November 1720, which ran for an impressive thirty performances. Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93), II: 207.

[8] "Senesino" ("the man from Siena") was the stage name of Francesco Bernardi (ca. 1680-ca. 1759), the renowned castrato. In early 1720 he was dismissed "for insubordination" from a lucrative engagement in Dresden, after which he met Handel and came to sing in London for a fee of 3,000 guineas. His first role was Clearchus in *Astarto*, (n. 7 above) then on 28 December he sang the eponymous *Radamisto* in Handel's opera, which was attended by the royal family. Highfill et al., XIII: 253.

[9] "Nicolini" was the stage-name of the castrato Nicola (or Nicolò) Grimaldi (1673-1732), a favourite in Rome and Venice, who became the foremost male contralto in Italy. He came to England in the autumn of 1708, and was partly responsible for the increasing popularity of Italian opera in London. His first appearance was at the Queen's Theatre on 14 December in *Pirro e Demetrio*, translated into English by the impresario Owen Swiney, but sung partly in English and partly in Italian. Highfill et al., XI: 25, 28. *The Spectator* treats him and the *opera seria* with engaging levity:

> . . . I was at the opera the last time Hydaspes was performed. At that part of it where the hero engages with the lion, the graceful manner with which [Nicolini] put that terrible monster to death gave me so great a pleasure, ...that I [cried out] "Altro volto!" [encore] in a very audible voice; and my friends flatter me that I pronounced those words with a tolerable good accent, considering that was but the third opera I had ever seen in my life. Yet notwithstanding all this, there was so little regard had to me, that the lion was carried off, and went to bed, without being killed any more that night. Now, sir, pray consider that I did not understand a word of what Mr. Nicolini said to this cruel creature; besides, I have no ear for music; so that during the long dispute between 'em, the whole entertainment I had was from my eye. Why then have not I as much right to have a graceful action repeated as another has a pleasing sound, since . . . we neither of us know that there is any reasonable thing a-doing? Steele, *Spectator*, no. 314 (29 February 1712) in *The Spectator* [1711-12, 1714], 5 vols., ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 138-139.

"Hydaspes" was Francesco Mancini's *Idaspe fedele*, first produced at the Queen's Theatre, Haymarket, on Thursday, 23 March 1710. It was also the first and only opera seen and enjoyed by Mary Granville before the family was obliged to flee to Buckland in 1715. See Ll. I: 12, 16 Highfill et al., XI: 25, 28.

[10] The Hon. Frances Carey married John Villiers, 5th Viscount Grandison and 1st Earl. " Dy'd *Catharine*, Viscountess of *Grandison* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: She was Daughter and sole Heir of *John Fitzgerald* of *Desis* in the County of *Waterford*, Esq; She was twice marry'd, first to [John] *Villiers* Esq; eldest Son of *George* Lord Viscount *Grandison*, and afterwards to Lieutenant-General William Stuart." Ll. II: 394, n; "Chronological Diary", *The Historical Register. Containing an impartial relation of all transactions foreign and domestick*, XI, 26 December 1725 (London: C. Meere, for the Sun Fire Office, 1725).

[11] Frances (born 6 March 1693/4) only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, fourth Baronet of Appuldercombe, Isle of Wight, by Frances, daughter of Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth. She married John, Lord Carteret, at Longleat (17 October 1710) bringing a dowry of £12,000. She was "exceedingly beautiful" and very musical. She died suddenly, while playing the harp, at Hanover on 20 June 1743, but was not buried until 23 December that year, after her husband had returned from the Dettingen campaign. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*); G. E. Cockayne, ed., *The Complete Peerage, or a History of the House of Lords and All its Members from the Earliest Times*, rev. and enl. by Vicary Gibbs, now ed. by H. A. Doubleday, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1926), VI: 90.

[12] Grace (ca.1667-1744), second daughter of John Granville, first Earl of Bath, by Jane, daughter of Sir Peter Wyche; mother of John, Lord Carteret, and created (1 January 1714/5) Viscountess Carteret and Countess Granville in her own right. Cockayne, 88-96.

[13] John, Lord Carteret, was at this time on his way back to England via Hanover, after successfully brokering a peace treaty between Sweden and Denmark. The treaty, which was ratified on 22 October 1720, "practically put an end to the war between Sweden, Russia, Denmark and the king of Prussia, for the czar afterwards concluded an agreement with Denmark without the intervention of a mediator". Carteret arrived in England on 5th December. The Honourable George Carteret (b. 14 February 1717) died of smallpox and was buried at the family seat at Hawnes, Bedfordshire, on 13 June 1721. His interment was probably delayed until his father returned home, as was that of his mother twenty-two years later (see n. 11 above) Ll. I: 60, n.; *DNB*, s.v. "Carteret".

[14] "SPINET, a Musical Instrument, a sort of small Harpsichord." Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary,* (London: printed for E. Bell et al., 1721).

[15] This may have been the Henry Simonds/Simmonds/Symonds who was granted livery as a member of the royal musical establishment on 25 October 1711 at a salary of £40 per annum. He died in 1740, leaving his estate to his grandchildren, Thomas and Ann. Highfill et al., XIV: 76.

[16] ? "BROWN MADAM, or MISS BROWN. The monosyllable.
MONOSYLLABLE. A woman's commodity [i.e. 'cunt']." Robert Cromie, ed., *1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue: a Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit and Pickpocket Eloquence.* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company [facsimile], 1971). I can find no other sources for MP's "mother brown". If it has this meaning, it is surprising: the nearest she comes to indecorum is in calling her sister a "sad slut" and "saucy jade" in Letter 16 - humorous references to *The Beggar's Opera.* The context suggests that MP has been satisfied with her music teacher, and has not needed to act the scold with him.

[17] Not Identified.

[18] Mrs. Tellier was lady's-companion to Anne Stanley. Ll. I: 11.

[19] Mr. Cowper was probably a Cornish friend who had lent her a brace of pistols for protection on the journey from Cornwall to London. Presumably they would have been wielded by her serving-man, John Trenbath.

[20] Not identified.

[21] Ms torn around the seal.

[22] ? Sarah, or Sally C(h)apon(e) (later Mrs. Sandford), daughter of Sarah Chapone (née Kirkham, 1699-1764), the early playfellow and lifelong friend of Mary Granville. Mary and Ann Granville were her godmothers. Her brother John married the notable Hester Mulso (b. 1727). Ll. I: 58; III: 36 and 626 n.; *DNB.*

[23] ? If Sally Chapone is MP's (god)daughter, then MP's elder brother Bernard is, by extension, her (god)Uncle.

[24] Mrs Bassett was MP's niece, the daughter and heiress of the Rev. John Pendarves (d. before 1727), rector of Dunsteignton, Devonshire. Her husband, Francis Basset, of Tehidy, Esq. refused to take the name Pendarves in order to inherit from his uncle by marriage. Pendarves intended to disinherit him in favour of MP, but failed to change his will before he died. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714. Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees,* ed. Joseph Foster (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1891), s.v. "Pendarves, John"; Ll. I: 23, 107, n.

[25] Not identified.

[26] This postscript is written in a smaller, inverted hand in the space between the salutation and the first line of the letter.

GREAT COURT
ROOMS OVER COACH HOUSES
STABLE YARD
STABLES
OLD FRIARY
UPPER PART OF KITCHEN
GUARD CHAMBER
CHAPEL
GUARD ROOM
CLERK OF THE WORKS
SHEDS
FORMER CAPUCHIN FRIARY
PRESENCE CHAMBER
PRIVY CHAMBER
DRAWING ROOM
DRESS-ING ROOM
STATE BED CHAMBER
LOWER COURT
ROMS OF LORD IN WAIT
PAGE
GREAT GALLERY
PASSAGE GALLERY
MAIDS OF HONOUR COURT
CROSS GALLERY
YELLOW ROOM
FLOWER GARDEN
STRAND LANE
RIVER THAMES

The Duke of Somerset 1548 - 1551
Anne of Denmark 1609 - 1615
Henrietta Maria 1630 - 1635
Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza 1660 - 1685
18th Century
Uncertain

10 0 30
Scale of Metres
50 0 100
Scale of Feet

Old Somerset House, based on an eighteenth-century survey by Kenton Couse (Works 30/261)

Fig. 4a.

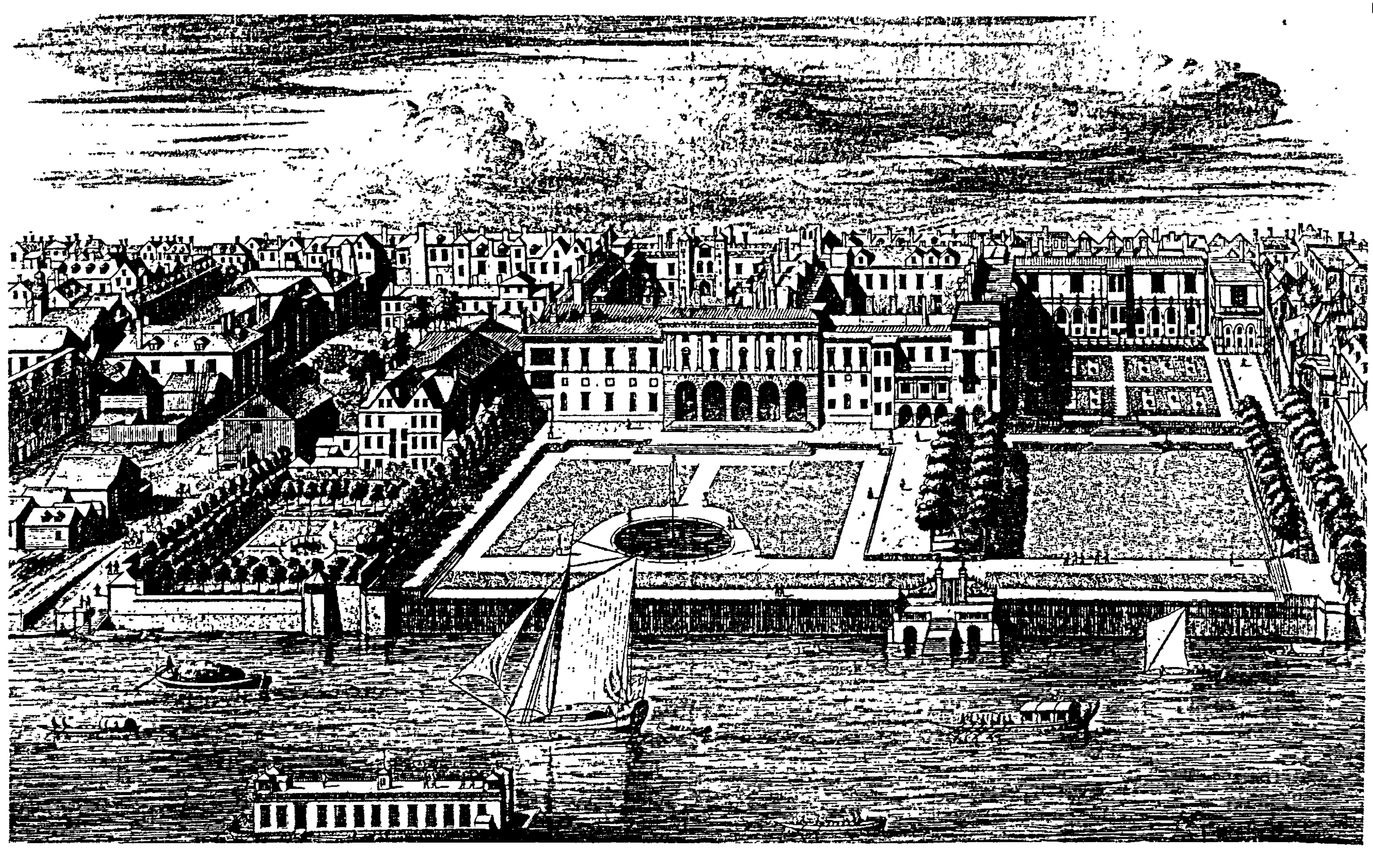

Fig. 4b. Somerset House, the garden and the Folly (a large rivercraft adapted for pleasure in left foreground); engraving by J. Kip after L. Knyff (1714).

Letter 2

Contextual Notes

There is a gap of almost two years in the correspondence between 29 November 1720 and the letter of 14 July 1722. The Llanover edition includes a letter of 10 June 1721 from Lady Lansdowne, on a brief visit to London, to Mary's father Bernard in Bath. She "went out of England as a South-Sea lady", and appears to be making the visit to England to raise some money to make up for her losses. Lord Lansdowne has instructed her to speak to his brother Bernard about Bevill, Mary's reprobate brother, who "thinks he has been long enough at school, and indeed every body is of his mind for what he learns there". A clear picture of the family's economic difficulties emerges from this letter: Lansdowne has a £500 inheritance of Bevill's, which can be paid him at fifty pounds a year, but there is no help for Bernard, the eldest: "I wish that it was in my power to serve both your sons" Lady Lansdowne writes, "but the world is so altered that I do not know anybody that will help one another. Our circumstances are so that we must retrench our family, to see if we can save anything at year's end to get my daughters some small fortunes; for my part, I am not ashamed to have the world know the reason that I save money, we are but as our neighbours." (Ll. I: 59-60). There is also an undated narrative, written by MP, about a former friend, Miss H[awley] and her sexual misdemeanours. This narrative contains some hints about MP's movements in 1720-1: "I went with [Miss Hawley] to plays and Lady Strafford's assembly, which was once a fortnight, and the only one at that time, except Lady Chetwind's every Sunday, which I never attended." (Ll. I: 67).

Excerpted Autobiography

> When I came to London, [Pendarves] received me with great joy; he had taken a house in a very unpleasant part of the town . . . [he had a sister, who] . . . at the age of sixty-one . . . [had] resigned herself and her fortune [to] . . . a cunning Scot [who] walked off with his booty, and left the poor forlorn woman . . . I was greatly surprised . . . to find her in the house . . . I too soon found she was fixed there, and that I should suffer infinitely from her ill-humours.
>
> Hitherto I had lived in great affluence, . . . I had no notion of ever wanting. I will not trouble you, my dear Maria, with the particulars of my distresses on that score; [Pendarves's] excuse to me was "bad tenants and a cheating steward," which I truly believe was the case, though I had many hints given me, by his old friends, that he had some very near relations [i.e. illegitimate children] to maintain. . . . to drown his cares . . . and his remorse for having drawn me into miserable circumstances, . . . he returned to [his former] society, never came home sober, and has [*sic*] frequently been led between two servants to bed at six and seven o'clock in the morning.
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 60-69.)

Transcript of Letter 2

ALS, NT, I: 1a/2; Ll. I: 69-71

[Mary Pendarves in Rose Street, London, to Anne Granville at Buckland, Gloucestershire. In another hand, on the reverse of the letter is written: *M Pendarvises (later M Delany) Lettter when 22 yrs Old To her Younger Sister after Dewes & mother to M. Port of Ilam.*]

Mrs Anne Granville Spinster[1]

Rose Street 14 July 1722

You must not take it ill my Dear Sister that this is the first letter directed to you, Since I left Buckland[2] for I have been in full employment Since I came to Town in Equiping my self with Clothes for my mourning,[3] which tho['] a very Slight one, was a good pretence for me to have a white Lutestring.[4] your cheerfull letter & good account of my Dear Papa has given me a great deal of pleasure and Satisfaction[.] I never cease praying for his re'establishment in a perfect State of good Health, & I beg I may constantly hear how he does in a particular manner whilst he is under the Physician's di[s]cipline. I desire you will present my humble Duty to my Papa and Mama, I did design writing to Day to my Father, but Mr Pendarves[5] prevents me, so I will deferr my letter to another post, pray assure my Bro:[6] and Mrs Carter[7] of my humble Service I acknowledge my Self their Debtor but will pay ^em.[8] in a very little time.[9] last Wednesday I was all Night upon the Water[10] with Lady Harriet Harley.[11] we went into the Barge at five in the afternoon, and landed at White Hall Stairs again at five in the morning. we rowd up the River as farr as Richmond, and was entertaind all the time with very good musick in another Barge, the Consort was composed of 3 Hautboys,[12] 2 Bassoons, flute Allemagne, and Young Grenoc's Trumpett.[13] we were to have had Mrs Robinson[14] wth. us but unluckly she was engaged, otherwise our Entertainment had been compleat, while we lay before Richmond we eat some cold meat & fruit & had Variety of Wines to quench our thirst, but notwithstand[ing] all these Variety's of diversion I should not have enjoy'd ^em^ had I not receiv'd a letter that post from Mrs Carter which gave me a particular good account of my Father, for which favour I will return her a Thousand thanks. I cannot say 'tho the Town is not full that it is disagreable. I have acquaintance eno^[15] in it never to be quite alone, & the Park[16] is very pleasant; for what company there is in Town y^o.[17] are sure of meeting there. Mrs Andrews's Sister Miss Whiteman[18] is run mad & now confined in amad[19] House, her Sister I think wants such a place as much, for nothing but one out of their Senses could behave themselves So

ridiculously.[20] I expect Mrs Nelly Warren[21] to dine with me to Day I have not yet seen her. Yesterday my Cousin Ogle was here, who ask'd very much after all friends at Buckland [.] She expects her Husband home soon laden, with the Prizes[22] he has taken from the three Pyrates.[23] I was in the afternoon yesterday at Somersett-House, where I found my Aunt Stanley better than she has been for some days, she charged me with her Service & best Wishes to Buckland, she woud have writ to my father herself & hopes he does not take it unkind she has not, but she was ^so ill, & low in Spirrits y^t.[24] she was not able to write a line, my Brother Bevill walkd in the Park with me last night, I left him well in Stable yard,[25] but Suppose you will have a letter from him this post. I was sitting down to write to Buckland last post but was prevented by a message from my Aunt G—ll[26] that she wanted to speak with me at Somerset House when I came it was to give me the Solitaires,[27] which are at last arrived, I will send my mothers & yours by the first opportunity [.] now I believe I have tired ^y^o & will conclude having nothing worth your reading to acquant y^o. with I am

Dear Sister most affectionately Yours

M Pendarves

I rejoyce at the Goldfinch['s] good Health [Pigeon] is not as gay as when at Buckland but begs his humble Service [28]

I am ^not Certain when I go to Cornwall, or if at all.[29]

Anne Anne

Anne Mrs Anne Granville

Anne Spinster

S To

MMa Gra

Mary Spi

Carter Carter Cart

I will make enquiry for some right Palsye Drops.

Notes

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[1] This is the form of words used in parish registers of marriage, and may be a little teasing on MP's part.

[2] MP had evidently been to stay with her family for some time between the date of this and the previous letter.

[3] MP seems to have been in mourning for her aunt by marriage: "Died Mrs Stanley, wife of Colonel Stanley, brother of Sir John Stanley, Bart." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, VII, 14 April 1722.

[4] "LUSTRING, [cf *lustre*, F. brightness or Gloss] a Sort of Glossy Silk called *lutestring*". Bailey, *Dictionary*. "A lightweight, shining silk used between the late 17th and the early 19th century. It could be plain or patterned. It was woven in tabby [plain weave] and the glossy effect was produced by heating and stretching the silk, adding a suitable glaze in the process." *Four Hundretd Years of Fashion*, ed. Natalie Rothstein et al., Victoria and Albert Museum, (London: V. & A. Publications, 1984), 174, 176. White, like black, was not considered a colour, and was therefore used for mourning. As it was also a symbol of virginity and innocence, it characterized mourning for, and by, women and children. As late as 1808, the artist Angelica Kaufmann, who died at the age of sixty-six, was carried to her grave by young women in white, because she was unmarried. Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972), 101, 146-47. See Fig. 5.

[5] Her husband, Alexander Pendarves.

[6] Bernard or Beville Granville.

[7] ? Mary Carter, (d. 1 February 1760) widow of Martin Carter (d. 1720), daughter of James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde by Mary (Westcombe) Granville, MP's mother, who later (1725) married William Viney (1692-1745).

[8] "^em." MP's abbreviated insertion, "them".

[9] i.e. she will reply to their letters as soon as she can.

[10] There were an estimated fifteen thousand boats for hire on the Thames in London and its vicinity. The boatmen wore a livery of velvet or black plush cap, red or green doublet, "pleated about the lower edge", with silver plates on front and back, bearing the embossed arms of their employers. The boatmen served the King, the Prince of Wales, peers, the Lord Mayor and magistrates of London. Their vessels were all registered at a central office, where complaints about the service could be lodged. The boats were "very attractive and cleanly kept", lightweight, painted red or green, and could hold six persons comfortably. They were available to hire from twenty or thirty "stairs" or quays. "As soon as a person approaches the stairs these men run to meet him, calling out lustily, 'Oars! Oars!' or 'Sculler! Sculler!' They continue this melodious music until the person . . . points with his finger to the man he has chosen, and they at once unite in abusive language at the offending boatman." From London Bridge to Westminster a boat with one oarsman cost threepence, two oarsmen sixpence, but "as soon as the Bridge is passed the cost will be doubled. If you wish to go for a pleasure-party on the river it is prudent to fix the price beforehand, for these watermen like to fleece the public." César de Saussure to an unidentified family member, East Sheen, near Richmond, 29 October 1726. *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II: The Letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to his Family,* ed. and trans. Madame van Muyden, (London: John Murray, 1902), 169-71.

[11] ? Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only child and heiress of John Duke of Newcastle. She married, on 31 October 1713, Edward, then Lord Harley, and afterwards 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, the collector of the Harleian manuscripts now held in the British Library. He died in June 1741. The Countess died on 8 December 1755. Their only child and heiress was Margaret Cavendish Harley, born on 11 February 1714, and married on 11 July 1734, to William, 2nd Duke of Portland. "She was one of the early friends of Mary Granville, and in later life the most intimate friend of Mrs Delany." Ll. I: 104, n. MP's uncle, George, Lord Lansdowne was a friend and protegé of Edward Harley's father, Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford, who died on 21 May 1724. Ll. I: 70 n.

[12] "HAUTBOY, a Musical Instrument call'd a Hoboy." Bailey, *Dictionary*. ". . . *n.* and *s.* [*haut* and *bois.*] A wind instrument." Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language, Stereotyped verbatim from the last folio edition corrected by the Doctor* (London: Joseph Ogle Robinson, 1828.)

[13] There appear to have been two composer-performers of this name and its several variants: Lewis Christian Austin Granom (fl. 1722-63), and Giovanni Battista "John"

Grano (fl. ca. 1710-30). The latter was imprisoned for debt, May 1728 - September 1729, and left a diary (Ms Bodleian Library, Rawlinson coll. D.34) which gives a very full account of life in the Marshalsea. Lewis Christian Granom, trumpeter and flautist, is first recorded as staging a benefit performance at the Haymarket Theatre on 11 May 1722, whose programme comprised: "A Trumpet Concerto by Grano", "A Solo on the German Flute by Grano" and "A Concerto on the Little Flute by Grano". Highfill et al., VI: 309-10; William Matthews, ed., *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950), 70.

[14] Anastasia Robinson, later Countess of Peterborough (ca. 1692-1755). She took up singing professionally to bring in an income when her father (a painter) went blind. "Encouraged by the partiality of the public . . . and particularly by the countenance and patronage of some persons of high rank of her own sex, Mr. Robinson took a house in Golden-square, where he established weekly concerts . . . in the manner of conversazioni, which were frequented by all such as had any pretensions to politeness and good taste." Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. (London: printed for the author, 1776-89), [n.p.] in Highfill et al., XIII: 22-5.

Her most ardent admirer was Charles Mordaunt, Lord Peterborough, whom she married secretly, possibly in the summer of this year (when Mordaunt was about sixty), although the marriage was not acknowledged publicly until 1735 (see Delany's account in LI. I: 72-4). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was delighted by a scuffle over Robinson's honour (1724): "[Mrs. Robinson] has engag'd half the Town in Arms from the Nicety of her virtue, which was not able to bear the too near approach of Senesino in the Opera, . . . Lord Peterborough . . . has signaliz'd both his Love and Courage upon this occasion in as many instances as ever D[on] Quixote did for Dulcinea. Poor Senesino like a vanquish'd Giant was forc'd to confess upon his knees that Anastasia was a non pareil of virtue and of beauty. Lord Stanhope, as dwarf to the said Giant, jok'd of his side, and was challeng'd for his pains. Lord Delawarr was Lord Peterborough's second . . . the whole Town divided into partys on this important point." To Lady Mar, [March 1724] in Robert Halsband, ed., *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), II: 37- 8.

[15] "enough" abbreviated.

[16] Charles II began improvements to "the irregular ground at St. James's Park" only weeks after his return to England in 1660. The Mall, with double lines of trees, was laid out along the northwest boundary, and a straight canal, half a mile long, was formed from several ponds in the old hunting park. It ran approximately east-west, from the buildings of Whitehall towards Buckingham House. Christopher Thacker, *The Genius of Gardening: The History of Gardens in Britain and Ireland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), 138. César de Saussure writes (London, 17

September 1725): "Along one side of the Palace is a magnificent place for the geme of pall-mall, which extends the entire length of the park, and is bordered on either side by a long avenue of trees. This place is no longer used for the game, but is a promenade, and every spring it is bestrewn with tiny sea-shells, which are then crushed by means of a heavy roller. . . . This is an enchanting spot in summer time. Society comes to walk here on fine, warm days, from seven to ten in the evening, and in winter from one to three o'clock. English men and women are fond of walking, and the park is so crowded at times that you cannot help touching your neighbour. Some people come to see, some to be seen, and others to seek their fortunes; for many priestesses of Venus are abroad, some of them magnificently attired, and . . . many young men are not long in repenting that they have become acquainted with such beautiful and amiable nymphs. The ponds are covered with wild ducks and geese, deer and roe-deer are so tame that they eat out of your hand, and there is little danger of being attacked in the park or neighbourhood of the Palace, for should the offender be taken up in any of these privileged parts, the laws would condemn him to lose his hand. No one can be taken up and imprisoned for debt so long as he does not leave the vicinity of the Palace." Saussure, 48.

[17] "You" abbreviated.

[18] "On Sunday last died Mr. Andrews, an eminent apothecary in Coleman street, and many Years Deputy of that Ward." *Parkers Penny Post,* Wednesday 23 November 1726.

[19] MP does not lift the pen from the page between "a" and "mad".

[20] Not identified.

[21] "Dr. Warren [of Stratford-le-Bow church] dined with me, and his son, who is in deacon's orders, and is designed our minister." John Percival, "Diary", Sunday 14 November 1731. Mrs. Nelly Warren may have been his wife or relative. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ser. 63, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards first Earl of Egmont, 1730 –1747*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), I: 208 and III: 534.

[22] "PRIZE, [*un Prise,* F,] that which is taken, any Kind of Booty, . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*. "Prize, . . . [n. F. *prise* the action of taking, capture, esp. the capture of a ship, the booty taken, the captured ship or cargo. . . . b. *esp.* a ship or property captured at sea in virtue of the rights of war; . . . . 1697, DAMPIER, *Voy. Round World* (1699) 174. We were now 6 Sail, a Men of War [*sic*] a Tenders, [*sic*] a Fire-Ship and the Prize." *OED*.

There is a tantalizing reference to Cousin Ogle's husband in a later letter: "The Mr. Martin who kept a tavern and was killed by Capt. Ogle, was butler to the Duke of Portland, and made memorable by poor Dr. Shaw's impromptu '*on toasted cheese.*'" Mary Delany to Anne Dewes, Spring Gardens, 20 April 1756, Ll. III: 423 [Shaw's verse not traced].

[23] The signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 led to the dispersal of national fleets which itself resulted in a flurry of privateering and piracy in Caribbean and North American waters. Bartholomew Roberts was one of the most daring and successful pirates, taking almost 400 vessels between 1719 and 1722. His death and the trial of his crew in 1722 "symbolized the end of piracy's golden age". Chaloner Ogle (1681-1750), served under Sir Clowdisley Shovell and George Byng, and was knighted after his defeat of Roberts and his crew. "An Account of the Tryal of All the Pyrates lately taken by Capt. Ogle" was advertised as published in the *Daily Courant*, 20 February 1723, and it is likely that Defoe used it as source material for his *General History of the Pyrates* in 1724. Manuel Schonhorn, ed., *Daniel Defoe: A General History of the Pyrates* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1972), xxi-ii; xxxi-ii, 676.

[24] Abbreviated "that".

[25] Stable Yard: either at St. James's Palace, or Somerset House, where there was a great stable with stalls for 56 horses, on the west side. Colvin et al, V: 258. It is possible that MP's renegade brother Bevill (1705-1736) was taking refuge from his creditors here, if Saussure (n.16 above) is correct. Ten days later, he was married in the Fleet Prison to Mary Ann Rose of Weedon (d. 8 September 1779). He can only have been seventeen years old at this date. Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family Traced back to Rollo, First Duke of Normandy* (Exeter: William Pollard & Co., 1895), 435, 440.

[26] Elizabeth Granville, the unmarried sister of Lord Lansdowne, Colonel Bernard Granville, and Lady Stanley. Ll. I: 71, n.

[27] Diamonds, perhaps divided amongst female relatives on the death of Mrs. Stanley (see n. 3 above).

[28] This postscript is inserted in a small hand in the space left of the closing salutation.

[29] This postscript, in a small hand, is written flush right and vertically to the side of the fold on the reverse of the letter, the following postscript similarly, flush left, framing the handwriting practice in the centre.

Fig. 5. Mantua sleeve of brocaded silk lustring. Avril Hart et al., *Historical Fashion in Detail: the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*(London: V. & A. Publications, 1998), 91.

Letter 3

Contextual Notes

Ten months elapse between this and the preceding letter, suggesting that correspondence has been lost or destroyed. The Llanover edition includes Mary Delany's account of the secret marriage of Anastasia Robinson, the opera singer, to her lover, Lord Peterborough, and his eventual public acknowledgement of Robinson's status as his wife. This is a much later text, "dictated [by Mary Delany] to Dr. Burney" in the 1780s, and therefore not included here. (Ll. I: 72-5.)

In a letter of 15 February 1722/3, Mary's uncle, George, Lord Lansdowne "rejoices" at the news from his brother Bernard that the latter's health continues to improve "at the Bath". There is further discussion about the Granville monument at Lansdowne, which he fears will be defaced "by comers and goers, who would be apt to scratch their own conceits and sentences upon it". He opts for "a handsome rail of stone" to protect it. Lansdowne has received a "very grave and serious letter" from Mary's reprobate younger brother Bevil, to the effect that he wishes to take holy orders and study at Trinity College, Cambridge, Lansdowne's own *alma mater*. However, in recent years there has been "a civil war between the master and fellows" and Lansdowne recommends Oxford University instead as closer to Buckland and the parental gaze, and Exeter College as "particular to the Western gentleman". He concludes: "I would fain have him do well, and establish such a character as may give him higher views in time than barely remaining a country parson".

Immediately after this letter, Lady Llanover includes another from the same correspondence, again from George to Bernard, dated 9 March 1722/3. Bernard Granville appears to have requested further

financial assistance from his brother, and is graciously, but firmly refused: ". . . you are and shall ever be sure of me to the very utmost of my power; all that I have to ask of you in return, is to consider with the same tenderness my circumstances till I have more in my power, and whenever that happens, I will give you leave to reproach me, if your condition should not mend whenever mine does." (Ll. I: 75-77.)

Lady Llanover comments: "It is certain that Col. Granville [Mary's father] not only lost immensely by his own attachment to the Stuarts, but that his brother, Lord Lansdowne's influence being considerable, it was [probably] exerted to strengthen his adherence to their cause, still more to the injury of his worldly affairs in his later days." (Ll. I: 77-9 and n.)

Transcript of Letter 3

ALS, NT, I: 2/3; Ll. I: 79-81

[Mary Pendarves [Rose Street], London to Anne Granville, Buckland, Gloucester.]

[Rose Street] London 16 May 1723

'Tho^I have been a Voyage to Day I can't forbear writing two or 3 lines to my Dear Sister. Mrs Carter[1] and my Self are just returnd from Chelsea[2] where we found all Friends well, Mr Butler[3] complains very much, but I believe he is a little hippd[4] for he grows fatt and eats ~~and eat~~ & sleeps well. when we came home we had a mortification, for Mrs Carter found a Letter from Lady H: H:[5] to offer her two Ticketts for the Opera the loss of which makes maddy[6] grumble in the Gizard,[7]

She is very well, and very good to be contented with the poor accomadations She meets with here[.] She gives her service to you and is at this time writing out the variations on minuett Favorita.[8] I am rejoyced to hear by your Letter to her, that my Mama is pretty well, if my good wishes had any influence ~~on~~ her Health would be perfect. this day my Aunt Clifford[9] had an account from my Cousin Carter of Braintree,[10] of old Mrs Taverner's Death,[11] She dyed last Wednesday Night of a Fitt of the Stone,[12] which had reduced her to a consumption.[13] Lady Lansdowne[14] is expected to Night or to' morrow morning, Miss Grace[15] is quite recoverd. Sr William Carews Law Suit with Lord Coventry[16] is just determined in favour of Sr Will. the Young Dutchess of Marlborough[17] has settled on Bononcini for his Life 500 pound a year[18] provided he will not compose any more for the ungratefull Accademy[19] who do ^not^ deserve he should entertain [']em since they don't know how to value his works as they ought, and likewise told him he should always be welcome to her Table. Lady Francis Hamilton is soon to be married to Mr Sanderson a Brother of Lord Scarborough's,[20] She is to have ten Thousand pound down, and ten Thousand pound after Lord Orkney's Death.[21] Yesterday I had a letter from Miss Legh[22] who asks me many questions about ^you^, as, if you are in Town, if you mind your musick and to crown all if you are to be married soon, she is to suffer pennance in the Countrey some time longer. The Countess[23] is persecuted with Lovers, and with Poetry by the penny post;[24] witt flows in abundance[.] when I see you I shall be able to entertain you with some very extraordinary things but I won't trust the post besides Circumstances and several particulars must be told which cannot so well be expressed in writing, and I hope we shall meet before the year is expired & tell Old Stories. but I must tell of a new entertainment I have had which was the Masquerade,[25] Last Tuesday, we dispatchd Mrs Moll[26] and Bess[27] before us, and sayd not one word of our design of going but as soon as they were gone, we dressed our Selves in Black Dominos,[28] took sober Mr Cole[29] with us and went after [']em to the Masquerade where we should have had

pure sport, if Edcombe[30] who was very quick Sighted in finding out the widdow[31] ^had not ~~and~~ betrayd us. I was very much pleased with it and Like ^it so well as to hope one Day to have the pleasure of going with you to one. I Lay that night at Lady Sunderlands tho we did not Stay very late for we were in Bed by 3 o'th'Clock, I mett with no smart[32] people, and it was thin of Company [compared] to what they used to be, but as it was the first I ever was at I did not find any faults, but a great deal ^of deversion [diversion]. I will dress up your Heads[33] and am proud you should prefer my fingers before any other, now I must have compassion on you and conclude tho if I had a folio sheet before me I believe I could fill [it] I am sure it would not hold all I have to say were I to tell you with how much

Affection I am yours, Penny Renny

Notes

[1] ? Mary (Butler) Carter, later Mrs. Viney, MP's illegitimate half-sister, widow of Martin Carter of Saling in Essex. (bur. in Gloucester 8 August 1720). R.W. Stewart, "The Viney Family of Gloucester", unpublished typescript, by permission of Gloucestershire Record Office.

[2] See n. 7 below.

[3] James Fitzgerald, Lord Villiers, eldest son of John, first Earl Grandison, married Jane, daughter and heir of Richard Butler, Esq., of London, and dying in 1732, left an only daughter, who died in 1738. Ll. I: 392.

[4] "HIP. HI'PPISH. *adj.* A corruption of *hypochondriack* . . ." Johnson, *Dictionary.*

[5] Probably Lady Harriet/Henrietta Harley, with whom MP went on a musical river excursion in Letter 2.

[6] ?"Maddy", or Anne Carter, ?siter of Mary Carter (n. 1), or Mary Carter herself.

[7] See Letter 2, n. 7. "Gizzard . . . 1. The second or muscular stomach of birds . . .2. Jocularly attrib. to persons, esp. in phrases, . . . 1828 *Craven Gloss.* s.v. 'To grumble in the Gizzard' to complain and be dissatisfied." *OED.*

[8] Not traced.

[9] Mrs. Clifford appears to have been Mary Pendarves's great-aunt on her mother's side. "Mr. Westcomb, a sad rascal [apparently a spy and double agent]. . . You must have remembered him, his sister [Mary Pendarves's mother] the Duchess of Ormond kept, *his aunt was Mrs. Clifford where we lay in Leicester Street*, his father Sir Martin, an honest man and consul at Cadiz very many years." The Earl of Ailesbury to the Hon. Robert Bruce, 9 April 1727, HMC Ser. 43, fifteenth Report, Appendix, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Somerset, the Marquis of Ailesbury and The Rev. Sir T. H. G. Puleston, Bart.* (London: HMSO, 1898), 229, my emphasis.

[10] MP's (half-) brother-in-law was Martin Carter of Saling in Essex. This cousin, of Braintree, Essex, was probably of his family.

[11] Not identified.

[12] "STONE. *n.s.* . . . 5. Calculous concretion in the kidneys or bladder; the disease arising from a calculus.
A specifick remedy for preventing of the *stone*, . . . the constant use of alehoof-ale. *Temple.*
A gentleman supposed his difficulty in urining proceeded from the *stone. Wiseman's Surgery.*" Johnson, *Dictionary.*

[13] "CONSUMPTION, [*Consomption, F.*] is a Defect of Nourishment, or the consuming, decaying and wasting of the Body, and particularly of the muscular Flesh: . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[14] Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, First Earl of Jersey, and widow of Thomas Thynne, Esq., of Longleat, and mother of the 2nd Viscount Weymouth. She married George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, in 1711. See Appendix 1.

[15] Grace Carteret, eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Carteret, who married, 22 July 1729, Lionel, 3rd Earl of Dysart. Ll. I: 203, n. She may have had smallpox.

[16] Sir William Carew, of Anthony, M.P. for Cornwall, married Ann, only daughter and heiress of Gilbert, fourth Earl of Coventry. On the Earl's decease in 1719, the title devolved upon William Coventry, Esq., M.P. for Bridport, a descendant of the first Lord. Ll. I: 79.

[17] Henrietta, eldest daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough and wife of Francis, 2nd Earl of Godolphin, son of her father's friend, the first Earl. She succeeded by Act of Parliament to her father's dukedom in 1722. She died in 1738, without issue, and the son of her next sister, Ann Churchill (the second) Lady Sunderland inherited the title and estates of the duchy of Marlborough. She was a close friend of Congreve, who left her most of his fortune. This, and the splendid funeral she arranged for him, with a monument and epitaph written by herself, caused a furore. Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 27, n., 330-1.

[18] "Bononcini, the famous composer, was in the Emperor Joseph's favour to that degree that he made him extraordinary presents above his salary, yet he had the insolence often to refuse to play when he sent to him for that purpose. At last the Emperor made him come to Court and asked him, 'do you consider it is an Emperor whom you refuse?' 'Yes,' replied the saucy fellow, 'but there are many sovereign princes, and only one Bononcini.' This insolent temper obliged him to leave that Court, and he came in the late Queen's time for England, where for a while he reigned supreme over the commonwealth of music, and with justice, for he is a very great man in all kinds of composition. At length came the more famous Hendel (*sic*) from Hanover, a man of the vastest genius and skill in music that perhaps has lived since Orpheus. The great variety of manner in his compositions, whether serious or brisk, whether for the Church or the stage or the chamber, and that agreeable mixture of styles that are in his works, that fire and spirit far surpassing his brother musicians, soon gave him the preference over Bononcini with the English. So that after some years' struggle to maintain his throne, Bononcini abdicated, and the present young Duchess of Marlborough took him into her house with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, a sum no musician ever had before from any Prince, nor ought to have. . . . Three months ago Bononcini quarrelled with the Duchess, his protector, on pretence she used him ill. In return for the handsome salary she gave him, he used to entertain her with concerts, which she accepted, not imagining that he would bring her in a bill at last to pay the performers, some of whom were promised three guineas a time. The Duchess, making a demur to paying them, Bononcini took a distaste, left her, and has formed a scheme to erect a music meeting at York buildings in opposition to the Opera." Egmont, *Diary*, 31 August 1731, I: 201-202.

[19] The Royal Academy of Music was founded in 1720 with the support of George I and the nobility. Its aim was to present regular seasons of Italian opera at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. Handel, Giovanni Bononcini and later Attilio Ariosti were appointed as composers, and they assembled a company of the most notable singers in Europe. Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 30-31.

[20] Thomas Lumley-Saunderson, formerly Lumley (ca.1691-1752), brother of Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough (ca.1688-1739/40). He "was bred in a camp, and from thence brought to Court, and had all the gallantry of the one and the politeness of the other . . . everybody liked his character, without being very solicitous for his company". John, Baron Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II from his*

Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline, Edited from the Original Manuscript of Ickworth by John Wilson Croker, 3 vols. (London: Bickers, 1884), I: 95, 98-9. He married (27 June 1724) Frances Hamilton (d. 27 December 1772), second daughter of George Hamilton, first Earl of Orkney and Elizabeth, sister of Edward, first Earl of Jersey, and aunt to Lady Lansdowne - see n. 11 above.

[21] "*This day the Earl of Orkney, an old experienced officer, died nearly 80 years* old." Egmont, *Diary*, Saturday 29 January 1736/7, II: 336.

[22] Elizabeth, (d.1734), daughter of Col. Legh of Cheshire. LMWM describes her as "a Tall, musical, silly, ugly thing, niece to Lady Essex Roberts" (to Lady Mar, 23 June 1727, *Letters*, II: 78). Walpole is scarcely more complimentary: he recalls "a virtuosa, a musician, a madwoman", who was in love with Handel and "wore his picture, along with the Pretender's, on her breast." Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Graham, 1906), XXXIV: 258.

[23] Judith (ca.1702-49),"Placidia", "Lady Sun", a good friend of MP. She was daughter and co-heir of Benjamin Tichbourne (younger brother of Henry, Baron Ferrard of Beaulieu) and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Gibbs, of Gloucester. She married (5 or 16 December 1717) Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, who died of pleurisy (19 Apr. 1722), at Sunderland House in Piccadilly. She died (17 May 1749) of a fever, after recovering from smallpox, and was buried on 23 May at Brington. Cockayne, XII, s.v. "Sunderland".

As noted above (n. 14), Lord Sunderland's second wife was Ann Churchill, daughter of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough. When he married Judith Tichbourne, "a girl of fifteen years old, without a groat" (Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 19), his mother-in-law "snorted that this 'was marrying a kitten; and really I do think it odd for a wise man at forty-five to come out of his library to play with a puss.'" Her greatest fear was the division of family property, since another marriage meant "another brood of children - beggars with the titles of lords and ladies - that can have nothing but what he almost robs his former children [including the 2nd Duke of Marlborough] of." Her grandchildren, she thought, would "come to London behind coaches, as the Duke of Bolton's children did, to get shoes and stockings from their aunts". David Green, *Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (London: Collins, 1967), 199-200; 208-9, in Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New York, San Francisco, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 57-8.

[24] The national Post Office was established by act of Parliament in 1660. The penny post, founded in 1679, served about 200 towns outside London through a network of 334 clearing houses. One penny was paid by the recipient for a letter delivered within the city; if it went further, both sender and receiver contributed a penny each. Money could be entrusted to the post, as could parcels weighing up to one pound. Overseas visitors praised the service as a significant social achievement of the English and one of the merits of London life. Ruth Perry, *Women, Letters and the Novel* (New York:

AMS Press, 1980), 63-4. For further detail and an illuminating account of the central function of the Post Office in raising revenue and purveying intelligence and propaganda for the government, see Kenneth Ellis, *The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Administrative History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), Parts I and II.

[25] A London paper of 15 February 1718 gave this account of one of Heidegger's subscription masquerades: "The Room is exceedingly large, beautifully adorned, and illuminated with five hundred Wax Lights; on the Sides are divers Beaufets, over which is written the several Wines therein . . . as Canary, Burgundy, Champagne, Rhenish, &c. Each most excellent in its Kind; of which all are at Liberty to drink what they please; with large Services of all Sorts of Sweetmeats. There are also two Sets of Music, at due Distance from each other, performed by very good hands. By the vast Variety of Dresses (many of them very rich) you would fancy it a Congress of the principal Persons of all Nations of the World, as Turks, Italians, Indians, Polanders, Spaniards, Venetians, &c. There is an absolute Freedom of Speech, without the least Offence given thereby; while all appear better bred than to offer at any Thing profane, rude, or immodest, but Wit incessantly flashes about in Repartees, Honour, and good Humour, and all Kinds of Pleasantry. There was also the Groom Porter's Office, where all play that please; while Heaps of Guineas pass about, with so little Concern in the Losers, that they are not to be distinguished from the Winners. Nor does it add a little to the Beauty of the Entertainment, to see the Generality of the Masqueraders behave themselves agreeable to their several Habits. The Number, when I was there on Tuesday, last week, was computed at 700, with some files of Musqueries at Hand, for the preventing any Disturbance which might happen by Quarrels, &c. so frequent in Venice, Italy, and other Countries, on such Entertainments. At eleven o'Clock a person gives Notice that Supper is ready, when the Company pass into another large Room, where a noble cold Entertainment is prepared, suitable to all the Rest; the whole Diversion continuing from nine o'Clock till seven next Morning. In short, the whole Ball was sufficiently illustrious, in every Article of it, for the greatest Prince to give on the most extraordinary Occasion." Highfill et al, VII: 235 [newspaper title not given]; see also Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilisation: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century Culture and Fiction*, (London: Methuen, 1986), Letter 16 n. 10, and Fig. 19.

[26] ? Moll Bramston. Sarah [Osborn, née] Byng was the only surviving daughter of Admiral Sir George Byng, Viscount Torrington (1721). She had four brothers, one of whom, Edward ("Ned"), a soldier (d.1756), married (1730) Miss Bramston, of Chigwell, Essex. Sarah Osborn writes to her brother Robert: " . . . Tho the newspapers have near doubled my sister[-in-law] Byngs [*sic*] fortune in point of wealth, yet what is wanting to make that up, is fourfold made up in her own value, for she seems of a sweet disposition, and formd to make a man happy, indeed I have no doubt but they will make each other so, for I think he has many virtues and is very good naturd. . . .They are endeavouring to find a house fit to buy for them in town, . . . Their fortunes will be but moderate, for tho she has £1000 a year, yet there is ten thousand pounds debt which must be paid. I imagine she will sell her Estate in Essex to pay off that debt, and all she brings beside she must spend, indeed her house will be his, her coach his, &c., but otherways he cannot spend more than he did before, if so much, and as it is agreed what remains after the debts are paid is to be settled on

her self and childeren, and in failure of them to him for ever, but except that hapens, he never will have power to touch one peny more than the income, therefore this was no great catch without the agreable temper she has brought with it, which, as George wrote Ned word, is a jewel whose lustre will brighten by wearing.
I doubt your *Aunt Molly*, as you call her, lookd very sowr at the news, as to be sure all the Bramstons must do. Her uncle is intolerably vexd, but answerd my fathers letter with civility, tho [he] has wrote a very unpleasant one to her." Sarah to Robert Byng, Southill, 28 November 1730, *Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century 1721-1771*, ed. Emily F.D. Osborn (London and Sydney: for Griffith Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1890), 8, 9, 43-5 [my emphasis].

"On Monday Morning last, died at the Bath, the Wife of Thomas Bramston, of Sercens, in the County of Essex, who had 14.000 l. Portion." *Parker's Penny Post*, Friday January 14 1726.

[27] Elizabeth Tichbourne, (d.1752) sister to Lady Sunderland and a lady-in-waiting. John, Lord Percival relates an instance of her political influence: "This day cousin Mary Dering, dresser extraordinary to the Princesses, dined with me. She gave an instance how princes are imposed upon by their Ministers. . . . when the King came to the Crown, his resolution was to continue in his service as chaplains all those who had been so while he was Prince, and to fill up the number belonging to him as King with as many of his father's chaplains as could be admitted, but one of his chaplains he particularly named to be continued on account of some extraordinary services he had done him when Prince. But when the then Lord Chamberlain (who I think was the same as the present), the Duke of Grafton, brought him the lists to sign, he did it without further examination than observing this chaplain's name was there, yet afterwards it proved that the man was removed, and neither all his old chaplains, nor many of his father's, continued, but a good many new persons [were] placed. It happened that some time after that *Mrs. Titchburn*, serving the King and Queen at supper, took an opportunity of doing that clergyman justice, for the King saying that he wondered he had not heard him preach since he came to the Crown, she told him it was no wonder, for his Majesty had turned him out. The King, surprised, replied it was quite otherwise, for he had not only given a general order that none of them should be removed, but had particularly remembered him, and saw his name in the list he signed. Mrs. Titchburn replied she could assure him he was not his chaplain, and that it had much concerned the poor man, not so much for the loss of the preferments he might have expected, if continued, but for lying under his Majesty's displeasure for something he could not accuse himself of nor imagine.

The King turned to the Queen, and asked how it could be. The Queen said she did not know, and there must be some great mistake committed. Soon after a good preferment fell, and the King bestowed it on him." Egmont, *Diary*, Saturday 26 Feb. 1731/2, I: 228 [my emphasis].

[28] "Domino . . . 1. A kind of loose cloak, app. of Venetian origin, chiefly worn at masquerades, with a small mask covering the upper part of the upper part of the face, by persons not personating a character." *OED*. See Fig. 6.

[29] "Dy'd Col. *Cole*, Gentleman of the Horse to Lord *Carteret*, as Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Captain of a Company in the Second Regiment of Foot Guards." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X, 23 March 1725. The *Biographical Catalogue of the Portraits at Longleat* records a portrait of "Mr. Cole, House Steward" wearing a brown coat, white wig, and a seal lying on a book on the table beside him. The date and artist are not known. Mary Louisa Boyle, *Biographical Catalogue of the Portraits at Longleat in the County of Wilts., the seat of the Marquis of Bath* (London: Elliot Stock, 1881), 336.

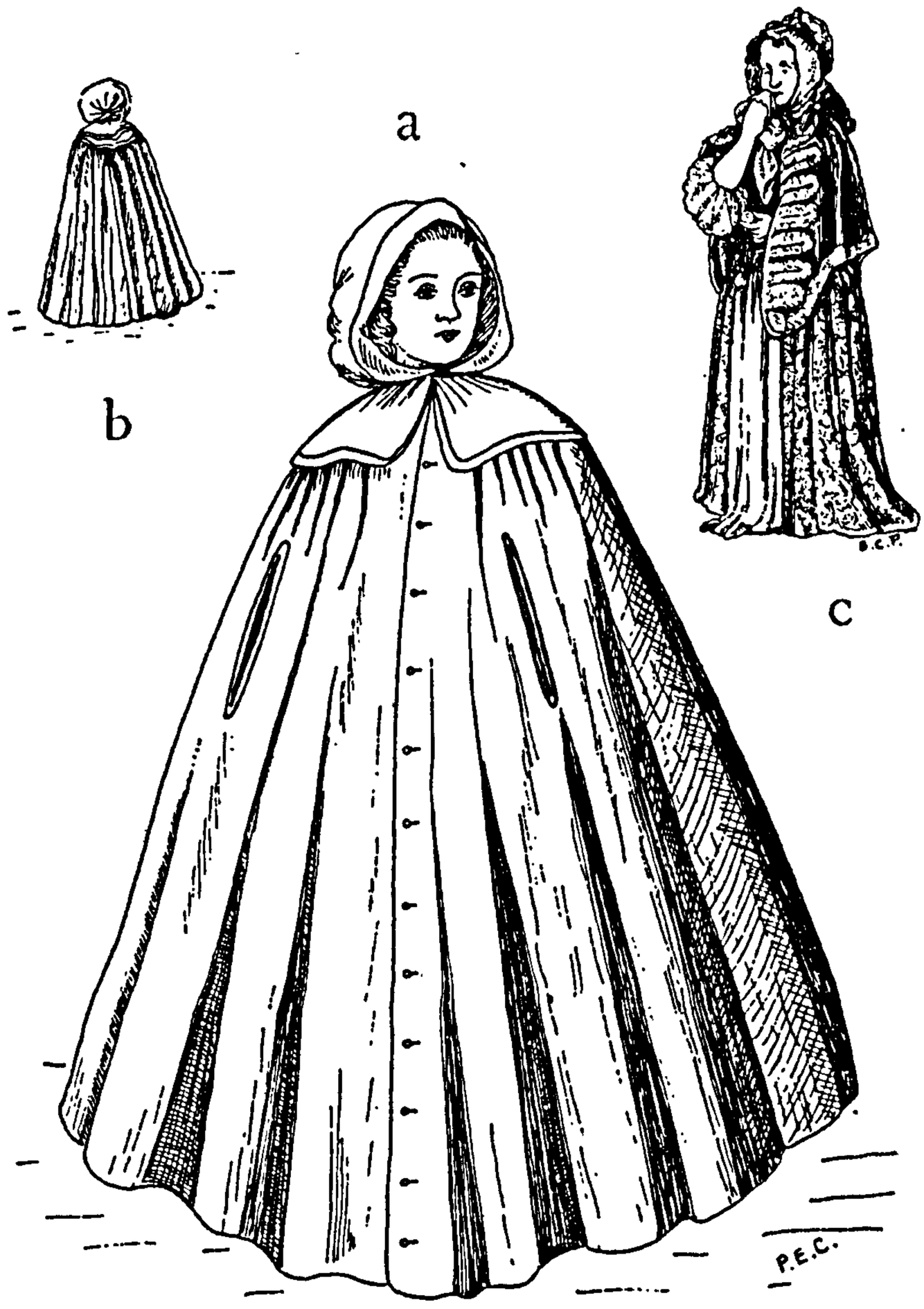
MP, as the young wife of an aged husband, would need a sober chaperone to preserve her reputation, as the satirical squib *A Seasonable Apology for Mr. H.*[*eidegger*] illustrates: "near four hundred Females doom'd to the Arms of old, or otherwise, impotent Husbands, have from the frequent Use of these Entertainments [masquerades], receiv'd in good Part, relief and Supply." June 1724, in Highfill et al., VII: 237.

[30] Richard Edgcumbe (1680-1758), later 1st Baron, a career politician and member of Wapole's inner circle. LMWM *Letters*, 78 n; Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783*, (London and New York: Longman, 1993), 28, 44. He was one of Walpole's most trusted subordinates: he managed the Cornish boroughs for him. "On the 25th of this month died Hugh Boscowen, Lord Viscount Falmouth . . . He had once great employment at Court, and great power in the country, till Sir Robert Walpole stripped him of the latter by making Mr. Edgcomb the disposer of the Government's money for buying the Cornish elections for members in Parliament and thereupon my Lord flung up the former." *DNB*; Egmont, *Diary*, Monday 28 October 1734, II: 131- 2. He was also suitor to Bess Tichbourne (see Letter 4, n. 20).

[31] Lady Sunderland.

[32] "SMART, brisk, quick, witty . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[33] "A 'head' was the general term for a head-dress, usually indicating an indoor cap. White caps were universally worn indoors and often out of doors as well, or as under-caps for hats. Dress caps were always edged with lace and when omitted were replaced by ornaments. Lace edging was usual except among the working classes." C. Willett Cunnington & Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber & Faber, rev. ed., 1972), 153.



(a) Mantle and hood. (1721.) (b) Back view of same. (c) Cloak and mob cap. (1745.)

Fig. 6. Mantle and hood. Worn with a half-mask, this constitutes a "domino".

Letter 4

Contextual Notes

In the Llanover edition, four letters from correspondents other than Mary Pendarves precede this one. The first, dated 22 December 1723, is from George, Lord Lansdowne, acknowledging two of Mary's letters, the first containing news of her father's serious illness, the second informing him of Bernard's improvement. This was evidently only a temporary remission as another letter from Lansdowne to Mary, of 31 December 1723, offers condolences on her father's death, which occurred on 8 December that year. A letter of 10 December, from her uncle Sir John Stanley has the same subject. The fourth (1 January 1723/4) is from Lady Lansdowne in France to Mary's elder brother Bernard, also offering condolences, the promise that his uncle Lansdowne "will be a father to you in worldly affairs" and inviting him to visit Lansdowne "on this side of the water" after he has taken care of his mother and younger sister Anne Granville. (Ll. I: 86, 87-8.)

One of Mary Pendarves's most persistent and disagreeable suitors at this time was John Lewis von Fabrice (ca.1678-ca.1733), Hanoverian Privy Councillor, and confidential secretary to George I. He appears to have been a great socialite and efficient self-publicist: John, Lord Hervey (3 July 1722) writes of "Fabrice's Assembly and gowing (sic) on the water" as one of the most favoured pastimes of the day. (Bristol Mss., II: 155, National Trust, Ickworth, Suffolk, in LMWM, *Letters*, II: 18, n.)

Excerpted Autobiography

> Germanico [Fabrice], a foreigner, was not . . . easily repulsed. His figure was by no means agreeable, his manner forward and assured, and his age placed him amongst those that I could not imagine had any gallantry in their head — but was mistaken. He was often in my company; the first time was at a ball given by one of the foreign ministers; *I was carried thither by Lady Carteret* he, unfortunately for me, engaged me to dance with him, and that gave him a pretence of talking to me whenever we afterwards met, but . . . I behaved towards him with the same indifference I did to my general acquaintance. He was to give an entertainment of music and supper to some relations and intimate friends of mine: he engaged them to bring me with them. I told Gromio [Pendarves] and Valeria [Lady Stanley] of the invitation, and they both encouraged me to go as I loved music, and the company were agreeable to me; *the company consisted of Lord and Lady Hartford, Lord & Lady Delawar Lady Sunderland, with whom I went, and her sister Mrs Titchburne and Lord Edgecumbe*. We were twelve in company: nothing could have been more gay and magnificent than the music and supper. When we sat down to table, . . . Germanico sat next to me. . . He stared at me the whole night, and put me so much out of countenance, that I was ready to cry: he soon checked all my pleasure at the entertainment, . . . and everything appeared disagreeable. . . . at last, to my relief, the company broke up. . . . Germanico gave me a paper which he said I had dropped in taking out my hood: he led me to my chair, squeezed me by the hand and offered to kiss it, but I snatched it from him with the highest resentment: I was indeed greatly offended at his impertinence, and heartily repented of my supping there.
>
> I communicated what had passed to Valeria, who advised me to avoid him as much as possible, which I did by keeping from all public places . . . I abhorred the wretch and could not forgive his presumption, but how was my detestation of him increased . . . when, sorting some papers I had in my pocket, I found a letter from Germanico, with a passionate declaration of love! I threw it into the fire with the utmost indignation.

Mary tried and failed to persuade Pendarves to take her back to Cornwall, but was grateful for the opportunity to escape to Buckland, leaving her husband in London "detained upon business". (Ll. I: 85.)

> I was transported once more to see the dear Farm, . . . My sister was now grown a very reasonable and entertaining companion though very young: she had a lively genius, improved beyond

her years, loved reading, and had an excellent memory. I was surprized at her understanding, having never before attended to her but as to a child, and the goodness of her heart, and the delicacy of her sentiments delighted me still more. From that time I had a perfect confidence in her, told her some of my distresses, and found great consolation and relief to my mind by this opening of my heart, and from her great tenderness and friendship for me.

Three months of felicity soon passed over caressed and indulged by the most amiable parents in the world, but this happy scene was closed by a most severe affliction - the death of my dear father! That misfortune dispersed us all: my brother was sent for post, on this sad occasion. My mother could not bear to remain in a place where she had gone through so melancholy a scene; she removed to [Gloucester], where she has been settled ever since. She took my sister with her, my brother [Bernard] returned with us to London; business called him and duty me, for [Pendarves] began to resent my staying so long; but one good thing happened in my absence - the brother [Pendarves] and sister [Mrs. Livingstone] quarrelled and parted.

(Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 81-6; passages in italics from Bernard Granville, "Extracts from Mrs. Stratton's Original Mss Autobiography by Bernard Granville for Lady Hall [i.e. Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover] ", AMs, 1859-8, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.)

Transcript of Letter 4

ALS, NT, I: 3/4; Ll. I: 96-7
[Mary Pendarves [Rose Street], London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

Mrs Anne Granville at the Deanary[1] at Gloster
Free
Alex. Pendarves
28.MA

28 March 1724

Dear Sister[2]

I thank you Sincerely for you[r] last letter which was doubly welcome, by informing me of my Mothers being better, I hope she has by this [time] recoverd her Spirits, but you do not say if her Tongue is quite well or no. I also thank you for your concern for my Eyes, which they are very well, as I am in every respect and never had any Health better than at this time, they were a little weak that morning because I have straind em too much at my Tent sti[t]ch[3] You should if you keep strictly to the rules of mourning[4] wear your Shammy[5] Gloves two months longer, but in the Countrey if it is more convenient to you, you may wear Black Silk, but the expence will be pretty much the same thing. You might have worn Black earings and necklace, these two Months.[6] You desire some Sprigs[7] for working a Gown, which I will send you, tho['] my fancy[8] is not a good one.

Yesterday I was to see the Bride my Lady Walpole[9] who was married the Day before, she was exces[s]ive ^fine in the handsomest and richest, Gold and White Stuff that ever I saw, a fine Point Head, and very fine Brilliant[10] Earings and Cross,[11] Mrs Roles[12] was in a Pink and Silver Lutestring and Mrs Walpole[13] in a White and Gold and Silver but not so pretty as Mrs Roles's. I saw the Bridegroom in his Equipage which was very fine, the Liverys are extravagantly so and every thing Else in Proportion, she looked very smiling and well pleased, and notwithstanding the vast crouds of people that came to wish her Joy, was not in the least out of Countenance, every body had favours[14] that went men and women, they are Silver Gauze six bows, and eight of Gold narrow Ribon in the middle, they cost a guinea a peice, eight hundred has already been disposed, off, [.] those the King, Prince, Princess, and the Young Princesses had were Gold Ribon embroidered, they were Six Guineas a peice. I hope you was merry at your Ball, I should have been glad to have made one among you. I expect M^rs

Hyde[15] every minute, Mr Pendarves is out of order with the Gout my
Aunt Stanley with a bad Cold, my humble
Duty to my mother & service to &c.
I am
My Dear Sister
Most affectionately
yours
M Pendarves
we suspect Lady Delawarr[16] to be breeding again Mr Edcombe lays close Siege to Betty Tichborne[17] but the Town will have it that is for the Sake of the Widdow[18] we walkd in the Park to day all the World there. the Club[19] is pesterd with penny post Love Letters but cannot guess from whence they come, that is, those that are at Liberty to receive em, as the Countess, Bess,[20] and Gunpowder.[21]

Notes

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[1] Mrs. Granville and Anne moved to the Deanery, Cathedral Close, Gloucester, in 1723/4. See Figs. 3 and 7.

[2] The "i" of "Sister" is dotted with what appears to be a heart shape.

[3] Tent stitch was used for figurative embroidery. Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe writes to the Duchess of Somerset in 1734: "I am delighted with all your entertainments, except the *Tent-stitch*; and that I own, I admire, but then 'tis as some people admire virtue, only in speculation. It seems to me an ante-diluvian invention, a task for those long-breath'd people, who spend a sort of eternity on earth, compared to the short duration of the modern period. However, I am in no pain for your Ladyship: whether you attempt a chair or a stool, I suppose it will be an hereditary occupation; if you finish the branch of a tree . . . the service of your generation is done, and you may contentedly leave the rest to be finished by your children's children." Myra Reynolds, ed., *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), 262. See Fig. 8.

[4] MP is answering Anne's query regarding mourning dress worn for their father. Colonel Bernard Granville died on 8 December 1723. The period of mourning for a parent was six months, three of first mourning and three of second, as the sombreness of clothing gradually decreased. Women wore black silk or bombazine with "occasional touches of white" for first mourning, or all white for a woman or child (see Letter 2, n. 4). Men's suits were usually of black cloth. Second mourning costume was worn in the period between deep mourning and the return to normal wear. Fabrics could be more shiny, and less uniformly black. Trumbach, 35; Cunnington and Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 244.

[5] "SHAMMOY, SHAMMY} *Leather*, Leather made of the skin of a *Shamoy* [chamois] tann'd, which is much esteem'd for Warmth and Softness; as also because it may be washed." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

It was also valued for its matte quality, suitable to the sombreness of mourning costume. On the death of George II in 1760, court mourning required the dull finish of chamois leather, even for shoes. Cunnington and Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 256.

[6] It would seem that Anne has been over-observant of the rules of mourning, and worn no jewellery at all. "Mourning jewellery consisted of rings, brooches, lockets, pins, necklaces and ear-rings. The rings were the most important, and were often designed before death and left to friends and relations in the will of the deceased. They were usually decorated with symbolic figures and surrounded by an appropriate inscription." Ibid., 253.

[7] "Sprig . . . 1. A shoot, twig, or spray of a plant, shrub or tree . . .4. . . b. A design, imitative of a sprig, embroidered, woven, or stamped on a textile fabric . . ." *OED*.

[8] "FANCY, . . . Imagination." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

". . . 3. Taste; idea; conception of things.
The little chapel called the Salutation is very neat, and built with a pretty *fancy*. *Addison*. . . . 9. Something that pleases or entertains without real use or value. London-pride is a pretty *fancy* for borders. *Mortim*." Johnson, *Dictionary*.

[9] Margaret Rolle (1709-1781) married Robert Walpole (1701-1751), eldest son of Sir Robert Walpole, who was created (1723) Baron Walpole, and succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Orford. *Reminiscences Written by Mr. Horace Walpole with his Notes of Conversations with Lady Suffolk*, ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 112 n. Sir Robert had a reputation for lavish entertainment, as noted by the (Tory) *London Journal*, 23 January 1724/5: "Monday last being the Anniversary of the Birth Day of the Lady Walpole, the same was celebrated at the Seat of the Right Honourable Robert Walpole, Esq; at Chelsea, with great Magnificence."

[10] "A BRILLIANT, a Diamond cut artificially by a Lapidary." (Bailey).

[11] "Ladies' jewellery in the period 1700-1750 usually consisted of necklaces of three or four rows of pearls with a diamond clasp, real and fake diamond necklaces and plain gold chains with earrings to match. Rings were not frequently worn, and in portraits of married women wedding rings are absent; girdle buckles were of gold or silver, set with precious stones or brilliants. Lockets, pendants and crosses were popular, and for dress wear gold hair pins. Silver stay hooks set with stones were hooked to the front of the corset and used to suspend a watch chain. Watches were often made of gold, and could also hang from a chain around the neck. 'To see a swarm of Mercers' and Drapers' wives move down the Walks like a sail of ships . . . with diamond earrings, diamond necklaces, and a great gold watch as big as a Warming Pan.' 1714. T. Baker, *Tunbridge Walks*." Cunnington, *Handbook*, 17.

[12] i.e. Margaret Rolle.

[13] Sir Robert Walpole's first wife, Catherine Shorter (d. 1737), daughter of John Shorter, of Bybrook, Kent, and granddaughter of Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London, 1687-88. *DNB*.

[14] "The world learned of a society marriage through the distribution of favours, or small gifts, and the presentation of the couple at court. Gloves, scarves, garters or 'bride laces', large bows of fine material, were the most common types of favour throughout the eighteenth century. They were given out to those who went to visit the bride and sent to friends in the country. Bride laces were worn on the arm on the wedding day and on one's hat for some weeks thereafter. Early in the century they were distributed in great numbers." Cunnington and Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 64-5. "The duke of Kingston, when he contracted a marriage that many thought was bigamous not only sent his relations to court wearing his favours, but also presented them to the royal family, who refused to wear them." Trumbach, 113-114.

[15] The Hon. Jane (Calvert) Hyde, sister of Lord Baltimore. Ll. I: 105 n.
See Letter 1, "Contextual Notes".

[16] The Lady Charlotte Macarthy, daughter of Donuagh Earl of Clancarty, and of his wife, Lady Mary Spencer, 2nd daughter of Robert Earl of Sunderland. She and John (West), Baron de la Warr (4 April 1693-22 March 1766) were married secretly, in the country, on 25 May 1721. She died at Bath on 7 February 1734/5, aged 34, and was buried (16 February) in Westminster Abbey. Ll. I:100. According to the *Historical Register*, MP was right in her conjecture: "The Lady Delawar, Wife of John West, Lord Delawar, brought to Bed of a Daughter." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X, 1 September 1725. See also Letter 6, n. 6.

[17] Betty, or Bess Tichbourne (see Letter 3, ns. 24 and 27) lived at this time with her sister Judith, Countess of Sunderland. The situation finally came to a head when Miss Leigh (see Letter 3, n. 19) called on Betty Tichbourne, a few days before 23 June 1727. She insisted upon being admitted, and "sent away her chair and servants with intent of staying til 9 o'clock". Miss Tichbourne, it transpired, was expecting a visit from Mr. Edgcombe, and when he arrived, they requested that Miss Leigh play the harpsichord, while they retired into another room. When she had finished playing, Miss Tichbourne and Mr. Edgcombe asked her to do it again, as they confessed they had heard nothing. She complied, but took offence when asked to do it a third time, and ". . . run down stairs in a great Fury, to publish as fast as she could, and was so indefatigable in this pious design that in 4 and twenty hours . . . poor Edgcombe met with nothing where ever he went but complements about his third Tune, which is reckon'd very handsome in a Lover past forty."

Lady Sunderland invited Miss Leigh to dinner three days later, and "in the presence of her Sister and all the servants in waiting, . . . told her she was very sorry she had been so rudely treated in her House; that . . . Mr. Edgcombe had been a perpetual Companion of her sister's these 2 year, and she expected her sister [to give him] 4 months to resolve in, and after that he was either to marry or lose her for ever." LMWM to Lady Mar [23 June 1727], *Letters*, II: 79.

It would seem by the date of MP's letter that the "siege" was probably of a somewhat longer duration than the Countess cared to disclose. Edgcumbe was a widower, having first married Matilda, daughter of Sir Harry Furness (d. 1721) and he never remarried. LMWM, *Letters*, 80 n.; *DNB*.

[18] Judith, Countess of Sunderland.

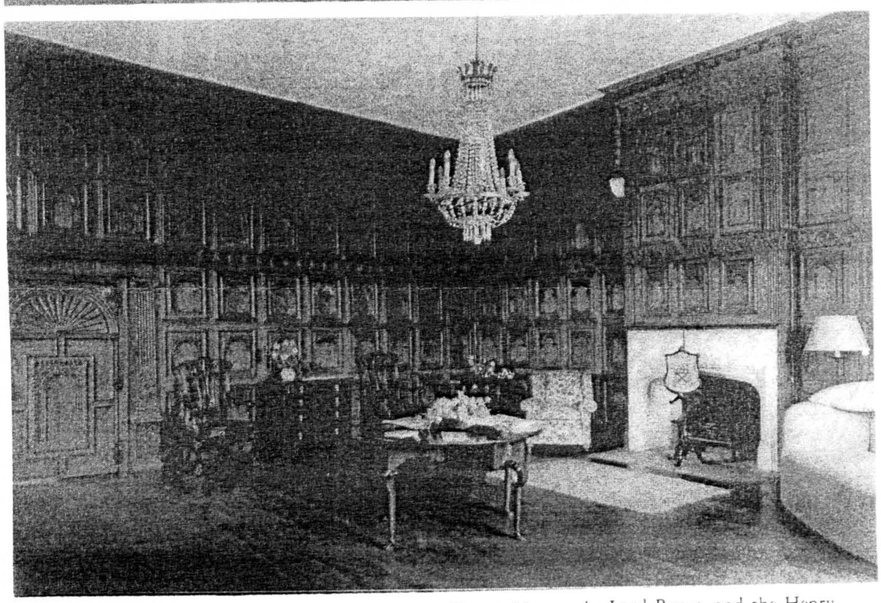
[19] "The Club" was probably a group of ladies-in-waiting. By the 1750s, the Bluestocking circle were known as a "club", this being an alternative term for social group, or circle. Gary Kelly, "Bluestocking Feminism", in *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere, 1700-1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 165.

[20] Elizabeth Tichbourne.

[21] Pseudonym not identified, probably a lady-in-waiting.

Church House (1990) incorporating the Norman abbot's lodging, with mainly thirteenth-century front; extended in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the whole altered substantially in the nineteenth century

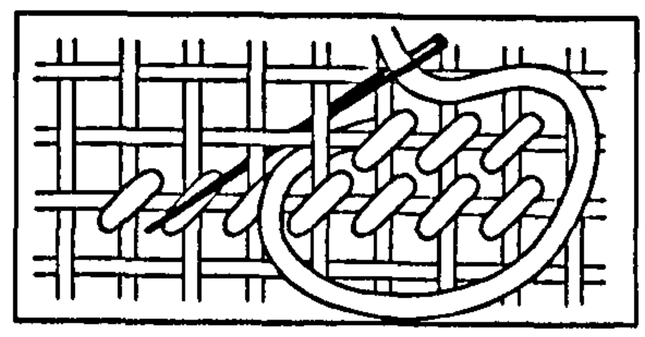
Fig. 7a. The Deanery, Gloucester.



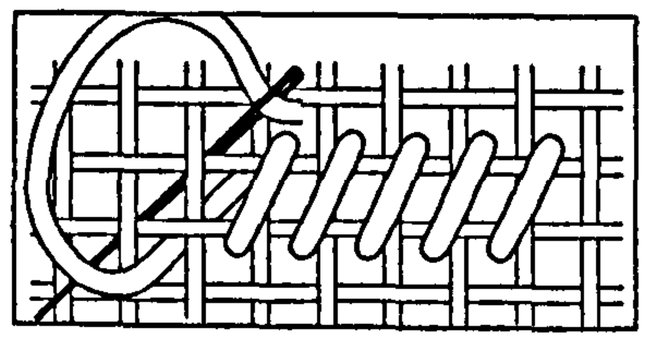
The old deanery (from the late 1950s known as Church House, the Laud Room and the Henry Room (before the removal of the ceiling) furnished as 'The Club'

Fig. 7b. Deanery interior

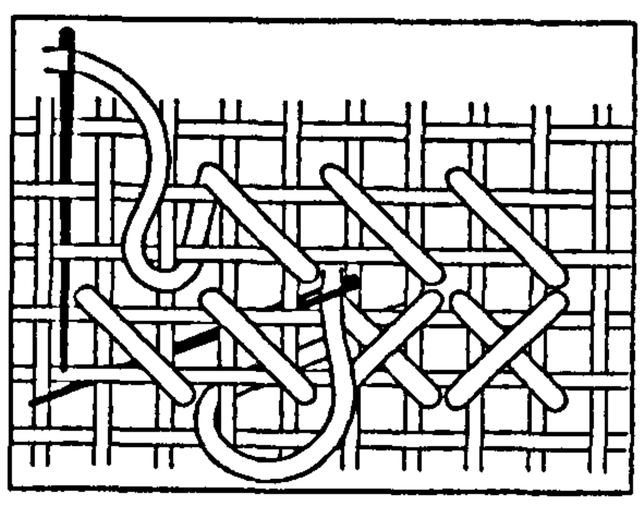
Technical Illustration of Embroidery



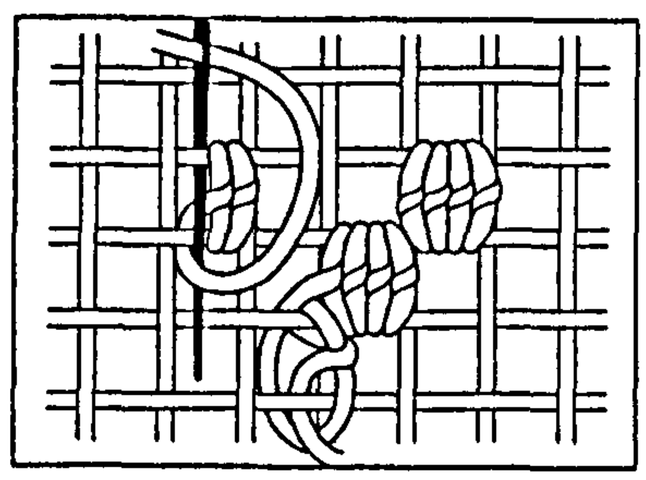
1. Tent stitch



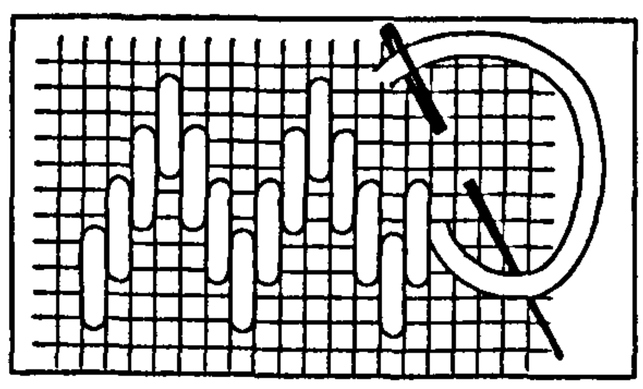
2. Gobelin stitch



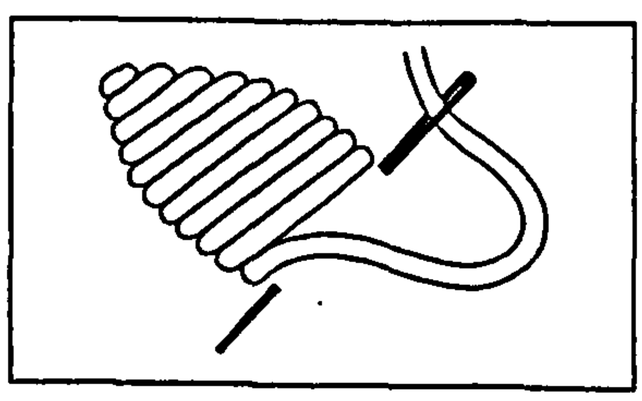
3. Cross stitch



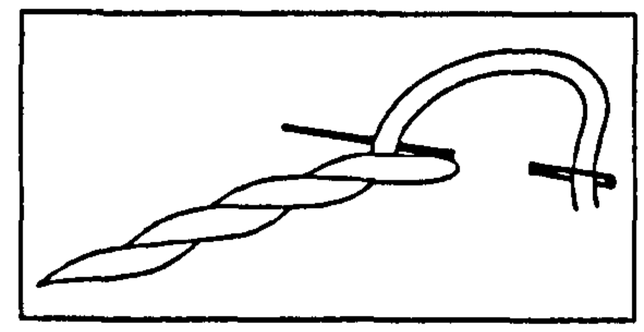
4. Rococo stitch



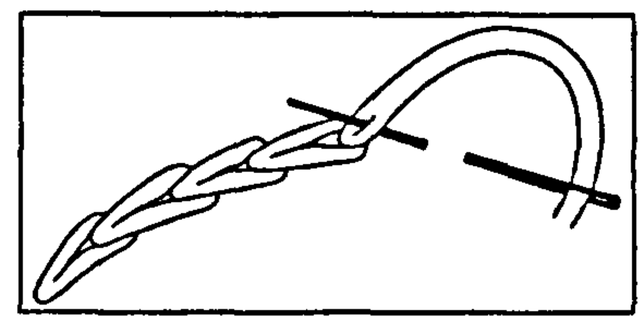
5. Florentine stitch



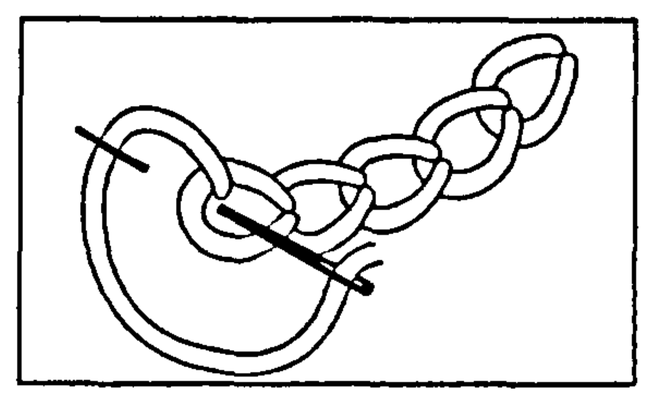
6. Satin stitch



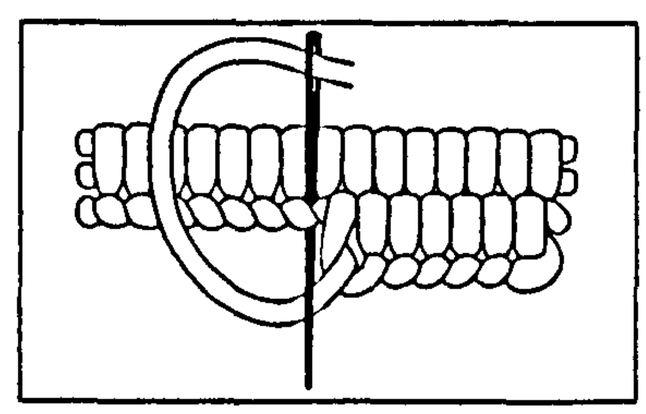
7. Stem stitch



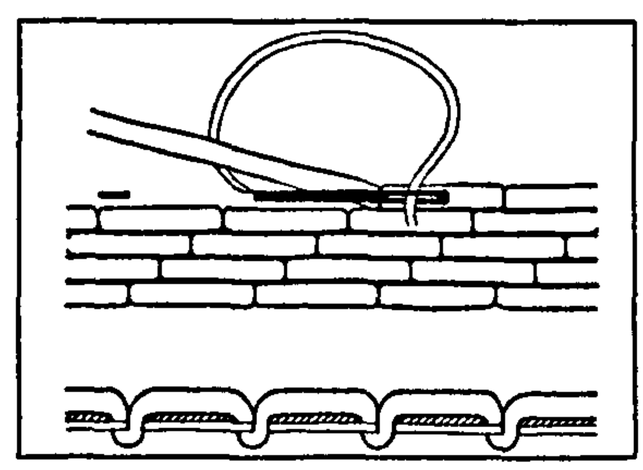
8. Split stitch



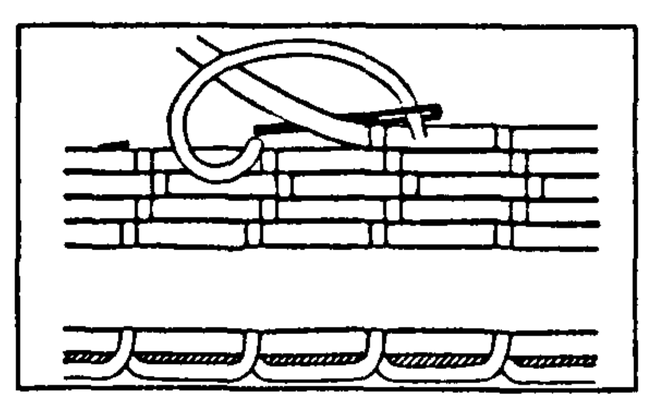
9. Chain stitch



10. Detached Buttonhole stitch



11. Underside couching (cross-section below)



12. Couching (cross-section below)

Fig. 8. Tent stitch, and other embroidery stitches.

Letter 5

Excerpted Autobiography

In the summer following Col. Granville's death, Pendarves took Mary to Windsor for a month, in an attempt to lift her spirits:

> . . . we took lodging facing the gate that goes into the Little Park: the situation was pleasant, having a view of the Park from the upper windows. . . . I used to rise very early in the morning to walk in the Great Park, which joined to the garden of our house, attended by my maid and man. I chose to walk at that early hour to avoid company, as the Court was at that time at Windsor.

Pinchbeck (?1670-1732), the clock-maker and inventor of the eponymous copper and zinc alloy, "who was recommended to me for his great skill, and at whose house I had often been entertained with his works", asked Mary to introduce him to her friend Petronella Melusina von der Schulenberg, Lady Walsingham, to show her "one of his fine clocks". Walsingham invited Mary to take tea with her, but also invited Fabrice. Mary was then tricked into an assignation with M. Fabrice in Windsor Little Park, and only escaped by threatening to "go up to the windows of the apartment where . . . the King sat after dinner" and shout for help. Fabrice begged her not to ruin his reputation and promised to leave her alone thereafter.

> I soon found Windsor too public a place for me to live in with any comfort. [Pendarves] could never walk out; and to be confined the whole day to a little close lodging, in one of the hottest seasons that ever was felt, was almost insupportable; and when I went out I was embarrassed with more company than was either agreeable or proper for me to allow. I made myself a close prisoner the last week I staid, and was glad to be set at liberty by going to my own house in town.
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in

Ll. I: 92.)

Transcript of Letter 5

ALS, NT, I: 3a/5; Ll. I: 98-9

[Mary Pendarves, Beaufort Buildings, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester. Mary and her husband seem to have moved to a more prestigious location on the Strand at some time before the date of this letter.]

Beaufort Buildings[1]

30th May 1724

You are very unjust to your self, my Dearest Sister in saying you have it not in your Power to make your letters agreable, they are so to me more than I can express, and I shall always think my time well employd in writing to you when in return I have so much pleasure as the favour of your last letter gave me, when I am writing to you, I am so intent on the Darling Subject, that I forgett all things but your Self, and by that means you can never fail of a long letter from me, for I can never grow weary, and when I have finished my Letter I am sorry to think the Conversation is broke off, for imperfect as it is, it gives me more Satisfaction than any Personall one that I meet with here. tho so many Hills & Vales Separated our Bodys, Thought (that is free and unlimited) makes up in ^some measure that misfortune; and 'tho^ my Eyes are shut, I see my Dearest Sister in my dreams, I talk'd with you all last night; and was mortifyed when the Charming Vision fled. I thank you for your Prayers and hope they will be Heard, and then I

shall see you surrounded with Blessings and the richest Gifts of Providence which will be Happyness in excess to me. I do not wonder the Widdower[2] has forsaken College,[3] since the Person he payd his adorations to is not there,[4] she has gott a Cough which is very troublesome to her, but I hope with a little care she will get rid of it. she has enquired about y^r^ money but the Gentleman who has the Tickett[5] is not in Town [.] he will come in less than a Fortnight and than [then] she will get it payd; she has not yet bought you a Tickett for this Lottery, but she will as soon as she can inform her self rightly about the price, they will not be dearer than they are now. Mr Pendarves is still at Chelsea lame with the Gout[6] in his foot we were there yesterday my Aunt Clifford[7] complaind of the Gout in her knees, but she looks very well, and was very cheerfull, Mr Butler rides every morning to Drink the Waters at Acton,[8] he has found benefitt by 'em already. the Cut paper [pictures][9] I will get Framed and mended & send 'em by Mrs Carter they are neither worth keeping nor sending, and had you not mention'd 'em I should not have thought on 'em. there was a great many fine Cloaths on the Birth Day[10]. Lady Sunderland was very fine and very Genteel, her Cloaths were the finest pale blew Pink[11] very richly flowered in a running Pattern of Silver, Frosted and Tissue[12] with a little white, a new Brussells Head[13], and Lady Oxfords Jewels. Bess had on a Pale Lemon colourd Lutestring, and look'd like a Witch, at least her Sisters good looks were no advantage to her. I was at Lady Carterets Toylett,[14] whose Cloaths were pretty, Pale Straw Lutestring and flowerd with Silver,[and] a new Brussels Head[.] Lady Lansdowne did not go, but Lord Weymouth[15] and Mademoiselle Lansdowne[16] went, their Cloaths was very hand =some, she Danced at Court with great aplause. pray let me know what new Scandal you have heard of Lady Bristol,[17] it is the present Tittle Tattle of the Tea Tables that she and Co^ll.^ Cotton[18] was caught together at an unseasonable time. I suppose you hear that Mrs Young[19] was found a Bed with Mr Norton,[20] by her Husband, Norton trembled and begd his Life, Young told him he would not attack his Person but

his Fortune, which is not considerable eno^ for him to support such a prosecution without the kind assistance of his bedfellow who has lately had 15000tl[21] left her by her Mother. I did design making my Letter longer but Lady Carteret has just sent to me to go to the Opera with her, and it is time for me to be going

I am

My Dearest Sister

Your most Faithfull

& affectionate Friend

M. Pendarves

my humble Duty to my Mother & humble Service & c.

Notes

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[1] Beaufort Buildings was "formerly a very large house, . . . called Worcester House, as belonging to the Earl of Worcester, and descending to Henry, Duke of Beaufort; his Grace finding it crazy, and by its antiquity grown very ruinous . . . thought it better to let out the ground to undertakers [businesses] than to build a new house thereon, . . . ". Strype, *Survey of London*, IV: 119. This building burned down in 1695, and the "re-edified" Beaufort House suffered the same fate on 19 March 1875. There are no details of the building between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth century, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the Duke rebuilt Beaufort House and let it to tenants such as Alexander and Mary Pendarves. Henry B. Wheatley, ed., *London Past and Present: its History, Associations, and Traditions. Based upon the Handbook of London by the late Peter Cunningham* (London: John Murray, 1891), 140.

[2] Not identified.

[3] "College" probably refers to the grammar school at Gloucester, a non-monastic, non fee-paying school established in the seventh century, "open to any who can learn grammar". On 3 September 1541 the abbey of St. Peter was refounded as the "catholic church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity", or Gloucester cathedral. As in all the newly-established cathedrals except Winchester, the school formed an integral part of the new foundation. At the date of this letter, the master of Gloucester Grammar School was Mr. Benjamin Newton. As girls were not admitted to the

college, the woman to whom MP refers may have been a neighbour of her mother and sister; the Deanery overlooked College Green. *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. II, ed. William Page (London: Archibold and Constable, 1907), 314, 321, 332.

[4] Not identified.

[5] Anne Granville may have been due some prize money from a lottery win. Lotteries could be combined with the delights of the masquerade: "We hear that Count Heydreiggar has taken in a Subscription for three Redoltos, in which, besides the Musick and Entertainment of Sweet-meats and Wine, &c., every Lady is to have a Ticket for a Lottery, which will be drawn in the Presence of the Company; in which every Prize will be intitled to some curious Toy." Highfill et al., VII: 235, source not given.

[6] Queen Caroline's personal recipe (as recommended to the Bishop of Bangor) "for driving it [gout] out of the stomach into the feet" was "to steep rhubarb into warm water, and after straining it off, to make coffee of that water and sweeten it with liquorice." Egmont, *Diary*, I: 476-77.

[7] See Letter 3, n. 6.

[8] There was a small spa at Acton, which attracted invalids and tourists throughout the eighteenth century. Weinreb, *London Encyclopaedia*, 4.

[9] Making pictures of finely-cut paper was a popular pastime in the eighteenth century, and MP started to practise the craft when she was very young. She became very skilled at it, as can be seen from Fig. 9. Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 3.

[10] MP refers to the birthday of George I, which was 28 May. "Our bells have rung ever since four this morning", Mrs. Bradshaw wrote in 1722, "which is more a proof of Lady Mohun's power than the people's inclinations". The Mohun estate (Gosworth Hall) was in Jacobite Cheshire. Suffolk, *Letters* , I: 91 and n.

[11] "BLEW, . . . the Colour of the Sky. PINK, [among *Painters*] a sort of yellow colour."Bailey, *Dictionary*. MP appears to be saying "sky-blue pink", meaning a pale bluish-yellow colour. This is perhaps the origin of the contemporary phrase, now "a jocular name for a nonexistent, unknown, or unimportant colour". *Collins English Dictionary*, ed.Marian Makins et al. 3d ed. (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1991).

[12] "TISSUE: A woven textile of gold, silver or silk thread." Cunnington, *Handbook*, 421.

[13] *i.e.* a cap made of lace from Brussels. These could be expensive: "One Brussels . . . head at £40. 1709. *Postboy*." Ibid., 153. See also Letter 3, n. 30.

[14] Visiting during toilette was a fashionable diversion, mocked in the fourth painting of Hogarth's *Marriage à-la-Mode* sequence, which features the castrato Senesino (see Letter 1, n. 8) as part of the countess's in-house entertainment. See Fig. 10o.

[15] Thomas, 2nd Viscount Weymouth, the son of Lady Lansdowne.

[16] The Hon. Anne Granville (born ca. 1714), eldest daughter of George, Lord Lansdowne.

[17] Lady Bristol: Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Felton, Bart., of Playford, County Suffolk; married in 1695 to John Hervey, created, in 1714, Earl of Bristol. *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales. 1714-1720,* ed. The Hon. Spencer Cowper (London: John Murray, 1864), 3, n. "After having survived 17 pregnancies in 20 years, Lady Bristol took in her late 40s to living at court. Her husband preferred the country and strongly resented her absence since he was obliged to run the household. For the last 20 years of her life, they wrangled over this question until all their passion for each other had drained away. The first signs of tension appeared in 1721 when he told her that he could not join her as planned and that "all the abatement I can feel proceeds from reflecting how very much this ungovernable family would want me had I been in a condition to leave it at the time I intended; for as it is, even the bread was left all night in the oven and utterly spoiled, and not so much as a toast left for me to eat with my chocolate." He complains with Miltonic pathos when Lady Bristol neglects her duty as mother and nurse: "this [the failure of the servants to clean the drawing-room] is but a light circumstance compared with the dismal state of it when dear Nan was so very hopelessly ill, and I left helpless with her." *Bristol Letter Books*, II: 184; III: 190 in Trumbach, 133. It is not clear whether he refers to the state of life in general, or of the drawing-room in particular.

LMWM says of Lady Bristol's renaissance: "the Countesse is come out a new Creature: she has left off the dull Occupations of Hazard and Bassette, <and> is grown Young, blooming, Coquette and Galante; and to shew she is fully sensible of the errors of her past Life, . . . she has 2 Lovers at a time, and is equally, wickedly talk'd of for the Gentile Coll[onel] Cotton and the supperfine [*sic*] Mr. Braddocks. Now I think this is the greatest compliment . . . to her own Lord, since 'tis plain that when she will be false to him, she is forc'd to take 2 men in his stead, and that no one Mortal has merit enough to make up for him." LMWM to Lady Mar [June 1722], *Letters*, II: 17.

[18]Colonel Stanhope Cotton, Deputy-Governor of Gibraltar. Lady Bristol wrote to her husband from Bath how "kind and civil" was his behaviour to her. He died at Bath, after a long illness, on 8 December 1725. Bristol *Letter-Books*, II: 170; *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 11 December 1725, in LMWM, *Letters*, II: 17, n.; "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X. Mrs. Bradshaw, who accompanied Lady Bristol to Bath, writes (30 August 1721): "Either I have no taste, or all the disagreeable people from the four corners of the world are assembled together in this place; though my good lady countess . . . can find amusement among them till twelve o'clock at night. There are a good many ladies one knows, but the men (which you know is what interests me) are such unfinished animals, one would swear they were beholden to the hot springs for their creation, without any other assistance. Here is a Colonel Cotton, who is a good agreeable man; but the ladies are all so fond of him, that I believe he must take to his bed soon. . . . he gives breakfasts, makes balls, plays, and does every thing a lady can desire; but then he is but one man, and cannot turn himself to at least ten women that have fastened upon him, from which contests do often arise amongst us." To Mrs. Howard, Suffolk *Letters*, I: 74.

[19] ? The opera singer: "At night I went to a public concert for the benefit of Mrs. Young, whose voice I think exceeds Corsone's or any Italian I ever heard in clearness, loudness, and high compass." Egerton, *Diary*, Saturday 3 October 1730, I: 105. There were no fewer than six singing Miss/Mrs. Youngs. Highfill et al., I: 117, s.v. "Arne" (Cecilia Young's husband).

[20] Not identified.

[21] "tl" is an abbreviation for "guineas".

Fig. 9. Cut-paper picture by Mary Delany.

(original picture four inches in diameter).

Fig. 10. Hogarth, "The Countess's Levée".

Letter 6

Transcript of Letter 6

AL, NT, I: 4/6; Ll. I: 100-2

[Mary Pendarves, Beaufort Buildings, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

[Beaufort Buildings] 12 December 1724

Dear Sister

Nothing but a Wedding could excuse my having been so long Silent to you. last Wednesday Lady Sunderland made S^r^. Robert Sutton[1] the Happy man, she was not to have married till Thursday, and the wedding was to be kept at Writtle=Park,but Co^ll^. Stanley[2] is so very ill that it is thought he cannot recover. with much perswasion they prevaild with the young Countess to ^be^ married the Day she was,[3] I was at the Supper and helpd to put her to bed,[4] there was nobody there beside M^rs^. Tichborne[5] and my Self, except Lord and Lady Delawarr,[6] we plagued her a little as there is no forbearing on such occasions, and all of us mett there and dined with [them] next day, her new House is in George Street by Hanover Square 'tis a very good one, and furnishd with a mighty good taste she has not made her many Sutes of Cloaths, because she had a great many fine ones by her, her laces are all very fine.

Moll Bramston[7] has been confined with her youngest Sister who is just recover'd of the Small Pox and has had it very favourably, so she has had no Sport with us. S^r^. Robert has presented her ^Lady S:^ with

earings, Cross, and Girdle Buckle, the tops of the earings are Middling Brilliants, the Drops are Pink colour diamonds of a prodigious Size, the Cross and Buckle are very fine Brilliants. I hope she will be very Happy I think there is a great appearance of her being so, her House is charmingly Furnishd with Pictures, Glasses, Tapestry, and Damask, all superfine in their kind.[8] Artaxerxes[9] is liked by most people I think there are some very pretty things in it, I have bespoke three of the best songs in it, I will copy them and send them to M$^{rs.}$ Carter as soon as I have them, enclosed is a Song out of Tamerlane[10] which is a favourita.

I will answer M$^{rs.}$ Carters questions about her mourning[11] to you because I won't lose time by staying till next post. I think her in the right in buying a white sattin to Top her Black for the reasons she gives me, but that [one, the white satin] she can only wear as a Night gown and if she was in Town she should wear only mourning when she is dress'd, but in the Countrey that will not be minded, white Gloves Colourd fan and Colourd shoes,[12] and edgings if she pleases, and black or white short apron and Girdle which she likes best, my Mama must not wear black Handkerchief[13] with her Second years mourning. M$^{r.}$ Pendarves is confined with the Gout in his foot, he has had a very violent Cold but 'tis now pretty well again. there will be no Masquerades till after X$^{t.}$mass, I have leave to go to one or two more, but one will content me. I was to see the Opera of Dioclesian[14] but was very much disappointed, for instead of Purcells Musick which I expected we had Papuch's[15] and very hum drum it was indeed I never was so tired with any thing in my Life, the Performers were, M$^{rs.}$ Barbier,[16] M$^{rs.}$ Chambers[17] a schollar of Margarettas,[18] Legard,[19] and old Leveridge.[20] M$^{r.}$ Rich promises the Town a great many fine things at the new House[21] this Winter. there is a great Curiosity sett up in one of the Rooms in the Opera House, & no Body is admitted to see it under a Guinea apeice, 'tis the Temple of Solomon,[22] it is too much money for me to Bestow only to see a Modell that may be no more like the Original than like S$^{t.}$ Peters at Rome. Lady Lansdowne just now Sent me a Tickett for the Opera, but I have resisted the Temptation and

stay at home to nurse. I want to know how you like your things, your laces look very grey, but they are Mrs. Carters doing, the English head[23] is not well dress'd up, but I had not time to alter for they came home but just before they were pack'd up. I am afraid miss Unett[24] will not like her fan, but tell her Quadrille[25] is all the mode, and the sticks were mended in so many places that they told me they did not deserve a better mount, the price was three and sixpence. I am very Happy in the good account I have of my Dear Mama, I make it my most earnest prayer that she may long enjoy her Health. pray tell her Mrs. Badge[26] desires to have all my Mothers commands in Relation to the Money she is to receive sett down all together in a paper that she may not forget any thing[27]

Notes

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[1] Sir Robert Sutton, K.B. (b.1671), one of the 38 Knights of the Bath created in May 1725; successively envoy in Holland, ambassador at Constantinople, and in 1721 minister at the court of Versailles. He was, less honourably, and despite Walpole's strenuous efforts to vindicate him, expelled from the Commons for embezzling the funds of the Charitable Corporation (for the employment and relief of the poor). He was a good *ombre* player, according to Lady Lansdowne, who, herself a francophile, cautioned Lady Howard: "I suppose by this time you have seen Sir R. Sutton in all his French airs; but let me beg of you not to give your judgement of the French people by him, but only consider he was for a great many years in Turkey" - and so presumably tainted by effeminacy. "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register* , X, 27 May 1725; Langford, 22; Suffolk, *Letters* , I: 85 and n.

[2] Col. Stanley was brother to Sir John Stanley, MP's uncle. Writtle Park, Chelmsford, Essex, appears to have been the Colonel's family seat.

[3] Weddings usually took place after the settlement was signed, sometimes even beforehand. Lord Hertford decided on the spur of the moment to marry off his daughter at the end of dinner, as soon as the servants had retired. The family chaplain hurried to bring the prayerbook, and the ceremony was performed before the seven diners. The groom's mother missed the wedding, which had originally been planned for a day or two later, and the marriage was kept a secret for a few days until the settlements arrived. Grace Granville was married in similar brisk fashion at noon on the day the settlements were signed: "[The match] has at last been concluded in so

great a hurry that I . . . fear I shall start and rub my eyes, as out of a dream. . .". Trumbach, 114-15; letter from MP, Brook Street, London, to AG, Gloucester, 29 March 1739/40, Ll. II: 80.

[4] "In the seventeenth century, marriage had been celebrated by a great feast given by the bride's father [which] could spread . . . over several days and cost many hundreds of pounds. . . . the wedding night was concluded by the public bedding of the bride with much obscenity and the couple's making each other's acquaintance. By 1720 the marriage feast had disappeared. . . . the marriage took place in the evening about eight or nine, and was followed by a dinner that day and the next, some card playing, and perhaps some dancing. . . . only very near relations were invited." Trumbach, 113 and n.

[5] Elizabeth, Judith Tichbourne's sister, or their mother.

[6] John West, 7th (or 16th) Baron De La Warr (1723) was made Lord of the Bedchamber to George I on 31 May 1725, and Knight of the Bath in the same year. In March, 1724, he acted as second to Lord Peterborough, defending Anastasia Robinson's honour against the indiscreet witticisms of Lord Stanhope. Lady Delawarr's mother was the Lady Mary Spencer, 2nd daughter of Robert, Earl of Sunderland; she was hence Lady Sunderland's sister-in-law. "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X; LMWM, *Letters*, II: 37-8; Ll. I: 100, n. See also Letter 4, n. 16.

[7] See Letter 3, n. 23

[8] Addison satirizes such ostentation through the complaints of a wealthy man, who finds the taste of his new wife, formerly an indigent aristocrat, somewhat excessive: "[she] set herself to reform every Room of my House, having glazed all my Chimney-pieces with Looking-glass, and planted every Corner with such heaps of China, that I am obliged to move about my own House with the greatest Caution & Circumspection, for fear of hurting some of our Brittle Furniture". *The Spectator*, no. 299, Tuesday 12 February 1712, ed. Donald F. Bond, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), III: 68.

[9] *Artaserse (Zeno and Pariati)*, an opera by Pietro Guiseppe Sandoni (1685-1748), composer and harpsichordist. Of his operas and oratorios only the libretti remain. His keyboard sonatas, published between 1726 and 1728 at the end of his *Cantate de Caneva*, are the earliest keyboard sonatas published in England. The 1724 *Artaserse* lists Senesino and Cuzzoni among the cast, the latter playing "Aspasia", a pseudonym later adopted by MP. *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, ed. Emmett L. Avery, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 798.

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[10] Handel's *Tamerlane* opened the season of the Royal Academy of Music at the King's Theatre on 31 October 1724. It was not 'favorita' with LMWM, who opined: "The new Opera is execrable". *Letters*, II: 42 and n.

[11] This passage is quoted by Cunnington and Lucas as evidence that the rules governing mourning were far less stringent for women than for men, who generally wore grey. *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*, 246.

[12] See Fig. 11.

[13] "KERCHIEF, [*q. d. Coverchief,* of *Couvre*, to cover and *Chef* the Head, *F.*] Sort of Linnen Dress formerly worn by Women on their Heads, thence comes Handkerchief, tho' improperly." Bailey, *Dictionary*. "Of neck-wear, besides the tucker and modesty piece, a fuller covering was the handkerchief or neckerchief. In the 18th century, the word handkerchief for women meant neck-wear unless pocket-handkerchief was specifically stated. It was a large square of muslin, gauze, lawn, linen, or sometimes silk, folded diagonally and draped round the neck, with the point hanging down behind and the long ends either knotted in front or secured over the stomacher with ribbon ties. White handkerchiefs were often edged with lace which usually matched that on the cap and ruffles, if worn. Silk handkerchiefs might be coloured or striped. Gauze handkerchiefs were commonly coloured and edged with a contrasting colour or silver and gold." *Black handkerchiefs were correct during the first year of mourning but not after.* Phillis Cunnington, *Costume in Pictures*, (London: Studio Vista, 1964), 94; Cunnington, *Handbook*, 140, 141, my emphasis.

[14] *Diocletian (The Prophetess)* premièred this year. Highfill et al., XI: 257-60.

[15] Dr. John Christopher Pepusch was born at Berlin in 1667. He came to England about 1700. About the year 1724 Dr. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, having formed a plan for erecting a college in the Bermuda Islands, engaged Dr. Pepusch as one of the members of the projected establishment: "About this Time a Patent pass'd the Seals for erecting a College on the Island of *Bermudas*, for Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and other Heathens on the Continent of *America*; and constituting Dr. Berkeley, Dean of Londonderry in Ireland, Principal of the said College." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X, 1 June 1725. He and his associates embarked for the place of their destination; but the ship was wrecked, and the undertaking abandoned. His principal compositions are twelve cantatas, and he assisted Gay to select the national airs in *The Beggars' Opera*, [and *Polly*] to which he composed basses; he also wrote an overture to the opera, *Hogarth's Musical History*. and his compositions were heard regularly during the 1720s. He was one of the original subscribers to the Royal Society of Musicians. After he became organist at Charterhouse he seems to have given up any direct association with the theatres. He continued as conductor of the Academy of Ancient Music, which he had helped

to found ca. 1710, until 1751. He died in 1752. Ll. I: 101; Highfill et al., XI: 257-260.

[16] Jane Barbier (d.1757), renowned cantatrice and opera singer, specializing in male roles. The Earl of Cork is said to have remarked: "She never could rest long in a place; her affectations increased with her years. I remember her in the parts of Turnus and Orontes [in 1717], when the operas of Camilla and Thomyris were represented at Lincoln's-Inn Fields. She loved change so well, that she liked to change her sex." She made perhaps as much as £5,000 on the South Sea Scheme, 'retired' in 1720, made a comeback in 1722, and sang Turnus in *Camilla* again in the 1726-27 season. In February 1728, she advertised, without Rich's permission, that *The Beggar's Opera* would be staged for her benefit. Rich was obliged to publish a refutation. Her will stipulated that her British bank annuities and French tontines should be sold and 50s given to each prisoner in Whitechapel towards his discharge. Highfill et al., I: 281-4.

[17] Isabella Chambers (fl. 1722-41), made her first appearance at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 11 October 1723. She quickly established herself as one of the finest solo singers in London. For the 1724-25 season, Rich paid her a princely £5 per day. She sang Lavinia in *Camilla* in the 1729-30 season; perhaps also at this earlier date. In the 1720s and 30s one of her rivals was the quixotic Jane Barbier (see note above). Gray was unimpressed by her performance in Purcell's *King Arthur*; he wrote to Walpole, 17 January 1736: "[In] every one of the Choruses Mrs CHAMBERS sung ye chief part, accompanied with Roarings, Squawkings and Squeakatons dire", but he enjoyed the frost scene, with its fine scenery and: "Mrs Chambers &c: and dancers all rubbing hands and chatting with cold with fur gowns and worsted gloves in abundance." *The Gentleman's Magazine* (January 1777) reported that Mrs. Chambers had married the Master of Hummums Bagnio. Highfill et al., III: 145-6.

[18] Francesca Margherita de L'Epine, singer, wife of John Christopher Pepusch, d. 1746. She probably arrived in England late in 1692, with her German music teacher, Jacob Greber, who left the country in 1705. She then attracted the attentions of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. She performed regularly throughout 1720 in London at Drury Lane, the Queen's Theatre, Hickfords Music Room, Coignand's Great Room, Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Stationers' Hall and the Duchess of Shrewsbury's in Kensington. She took up operatic singing as it became more fashionable, but continued to appear at occasional recitals. The date of her marriage to Pepusch is unconfirmed, but their son John was baptised on 9 January 1724 at St. Clement Danes. Charles Burney records: "Her execution was of a very different order [from that of English singers] and involved real difficulties [i.e. embellishments]. Indeed, her musical merit must have been very considerable indeed to have kept it so long . . . on the English stage, where, till employed at the opera, she sung either in musical entertainments, or between the acts, almost every night. Besides being *out-landish*, she was so swarthy and ill-favoured, that her husband used to call her *Hecatet* (*sic*), a name to which she answered with as much good-humour as if he had called her Helen." Highfill et al, IV: 292-96.

[19] John Laguerre/Lagarde/Legar/Legard (ca.1700 - 28 March 1748), English baritone and artist. He was the son of the mural painter Louis Laguerre. He first appeared as a minor singer in Handel's *Radamisto* (1720). He then joined John Rich's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden, where from 1721 he sang in pantomimes, afterpieces, ballad operas and burlesques. His most popular roles were Hob in *Flora* and Gaffer Gubbins in *The Dragon of Wantley*. He sang Curio for the première of *Giulio Cesare* (1724): on opera nights his theatre parts were taken by understudies. Handel also chose him to sing Corydon in the first public performance of *Acis and Galatea* (1731). He married the dancer and actress Mary Rogeir and worked constantly with her until her death in 1739, after which his career failed to prosper. In 1741 he was imprisoned for debt, and in 1746 Rich employed him as a scene-painter. He also published engravings of theatrical subjects. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols., 2d. ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 14: 115.

[20] Richard 'Dick' Leveridge (ca.1670-1758), bass singer and songwriter whose career spanned fifty-five years at Drury Lane, Lincoln's Inn and Covent Garden. He specialised in entr'acte songs and songs within plays, yet was one of the original subscribers to the Royal Society of Musicians (28 August 1739). He played Linco in *Camilla* in March 1706. He popularized, amongst others, *Whine not, pine not*, from *Apollo and Daphne* [by Pepusch], sung with Mrs. Chambers. His benefits were usually well-attended and lucrative: in 1728 he took £185.16d. He sold tickets for them from his coffee house at *The Harlequin and Parrot*, nos. 2-3 Tavistock Street, and publicized the coffee house on his benefit bills. Highfill et al, IX: 262-8.

[21] John Rich, "Lun" (1692-1761), dancer, actor, author, one of London's most powerful theatre managers and popular performers. The new Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre was completed by Rich using a royal patent originally granted to Sir William Davenant at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. It opened on 18 December 1714 with *The Recruiting Officer*.

The "fine things" promised in 1724 would undoubtedly include pantomimes, which were popular throughout the 1720s. *The Necromancer, or Harlequin Dr. Faustus*, one of the most popular, in which Rich starred as Faustus, was satirized by Hogarth in *Masquerades and Operas* in February 1724. Highfill et al., XII: 337-343.

[22] Not traced.

[23] A style distinct from a Brussels head (see Letter 5, n. 13).

[24] ?Elizabeth Unett (d. ?January 1743/4) a close friend of Anne Granville. See Letter 21, n. 23.

[25] "Quadrille . . . *sb*[1] . . . A card-game played by four persons with forty cards, the eights, nines, and tens of the ordinary pack being discarded. . . . Quadrille began to take the place of ombre as the fashionable card-game about 1726, and was in turn superseded by whist." *OED*. "Sir T. Coke and Lady Hobart, Mrs. Harbord, and Mr. Kelsey made a party at quadrille, . . . The game being new, drew many spectators, which made it hot and disagreeable." Mrs. Bedingfield to Mrs. Howard, 15 August [1726], Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 257.

[26] Susan Badge was, according to Lady Llanover, the Granville family housekeeper/waiting-woman, who at this time seems to have been living with MP. The money referred to would be an instalment of Mrs. Granville's jointure. See Letter 13. Ll. I: 529, n.

[27] MP leaves herself no space on the page for a final greeting, and is obliged to continue her sentence (from "Mrs. Badge" onwards) in a tiny hand, inverted, in the space below the date of the letter and above "Dear Sister".

Fig. 11. "A quilted pink satin petticoat, [1740s] with an attractive pattern of strawberries and strawberry leaves, has been photographed with a pair of shoes made in the 1720s from purple brocade. The shoes have straps that would have been buckled over a high tongue lined with red silk (the buckle marks are visible). Unusually, the shoes have survived with their original leather clogs - protective overshoes. All are in excellent condition. Next to the shoes is an Italian fan dating from the 1740s. It has been painted with three figures in a landscape, the edges are decorated with embossed foil depicting putti, coronets and shells, and the ivory guards have been carved with figures from the *commedia dell'arte*." Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2000),132.

Letter 7

Excerpted Autobiography

Lady Lansdowne returned to England late in 1724.

> I went to wait upon her as soon as I heard of her arrival; she was overjoyed to see me, and brought me a letter from Alcander [Lord Lansdowne], wherein he . . . enjoined me to show her all imaginable respect. I endeavoured to acquit myself in the best manner I was able; she paid great court to me, her beauty was in its decline, but her love of admiration, and her coquet disposition remained in all its strength. I was upon my guard, as her reputation had suffered a great deal, and her behaviour soon confirmed all I had heard. The company I met at her house were free libertine people, and I was often shocked. I once took courage, and told her of my opinion and what the world said of her conduct; she carried it off with a laugh, but never forgave it, and from that day made use of all her arts to draw me into a share in her misconduct.

Lady Lansdowne encouraged the Earl of Clare[1]"a gay flattering audacious Frenchman" to press his suit as Mary's lover.
"[A]t last he came to an open profession of his having a violent passion for me; upon which I expressed great resentment to Laura [Lady Lansdowne] for allowing me to be so improperly treated in her house, and gave him to understand I should by no means allow of such freedom . . ." Undeterred, Clare wrote a "libertine" letter, promising to teach Mary "better lessons than [she] found in romances" which he knew she was fond of reading, and to whose teaching he ascribed her "shy and reserved", "cruel and haughty" behaviour. Mary ceased visiting her aunt altogether, until Pendarves insisted she go, to prevent a rift with her uncle. Clare had been summoned by Lady Lansdowne beforehand, and MP was locked in. "I entreated [my aunt] to let me go — I told her I was engaged and must go — all to no purpose: she

vowed I should not go out of her house until after supper, rang for a servant to send away my coach, and kept me by violence." Mary was a little reassured by the arrival of several supper guests, who proceeded to sing French catches (presumably the eighteenth-century equivalent of rugby songs) to her "unspeakable offence", and she was finally allowed to leave. Clare stole a ring from her, but she never saw him again, as he left England a few days later. (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in Ll. I: 93-96).

Transcript of Letter 7

AF, NT, I: 4a/7; Ll. I: 102-5

[Mary Pendarves, Beaufort Buildings, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

9 Feb$^{y.}$ 1724/5

My Dearest Sister

In Maddy's[2] letter I have a gentle rebuke for missing writing two posts following which I can't recollect I did [,] but one I acknowledge and ask pardon for, I believe I am in debt to you for two letters and return you many thanks for them. in my letter to my Mama last post I gave an account of all the memorable things. 11 Feby. 1724 thus farr of my letter I writ last post as you may see by the Date but was interrupted by Lady Peyton[3] and her Daughters who called on me to go to hear the musical Clock[4] and would take no denyal, it is a new

one the man has just finishd, and a compleat peice of ingenuity as ever I saw it plays 24 tunes with as much exactness as it is posible for them to be playd in Concert, the Price of it is five hundred pound, he is in hopes of disposing of it to the King for Prince Frederick. I am very glad you have taken a fancy to drawing you will find a great deal of entertainment in it, by that time I shall make you a Visit you will be able to be my mistress, and that is supposing you to be a person of a quick apprehension for I hope to be with you by the time I proposed in my last letter. I was last Sunday at Chelsea, my Aunt Clifford looks extreme well, and was very cheerfull so was the rest of our Friends there. Mr Pendarves is still with them and will stay there two or three Days longer, we drank all your Healths and wishd you with us, but vain are wishes, or my dear Nanelia and I had not been so long divided but as fortune sometimes Smiles as well as frowns, I comfort my Self with the expectation of her smiles, and as the French motto says "L'esperance me console.[5] L: L:[6] lives a sad life and no hopes of a reformation, I have avoided her company as much as possible but shall still more, she is a woman of unbounded extravagance in every respect and I [am] afraid will be abandond soon by all her acquaintance, I can't say I wish her to return from whence she came for some certain reasons you may guess[7] but I wish her farr from London, and that I was not so much a favourite to her as I am, she makes as great a rout[8] with me as if she could not live without me, and I am at a loss how to dissentangle my Self from her Caresses, for tis dangerous sometimes to provoke a venemous tongue so that I must menage[9] artfully. Lady Oxfords coming to Town is both a pleasure and vexation. I shall be extreamly glad to see her having a very sincere value for her, but then the[re's the] Opera Box thats surrendered, and now I must bid adieu to the Charming sociable Tuesday nights, I have not much reason to repine for I have not miss'd but three Tuesdays the whole Opera Season.[10] You desired to know what sum I had in my Hands of Mr. Wises[11] , 'twas seven pound that was paid at the Coferers Office[12] [in London] and that was all could be had and very well that he got that,

forty Shilling of it was paid to M^r^. Walis[13] by M^r^. Wise's Order the rest of the money I would have sent in a box of M^rs^. James's to morrow but she advises me to have it returnd by M^r^. James[14] now he is in Town, so I shall pay it to him and he will order it to be paid in Gloster to my Mama. the little sum I writ word would be paid at the Cofferers Office [in Gloucester] upon due Demand will not I suppose be paid without a Note from M^r^. Wise as an administrator but that you might easily be told by any of your neighbouring Lawyers. Miss Bell Dunch[15] was married last Week to M^r^. Tomson, how M^r^. Harvey[16] and his Love goes on I don't hear, nor any pretty thing. the Town is Stupid[17] and no sort of entertaining Conversation stirring. there's a remarkable Accident has happend lately to a famous Surgeon who's name I think was St. André,[18] a man came to him about a week ago and told him he must go with him to a Person that was in distress for him and that he must immediatly follow him which he did and was led thro^ so many by lanes and alleys that he did not know in what part of the Town he was, he was conducted into a room where there was a woman who had got an ill distemper, he writ down a perscription for her, and was Handsomly paid, then the man desired him to drink a glass of wine, which he refused doing, upon which the man seemd to be affronted; so to reconcile matters the surgeon said he would drink, the man drank to him in a glass of wine, and gave him a dram of Cherry Brandy, then conveyd him away in the same manner and

[Letter ends.]

Notes

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[1] Charles O'Brien (1699-1761), sixth Viscount Clare, heir to the Marquisate of Thomond, and an officer in the French army. He distinguished himself at Dettingen,

and died at Montpelier. Ll. I: 57,n. *DNB*. LMWM calls him "that Thing my Lord Clare" and opines: "Nobody ever had such ineffectual charms as his Lordship. Beauty and money are equally ill bestow'd when a fool has the keeping of them." LMWM to Lady Mar, [January 1725] and [February 1725], LMWM *Letters*, II: 44,45.

[2] "Maddy" is probably Ann Carter, later Viney, mentioned in Letter 2.

[3] Anne, daughter of George Dashwood, Esq., and wife of Sir Tewster Peyton, of Doddington, Cambridgeshire, Bart. Ll. I: 102.

[4] The clock was probably made by Pinchbeck: see the extract from MP's *Autobiography* at the head of Letter 5.

[5] "Hope consoles me." de Chardonnel. R. Pinches, *Elvin's Book of Mottoes, Based on the Original Edition of 1860 by C. N. Elvin*, rev. ed. with Supplement and Index (London: Heraldry Today, 1971), 104. "Coming home in the coach we talked about the mottoes of the nobility and great men. It was said that the greatest part of them had been taken up within the last seven years, it having been mightily in vogue since that time." *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716*, ed. William Matthews (London: Methuen, 1939), 371.

[6] Lady Lansdowne.

[7] Perhaps because her absence was a blessing to Lord Lansdowne, of whom MP was fond.

[8] "ROUT, a Multitude or Throng of People, Squabble, Noise . . . " Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[9] "*manage, v.* . . . 6.b. To treat (persons) with indulgence or consideration. Also *absol.*, to alter one's conduct from fear of giving offence [= F. ménager] *Obs.* 1714 SWIFT *Let. to Bolingbroke* 7 Aug., I do not find there is any intention of managing you in the least." *OED*.

[10] MP appears to have been enjoying the use of Lady Oxford's opera box at the King's Theatre, Haymarket,while she was out of town. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Handel's London — the Theatres", in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 55.

[11] MP's father, Col. Bernard Granville, died intestate, and two executors, George Wise and William Townsend were appointed by her mother to manage his estate (the document which makes them his executors is reproduced as Appendix 3). There seems to have been a longstanding connection between the Wise and Granville families: "I am as wary as I can be of avoiding all infected places. There is but little apparence of the Plague, but the Smale Pox is very comon and more mortall then usuall. . . . Since Mr Wise his death, another good member of our house, called Sir Hen: Rainsford is also dead thereof . . ." Letter from Sir Bevill Granville to his wife, Lady Grace, London, 14 April 1641, Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family Traced back to Rollo, first Duke of Normandy* (Exeter: William Pollard & Co., 1895), 242.

"Mr. *Wise*, elected Keeper of the Archives in the University of *Oxford*, in the Room of Dr. *Gardiner*, deceas'd." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI, 26 April 1726.

[12] Perhaps the cofferer of the royal household, i.e., the treasurer of the lord steward's department. MP may have used his office as a banking service, since "the cofferer . . . [was] concerned entirely with personal service to the monarch or *in service in some way connected to his court.*" J. M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 2, 28, my emphasis. The cofferer of the household in 1724/5 was William Pulteney (1684-1764), Earl of Bath. Chris Cook and John Stevenson, *British Historical Facts, 1688-1760* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 86.

[13] ? MP's landlord in London. A letter of 8 March 1734/5 from Mrs. Badge, a Granville family housekeeper, in London, to Mrs. Granville (senior) in Gloucester reads: "Mrs. Wallace presents her humble duty to your ladyship; she has lost her oulde lodger, she dyed last month, but we have got one Mr. Rime." Ll. I: 529.

[14] Not identified.

[15] "*Feb.* 6. [1725] *Edward Thompson* of *Marsden* in the County of *York*, Esq; marry'd to Mrs. *Arabella Dunch*, Daughter of *Edmund Dunch*, of *Wittenham* in the County of *Berks*, Esq;". Chronological Diary, *Historical Register*, X. "Ned Thompson is as happy as the Money and charms of Belle Dunch can make him, and a miserable Dog for all that". LMWM, *Letters*, II: 45-6. He "rusticated" her for "Gallantrys" in June [1727], but apparently later condoned her adultery with his brother-in-law Sir George Oxenden, who according to Hervey had seduced her. She died (in adulterous childbed, according to Lord Hervey; "after a tedious Indisposition" according to the newspapers) in October 1734. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Elegy on Mrs. T------n* appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in June 1735. The poem opens:

> Unhappy fair, by fatal love betrayed,
> Must then thy beauties thus untimely fade,

And all thy bloomy, soft, inspiring charms
Become a prey to Death's destructive Arms?
Robert Halsband and Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Essays and Poems and Simplicity, a Comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 277-78.

[16] Henry Hervey. He married Catherine Aston, whose brother's estate was entailed on her if they had no children, but otherwise her £4,000 portion was, by her father's settlement and will, dependent on her marrying with her mother's consent. Since Hervey could offer a portion of only £300 a year and no property, consent was denied. They married regardless, and Hervey went to law against Lady Aston to secure his wife's portion, without success. The Lord Chancellor ruled that all Mrs. Hervey should receive was her maintenance of £70 a year. However, on the death of his brother-in-law, the entail vested, and Henry took orders and changed his name to Aston. He would "not even put the arms of his own family upon his coach", choosing as his motto "*Alias est Idem*, for he says he was Harry Hervey a poor officer and a wicked rake, whereas he is Harry Aston, a rich clergyman, and he hopes a worthy one." H. S. Hughes, *The Gentle Hertford* (New York: Macmillan, 1940, 314), in Trumbach, 93.

[17] "STU'PID. *adj.* [*stupide*, Fr. *stupidus*, Lat.] 1. Dull; wanting sensibility; wanting apprehension; heavy; sluggish of understanding.
. . . Men, boys, and women, *stupid* with surprise,
Where'er she passes fix their wondering eyes. *Dryd.*" Johnson, *Dictionary*.

[18] In November 1726, St. André, the Royal anatomist, was duped by Mary Tofts, of Godalming in Surrey, who claimed to have given birth to a litter of fifteen rabbits, after being frightened by one while working in the fields. "The imposture was finally detected by Sir Richard Manningham, a noted physician-accoucheur who was ordered by the King to investigate, and celebrated in a snowstorm of pamphlets and squibs." *DNB*. The narrative which begins here may describe a medical prodigy or notable fraud of an earlier date.

Letter 8

Contextual Notes

This letter is missing from the Newport collection, and the text below, including endnotes, is from Lady Llanover's edition, I:117-8. It is preceded by three letters from Lord Lansdowne: one to Mrs. Granville, Mary's mother, and two to Mary herself. In the first (Paris, 19 January 1725), a formal note of thanks for a letter he has received from Mrs. Granville, Lansdowne expresses himself "thankful to my niece Pendarves for the justice she has done me." Lady Llanover comments caustically: "The thankfulness expressed by Lord Lansdowne . . . no doubt alluded to Mrs. Pendarves's generous exculpation of Lord Lansdowne with regard to his negligence of her pecuniary interests and affairs, which appears at last to have occasioned him some remorse." The courteous denial of pecuniary assistance is the letter's chief theme: "My misfortunes have affected me in nothing so much as in disabling me from giving you those demonstrations of friendship which are rooted in my heart. . . . I wish I could send my god-daughter [Anne Granville] from hence something better than a bare blessing."

The second letter (Paris, 5 April 1725), reveals that Mary is having difficulty with an over-punctilious lawyer, who will not deliver her settlement documents to her without an express order from her uncle. Lansdowne writes, perhaps disingenuously, "I have been in great uneasiness about it, my memory having failed me in recollecting exactly, at such a distance of time, the settlement which was made at Long Leat. . . . My daughter, Grace writes me word you are a handsome widow — I hope you will find yourself a rich one." His postscript shows that he is aware of Lord Clare's attempted seduction and that Clare is now in Paris: "Your cousin Mary [Lansdowne's

second daughter] is your most humble servant. There is open war betwixt her and Lord Clare."

By 12 July 1725, the date of Lansdowne's third letter, Mary's cousin is ill: "This is the twelfth day that my daughter Mary has been confined to her bed by a malignant fever. For some days we had little hopes of her, but it has pleased God to preserve her, and she is now pronounced out of all danger by the physicians." There are further problems over Mary's settlement, and it seems that Frances Basset, the beneficiary of Pendarves's will, may have sold the contents of Roscrow, Pendarves's Cornish manor. "I am heartily sorry for Roskrow's being stript", he writes, and Lady Llanover suggests that this proves he was by that time aware that Pendarves had not changed his will in Mary's favour. (Ll. I: 113-117.)

Transcript of Letter 8

C, Ll. I: 117-8

[Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Anne Granville.]

August 22nd, 1725

I am glad Gloucester affords you such variety of diversions; may your beaux increase for the satisfaction of the belles. I hear Col. Churchill is gone to your city. I don't know what he may pass for among you; if assurance will recommend him he never fails of that quality, though he can behave himself with as much good manners as any body where his impertinence meets with no encouragement. Pray let me know if you was at the Sheriff's ball; if you danced, and who was your partner?

Last Thursday I went to town with Lady Sunderland; we dined at Lord De Lawarr's,[1] and was very merry. Mrs. Sandoni (who was Cuzzoni) is brought to bed of a daughter: it is a mighty mortification it was not a son. Sons and heirs ought to be out of fashion when such scrubs shall pretend to be dissatisfied at having a daughter: 'tis pity, indeed, that the noble name and family of the Sandoni's should be extinct! The minute she was brought to bed she sung "La Speranza," a song in Otho. He has been at extravagant expense to please that whimsical creature against her lying-in; amongst other superfluous charges, he has bought a very fine looking-glass for the child, and a black laced hood for his wife to see company in at the end of her month: in short there is more talk of her than ever there was of the Princess[2] when she lay in.

We see very little company, and I go nowhere now but sometimes to the Countesses. Mrs. Hyde is gone into the country: her old harridanical mother-in-law has stripped her house in town of all its furniture, so there is no hopes of her coming here any more, which is a mighty trouble.

Notes

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[1] The Lord Delawarr of 1725 was John, 1st Earl.

[2] December 7, 1724, the Princess Louisa was born; the youngest child of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were afterwards King George II. and Queen Caroline; the Princess Louisa married Frederick V. King of Denmark. She died December 8, 1751.

Letter 9

Contextual Notes

"On Sunday last Sir Caesar Child, Bart. died of the Small Pox in an advanced age. And on the day following Alexander Pendarves Esq; Member of Parliament for the Borough of Launceston, in the County of Cornwall, departed this Life." (*Parker's Penny Post,* Saturday 13 March, 1724/5.) "Dy'd *Alexander Pendarvis* of *Roscrow* in the County of *Cornwal* (*sic*) Esq; Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Launceston* in that County." ("Chronological Diary", *Historical Register,* X, 8 March 1725.)

Excerpted Autobiography

> After having been married seven years I became a widow, a state you may believe (after the sincere confessions I have made) not unwelcome, but the manner of Gromio's [Pendarves's] death was so shocking, I cannot to this hour recollect it without horror. The day before he died we were engaged separately, he to his usual set, I to . . . [Lady Sunderland]. I had that day a kind of foreknowledge of what was to happen. The night before, shocking dreams, and all the day following a dread on my spirits, which I could not get the better of. Placidia [Lady Sunderland] had made me promise to sup with her, but I found myself so unaccountably opprest, that as soon as supper came on the table, I sent for a chair and went home.
>
> Gromio had got home just before me. He said many kind things to me on my having made him "a good wife, and wished he might live to reward me." I never knew him say so much on that subject. He went to bed between eleven and twelve. I slept very little that night. He slept (as usual) very uneasily, drawing his breath with great difficulty. I did not close my eyes till past four and then slept till seven. I rung my bell, my servant came and opened the window shutter; I stepped softly for fear of awaking Gromio, and as I put by the curtain to get up, how terrified was I, when looking at him, I

saw him quite black in the face! . . . I ran screaming out of my room, almost out of my senses; my servant (for I was not at this instant capable of thinking of anything but the terror that had seized me), sent for [Mrs. Catherine Dashwood] who luckily lived in the same street; she came immediately. Physicians and surgeons were sent for, but too late - they judged he had been dead about two hours. My friends were all sent to. Valeria [Lady Stanley] insisted upon my going home with her, which I did, and which so offended Laura [Lady Lansdowne], (who had in a very earnest and friendly manner pressed me to come to her), that I think she never forgave it, but I did not dare to trust her. I knew the wisdom and goodness of Sebastian [Sir John Stanley] and Valeria would be the surest refuge I could fly to at a time when I might be exposed to the insinuating temptations and malicious arts of the world. I was now to enter it again, on a new footing.
(Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, in Ll. I: 106-9.)

Transcript of Letter 9

AL, NT, I: 5/9; Ll. I: 119

[Mary Pendarves, Northend, Fulham, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

[Northend, Summer, 1726][1]

You are very just to me my Dearest Sister in saying I will lose no opportunity of conversing with you which indeed I will not and you must lay it to the charge of any thing but negligence when I happen to mis[s] a post, A Thousand thanks to you for every word you send me. Yesterday we shifted our quarters from Somersett House to Northend,[2] 'tis said we shall stay here as long as the sun shines; and to say truth between you and I London is a Dismall place at present, the streets are filled with nothing but dray carts and Hackney Coaches,[3] out of which sometimes peeps a pragmatical Lawyer, with Staring Eyes and white

gloves[4] , but they might save themselves the trouble of looking for I don't vouchsafe them my regard, if somebody had been with me (that[5] shall be nameless)[6] perhaps they would have Sigh'd for one look more before we part for ever. I have some good news for you Ermin[7] is in good Health and sent his Compliments[8] to you he has been at paris but says he cannot pretend to give his opinion of the French Ladies, for their faces and persons are so hid that he does not know what to make of them.[9] he is going to visit the provinces and designs to return to — (now your Heart goes pit a pat) Paris and spend his winter there, but Alas I forgot I was writing to you I protest my Imagination was so kind and so strong that I thought I had been talking to you 'tis all one to you whither he passes the remainder of the year in France or London since you are 40 mile off, that is a cruel thought and has come unluckily in my way to check a vein of merryment that I was unaccountably fallen into. Lady Sun:[derland] made us a visit the Day before we went to Town she look'd thin and Pale,[10] Bess[11] [is] no changeling, but you have disobliged her and she says she is bound to Curse you as long [as] She lives.[12] Thyrsis[13] is come from the Cornubian Mountains[14] I have not seen him but he has paid his Devoirs[15] to the Goddess of his Vows. I pity your Nose, and suppose your Lavender water goes to pott,[16] but can't you sometimes imagine your self at Vandermines[17] feasting your Eyes with Sophonisba,[18] I am sure Tobacca[19] is there in its full force, the Dutch Rogue has not quite finish'd my Peice but there is not above an hours work . he has lately done, the Story of Tamer[20] sitting in the Harlots dress, you know he is very fond of fine fatt white backs, and Madam Tamer is Drawn with her back parts to you but finely done and as big as Life or rather larger. M[rs.] Hyde[21] has taken the Woodfeilds[22] House pulld down their furniture[23] and put up her own, and the Woodfeilds are to remain in the House so they are Happy folks. I am glad you have got an Agreable Neighbour[24] that keeps an Equipage I hope you will improve the acquaintance, and that the Young Ladies Conversation will be answerable to her person, or I know you will dispize her. the Story of

Lady W:[25] was all a lye but you had it as cheap as I. Heigh ho! short nights are past and gone, nothing now appears but long and dismall, nor do I so much as hear any mention of the former. Basta[26] is a false Matedore,[27] Ombre flourishes abroad, but content Alone is my Game. I have had a letter from Erminia[28] wherein she lays a Copy of Verses that have been sent to Mon:[29] to my Charge, the baggage has betrayd us for she has seen that hand of mine before. two post ago brought me an Epistle from our Friend Sally[30] but she is grown a downright conjugal creature and so fond of her Husband that it is full of nothing but Caro Sposo, and the Terrible and dreadfull misfortune she lately mett with of being dissappointed of a nights lodging which they both eagerly and earnestly desired, after a weeks absence, but strange unaccountable things happend to prevent and cross their purpose, she was at Abingdon and he poor Man mournd like a Sucking Babe, and gallop'd full speed to see his Dear and surprize her with his company, when oh unlucky chance she left Abindon that very Day and return'd to Stanton[31] a Contrary way; so miss'd of her Lovee. pray let me know who that Gentleman was that gave me the Epithett of fine it sounds as if it came out of your Landlords[32] mouth or the Parson of your Parish;[33] but chiefly give me an [account] of what more particularly concerns your self, or you shan't know who it was that I saw and spoke to, and was questiond and answerd on a Certain Day of the week between Sunday and Sunday, at the Hour particularly agreable to the purpose and the critical minute in the Year 1726.

I will get the Pins for my Mama and send the books Coz. Lawson[34] desires when I pack off your things I doubt that will not be till the week after next.

O yes there is [a] young man lately come from Teague[35] Land with Cherry cheeks dimpled Chin, roling Eyes, a slir[36] and coupee[37] after a Salute,[38] that is to be let, he is an Heir and setts up for him self, the fairest bidder may have him he declares for a pretty face, he is in good order being a monk,[39] and if you pretty nun want a Father confessor, I think here you will meet with your match; I have run my

Self quite out of breath, and I believe I have out done all the beasts at New markett,[40] I will stop a little and then for t'other Heat.

I don't know if Lady Stanley will keep Nanny[41] or no when I hear anything of it I will write you word, my Mama is a better judge than I am if she is fitt for my Cousin Lawsons Service; I hope you received the Harpsicord Strings the ballads & the Edging. I send the next of the Strings this post [.] Grin[42] is as merry as a Crikett and has got a very pretty white and black Puss for her Play fellow.

[Ends without salutation.][43]

Notes

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[1] The year and place, Northend (n. 2 below), are mentioned by MP in the body of the letter. The King, when he did not go to Hanover, was accustomed to spend the summer at Kensington Palace, and it would seem that when he did so, the Stanleys lived at Northend, in nearby Fulham. MP says they will stay there "as long as the sun shines", and mentions that "short nights are past and gone, and nothing now appears but long and dismall" which can be interpreted as meaning that the short, diverting nights of opera- and play-going in the metropolis are over, and long tedious nights of card-playing the only prospect: her next sentence lists three card games, "Basta", "Matedore" and "Ombre" (unless these are in fact code names for persons).

[2] After the death of her husband, Mary Pendarves, disappointed of the substantial inheritance envisaged by her uncle Lansdowne, stayed sometimes at her London lodgings, probably in Beaufort Buildings, and sometimes with her uncle and aunt Stanley, who themselves divided their time between their grace-and-favour apartment at Somerset House (when Lady Stanley was on duty as housekeeper to Caroline, Princess of Wales, later the Queen), and Paradise, their villa at Northend, Fulham: "In the year 1718 Hicks Borough surrendered a messuage at North End, called *Browne's House*, which had formerly been Lord Griffin's, to Sir John Stanley, Bart., from whom it passed, anno 1735, to his nephew, William Monck, Esq. - Faulkner's *Account of Fulham,* published in 1813" in Ll. I: 215 n. "We dined at home and in the evening went to Sir John Stanley's to visit Cousin Donellan. It is a neat house and garden though small, and has some good pictures of Rosa of Tivoli and others." Egmont, *Diary* ,Tuesday 9 July 1734, II: 115, 116.

[3] "*HACKNEY,* a Town of much resort, about three Miles from *London,* whence any Coach or Horse which is let out to Hire, is called a Hackney &c. unless you had rather have it from the *French*, *Hacquenée*, the same." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

M. de Saussure notes (East Sheen, Richmond, 29 October 1726): "The hackney coaches in London are a great convenience. About one thousand of these vehicles are to be found day and night in the public places and principal streets of the city and town. Most of them, to tell the truth, are ugly and dirty. The driver is perched high up on a wooden seat, as elevated as the imperial of a coach. The body of the carriage is very badly balanced, so that when inside you are most cruelly shaken, the pavement being very uneven, and most of the horses excellent and fast trotters. A drive costs one shilling, provided you do not go further than a certain distance; other drives will cost two or sometimes three shillings, . . . The drivers often ask more than is their due, and this is the case especially when they have to do with foreigners. To avoid being cheated, you must take the number of the coach marked on the door, and offer the driver a handful of coins, telling him to take his fare out of it. In this fashion of dealing he will not take more than his due, for should he do so you have a right to go and complain at the coach office, and the driver will be punished by being made to pay a fine, half of which would go to the plaintiff, and the other half to the officers of the office." Saussure, (1902 edn.) 165-6.

[4] "Gentlemen's gloves in the period 1700-1750 were white or blue, and made of leather, lambswool or worsted." Cunnington, *Handbook*, 97.

[5] There may be some hidden message here: the manuscript has two inverted 'C's beneath the word "that": the initials of Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

[6] This may imply that had one of MP's beaux (perhaps Baltimore) accompanied her, the "pragmatical lawyers' would know she was unavailable, and "sighed for one look more" before resigning themselves to losing her forever, or it may be a compliment to her sister, suggesting that she was equally unattainable, and so beautiful as to make the lawyers sigh wistfully as, trapped in their hackney coaches, they sped past the two women.

[7] "Ermin", if it is an abbreviated form of "Herminius" is likely to be another of MP's names for Lord Baltimore, and suggests that "Erminia", mentioned later in the letter, may be his sister, Jane Hyde. However, the language here seems to suggest a love interest of Anne's, rather than her sister's. Mary Delany left a Key to the fictitious names used in her correspondence, the Ms. of which has not yet been traced, although most of her names have been glossed by Lady Llanover. Interestingly, neither "Ermin" nor "Erminia" is included. *Mrs. Delany at Court and Among the Wits Being the Record of a Great Lady of Genius in the Art of Living*, ed. R. Brimley Johnson, London: Stanley Paul , 1925, xlii. Handel's *Erminius/Arminius* was not performed until 1737, but *L'Erminia favola Boschereccia d'Eulibio pastore Arcade* or, *Erminia, A Pastoral*, by Paolo Rolli and Bononcini was performed on 30 March 1723. Ll. I: 579, n.; Highfill et al., II: 208.

[8] "COMPLIMENTS, obliging Words, with other civilities of Behaviour. *F.*" Bailey, *Dictionary*.

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[9] "The Queen of France very much disliking the Fashion of the French Ladies, in exposing so much of their Necks and Breasts, and not caring directly to reprimand them for it, provided a large Number of Tippets, and gave one with her own Hand, to every Body that came to see her, begging 'em, for her sake, to wear it in the approaching cold Season; and, 'tis said, that upon this Encouragement, all the Tippet Makers about Town are hard at Work, well knowing that our British Ladies can't possibly keep out of the French fashion." *The London Journal*, "Foreign Affairs", 30 October 1725.

[10] "The Countess of *Sunderland,* wife of Sir *Robert Sutton* of *Broughton* in the County of *Lincoln*, Kt. brought to bed of a Son." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI, 8 February 1726. Her friends might well be concerned: her first son died in April 1722, at almost the same time as her husband, the Earl of Sunderland, and was buried with his father. On 11 September that year, she bore a posthumous son; the King stood sponsor, but the child died in a few months. Suffolk , *Letters*, I: 19, n. MP describes her as looking "thin", which, if it suggested that she had given birth, would suggest that this letter was written after February 1726.

[11] Elizabeth ("Betty", "Bess") Tichbourne. See Letters 3, 5, and 7.

[12] This extravagant language perhaps suggests that Bess is piqued because AG has attracted the attention of a man she wanted for herself.

[13] Not identified. Thyrsis was the type of the repining lover, e.g. in Pope's "Winter. The Fourth Pastoral, or Daphne": "*Thyrsis*, the music of that murm'ring spring,/ Is not so mournful as the strains you sing." E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, eds., *Pastoral Poetry and an Essay on Criticism*, vol. I of *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 88. 1-2.

[14] i.e. the Cornish mountains, from mediaeval Latin *Cornubia* , meaning "Cornish". *OED*.

[15] "DEVOIR, Duty, that which every one ought to do according to the Laws and Rules of Civility and Reason." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[16] AG may have a cold, or may have been taking snuff. It appears to have been a genteel habit: MP records her friend Ann Donnellan's delight at finding the snuff-box she had dropped on the beach when she sat down to "s[i]ng to the fish". MP, Killala, to AG, Gloucester, 7 August 1732, Ll. I: 368.

[17] Herman Van der Mijn was born in Amsterdam in 1684 and studied under Ernst Stuven, the flower painter. He made his name in history painting and portraiture, and in 1716 was summoned to the court of the Elector Palatine. On his return to Holland, he painted a celebrated *Jupiter and Danae*, then travelled to Antwerp and Paris, where he painted *Peter denying Christ*, which is considered his masterpiece. Van der Mijn came to England in about 1722, on the recommendation of Lord Cadogan, to paint portraits of the nobility, which were characterised by the minute detail of their execution. The Prince of Orange and Frederick, Prince of Wales sat to him, as did the Duke and Duchess of Chandos, who reputedly paid him five hundred guineas for their portrait. He was also employed to repair the pictures after the great fire at Burleigh House. His sister Agatha, who came to England with him, was a member of the Free Society of Artists, and made her name painting fruit, flowers and still lifes, exhibiting for the last time in 1768. Van der Mijn had five sons, four of whom became painters and one an engraver. His only daughter, Cornelia, made a reputation in England as a painter of still lifes. *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, ed. George C. Williamson, 5th ed. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1964), V: 248.

[18] Sophonisba was the daughter of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal. During the second Punic War, she married a Numidian client prince and succeeded in weaning him away from Rome. He was captured by Masinissa, another Numidian leader, also loyal to Rome, who fell in love with and married her. Lest history repeat itself, Scipio, the Roman general, ordered Sophonisba to be handed over and sent captive to Rome. Not daring to refuse the order, Masinissa sent her a cup of poison to drink. The scene of her death became a popular theme among Baroque painters in Italy and northern Europe. She is usually shown sitting down, dressed in rich robes and holding a large goblet, or receiving it from a kneeling attendant. Williamson, ibid., 287. She may have offered painters an especially topical subject, as Handel's opera *Scipione* premièred this year.

Sophonisba, or Hannibal's Overthrow, a tragedy by Nathaniel Lee, was first performed in 1676, and periodically thereafter. There were two (benefit) performances in 1726, on Monday 11 March and Wednesday 18 April. Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds., *British Authors before 1800: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1952), s.v. "Lee, Nathaniel"; Emmett Langdon Avery and Arthur Hawley Scouten, *The London Stage 1660-1700: A Critical Introduction* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 862, 872.

[19] This could be because Van der Mijn smoked a pipe, or perhaps he engaged in the common practice of 'smoking' his pictures, to make them look like Old Masters. Hogarth ridicules this practice, which could be mere affectation or profitable fraud, in his engraving *Time Smoking a Picture*. See Fig. 12.

[20] Tamar, daughter of King David and sister of Absalom (II Samuel 13). She was raped by her half-brother Amnon, but their father David refused to punish him, and

Absalom secretly nursed vengeance. He invited Amnon to a sheep-shearing and had him slain as he was sleeping in his tent.

[21] See Letter 4, n. 15.

[22] In Letter 6, MP has "Mrs. Woodfelds" alter her dress. The Woodfields mentioned here seem to have fallen on hard times, since their house is no longer their own, but they are to be retained as lodgers by Mrs. Hyde, and Mrs. Woodfield appears to be doing dressmaking and alterations to make a living.

[23] "Furniture . . . 4 . . . d. Hangings and ornamental drapery; also, the coverlets and linen for a bed." *OED*. "Only in 1723 were the sashes in the royal apartments repaired, and by that time were so bad that 'the furniture in some of the roomes are exposed to the weather and have very much suffered by the late storms.'" Report on the condition of Somerset House, *The History of the King's Works*. ed. H. M. Colvin, et al. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976), V: 259.

[24] Not identified.

[25] Not identified.

[26] "The COMPLEAT GAMESTER; or, Full and easy Instructions for playing at above Twenty several Games upon the CARDS, viz.

Ombre,	Bragg,	Costly Colours	Queen Nazareen,
Bassett,	Cribbage,	Bone-ace,	Penneech
Picquet,	Putt,	Wit and Reason,	Post and Pair,
Lanterloo	Gleek,	Art of Memory,	Bankasaler,
Whist,	All-fours,	Plain-dealing,	Beast.

With variety of diverting Fancies and Tricks upon the Same, now first added; as likewise all the Games upon the Tables; and the Royal Game of Chefs and Billiards. To which is added, The Arts and Mysteries of Riding, Racing, Archery, Cock-fighting, and Bowling. Sold at the Three Flower-de-Luces in Little-Britain. Price 2*s*." Advertisement, *The London Journal*, no. CCLXXXV, Saturday 9 January 1724/5. The rules for some of these games are given in *Hoyle's Games: Containing Laws and Directions for playing the Various Games now Prevalent.With Many Improvements and Additions* (Halifax: Milner and Sowerby, 1859). Some of the instructions (to a non-card-player at least) are delightfully obscure: "If all the mats are not revealed by the time you have won six tricks, do not risk playing for the vole." *Hoyle's Games*, 48.

[27] This appears to be a coded message, based on the terminology of card-games.

"BASSET, a sort of Game at Cards." "OMBER,OMBRE } a *Spanish* card-game." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

"Basset *sb*[2] . . . An obsolete game at cards, resembling Faro, first played at Venice. Hence *basset-table.*" "Matador . . . 2. *Card-playing* . In some card-games (as quadrille, ombre, solo), a name applied to certain principal cards. 1674 COTTON *Compl. Gamester* (1680) 70 [Ombre] The Matadors (or killing Cards) which are the *Spadillo, Mallillio* and *Basto* are the chief Cards." "*Ombre* . . . 1. a card-game played by three persons, with forty cards, the eights, nines and tens of the ordinary pack being thrown out. Ombre was very popular in the 17th-18th centuries, but about 1726 it was superseded as the fashionable card-game by Quadrille." *OED.*

[28] See n. 7 above.

[29] "Mon:" may be an abbreviated form of "Monimia", identified by Lady Llanover as Mrs. Greville (family name not traced), who married Dr. Greville in 1728.

[30] Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Lionel Kirkham, was born in 1699; she married the Rev. John Capon/Chapone in 1725. Her birth, baptism, marriage, the births and baptisms of her five children, and the deaths of some of them, are entered in the register of the parish of Stanton, Gloucestershire, as is her death and burial on 24 February 1764. Ll. I: 15 n.

[31] The Kirkhams (see n. 30 above), lived in the Rectory at Stanton. See Fig. 16a.

[32] The Dean of Gloucester from 1723-29 was John Frankland: he was probably also Anne and Mrs. Granville's landlord. David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 542.

[33] Not identified.

[34] "As soon as I had dined I went to Masham Street to make a visit to Peg Isaacson and Miss Lawson - found them at home." MP, London, to AG, Gloucester, 13 February 1738/9, in Ll. II: 37. The Isaacsons are also mentioned as cousins in Letter 10.

[35] "TEAGUE. *n. s.* A name of contempt used for an Irishman." Johnson, *Dictionary.*

[36] "To SLUR, . . . to draw along unevenly; also to soil or dawb, to bespatter." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

"Slirt, *v. US*, of obscure origin (*slirt*, 'to squirt water' is recorded as Yorkshire dialect) *trans.* to sweep or jerk lightly. Slirt, *n.* U.S. ... A slight sweep or jerk." OED.

[37] "Coupée, *n.* . . . a dance step: the dancer rests on one foot and passes the other forward or backward, making a sort of salutation; hence, sometimes used for a bow made while advancing." *OED*.

[38] "A SALUTE, [*Salut*, F.] an outward Mark of Civility, a Bow or Congee, a Kiss. Bailey, *Dictionary*. Throughout the century, this could be a kiss by way of greeting: Mme. D'Arblay recalls: 'Dr. Johnson . . . received me with a salute so loud, that the two young beaux . . . have never done laughing about it.' Diary, 26 October 1782." *OED*.

[39] ? Henry Monk/Monck.

[40] "Being come to Newmarket for the month of October, I had the opportunity to see the horse-races; and a great concourse of the nobility and gentry, as well from London as from all parts of England; but they were all so intent, so eager, so busy upon the sharping part of the sport, their wagers and bets, that to me they seem'd just as so many horse-courses in Smithfield, descending (the greatest of them) from their high dignity and quality, to picking one another's pockets, and biting one another as much as possible, and that with such eagerness, as it might be said they acted without respect to faith, honour, or good manners." Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, abr. and ed. P. N. Furbank, W. R. Owens and A. J. Coulson (New Haven: Yale University Press), 32.

[41] "Nanny" appears to be a servant.

[42] "Grin": a pet animal, probably a cat. In a later letter, MP relates the dismal story of her cat being locked into her a clothes chest, with predictable results. MP, Somerset House, London, to AG, Gloucester, 9 September 1729, Ll. I: 212-3, (omitted by Llanover).

[43] MP leaves herself no room on the page to sign off.

Fig. 12. Hogarth, "Time Smoking a Picture".

Letter 10

Excerpted Autobiography

When this great change happened I was not twenty-four years of age. I was so much affected by the surprizing manner of Gromio's [Pendarves's] death, that I did not recover my spirits in a great while. I was not hypocritical in the concern I showed, for to a fearful nature such as mine, there could not have happened a more terrifying accident; but my natural good spirits, time, and finding myself freed from many vexations, soon brought me to a state of tranquillity I had not known for many years. As to my fortune, it was very mediocre, but it was at my own command. Some uneasiness attended it at first, the case of most widows, but I gave myself little anxiety about it. A lawyer recommended to me by Alcander [Lord Lansdowne], in whom I had confidence, managed very well for me. I had not then a turn for saving or management so as to make the best of my fortune, but I endeavoured to act prudently, and not run out, and now had it not been for the misfortunes and misconduct of my youngest brother, I should have been very happy, but I suffered infinite vexation on his account for some years. After a variety of distresses he went abroad, and the climate not agreeing with his constitution, he died soon after he left England, and though his life had occasioned me much sorrow, his death was a most sensible grief to me. . . . I had been a widow about six months when Herminius [Lord Baltimore] sent to know if I would give him leave to wait upon me: . . . I could not refuse his visit. The next day he came, with the permission of Valeria [Lady Stanley], whom I consulted on all occasions. His conversation turned chiefly on my circumstances, which he enquired into, not with an impertinent inquisitiveness, but with an air of friendship which obliged me: he staid two hours, and when he went away I was sent for by my aunt to come into her apartment. . . . [Sir John Stanley] treated me in the most friendly manner imaginable; he was fond of me, and pleased with every mark of favour that Valeria bestowed upon me; he was of a grave studious disposition, extremely polite, but retired as often as he could from the world, to indulge his taste at a little villa he much delighted in. He left the management of most of his affairs to Valeria, having a high opinion of her judgement; they had no children, and a very good fortune which at that time was unsettled. Sebastian [Stanley] had several nephews, but was not

particularly fond of any of them; his eldest sister's son Henricus [Henry Monck], a lively good-humoured young man, very well in his person and manner, had but a moderate understanding, was uncultivated, trifling, without knowledge of the world, came to make a visit to his uncle shortly after my being a widow and unfortunately for me, liked me so well as to apply to . . . make his addresses to me.

Valeria had a great desire of uniting the two families by making a match between Henricus and me: . . . she set out all the advantages; how considerable Sebastian would make his fortune, and how much my uncle would be obliged by my not rejecting the proposal that was to be made. I was struck with astonishment at my aunt's recommending a person to me that I was sure must appear very insignificant to her — it mortified me excessively. I told her sincerely I never could give my consent; that I had no inclination to marry, and less to the person proposed, and begged her to put it off as handsomely as she could, that Sebastian might not be offended with me, . . . she bid me not be rash, but consider of it. . . . The visit I received from Herminius alarmed her: she immediately concluded it was more than a mere visit of ceremony, and as he came several times though I was often denied to him, it confirmed her in that opinion. She sifted me often to find out the turn of his conversation with me; I had no disguise, but told her every word that passed, having no design of carrying on any secret commerce: I rather wished to have her advice and direction in everything, knowing what an advantage it would be to me, to be guided by so experienced and judicious a person.

(Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in Ll. I: 109-12.)

Transcript of Letter 10

ALS, NT, I: 6/10; Ll. I: 122-4.

[Mary Pendarves, Northend, Fulham, to Anne Granville, at Aspley, Bedfordshire.][1]

To
Mrs Anne Granville at
Robert Isaacson's at
Aspley near Woburn
Bedfordshire
19 NO.

Northend 8th Novr. 1726

Without any Appology for putting you to the expence of postage[2] I must give my Self the Satisfaction of writing to my Dearest Sister whose goodness to me I can never enough acknowlege, millions of thanks to you for your last letter, my Love is too big for words, and imagination must supply the want you, know my Heart and Soul and can answer for me, that Friendship in its greatest force is seated there, and fix'd (if any Mortal may presume to answer for them Selves) unalterable in your Pennys[3] Breast. I was extreamly pleased last night with a Passage I mett in Sr Evremont[4] concerning Friendship, where he says it softens and mitigates ~~and~~ ^all afflictions, and raises ~~to~~ good Fortune to a Double Pitch of Felicity.[5] without the comunication of a real Friend Sorrow would Sink one to the lowest Ebb, and pleasures lose half their advantage. tis not that the shareing ones grief to a Person one loves takes off its force, the way I take ^it is that after the insults of Fortune and the rubs that attend human Life, the compassion a Friend affords one, their advice, and the ^fresh proofs that such accidents of Life gains one of their esteem, is of that Healing nature, tis like Opiat to one in Violent Racking pains, it lulls these torments, and changes these Horror[s] into pleasing and delightfull Slumber, this is the advantage of Friendship in trouble. but oh how much beyond expression is it in relation to our joys, I can think of all the Strokes of good Fortune that 'tis possible to meet with in Life as Health Honour Riches and a train of other Blessings with a great Deal of Moderation[6] but when I suppose I may attain all this and have my Dearest Sister to partake with me I protest I am confounded with the vast Idea, and it

plainly proves to me that you are absolutely necessary to the compleating of my Happyness, and without all those mighty things I have mention'd, but in the Lieu thereoff a moderate share of Health and wealth but a vast quantity of your Love and Friendship I shall not envy any ones Estate, and whilst I am assured of that can be Happy even in your absence

"Your Friendship at so just a Rate I prize,
"As I for that and [sic] Empire would despise.
"Friendships a stronger tye than Blood. [7]

I shall be glad to have the rest of Mustapha and Zanger,[8] the last Scene in the Book is where Solyman makes Roxalana write down her own accusation it ends with a Speach of His and the two last lines are

"These threatning tumults only Dangerous are
["] To monarchs who Dare less than Subjects Dare

this is spoke to Haly who brings him an account of the Tumult.[9] To morrow we shall go to London and it shall be my first care to send your box. <but> I have many things to collect that will take up time, but you may be assured of my Vigilance to serve you I am very sorry I cannot obey your commands in sending the pattern of the nightcloaths[10] but I cannot get them till I go to London. I am extreamly glad that you are to be at Aspley[11] some time I wish I could be of the Party in that agreable family I desire you will make my Compliments in the best manner you are able to all my Cousins and then I am certain the good grace with which they will be delivered will make them acceptable. I hope my Mama will be so good as to excuse my not writing to her this post but I believe she is [so] just to me as not to think I can ever be wanting in Duty and Respect to her, if it is possible for me to write next post I will; but I will give you a Sketch of what I am to do and then you may be judge how much time will lye upon my hands. we dine to morrow with Sr John[12] at Somersett House at 4 o'th clock, in the afternoon comes my Lawyer and my Taylor[13] two necessary animalls. next morning I send for Mrs. Woodfelds[14] to alter my white Tabby[15] and my new cloaths, and to take my Black Velvett

to make, then comes Mrs. Boreau to clip my locks then I dress to to visit Lady Carteret, then I come home to Dinner then I drink coffee after Dinner, then I go to see my neice Basset and Dear Mrs. Levingston,[16] then they reproach me then I give them as good as they bring then we are good Friends again then I come back then if it is a possible thing I will write to Mama, then sup go to Bed and what then, why — Dream of my Charming Sister and be tens Happier in that than in all the Day could afford me. now dont be so unreasonable as to expect that I should write every post for that will not be practicable, for I shall be surrounded with so much Hurley Burley[17] that it will not be in my power to write to you as often as I have done here, but you are a reasonable creature and will not expect me to do impossibilitys, what can be done shall be ^by^ me performd. My new Pussey[18] is of the Northend family she is white with a Black nose a Black chin, and regularly spotted with black spotts of the bigness of Half a Crown. I will dispose of your Compliments when I see the Partys concernd. I will give you a full and true account of all the Fops and Fopperyes[19] I meet with. would you have your Plays which I am to gett bound up in one Volume sent to you? I will remember La Belle Assembly[20] which is at my Cousin Lawsons[21] service to read, pray let me know if by mistake among your Books you have got the Golden Medley.[22] I am sorry my Mama has had such ill luck with her Servant I will enquire for a good Sober Body, for she I think has been plagued enough with Girls, I have not heard of Molly[23] since you went, she had not been at Somersett-House to enquire after us, but when I go to Town I will make John[24] call upon her. I will take care about the Gloves at Ealing. Nan[25] went away yesterday, she is a Sad Idle wench she has pawnd her best Gown to Mrs. Wells[26] for ten shilling and will never be reform'd I doubt, she has got a Place about a quarter of a mile off [,] the people lett Lodgings. I think now I hear you say pray Cousin Isaacson[27] excuse my rudeness in reading my letter but my Sister is a strange creature to send me such a monstrous[28] letter when she knows I am

abroad. so now adieu my Aunts Brothers and M$^{rs.}$ Tilliers Service[29] and Duty as Due. I am my Dearest Sister your most affectionate and Constant

M. Pendarves

My Sides were ravishd from y^{e} Dead
My Belly & Back of the Green wood bred
<Some> Ribs in Number half a Dozin
My life came from the Devils Cousin
Like Infants then in Nature's Cradle
I take my Food in at the Navle
I'm in the greatest use, as you may see
When Quakers meet and Quakers w^{d} not be [30]

Ethelinda
Sapho
Dear Erminia
Matilda
Monimia
Annabella
Celia[31]

Notes

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[1] Aspley Guise, two miles north of Woburn, had two seats, Aspley House and Aspley Old House. Aspley Heath is twelve miles southwest of Bedford. Bartholomew, 26.

[2] See Letter 3, n. 21.

[3] "Penny" is one of MD's pet names for herself; presumably it derives from "Pendarves".

[4] Charles de Marguetel de St. Denis, Seigneur de St. Évremond (ca.1613-1703), soldier, poet, essayist and epicurean, lover and lifelong friend of the famous Ninon de Lenclos (ca.1620-1705). She was a freethinker, intellectual and celebrated courtesan of independent means, who reputedly answered the claims of patriarchal privilege with the statement: "Je me fais homme" — "I shall become a man". St. Évremond was also a friend of the Dukes of Buckingham and Ormonde, and of Cowley, Hobbes and Waller. He lived in political exile in England writing chiefly for his own circle. His *Works* were published in London in 1705. He wrote much literary criticism, in a deliberately unpedantic style, and placing great emphasis on "good taste", the prerogative of the few. "For him, religion and philosophy are uncertain, tolerance is the only reasonable attitude, and sociability, politeness, and the pleasures of body and mind are better than stiff and strenuous virtue." *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, ed. Peter France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 732, 454, my translation. He is buried in Poets' Corner: Saussure observes (London, 17 September 1725): "The tombs of celebrated scholars and poets are in the southern part of [Westminster Abbey], amongst them being those of Milton, Shakespeare, Prior, Dryden, and St. Evremond." *DNB*; Saussure, 50.

[5] The passage she alludes to is probably the following: "Whatever we receive from so dear a hand [that of a friend] has much more Efficacy to lay asleep our Cares than any other Charm, and every new Proof of Kindness we receive, leaves as delightful Impressions behind it, as the Reconciliations of Lovers after a little falling out. . . . the Presence of a Friend restores us to perfect Tranquillity; the Consolation he gives us serves as a counterpoise to our Sorrow, and the Pleasure we feel in showing him what a Confidence we have in his Friendship, gives us all the Satisfaction and Joy imaginable . . .' *The Charms of Friendship*, in *The Works of M^r de St. Evremont in II Volumes. Translated from the French* (London: Awnsham and John Churchill; facsimile edition, Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1972), I: 464. It is a familiar theme deriving from Cicero: "*Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas, partiens communicansque leviores.*" i.e., "Friendship adds a brighter radiance to prosperity and lightens the burden of adversity by dividing and sharing it". *M. Tulli Ciceronis, Laelius Sive de Amicitia Dialogus*, ed. H. E. Gould and J. L. Whiteley (London: Macmillan, 1962), 16. Bacon renders it: "It redoubleth joys and cutteth griefs in halfs". Francis Bacon, *Essays*: "Of Friendship", in *Francis Bacon: The Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 59-65.

[6] "MODERATION, Temperance, Discretion, Government . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[7] ? Lines from *Solyman the Magnificent*, see n. 9 below.

[8] MP refers to *The tragedy of Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent*. Written by the Right Honourable the Earl of Orrery. London, for J. Tonson: and sold by W.

Feales, 1734. In this imprint, the speech quoted by MP appears on p. 83. "Zanger" is the name of Solyman's other son.

[9] "A TUMULT, . . . a Bustle, Uproar, Stir, Hurly-burly, Riot, Sedition, Mutiny." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[10] "Nightgown" was a term used in the early- to mid-century for "undress", i.e. informal wear, whether worn in the morning or evening. It gradually lost the sense of "negligée" and by the 1770s certain styles were worn as "half dress" at public assemblies. At the date of this letter, "nightcloaths" would probably signify an open robe with robings (flat sewn-down revers, coming from a straight band across the nape, bordering the open bodice) worn as undress only, with a covering for the décolletage. Cunnington, *Handbook*, 278, 107, 118

[11] Aspley was the home of the Isaacsons, as shown by the address of this letter. I have not been able to identify this family see n. 28 below.

[12] MP's uncle: her father's sister, Anne Granville, married Sir John Stanley (1659-1744) of Grange Gormon, Dublin. He was created Baronet on 14 April 1699.

[13] Her tailor's name was Mr. Paulin (see Letter 11, n. 28).

[14] Mrs. Woodfield altered MP's clothes (see Letter 9, n. 22).

[15] "Tabby *sb.* and *a.* . . . name of a quarter in Baghdad in which this stuff was manufactured. . . . 1. A general term for a silk taffeta, app. originally striped, but afterwards applied also to silks of uniform colour, waved or watered." *OED*.

[16] Frances Basset was the daughter of the Rev. John Pendarves of Penryn (d. before 1727) rector of Dittisham, 1689, and Dunsteighnton, Devonshire, 1704-11, and one of Alexander Pendarves's two brothers (the other was William, d. 1693). *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714: Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees*, ed. Joseph Foster, (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1891) vol. II, s.v. "Pendarves". Mrs. Livingstone was Alexander Pendarves's sister, cordially disliked by MP. She lived for a time at Rose Street with MP and Alexander Pendarves, and at this date seems to have been taken in by Mrs. Basset, her niece.

[17] "HURLY, BURLY, [of *Whirle* and Buph, *Sax.* a Town] Tumult, Uproar, or Crowd of People." Bailey, *Dictionary*. "HU'RLY BURLY} *n. s.* [from the Fr. *hurlu-brelu*, inconsiderately.] Tumult; commotion; bustle." Johnson, *Dictionary*.

[18] This was probably the cat playing with "Grin" in the preceding letter: it would seem that AG had asked for a description of him.

[19] "FOP, . . . a fantastical Fellow, one who is over nice and affected, in his Dress, Speech and Behaviour. FOPPERY, Fantasticalness, Foolery." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[20] *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 by Madam de Gomez*. Translated into English by [?Eliza Haywood] (London: for D. Browne junr. and S. Chapman, 1724). This was evidently a popular work, running to eight editions between 1724 and 1765, and a sequel, *L'Entretien des Beaux Esprits* in 1734, acknowledged to be translated by Haywood. It consists of courtly discourses on, for example, the nature of the Passions, narratives from history, and exotic/erotic tales from the East.

"*This Day is publish'd*, . . . La Belle Assemblee; or, the Adventures of Six Days. Complete in Three Parts. Price Bound 5 s." *The London Journal*, 6 February 1724/5. Gomez also published *Persian Anecdotes: Or, Secret memoirs of the Court of Persia, also 'for the entertainment of the King*, trans. Paul Chamberlen (London: Weaver Bickerton, 1730).

[21] See Letter 9, n. 34.

[22] Not traced.

[23] Moll Bramston, MP's friend. See Letter 3, n. 23.

[24] John Trenbath, MP's manservant.

[25] "Nan" is apparently a disgraced servant, perhaps the "Nanny" of the previous letter.

[26] Mrs. Wells seems to be MP's landlady or housekeeper.

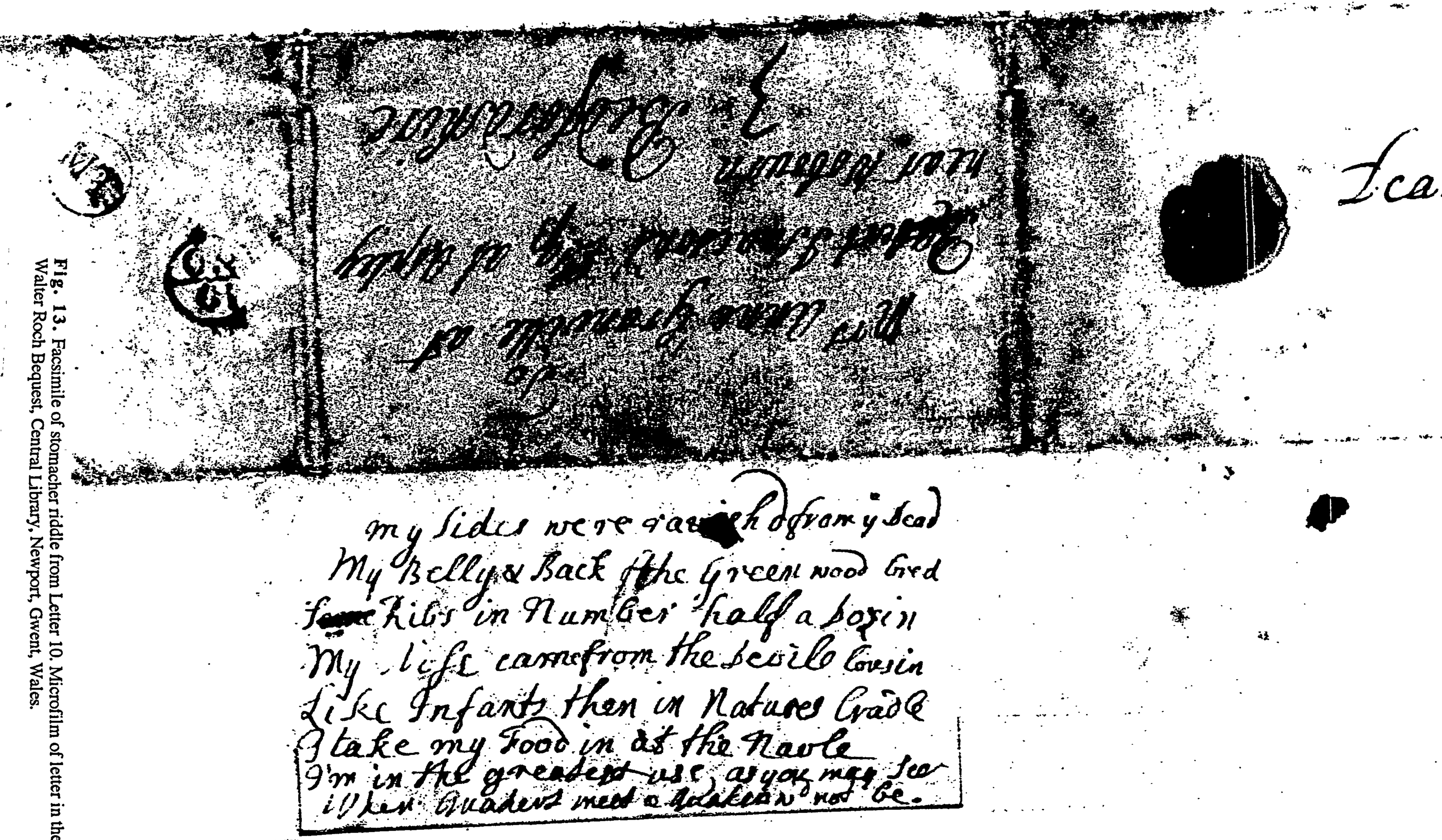
[27] "Cousin Isaacson": "Yesterday my cousin Isaacson, his wife, and young Cullen dined here. . . . their eldest girl has just recovered from the small pox." MP to her mother, Mrs. Granville, 15 March, 1734/5, Ll. I: 531.

[28] "monstrous": i.e. "long". It was customary to request leave of one's host to retire to read a letter as soon as it arrived, and this being a long letter, Anne would have to apologise for her absence.

[29] i.e. Lady Stanley, Bernard Granville, and Mrs. Tillier, Lady Stanley's companion, send their compliments.

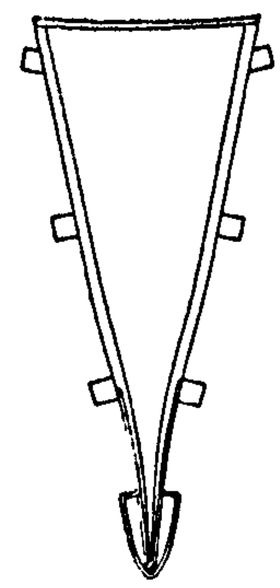
[30] The riddle, written on the outside of the letter, would only have been visible when the letter was unfolded, see Fig. 13. Its solution is probably "a stomacher". See Fig. 14. A stomacher filled the "V" shaped unclosed area of the bodice on an "open" gown. It was usually made with a series of projecting plain tabs which could be pinned on the inside of the bodice so that there would be no gaps between it and the "robings" (decorative front edges) of the dress. A stomacher, which was stiffened with whalebones or wood, kept the bosom "absolutely flat". Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996), 128.

[31] These names, like the riddle, would only have been visible when AG opened the letter. See Fig. 13. MP appears to be experimenting with code names for the "virgin meeting" (Letter 16), AG's social circle at Gloucester. "Ethelinda" does not seem to have been adopted by MP; "Sapho" is used for Sarah Kirkham/Chapone; "Erminia" may be Jane Hyde, sister of Lord Baltimore (see Letter 9, n. 7); "Monimia" is Mrs. Greville, née [?], wife of Dr. Greville, of Gloucester; "Annabella" is Anne Granville. "Celia" is not mentioned further and, like "Ethelinda", may have been abandoned as a pseudonym.



my Sides were ravish'd from y Dead
My Belly & Back of the Green wood Bred
Ribs in Number half a Dozin
My Life came from the Devils Cousin
Like Infants then in Natures Cradle
I take my Food in at the Navle
I'm in the greatest use, as you may see
When Quakers meet a Quaker w'd not be.

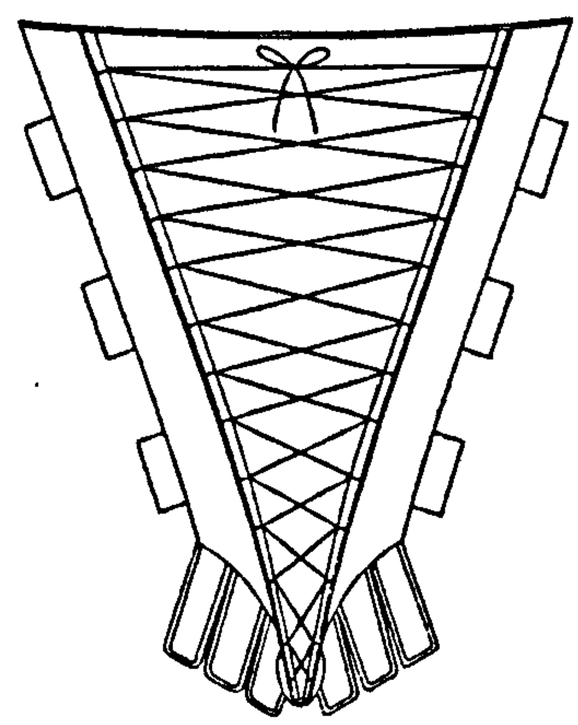
Fig. 13. Facsimile of stomacher riddle from Letter 10. Microfilm of letter in the Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Gwent, Wales.



STOMACHERS ARE DECORATIVE V-shaped panels which cover the front of a bodice and were a part of women's dress from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The detail shows a lavishly embroidered stomacher of 1700 to the 1720s. It has a ground of laid and couched silver thread with branched flowers embroidered in long, short, satin and chain stitch and French knots. On very grand occasions a stomacher offered a perfect background for the display of superb jewels. At the Prince of Wales's birthday in January 1738/39, Mrs Delany observed: '...the Princess was in white satin, the petticoat covered with a gold trimming like embroidery, faced and robed with the same. Her head and stomacher a rock of diamonds and pearls'.[1]

1. *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, ed. Lady Llanover (1861), Vol. II, pp.27-8.

A stomacher of embroidered silk.
English, 1700-1720s
T.404-1977



A SILK STOMACHER of the 1730s to the 1740s embroidered in coloured silks, laced with silver cord and trimmed with silver braid. The set of tabs at the bottom and the criss-cross lacing are survivals from late 17th-century stomachers.

Ribbons were sometimes used instead of cord. The laces served a dual purpose being decorative and providing an anchorage for the ends of a kerchief. The meandering floral embroidery was designed specifically for the stomacher and includes carnations worked in satin, stem and back stitches with laid work in silver thread. Most stomachers are lined in plain linen but this one is lined with a block print in madder dye of the 1740s or 1750s and is one of the Museum's earliest examples of a European block print.

A stomacher of embroidered silk with lacing.
English, 1730s-1740s
Given by Messrs Harrods Ltd
T.708:B-1913

Fig. 14. Stomachers.

Letter 11

Transcript of Letter 11

AL, NT, I: 7/11; Ll. I: 124-8

[Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

Somerset House, [Sunday][1] 27th Novr. 1726

Why so cruel my Nancy, why so cruel to me?[2]
Two Posts past and not one line! oh barbarous and inhuman! the Satisfaction of knowing you are well made me this Day some amends and to speak seriously of the matter I could not be so unreasonable as to expect a letter, but Lovers you know are unconsionable[3] in their desires. I think I have nothing to answer of any letters of yours, so to proceed. we are glad the Wine came safe and you are desired to make a good use of it and that will be an encouragement for you to have more, and don't keep it for Vinegar, let me know if it all came safe, Lady Stanley is much pleased at the thoughts of her Plumb Cake and we shall eat with a particular pleasure when we think of the fair Hands that was cleand in that Cake. the man disappointed me in Mamas Gown so that I cannot send it till Thursday by the Carrier, the Shoes are alterd and I hope they will fitt, I have borrowd Pharamond[4] of Lady DeLawarr for you and desire you will take care no accident happens to it. no witt is thriving, Mr. Cunningham a Gentleman of Ireland[5] (whose wifes Sister is Lady Molesworth,)[6] had an Intriegue with a Gentlemans wife whose name I dont remember, he writt her a letter to let her know if She would be ready at such a time he would be at the Corner of the

Street in order to convey her to some private place, where they might enjoy each others Company with[ou]t. interruption, the letter ^was given by mistake to the Husband who suspected the affair before but upon that lockd up his wife, which usage so exasperated her and her Lover who still found means to correspond that they contrived to have him murderd by his own Servants but one of the Servants discoverd it to his master, who has the wife and two of her accomplises in Safe Custody, thus this matter stands at present Mr. Cunningham has marchd off. the next wonderfull thing I have to tell you is that a poor ^woman Dead as was supposed and going to be dress'd for her Coffin was thought by the people that were about her to have some signs of Life[7] upon which they sent for Sr Hans Sloan[8] who orderd her to be let Blood they cut <a> Vein but she would not bleed she has a little pulse and her flesh not at all discolourd tho she has lain in this way seven Days, when she wakes I may have some pretty Dream to give you an account of. last Saturday I was at Camilla[9] with Lady Carteret and her Daughter who grows very handsome[10] that morning I was entertain'd with Cuzzoni,[11] oh how sweet, how Charming, how did I wish for all I love and like to be with me at that instant of time my senses were ravishd with harmony, they say we shall have Opera's [sic] in a fortnight but I think Madam Sandoni[12] and the Faustina[13] are not perfectly agreed about their Parts. well as I was saying I was at the Opera of Camilla 'tis acted at Lincolns=Inn playhouse,[14] perform'd by a Mrs Chambers,[15] Mrs Barbier,[16] Mrs. <Fletcher>,[17] a Sigr Rochetty[18], Mr. Leveridge[19] Mrs. Legard,[20] I can't say I was much pleased with it, I lik'd it for old acquaintance sake, but there is not many of the songs better than Ballads.[21] enclosed I have sent you a Riddle,[22] but least you should take it in a wrong Sense, I must expound it to you tis the Game of Quadrille,[23] the 4 Ladies are the Queens, the Gallants[24] the Kings if you have a notion of the Game you will easily find out the rest, it does not differ much from Ombre. give me your commands about your Tickett[25] and I will obey them, I have been this Morning to make a Visit to Mrs. Bassett[26] and to desire she will conclude my affairs as

soon as possible which she promises to do. I am by appointment to go and drink Tea with Lady Tirrawley,[27] which will hinder me from making my letter so long as otherwise I would adieu my Dearest Sister humble Duty and Service as due I hope you will be so good as to make my excuses to my Mama for not writing to her by this post I am with unalterable Fidelity

Yours

M Pendarves

Since I writ this letter Mr Paulin[28] has sent me word I cannot possible [sic] have Mama's Gown till late to morrow night [.] if possible I will send it by the Carrier I am horridly vext about it and have sent I believe ten times to the man to no purpose, let me know if I shall send it by the Coach[29]

Notes

[1] According to the performance date of *Camilla*, 19 November 1726, "last Saturday". See also n. 17 on Mrs. Fletcher below.

[2] This is probably a quotation from a contemporary ballad.

[3] "CONSCIONABLE, Equitable, Reasonable." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[4] *Pharamond: a Romance, containing the history of France*. Done into English by T. Phillips, London, 1677. Ll. I: 124. *Pharamond*, 12 vols. 1661-70, by Gauthier de Costes de la Calprenede (1614-63), treats of the early legendary history of France. *The Oxford Companion to French Literature*, ed. Sir Paul Harvey and J. E. Heseltine, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1959, s. v. "La Calprenede" and "Pharamond".

[5] This was possibly the Captain Cunningham who committed suicide during the '45 Rebellion: "This day came an express from General Hawley, Commander in Chief in Scotland, that he fought the rebels on Wednesday last, near Falkirk, who defeated him, and 300 of the King's troops were killed, whereupon he retreated towards Edinburgh. . . . The stormy weather of rain and hail, which was full in our men's faces, had so wet their powder, that General Hawley writes, he believes not one gun

in five fired, and when he returned to Falkirk calling for powder from the train, none was to be found, for Captain Cunningham, who was commander of it, ran away to Edinburgh and left no powder in the barrels. For this treachery, when General Hawley returned to Edinburgh, he had him seized, and would have shot him, had he not, the night before . . . with a penknife cut the arteries of his arm and bled to death." Egmont, *Diary*, Sunday 19 January 1745/6, III: 313.

[6] Richard, third Viscount Molesworth of Swords (1680-1758) married, firstly, Jane (d. 1 April 1742) daughter of [?] Lucas, of Dublin. Mrs. Cunningham's maiden name, then, was "Lucas". Cockayne, IX: s.v. "Molesworth".

[7] This was apparently a common fear. The will of Jane Barbier (see n. 16 below) states: "My desire is that I shall be kept for [six days] . . . in the Bed I shall dye in before I am buried as many have come to life who have been thought dead." Highfill et al., I: 284.

[8] "Sir Hans Sloane": (1660-1753), first baronet, first physician to George II (1727), botanist, antiquary and author, whose collections were purchased by the nation and placed in Montague House, 1754 (afterwards the British Museum). *DNB*.

[9] *Camilla*: an opera in English, by Owen Swiney (translator) and Nicollo Haym (composer), premièred on 30 March 1706, at Drury Lane. It was popular enough to spawn a burlesque afterpiece, *Prunella*, by Richard Estcourt (12 February 1708, Drury Lane) and was successfully revived by John Rich almost twenty years later. William J. Burling, *A Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700-1737* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1995), 46.

[10] She was soon snapped up: "*Lionel Talmash*, Earl of *Dysart*, marry'd to Mrs. *Grace Carteret*, eldest Daughter of *John* Lord *Carteret*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIV, 22 July 1729.

[11] Francesca Cuzzoni, (ca. 1700-1770), soprano, came to England in 1722, at the invitation of Handel and Heidegger. The latter advanced her £250, with a guaranteed £2,000 for the season, a salary equal to that of the celebrated castrato Senesino. Her first appearance was as Teofane in Handel's *Ottone* (12 January 1723) which was so great a success that ticket prices increased from one to four guineas when it was staged again on 15 January. She then sang Volumnia in *Coriolano* (23 March 1723), Ennone in *Erminia* (30 March) and Emilia in *Flavio* (14 May) before (probably) going to Paris with the other leading singers who were offered 25,000 *livres* for twelve performances. She returned to the King's Theatre for the 1723-24 season and remained for the 1724-25 run, singing, amongst other roles, Aspasia in *Artaserse*. In January-May 1726, she sang major parts in *Elisa*, *Scipione* and *Alessandro*. After the last opera season in England in 1728, Cuzzoni returned to the Continent, and after

imprisonment for debt on more than one occasion, died in poverty at Bologna in 1770. Highfill et al., IV: 112-7.

[12] Pietro Guiseppe Sandoni (see Letter 6, n. 9) was the emissary sent by Heidegger and Handel to bring Francesca Cuzzoni to England for the 1722-23 season. There was apparently a secret marriage before their arrival; three years later, however, the *Daily Journal* of 11 January 1725 reported that she was to be married to San-Antonio Ferre, a "very rich Italian", though she was still using Sandoni's name off-stage. MP refers to her lying-in and pretensions to nobility in Letter 8 above. "*Madam* Sandoni" seems a particularly disparaging sobriquet for MP to use after her raptures about Cuzzoni's voice in the preceding sentence. "MADAM, . . . a Title of Honour formerly given to Women of Quality only, but now to common Persons." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[13] "Signora Faustina" was the stage-name of Faustina Bordoni (ca. 1700-81) Venetian mezzo soprano. As early as 18 March 1724, William Corbett played the viol de venere "after the manner of Signora Faustina" and at the same concert Rochetti sang in her style, which was notable for the brilliance of her embellishments and the speed of her execution. "Signiora *Faustina*, a famous Italian Lady, is coming over this Winter to rival Signiora Cuzzoni; the Royal Academy of Musick has contracted with her for Two Thousand Five Hundred Pound." *The London Journal*, no. CCCXIX, 4 September 1725. She did not arrive in London, however, until 5 May 1726, and her actual salary was £2,000. Her début was as Rossana in Handel's *Alessandro* in the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, alongside Senesino in the title role and Cuzzoni as Lisaura. In the 1726-27 season Faustina sang Berenice in *Lucio Vero* (7 January 1727), Alceste in *Admeto* (31 January; Lady Cowper wrote on her libretto "she is the devil of a singer"), and Ermione in the ill-fated *Astianatte* on 6 May and 6 June. (See Letter 17, n. 19). The final opera staged by the Academy of Music was on 1 June 1728, and Faustina returned to Venice. In 1730 she married the noted composer Johan Adolph Hasse, who had written two operas for her: *Artaserse* and *Dalisa*. After many years of success and acclaim touring from Dresden, where Hasse was director of the opera and kapellmeister, to Venice, Milan and Naples, they settled in Venice in 1775. She died on 4 November 1781, he on 16 December 1783. Highfill et al., V: 188-190.

[14] The Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre was rebuilt in 1714, and a new acting company established there by the owner, John Rich. It had a capacity of ca. 1,200-400 and staged plays and musicals in English. Milhous and Hume, "Handel's London" in Burrows, 56.

[15] See Letter 6, n. 16.

[16] See Letter 6, n. 15.

[17] Maria Fletcher ("Manina"), later Mrs. Seedo (fl. 1712-1733) made her début thanks to Heidegger at the Queen's Theatre in 1712. In late 1714 or early 1715 she married or formed a liaison with a Mr. Fletcher, and, as Signora Maria Fletcher or Mrs. Manina Fletcher, offered entr'acte and speciality songs at Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1715-17. She seems to have made few appearances in the early 1720s, but by 1726-27 was making a comeback. She sang Camilla on 19 November 1726 and on 19 April that year collected £46 17s in money and tickets from her benefit performance of songs in Italian. She married the musician Mr. Seedo in 1727 and thenceforth sang under his name. Highfill et al., V: 306-7.

[18] Gaetano Filippo, 'Philip' Rochetti (fl. 1724-1750s) performed at Lincoln's Inn from 1724 to 1732 singing opera and entr'acte songs. He played Prenesto in *Camilla*. For the 1733-34 season he was with Porpora's opera company at Lincoln's Inn, and in pantomime at Covent Garden. His benefit bill for 26 April 1734 notes: "N.B. the breaking of his Leg having rendered him incapable of attending his Friends & Benefactors as he ought to do, he hopes the so justly celebrated English good nature will regard him at this time." Highfill et al., XIII: 51-2.

[19] See Letter 6, n. 19.

[20] Possibly a slip of the pen for "*Mr.* John" Laguerre/Lagarde/Legar/Legard (d. London, 28 March 1748), for whom see Letter 6, n. 18.

[21] "BALLAD, a Song, commonly sung up and down the Streets . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[22] The riddle mentioned by MP does not appear to have survived.

[23] "Quadrille": a card game played by four persons with forty cards, the eights, nines and tens of the ordinary pack being discarded. It began to take the place of Ombre (see letter 9, n. 27) as the fashionable card game about 1726, and was in turn superseded by Whist. *OED*.

[24] "GALLANT, a Lover, a Beau, a Spark. *F.*" Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[25] A ticket for a ball or the lottery. State lotteries had flourished since 1694 and then, as now, occasioned instant celebrity and conspicuous spending sprees. Prizes at this date would be in the form of government stock; they were not paid in cash until 1768. The State Lottery had ceased drawing on Wednesday 16 November, and

"several other great Prizes have been drawn these two or three last days". Langford, 572; *Parker's Penny Post,* 21 November 1726.

[26] See Letter 1, n. 23.

[27] "Lady Tirrawley was Frances, daughter of Jarvis Rous in the county of Worcester. Her son (James O'Hara) was created Baron of Kilmaine, . . . succeeded his father in 1724, and in 1727 was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Portugal." Ll. I: 127-8. On his return in 1742, he brought "three wives and 14 children . . . one of the former is a Portuguese with long black hair plaited down to the bottom of her back." Walpole to Mann, 15 November 1742, Walpole, *Letters*, I: 215. This and another ambassador's "seraglio" was satirized by Pope in the "Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace" (written ca. 1737, published 1738), "Kinnoul's lewd cargo, or Tyrawley's crew". John Butt, ed., *Alexander Pope: Imitations of Horace and an Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and the Epilogue to the Satires*, rev. ed., The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, vol. IV, (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 237, lines 121-2.

His wife, Mary Stewart, only daughter of William, third Viscount Mountjoy, seems to have sought refuge in drink: "Lady Tyrawly . . . fell into a bowl of cream by endeavouring to pass over a table upon which it was placed, supposing it to be the common road every body went. Some time after she met with a post, which she stumbled against with some violence; but, to avoid any disputes . . . she curtsied, and begged her ladyship's pardon: the post not answering, my lady took it for granted it had forgiven her, and so passed on her way." (Miss Chambers to Lady Suffolk, 12 August 1730, Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 378.

[28] MP's tailor.

[29] The carrier was presumably faster than "the lumbering stage-coaches of the early eighteenth-century, on . . . journeys which took several days to pass from one region to another, . . . hauled by teams of horses barely capable of coping with roads often indistinguishable from bogs. . ." Langford, 397.

Fig. 15. Hogarth, *Masquerades and Operas*. Cuzzoni is the diminuitive figure in the centre of the signboard, on the left, with Senesino towering over her.

Letter 12

Excerpted Autobiography

> Herminius [Lord Baltimore] continued very assiduous in his visits, and his manner gave me reason to believe he had a particular regard for me. I confess I wished it might be so, and it gave me resolution absolutely to refuse Henricus [Henry Monck]. Valeria [Lady Stanley] was by no means pleased with my determination, but she found it in vain to prevent me any longer. She had received an impression to the prejudice of Herminius; I now believe she made a better judgement of him than I did, but his behaviour to me was so respectful and engaging, that the natural vanity of human nature led me to think more favourably of him than he deserved. He had not many opportunities of seeing me, for as I suspected my own inclination towards him increased, I grew more reserved.
>
> All the summers I spent either with my mother a great distance from the metropolis, or at a villa of Sebastian's [Sir John Stanley's], a few miles from it, where I had spent some of my most youthful and happy days. From thence I frequently went to town, either on business of my own or my aunt's, or to see some of my intimate friends. As Herminius was a good deal on the watch to see me, he generally found an opportunity of calling on me at Lady Stanley's house in town; I was not shy of receiving his visits as his behaviour towards me was unexceptionable.
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland, Ll. I: 130).

MP spent Christmas 1725/6 in Gloucester, as evidenced by John Wesley's diary, which records that he spent the holidays at Buckland and Stanton, home of the Kirkhams (see Fig. 16), where he was also preaching. He was then twenty-two, and fond of the company of women, including Mrs. Kirkham and her three daughters, Sally (Mrs. Chapone), Betty and Damaris, and their neighbours, Anne Granville and, from time to time, Mary Pendarves. On Sunday 7 January 1726/7, Wesley recorded in his diary a conversation with "Aspasia" (MP) on "Election and Reprobation". His regular Saturday self-inquisition for 29 January 1726 reads: "Have I loved women or

company more than God? RESOLVE: Never to let sleep or company hinder me from going to prayers. . . . Unclean thoughts? God's omnipresence." (*The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from Original MSS., with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations,* Standard Edition, vol. I, ed. Nehemiah Curnock (London: Robert Culley, 1909), 52-3, 62.)

The Lansdownes returned to England from Paris in the month this letter was written: "The Lord Viscount Lansdown, who has been absent for some Years from this Kingdom, is expected home about the middle of the next Month [from] France." (*Parker's Penny Post,* Friday 30 December 1726.)

Transcript of Letter 12

AL, NT, I: 7a/12; Ll. I: 128-9

[From Mary Pendarves Beaufort Buildings/Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, Leighterton.]

26 Jany 1726/7

I think by the account of your manner of living you have mett with no small mortifications of all sorts, I heartily grieve to think how ill you have been used by the Brute your Landlord[1] and what you must suffer from a wretch ten degrees worse than a Yahoo.[2] I am glad my Mama has given him warning and that she designs to remove in the Spring. I should be very Happy could I flatter my Self with the hopes of her steering her Course this way of the World and should rejoyce to joyne with her in any way that would ^make this part tolerably easy to

her, but I shall approve of every thing she thinks most proper, the Condition Mrs. Viney[3] is in gives me reason to suppose she [Mama] will have an inclination to make a Visit to Gloucester where I can answer for it she will be welcome to both[.][4] as her presence at such a time may be usefull to ye fruitfull Lady I cannot use any arguments to perswade her from it,[;] but as she finds me so ready to indulge anothers Happyness and give up the only Persons,[5] I swear[,] that can make me value Life or have any manner of Satisfaction, she will give me leave to insist upon her returning of it next winter by promising to spend it in London or within an Hour or two's driving from it, [.] this is a thing at a great distance and I hope there is no occasion for me to insist upon her promise for the great indulgence she has for her Children[6] will I am sure, prevaile with her to make us both so very Happy as such a meeting would be, were it to be but three months, in consideration of the affliction our Separation has been to us which no body but her Self whose Soul is tuned to Friendship, can have a notion of.[7] I beg my Mama will not think me impertinent from what I have said or imagine I can fancy my leave necessary for what shes had a mind to do, it does not proceed from that but as she always gave me the Liberty of offering my thoughts freely I presume to do it on this occasion as a thing very near my Heart [.] I would be glad to know her ditermination because I will if possible wait on her before she leaves Brickhill[8] if she intends to go farther, tho I cannot exactly say when for it depends on my being payd my arrears[9] which I am not yet nor cannot be till Pellow[10] has made up his Accounts and what time that will take up I cannot tell. this year I shall not be able to reach Gloucester, for I must save money to furnish me a little Lodging for the Winter. in case I should not keep Mrs. Burdetts[11] or if I do they are not fitt for me for they have many inconveniency's attend them.[12] there will be by the next Coach sent to Laighton,[13] for my Mother a Loyne of Veal pray let me know if it comes safe and well, you should have had some fish before now, but everything has been scarse but Cod, but next week I will try and get some for you. this Day dines here[14] Lord

and Lady Fitzwilliams[15] and the charming Faustina[16] who is the most agreeable creature in the world (except my Lord Mayor[17]) in company, and we are to have our Senses ravishd by her melodious Voice, oh that you had Wings! Methinks you are very Jocular in the begginning [sic] of your letter pray how come you to be so well informd concerning my engagements what correspondance [sic] to [do] you hold, I warrant ye you have your Spy's that tell you all my doings very fine truly so a Body can't have a little innocent recreation but presently you know all, what an impertinent world t'is we live in. Mrs. Legh[18] is so transported with Joy at living once more in Dear London, and hearing Mr. Handels Opera perform'd by such Divine creatures as Faustina, Cuzzoni, Senesino, (which was rehea[r]s'd yesterday for the first time)[19] that she is out of her Sences, beside to add to her Joys somebody has presented her with a Pelican craw,[20] and a little St. Anthony in wood, I design to get her a Pig and send [it] by the Porter for her saint is nothing without his Pig,[21] she has enquired after you, the Countess and her little one[22] continues well the Babe is to be made a X^t^ian[23] next Sunday. Miss Legh[24] is fallen in Love with the Basilisk[25] and says he is the charming Man of the World he happen'd to commend Handel and won her Heart at once. Yesterday I made a Visit to Mrs. Moody[;] Mrs. Misson[26] was there, and they were prodigious glad
[Letter ends.]

Notes

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[1] Not identified.

[2] Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* was published in 1726. The word "Yahoo" passed into the lexicon: "Yahoo . . . *sb.* A name invented by Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* for an imaginary race of brutes having the form of men; hence *transf.* and *allusively*, a human being of a degraded or bestial type." *OED*.

[3] Mrs. Viney was the illegitimate daughter of Mrs. Granville by her previous secret marriage to the bigamous Duke of Ormonde. She was therefore half-sister to MP and AG. She was evidently pregnant at the time of this letter, and it appears that her mother wished to be with her for her confinement.

[4] ? i.e. Mrs. Granville will be welcome to both Mr. and Mrs. Viney.

[5] This might be rephrased: "As Mama finds me so ready to consider Mrs. Viney's wellbeing, in foregoing the pleasure of having my mother and sister to stay with me in London, she will, I trust, return the favour by promising to spend time in or near London next winter."

[6] That is, her legitimate children, MP and AG.

[7] "Her self whose soul is tuned to friendship" probably refers to AG.

[8] Great Brickhill, Buckinghamshire, was the seat of the Duncombe family, who were friends of the Granvilles. Sir Charles Duncombe, banker and politician, was knighted when Lord Mayor of London in 1709, and died (1711) the richest commoner in England. His nephew, Anthony Duncombe (ca.1695-1763), was created Lord Feversham in 1747. *DNB*; Ll. I: 128-9; LMWM, *Letters,* III: 174, n.This is unclear. Either Mrs. Granville and Anne were lodging at Brickhill, in which case, Sir Anthony Duncombe was the yahoo landlord, or Brickhill was a staging post on Mrs. Granville's travels: "if she intends to go farther".

[9] That is, the arrears of her jointure: the amount agreed in the marriage settlement, to be paid in the event of the husband's death. It would appear that Pendarves's niece and sole heiress, Mrs. Basset, was tardy in paying MP's allowance.

[10] Not identified, but probably Mrs. Basset's lawyer.

[11] ? MP's landlady at Beaufort Buildings. See Letter 5, n. 1.

[12] That is, if she stays in Mrs. Burdett's lodgings, she will have to refurnish them to her convenience.

[13] Boxwell with Leighterton was a parish about eighteen miles southwest of Gloucester, four miles east-southeast of Wotton-under-Edge. It contained a seat, Boxwell Court. Leighton was a seat in Wiltshire, one mile southwest of Westbury. Bartholomew, s.v. "Leighterton", "Leighton".

[14] It seems unlikely that MP's lodgings would be spacious enough for such a gathering, suggesting perhaps that the party was Sir John and Lady Stanley's or Captain Lee's apartments (see n. 18 below) at Somerset House.

[15] John, second Earl Fitzwilliam, succeeded his father in 1719, and died 28 August 1728. He married Anne, daughter and sole heir of John Stringer Esq., and left a son and three daughters. Ll. I: 129.

[16] See Letter 11 n. 13.

[17] This may be an ironic reference to Sir Charles Duncombe, (se n. 8 above) especially if Anthony Duncombe, his nephew, was fond of celebrating his deceased uncle's status as Lord Mayor. The actual mayor of the time was Sir John Eyles, Bart., "elected without Opposition Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, for the Year ensuing." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI, 29 September 1726.

[18] Lady Elizabeth ("Betty") Lee (b. 26 May 1694), tenth child of the Earl of Lichfield and Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, and granddaughter of Charles II. She was also aunt to Lord Baltimore. She married Captain Francis Henry Lee, her first cousin (31 August 1717). He lost both his own and his wife's fortune when the South Sea bubble burst in 1720. He was appointed Master of the Revels (June 1725) with official quarters at Somerset House. His salary was a meagre £10 per annum, but the "perquisites" from licensing plays raised him nearly £3,000 to buy a Colonelcy in his former regiment, the Grenadier Guards (31 March 1727). Before he had time to recoup his savings, Lee died at Somerset House (26 March 1730), leaving Lady Betty with three young children and "not a farthing to support her". MP to AG, 4 April 1730, Ll. I: 253-4. However, the poet Edward Young proposed to her in July 1730, having unsuccessfully courted MP earlier that year. Young had just been presented (on the twentieth of July) to the Rectory of Welwyn, and he was gratefully accepted. He was forty-seven, she was thirty-six. The marriage was apparently kept secret, and the "official" date of the wedding was over ten months later, 27 May 1731, perhaps to allow the required year's mourning for a spouse. Harold Forster, *Edward Young:The Poet of the Night Thoughts 1683-1765* (Alburgh Harleston, Norfolk: Erskine Press, 1986), 138-42.

[19] Handel's *Admeto* was performed in 1726/7. Burrows, 332.

[20] The pelican craw and St. Anthony would be objects for a curiosity cabinet. In the 17th and 18th centuries thousands of European *Wunderkammern* and *Kunstkammern*

('wonder-' and 'art-cabinets') accreted: "[t]he excitement of finding new things in the world during the age of discovery . . . produced not only explosions of consumer culture and fashions, but explosions of interest in collecting and displaying wondrous objects. . . . The rage for marvels died later in England than on the continent." Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 30, 42. Belk also notes a penchant for evoking surprise by juxtaposing very small with very large objects, here perhaps a large pelican craw with a miniature St. Antony. Ibid., 31.

César de Saussure describes a notable collection (East Sheen, Richmond, 14 June 1726): "At the end of [the principal street in Chelsea] is Salter's famous public-house. In its rooms more than five hundred curious and rare objects are artistically grouped and exposed to public view, and amongst these curiosities are sea monsters, birds, reptiles, animals from Asia, America and Africa, all so well preserved that they seem alive. Garments and weapons having belonged to ancient nations and to savages from the Indies, petrifications, medals, and rare objects of every sort can be examined at ease whilst drinking a cup of coffee." Saussure, 135.

A charming parody of the practice of building up a "Nick-Nackatory" appeared in *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, Saturday 14 December 1728 and is reproduced here as Appendix 6.

[21] The Order of Hospitallers of Saint Antony, founded ca. 1100 in La Motte, were followers of St. Antony of Egypt (AD 251-356). La Motte became a site of pilgrimage for sufferers of ergotism ("St. Antony's fire"). The order proliferated over much of western Europe. They "used to ride about, ringing little bells to attract alms; these bells were afterwards hung around the necks of animals to protect them from disease. By special privilege this Order's pigs were allowed to roam freely in the streets, whence the emblems of pigs and bells in Antony's later iconography." David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. "Antony of Egypt". There is an unidentified female friend to whom MP refers as "Piggy" in later letters; it is possible that Mrs. Lee was allocated this nickname as a consequence of MP's little gift.

[22] Lady Sunderland and her son, who was born in February 1726. See Letter 9, n. 10.

[23] Abbreviated form of "Christian".

[24] See Letter 3, n. 22 Walpole described her as "a virtuosa, a musician, a madwoman, who was in love with Handel and wore his picture, along with the Pretender's, on her breast." Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, ed. Peter Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Graham, 1906), XXXIV: 258. She was not the daughter of Lady Betty, whose eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1718. Forster, 140.

In a letter fragment of 1729, MP reports that Miss Legh/Leigh/ Lee was fond of her "since I sent her word that I would never set my foot within her doors when I knew her father [Col. Legh of Cheshire] was at home, but would avoid him as I would a toad." Ll. I: 185.

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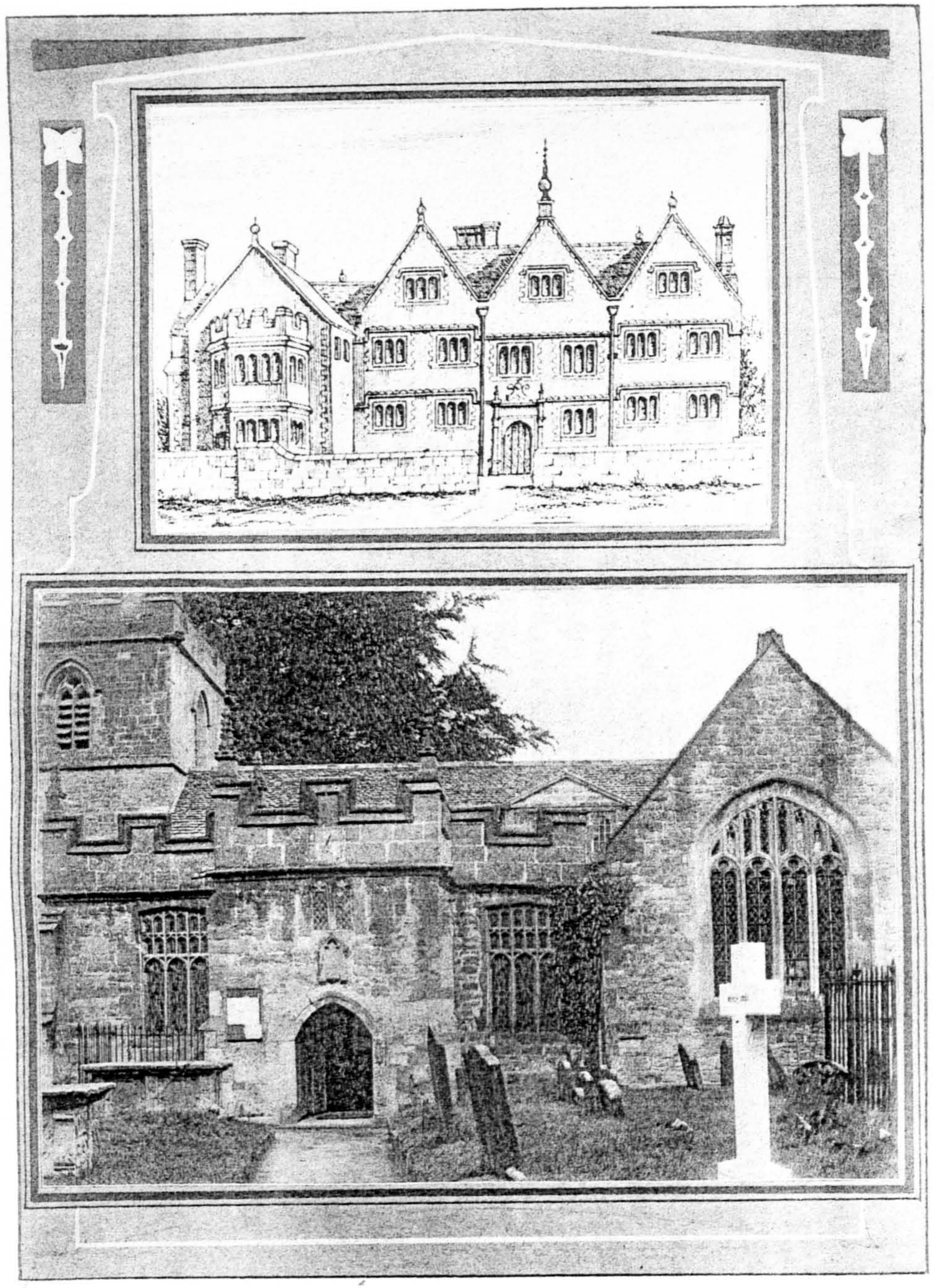
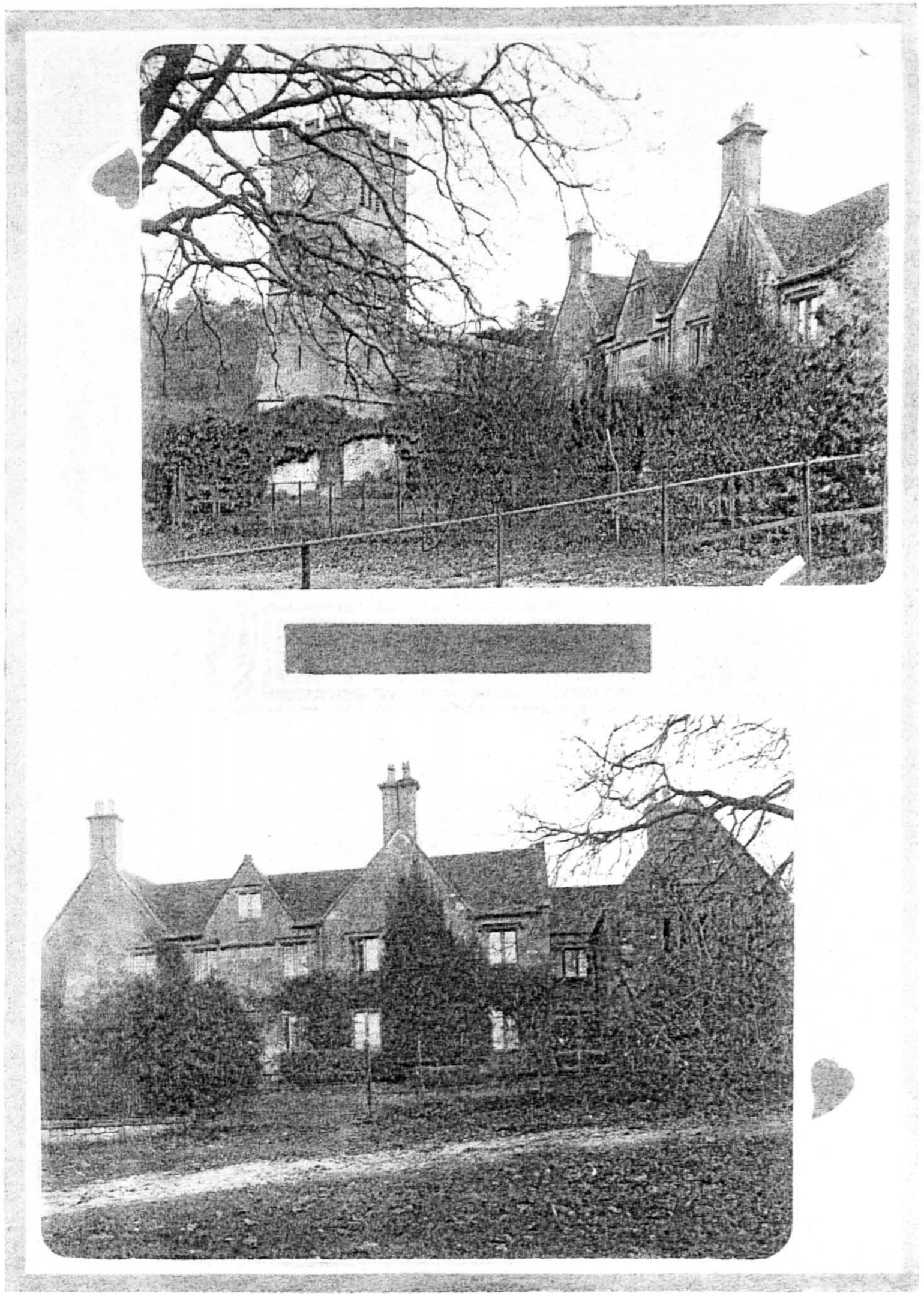
[25] "The Basilisk" is glossed by Llanover as Lord Baltimore. Ll. I: 129.

[26] "Died *Maximilian Misson, Esq.*, author of the *Voyage to Italy*, in four volumes." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register* , 12 January 1722. Francis Maximilian Misson (ca.1650-1722), a French refugee, traveller and author, became on his arrival in England in 1685 tutor to Charles Butler, afterwards Earl of Arran, and brother of James, second Duke of Ormonde. Misson accompanied his charge on the grand tour in 1687-88 and published the *NouveauVoyage d'Italie* (1691), a work which was for fifty years the standard "Handbook" for travellers to Italy. He also wrote *Memoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre . . . avec une description particulière de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans Londres* (1698), a humorous descriptive dictionary of Queen Anne's London, and *Théâtre Sacré des Cevennes* (1707). He died in London (12 January 1722). *DNB*. Mrs. Misson was perhaps his wife or relative.
"They write from Edinburgh, that on the 7th Instant, came on before the Lords Justiciacy [*sic*], the tryal of Sir James Stuart of Burgh, and others, charged with killing Capt. Moody, in the Isle of Orkney, but Sir James did not compear [*sic*]." *Parker's Penny Post*, November 23 1726.



1. THE RECTORY, STANTON. 2. THE CHURCH, STANTON.

Fig. 16a. The Rectory at Stanton.



1. BUCKLAND CHURCH AND RECTORY.
2. THE HOME OF THE GRANVILLES (MRS. DELANY), BUCKLAND.

Fig. 16b. Buckland Manor.

Letter 13

Excerpted Autobiography

The Baltimore courtship took a surprising turn in the summer of 1727:

> The last day [Baltimore and I] met at [Northend] he proposed to me a party on the water. The weather was excessive hot and fine: . . . The temptation was almost irresistible, but I thought it not prudent, and refused all his entreaties, at which he left me disappointed and chagrined, and instead of going on the water, put off the barges that were waiting on the waterside and went to the Tennis Court, where a ball struck him between the eyes and knocked him down. All the company thought him killed; he was carried to his sister's house (being nearer than his own), weltering in his blood, but with some signs of life.
>
> I was gone out of town before this accident happened, for I went as soon as he left me; his sister, almost distracted, sent a letter to inform me of it, and to beg to see me as soon as possible. . . . The next day I went to town; when I came to Charlotte's [Jane (Calvert) Hyde's] house I found her drowned in tears . . . He had lost so great a quantity of blood that he was reduced to the lowest weakness; he said he wished extremely to see me, and begged of me to go to his bedside. I could not bring myself to do it, as he had never positively made any declaration that could warrant my granting him such an indulgence, and I thought it might disturb him; I was therefore resolute in my refusal, and poor Charlotte thought me inhuman; but I left her with a promise that if he continued as ill the next day, and desired to see me, I would not refuse him.
>
> I was so affected after this visit that for some days I was ill and not able to go to town, receiving every day very doubtful accounts of his recovery; but his youth at length prevailed and he grew better. . . . He went to his country-house as soon as it was safe for him to remove; when he was gone I went to see his sister. She reproached me with my indifference to her brother, and called me ungrateful, for he expressed so great a regard for me all the time of his illness, that he seemed to desire life only for my sake . . . A lady [acquaintance] sent him a necklace of bloodstones to wear (as it is vulgarly thought a specific against violent bleedings), he threw it away . . . Charlotte got one from me she had seen in my cabinet, which he wore without any difficulty and honorably restored. . . . Not long after I was desired to use my interest with [Baltimore] in

favour of a person who wanted to be recommended to him; I mentioned it to Charlotte, and in a few days received [a] letter from him to assure me "my request was granted, and how happy he was to have any opportunity of obeying my commands."

I went to Tunbridge at the end of that summer with Sebastian [Sir John Stanley] and Valeria [Lady Stanley], but heard nothing of him.

(Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in Ll. I: 130-3).

Transcript of Letter 13

AL, NT, I: 8; Ll. I: 134-6

[From Mary Pendarves, Beaufort Buildings, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery, Gloucester.]

Pendarves To
M^rs^. Anne Granville
at Gloucester

5 October 1727.

My Dear Sister

I have endeavourd to obey my Mamas commands as exactly as posibly but some of my directions not being very plain I hope I shall be excused if I have mistaken any article this preamble be pleas'd to acquaint her with, accompanied with my humble Duty.[1] M^rs^. Badge[2] had in her Hands 5 Guineas of M^rs^. Vineys which my aunt Clifford sent out of which five Guineas she has purchas'd what things my mother sent for. because upon my first reading your letter I understood

the money Mrs. Badge had of my mothers in her Hands was not to be meddled with. but since the account was made up I have consider'd and think that my Mama having several things to buy at Gloucester for her new House[3] may want her money therefore I have Pack'd it up, it is Six pound & ten shilling, there was another Shilling due to her from Badge but that she keeps to pay the postage of three letters as my mother orderd her. she presents her humble Duty & would have writ herself but she is very much out of order with her Old complaint. the money Mr. Butler has for Mrs. Viney[4] I could not send for a very good reason, not having it, for, Mr. Butler is not come to Town, but thinking my Mama would want her things I would not deferr sending them on that account. I nor Mrs. Badge could not rightly understand you about the Bohea Tea[5] for she does not remember she was orderd to bespeak any, and you say in your letter that I must send the Bohea Tea that was bespoak and a pound more; she imagines the Tea Mama meant was Tea Dust but she can't get any for Love nor money. but has bought two pound of Bohea at xxx thirteen shilling a pound which the Man says is extraordinary good; but every thing of that kind grows very dear, chocolet[6] especialy I have sent you a pound for a taste at three and sixpence the best in Town at that price but I am Affraid it is not such as my Mother will like, for there is none very good under four shilling[7] but I desire her approbation of it as soon as she has tasted it. there is in the Box of Linnen three pair of flaxen[8] sheets and one odd one, two co[a]rse kitchen table cloaths[,] one packs 'em,[9] 11 Flaxen Table Cloaths, 7 corse diaper[10] Towells 1 fine Damask[11] Table Cloath and one dozen of Napkins, 4 small Damask Table Cloaths. what remains of my Mama's best Linnen I have carefully pack'd up in a Box and writ an note of what things is in it and put it into the Box with them. In the Box with the Linnen there is Mamas Black Poudesoy[12] Gown and pettycoat, your white pettycoat which is sadly Scowerd[13] and mamas two Hoods but I will never again employ those people[14] I have fretted most heartily about them. the three Japan Bords[15] and the

Six forks and spoons and French Silver Salts, and a pair of China Salts which you may think old fashion but it is the new mode and all Salt Sellers are now made in that manner. there is a little Tunbridge Jewell Box[16] which Mrs. Tillier desires you to accept as her fairing, in the first partition there is three cakes of Lip Salve, in the next a Solitary ring which begs the Honour of embracing one of your fingers, the motto will inform you from whom it comes, in the next is the overplus money of the five Guineas, and in the last is my Mothers 6 pound Ten Shilling and Mrs. Badges account how she has laid out the money. there is also two Tunbridge voiders[17] which I hope Mama will not think me Sawcy if I desire the favour of her to make use of. and the Standish[18] is for Mrs. Viney her ingenuity will direct her how to sett [it] together for I was forced to unskrew it least it should Break in the Carriadge. The Tea Snuff, Mustard flower and Candlesticks I hope are all right & I desire as soon as possible after your receiving the things an account how every thing is liked, and how mamas Black Manteau[19] fitts by the look of it I am affraid she will think the sleeves too short but it is so much the fashion now [that] [20] there is no persuading the people to make a long sleeve and as for the <tacking>[21] down the Back she may easily have it undone if she does not approve of it. so much for busyness [.] Lady Stanley has just call'd me in to bid me give her Service to you & to say she [is] excessively asham'd of herself for not answering your letters but very soon she will write you a letter upon the biggest sheet of paper she can gett, my Brother desires me to say the same for him but he may make his own excuse [.] My aunt thank God has recoverd her Cold and I think her better in Health than I have known her a great while. all the Peytons and Dashwoods[22] are very much your humble Servants and obliged to you for remembring them. Young Mrs. Dashwood is in Doctor Bambers[23] Hands and rather better since she had his advise. Lady Sunderland is come to Town but weak and Low I believe she will be orderd to the Bathe.[24] I was at court last Thursday morning, & the King ask'd me if I had been in Cornwall[25] for he had not seen me a great while, and when I told him where I had

been he Ask'd me abundance of questions how I had past my time at Tunbridge. the reason you did not hear from me last post was that I had a very bad Cold but now I am very well again [and] at your Service. the Queen has upon her pettycoat for the Coronation twenty four Hundred Thousand pounds worth of Jewells her Train is to be held up by the three young Princess's. Lady Frances Nassaw, Lady Mary Capell, Lady Margeret Herbert Lady Anne Lumley,[26] time nor paper allows me now to say any more but that I am always my Dearest Sisters
Faithfull & Most Affectionate

Penny

Mrs. Hyde is come to Town as big as she can Tumble [27]

Pendarves [28]

Dearest Love Mrs Viney
at Gloucester Thy Love
sweet Study
busies all my Days

What Interest I have I shall be very willing to make use of for my SweetHeart's[29] Service but nothing can be done till he is Sent to school [xxx] to Westminster
I shall send the box to morrow Night to the Carrier I saw Captn. Molesworth[30] yesterday he ask'd after Glouster Friends

Notes

[1] MP appears to infer that the rest of the letter is for her sister's eyes only.

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[2] See Letter 6, n. 26.

[3] The new house was probably in Eastgate Street, MP directs a letter of 4 November 1731 to "Mrs. Ann Granvill, in the Eastgate Street, at Gloucester". Ll. I: 308.

[4] I interpret this to mean that money for Mrs. Viney's upkeep is being sent to her by her father, James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, via his relative (?brother) Mr. Butler, and Mary Pendarves, Mrs. Viney's half-sister. James Butler was then in France, and would require members of his family remaining in England to conduct his affairs for him, much as Bernard Granville had done for his brother George, Lord Lansdowne. This passage is entirely omitted by Lady Llanover, who begins the letter with: "Mrs. Badge nor I could rightly understand you about the Bohea Tea . . ." Ll. I: 135.

[5] "Bohea . . . Also . . . bohee . . . A. Of the Wu-i hills, whence black tea was first brought to England; applied also to tea of a similar quality grown elsewhere. 1718, Quincy, *Compl. Disp.* 116 Bohee Tea. — This is one of those things which Luxury has introduced into Diet." *OED*. See also n. 6 below.

[6] "CHOCOLATE, a Drink made of the *India Cocoa Nut.*" Bailey, *Dictionary.* Coffee, tea and chocolate were introduced to England in the late seventeenth century, the latter being first mixed with wine, then water. It came in a cake or roll, and was grated into hot liquid, then whisked with a notched stick, or "chocolate mill". Wine was customarily sweetened, and the hot beverages followed suit. Coffee was drunk by the well-heeled: it was expensive and could not be faked. Tea, from China, was so very costly that it was kept in a locked caddy. It was drunk economically weak, sweetened, and at first without milk. However, both tea and coffee were acknowledged stimulants, and it was thought that adding milk would weaken their effects. Tea smuggling became a widespread and profitable practice as a result of high customs duties. The new drinks required newfangled cups, pots, kettles and urns, to the benefit of the pottery and metalware industries. Thomas Twining opened the first Tea Shop for Ladies in response to the male-dominated coffee shops, and the former Vauxhall Gardens provided the first of many tea gardens. Jennifer Stead, *Food and Cooking in Eighteenth-Century Britain* ([London]: English Heritage, 1985), 22.

"A Patent was lately granted to Mr. J. Workman, the ingenious Inventor of a new and useful Machine for the making of Chocolate: The Contrivance is said to be very curious, performing the whole Business . . . with great Expedition and Cleanliness, and to a Degree of fineness and Perfection which far surpasses what we have been used to in the common Methods. A good deal of Opposition was made . . . by the Chocolate-makers, but it proved ineffectual." *The London Journal*, CCXCII, 27 February 1724/5.

[7] "Proper Measures are now taking . . . to prevent the fraudulently increasing the Weight of Coffee, by Butter or Lard, and the colouring of bad Tea, or something resembling it, and mixing it with good Tea." *The London Journal,* CCXCVIII, 10 April 1725.

[8]"Flaxen . . . 1. Consisting or made of flax." "Flax . . . I. the plant. . . . 6. Cloth made of flax; linen." *OED.* "There are frequent allusions in these letters to the purchase and selection of flax. Mary Granville and her mother were celebrated spinners, both in flax and in that preparation of wool called Jersey. The Editor still possesses the wheel of Mary Granville, and a piece of purple poplin of her spinning. There are also in existence damask napkins, of the finest texture, spun by her mother and sister." Ll. I: 140 n.

[9] This appears to mean that one table cloth is wrapped around the other items of linen.

[10] "Diaper . . . I. 1. The name of a textile fabric; now, and since the 15th c., applied to a linen, (or an inferior fabric of, 'union' or cotton) woven with a small and simple pattern, formed by the different directions of the thread, with the different reflexions of light from its surface, and consisting of lines crossing diamond-wise, with the spaces variously filled up by parallel lines, a central leaf or dot, etc." *OED.*

[11] "DAMASK, . . . so called from *Damascus* in *Syria* . . . fine Silk, Linnen or Stuff, wrought into Flowers and Figures." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[12] "Paduasoy . . . poudesoy . . . poodesoy, . . . pudisway [etc.] . . .[probably] an Eng. corruption of *pou-de-soie* or *poudesoy* app. by association with *Padua say*, a kind of SAY or Serge, actually from Padua, which had been known in England since 1633 or earlier." *OED.*

[13] i.e. the petticoat has been cleaned badly, or over-zealously. "To SCOUR, To SCOWR} . . . to cleanse or make clean . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[14] "those people" were probably commercial launderers.

[15] "To JAPAN, to varnish and draw Figures on Wood, Metal, *&c.* after the Manner of the Artificers in *Japan*, an Island in the East *Indian* Sea." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[16] "*Tunbridge* was used . . . to designate articles with a characteristic wooden mosaic decoration, made in and about Royal Tunbridge Wells and nearby Tonbridge by

slicing cross-sections from a bundle of thin strips of differently coloured wood glued together, to obtain identical copies of the pattern for sticking on the article to be decorated; as in *Tunbridge ware*." *OED*.

[17] "A VOIDER, a Table-basket for Dishes, plates, Knives *&c.* also a Wooden painted Vessel to hold Services of Sweet-meats." Bailey, *Dictionary*. MP may be teasing her mother over her sweet tooth, or lack of London gentility in not possessing such an item.

[18] "STANDISH, . . . a standing Ink-horn for a Table." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[19] "*manteau* or *mantua*: a loose gown, or open robe, worn with a petticoat, the bodice unboned and the overskirt trained. Popular throughout the first half of the century, it is seldom mentioned thereafter. It was suitable for all social occasions, including at Court, weddings, funerals and public balls. It was often made of rich, elaborately embroidered material and worn with a buckled belt, or 'girdle'". Cunnington, *Handbook*, 116. See Fig. 17.

[20] There is a small tear in the Ms. here, where the seal has been removed.

[21] "To TACK, . . . to sew slightly, to join together." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[22] The families Peyton and Dashwood were connected by marriage. Anne, daughter of George Dashwood, Esq., and sister of Sir Robert Dashwood, Bart., of Northbrook, married Sir Tewster Peyton, of Doddington, Cambs. Their daughters, Anne and Margaret, married Richard Dashwood, Esq., of Cocklylley, and "cousin" George Dashwood, Esq., respectively. Ll. I: 144. Francis Dashwood, Baron le Despencer (1708-81), Chancellor of the Exchequer, and protegé of George Bubb Dodington, founded the satanic *Hellfire Club* at Medmenham Abbey, ca. 1755. *DNB*. "*George Dashwood*, Esq; Son of *George Dashwood*, of [blank] in the County of *Suffolk*, Esq; marry'd to Mrs. *Margaret Peyton*, Sister of Sir *Thomas Peyton*, Bart."
"Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI: June 20. [1726].

"Mrs. Delany said how cautious young women should be what society they enter'd into, and particularly wth. whom they appeared in public; told me an anecdote of herself when young and married to Mr. Pendarvis; gave me an account of "the Hell Fire club" wch. consisted of abt. a dozen persons of fashion of both sexes, some of ye females unmarried, and the horrid impieties these were guilty of; they used to read and ridicule ye Scriptures, and . . . they used to act plays, some represented ye. Virgin Mary." Miss Hamilton's Diary, Bulstrode, 7 December 1783, Ll. VI: 162.

[23] Anne Dashwood was in the late stages of a pregnancy which was to prove unsuccessful (see Letter 14). I have found no reference to Dr. Bamber.

[24] "*Jan.* 12.[1727] The Countess of *Sunderland*, Relict of *Charles Spencer*, Earl of *Sunderland*, and Wife of Sir *Robert Sutton* of Boughton in the County of *Lincoln*, Knight of the Bath, brought to [B]ed of a Daughter." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XII: 6.

[25] Alexander Pendarves's ancestral seat, and MP's former home, "Roscrow", was in Cornwall.

[26] "The Countess, Wife of *Talbot Yelverton*, Earl of *Sussex*, the Lady *Anne Lumley*, Sister of *Richard*, Earl of *Scarborough*, and the Lady *Mary Capel*, Sister of *William* Earl of *Essex*, appointed Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Princess Royal." "Chronological Diary"' *Historical Register*, XII, 19 September 1727.

"*Thomas Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, marry'd to Mrs. *Howe*, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess of Wales." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X, 14 June 1725) [It was his second marriage.]

Lady Frances Nassaw [Nassau] was the youngest daughter of Henry de Nassau (1641-1708), Lord of Auverquerque, and sister of Henry, first Earl of Grantham, and of Isabella, who married Charles Granville, second Earl of Bath. She married Nanfant Cote, Earl of Bellamont.

Lady Mary Capel, third daughter of Algernon, second Earl of Essex, married (1729) Alan Broderick, Viscount Middleton.

Lady Margaret Herbert was the second daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke and fifth Earl of Montgomery. She died unmarried 15 December 1752.

Lady Anne Lumley was the third daughter of Richard, first Earl of Scarborough, and married Frederick Frankland, Esq., M.P. for Thirsk. She died in February, 1740. Ll. I: 136 notes 1-4.

[27] Mrs. Hyde (See Letter 4, n. 15) was probably pregnant.

[28] "Pendarves" is written several times, apparently as signature practice. See Fig. 18, which shows how the various elements appear on the outside and folded parts of the letter.

[29] "Sweetheart" evidently refers to a little boy, perhaps a son of Sarah Chapone or Mrs. Viney.

[30] ? Captain the Hon. William Molesworth, (d. 6 March 1770) third son of Robert, first Viscount Molesworth (7 September 1656 - 22 May 1725). He married Anne,

eldest daughter of Robert Adair, of Hollybrook, county Wicklow (no dates supplied). Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, IX, s.v. "Molesworth".

Fig. 17. Mantua. "This fine quality brocaded silk mantua of the 1720s is the earliest dress in the V & A collection. The train is stitched so that it lies face outwards only if it is folded sides to middle and turned up to hip-level. T.88-1978."

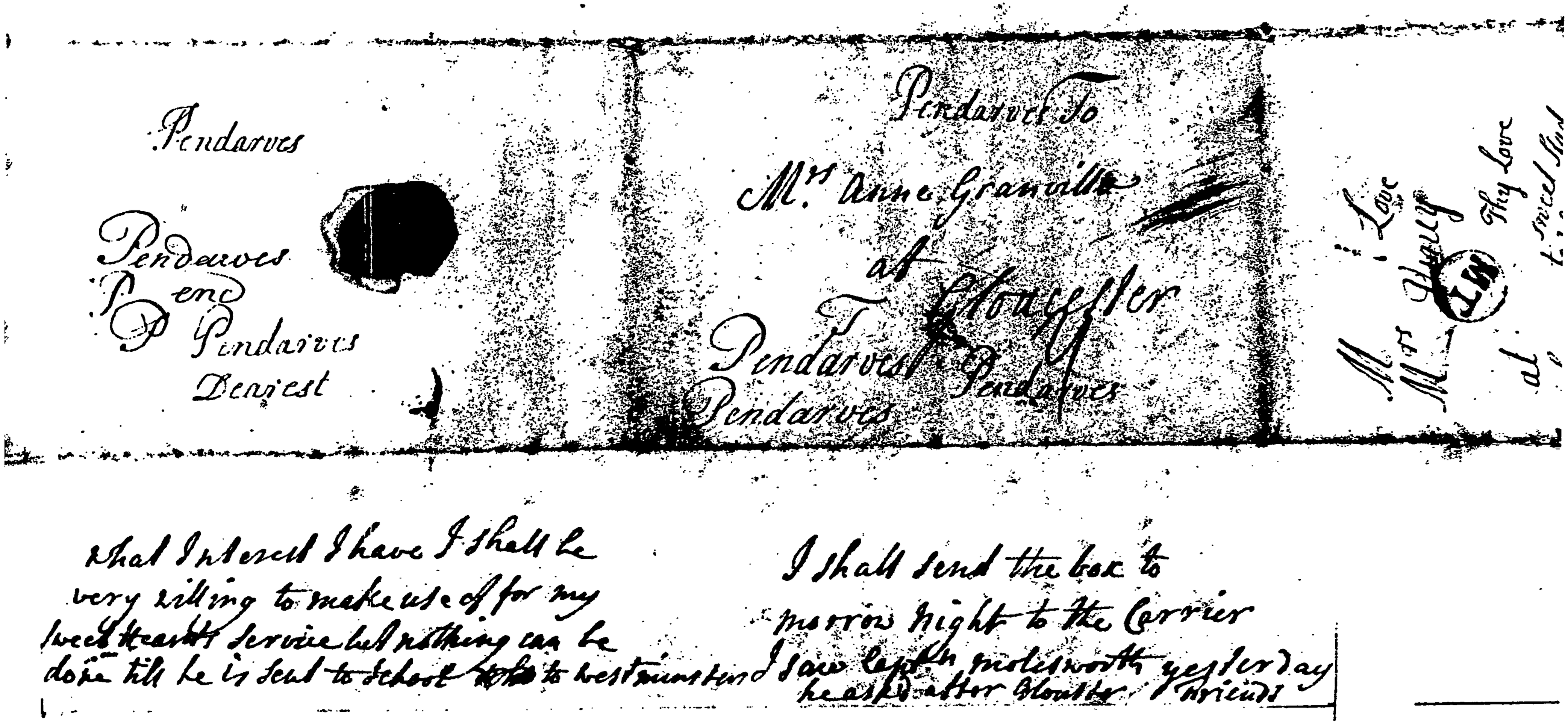

Fig. 18. Handwriting practice on exterior of Letter 13.

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Letter 14

Contextual Notes

"June 11. Dy'd at *Osnabrug* in *Germany*, the High and Mighty Prince *George* I, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Elector of *Brunswick Lunenbourg*, &c. . . . [He set out for Hanover on the third of June] . . . Being arriv'd at *Delden*, on *Friday* the 9th, between ten and eleven a-Clock at night, in all Appearance, in Perfect Health, his Majesty eat his Supper pretty heartily, and among other Victuals and Refreshments, part of a Melon: This, it seems, did not digest well; for having set out again at Three a-Clock the next Morning, his Majesty had not travell'd two Hours before he felt the Gripings of a Cholick. Being come to Linden, where his Dinner was provided, his Majesty could eat nothing, whereupon he was presently let Blood, and had such Remedies as were judg'd proper administred to him. Those about him wish'd he would have rested there; but his Majesty being desirous to reach his own Dominions with all possible Speed, he travell'd on; and falling into a kind of Dozing in his Coach, rested in the Arms of the Gentleman that sat alone in the Coach with him, to whom (if I am rightly inform'd) he said in *French*, *C'est fait de Moy*, that is, I am a dead Man. About ten that Night, they arriv'd at his Highness the Duke of *York*'s Palace at *Osnabrug*, where he was let Blood in the Arm and the Foot; but these Bleedings producing no Effect, and his Lethargy increasing, notwithstanding all the Physicians could do for his Recovery, he departed this Life on Sunday the 11th of June, about one in the Morning, aged 67 Years and 14 Days, being born on the 28th of May 1660." ("Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XII, 11 June 1727).

"Last Wednesday the Coronation of their Majesties was performed with the utmost Magnificence, The Procession was made in the Manner order'd by Authority, as already publish'd, with incomparable Pomp and Splendor, and every Part of the Solemnity was answerable; and considering the almost infinite Number of Spectators, great Mischiefs were fear'd, yet, God be thanked, little happen'd. The Park and Tower Guns were fired at the King's and at the Queen's Coronation, the Bells rung and the Flags were display'd throughout this City and Suburbs, and the Night concluded with Bonfires, Illuminations, and drinking

their Majesties['], the Royal Family's, and other Loyal Healths." (*Parker's Penny Post*, Friday October 13, 1727).

Transcript of Letter 14

ALS, NT, I: 9/14; Ll. I: 137-40

[From Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, the Deanery/Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

Somerset House the Day after the
Coronation[1]

You require a full and true account of all the Pomp and Vanity I saw yesterday, I cannot say my Dearest ^Sister is unreasonable, but how can I answer your demand? no words (at least that I can command) can describe the vast magnificence my Eyes beheld. the book I sent you informs you of all the Ceremony and manner of Proceeding. I was a Spectator in Westminster hall from whence the Procession began and after their Majestyes were crownd they return'd with all their noble followers to dine.[2] the dresses of the Ladies were becoming and most of them imensly rich, Lady DeLawarr was one of the best figures. the Dutchess of Queensborough[3] depended so much upon her Native Beauty that she despised all adornments, nor had not one Jewell Riban or Puff[4] to sett her off. but every Body thought she did not appear to advantage. the Dutchess of Richmond[5] pleas'd every Body, she look'd easy and Genteel with the most Sweetness in her Countenance imaginable. In short all the Ladies young and middle aged though not handsome lookd agreable and well. the Lords dress is not altogether so well, but those that walk'd well had the Advantage.

Lord Sunderland,[6] Lord Albermarle,[7] the Duke of Richmond,[8] Lord Finch,[9] and my Lord Litchfeild were the Top. the Queen never was so well liked.[10] her Cloaths were extravagantly fine but did not make show enough for the Occasion but she walk'd Gracefully and was smiled on all as she pass'd by.[11] Lady Fanny Nassau[12] (who was one of the Ladies that bore up the Train) look'd exeeding well her cloaths were fine and very Becoming, Pink colour Satin the Gown[13] (which was Stiff bodied embroider'd with Silver the Pettycoat cover'd with a trimming answerable.[14] Princess Anne who is now distinguish'd by the Title of Princess Royall,[15] ~~were~~ and her two Sisters held up the Tip of the Train. they were Dress'd in stiff bodied Gowns of silver Tissue embroider'd or quite cover'd with Silver trimming with diadems upon their Heads and Purple Mantles edged with ermin & vast long Trains. they were very Prettyly dress'd & look very well after them walk'd the Dutchess of Dorsett[16] and Lady Sussex[17] two Ladies of the Bedchamber in waiting [.] Then the finest figures of all the Procession which was Mrs. Herbert[18] and Mrs. Howard[19] the Bedchamber women in waiting, In Gowns allso but so rich so Genteel so perfectly well dress'd that my discription must do them an injury. Mrs. Herberts was Blue and Silver with a Rich imboss'd trimming, Mrs. Howards Scarlet and Silver, trim'd in the same manner, their Heads with Long Locks and Puffs and Silver Riban. I could hardly see the King for he walk'd so much under his Canopy that he was almost hid from me by the People that Surrounded him but tho^.[20] the Queen was also under a canopy she walk'd so forward that She was distinguish'd by every body. the Room was finely illuminated and tho there was 1800 Candles ^besides what was on the Tables^ they were all lighted in less than three minutes by an Invention of M^r^. Heideggers[21] which Succeeded to the admiration of all the Spectators. the Branches that held the Candles were all Guilt[22] and in the form of Piramids. I leave it to your lively imagination after this to have a notion of the splendour of the Place so fill'd and so illuminated. I forgot to tell you Lady Carteret look'd charmingly and nothing was ever more Beautifull than

her fine neck,which appeard to the utmost advantage. I went with one Mrs. Garland[23] a particular Friend of my Lady Carteret's one of a General acquaintance,[24] we went to the Hall[25] at half an hour after four in the morning but when we came there the Doors were not open and we were forced to go into a Scrub Coffee House[26] and Stay till the Doors open'd which at half an Hour after 7 they brought us word they were; we Sallyed forth with a Granadier[27] for our Guide who I hugg'd very close he convey'd is [us] into So Violent a Croud that for some minutes I lost my breath,[28] (and my Cloak I doubt for ever) I veryly believe I should have been squeezd as flatt as a pancake if Providence had not sent Mr. Edwd. Stanley[29] to my relief he being a Person of some authority made way for me and I got to a good Place in the Hall without any other damage than a few Bruises upon my Arms & the loss of my Cloak and extreamly frighted with the mob,[30] so much that all I saw was a poor recompense for what my Spirits had Suffer'd I got home without any Accident about Ten of the Clock; ^at night^ it was not disagreable to be taken notice of by ones acquaintance when they appear'd to so much advantage, for every body xxx ^I^ knew came under the Place where I Sate and offerd me meat and drink, which was drawn from below into the Gallery's by Basketts at the end of a long string which they filled with Cold Meat, Bread, Sweetmeats and Wine.[31] I think I have told you as much as I at this time can remember and Considering the fatigues I underwent you have no reason to complain of my letter, all blunders, that must be an excuse for. I thank you for your letter which gave me a Satisfaction beyond all I had seen, for ^wth^ that I had only pleased ^my Eyes^ you charm every Sense. I hope you have found the worsted,[32] I pack'd it with the Flax which xxx ^if it^ proves good I desire you will give ^me^ the Satisfaction of knowing. I sent y^o.^ two pound of thirteen shilling Tea, am I to send two pound more. in your letter of commissions you Said I must Send a Sett[33] of thick fine damask but did not mention the Diaper, but if it must be sent I will do it as soon as I receive orders. pray present my humble Duty to my Mama; Sr. John and my Lady Stanley are at

Northend. I hope the [ ][34] is in good Health my Complim$^{ts.}$ to all Friends; in Particular to M$^{rs.}$ Viney. my Eyes have been so much dazled that I can't see to fill this sheet of paper. M$^{rs.}$ Dashwood[35] is as well as can be expected, I believe I writ you word of her being brought to Bed of a Dead Child. I am

My Dearest Sisters
Most Faithfull Friend
and affectionate Sister
M Pendarves

I shall gett some Franks
the eighteenth of this month.[36]

Notes

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[1] The day after the Coronation was 12 October 1727.

[2] "When they [the King and Queen] rose from the Dinner, the Sword of Justice was missing; the Herald that held it, was slipped away to a brandy shop. This was converted into an Omen - just as I remember on the Reverse of this King's first halfpence, people found out that the Knee of Britannia looked like a Rat - it was interpreted Hanover Rats eating into her bowels." *Reminiscences Written by Mr. Horace Walpole With his Notes of Conversations with Lady Suffolk*, ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1924), 112-3.

[3] Catherine Douglas ([1700]-77), second daughter of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and Rochester, wife of Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry. She was also a cousin of MP and her early playmate (1708-1714). MD describes her as "Miss Catherine, afterwards the Celebrated Duchess of Queensbury, who was exactly of my own age, and whose wit, beauty and oddities made her from her early years, . . . to the end of a long life, a general object of animadversion [*sic*] censure & admiration". *DNB*; National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection Extracts from Mrs. Strattons Original MSS Autobiography by Mr. Bernard Granville for Lady Hall [Lady Llanover] 1857-8, also, with slight textual variation, in Ll. I: 4. For a specimen of her antic correspondence, written jointly with Gay, see Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 352-359.

[4] "A PUFF, . . . a Blast of Breath or Wind; also an Utensil for powdering the Hair." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[5] Sarah (d. 1751), daughter and co-heir of William, first Earl of Cadogan, one of the ladies of the Queen's bedchamber, married in 1719, Charles Lennox, later 2nd Duke of Richmond, whose seat was in Goodwood, Sussex. Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 290, n.; LMWM, *Letters*, II: 124, n. "I shall send you no account of the Duke and Duchess of Richmond's entrance into this town [Aubigny], nor of their reception; it would fill a newspaper. But if you have a great mind to be informed of it, look into the English History for the account of King Charles the Second's entrance into London on his restoration, and that will pretty well answer it; adding a few more harangues, larger bonfires, greater illuminations, more rockets, finer presents, louder drums, shriller trumpets, finer colours, and stronger huzzas: which last (as a French servant told me) is in English, 'Live the Duke and Duchess of Aubigné!' I questioned it a little at first; but a second servant confirmed it, and I am convinced." Lady Hervey to Lady Suffolk, Aubigny, 5 August 1735, in Suffolk, *Letters*, II: 134.

[6] Charles Spencer, fifth Earl of Sunderland (22 November 1706 - 20 October 1758), third son of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, by his second wife, Lady Anne Churchill, second daughter of the first Duke of Marlborough. On the death in 1733 of his maternal aunt, Henrietta, Lady Goldophin, (see Letter 3, n. 17), he became third Duke of Marlborough. *DNB*.

[7] William Anne Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle (1702-1754), son of Arnold Joost van Keppel, first Earl of Albemarle (1669-1718), who came to England with William of Orange.

[8] Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny (1701-1750). See n. 5 above.

[9] Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham and sixth Earl of Winchelsea.

[10] Two years later, she remained unpopular: "The reports against the Queen that are spread about the town are scandalous, and it makes one melancholy to see the industry of the disaffected to poison the minds of the lower ranks of people. The servants everywhere have it that the Queen intends to cause a Bill to be brought in to reduce servants' wages by thirty shillings, and that women servants shall wear a sort of shoulder knot of the colour of the footmen's livery belonging to such family. Also the shop keepers are told that the Queen will have the citizens' wives to wear a rose or badge to distinguish them from the gentry and nobility." Egmont, *Diary*, 27 January 1729/30, I: 11.

[11] "The Queen would have had red velvet robes, thinking purple was only for Queens Regent, & said to my Lady Suffolk, who ordered the whole, 'my good Child, you remember Queen Anne & would dress me like her; Lady Suffolk got a picture . . . of Queen Mary of Este [Queen of James II], & that convinced. . . . Queen Caroline's petticoat had jewels borrowed to the value of £100,000. . . . Only £600 was paid to Shirac the Jeweller for the hire of Jewels. My Father [Sir Robert Walpole] gave £1400 for hire of jewels for that one day for my Sister in law Lady Walpole [Margaret Rolle, wife of Sir Robert Walpole's eldest son, Robert]. As the Queen's petticoat was so immensely stiff & heavy, that she coud not have knelt to receive the Sacrament, it was contrived to draw it up with pullies like a little curtain, & had leads to weigh it down again. " Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 111-2. César de Saussure gives an account of the coronation so detailed that, for the formal elements at least, he is likely to have drawn upon one of the published "orders of service". However, it is small observations such as this which bring it to life: "The skirt of the Queen's robe . . . threw out a surprising radiance, and she next day declared what had fatigued her most was the weight of this skirt." Saussure [November 1727], 258, 239-66.

[12] See Letter 13, n. 26.

[13] "GOWN. An overdress. Also used indifferently for a woman's main garment. (17th - 19th century)". *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, ed. Natalie Rothstein (London: V & A Publications, 1999), 174.

[14] "ANSWERABLE, . . . Proportionable, that has some Relation to a Thing." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[15] Princess Anne was the eldest daughter of George II. She was supposedly very ambitious, wishing she had no brothers so that she could succeed to the Crown. "Just after the Coronation, the Queen was complaining of the fatigue: the Princess Royal cried out, 'Fatigue to be crowned! I would die tomorrow, to be crowned today!'" Walpole, *Reminiscences*, 111.

[16] Lionel Cranfield (Sackville), Earl of Dorset, Earl of Middlesex and, from 17 June 1720, first Duke of Dorset (18 January 1687/8-10 October 1765), married privately (January 1708/9) Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Lieutenant-General Walter Colyear, brother of David, first Earl of Portmore. She was a Maid of Honour to Queen Anne, and first Lady of the Bedchamber and Mistress of the Robes to Caroline both as Princess of Wales and Queen. She died on 12 June 1768. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, IV, s.v. "Dorset".

"Mrs. C. is a lady who has made a great noise in the world; but I never thought she would come to make such a great figure in it. The Lord she has snapt made a lampoon on her last winter. She is generally thought handsome." LMWM to Mrs. Frances Hewet, 12 November [1709], *Letters*, I: 20.

[17] Lucy, fourth surviving daughter of Henry Pelham, of Lewes, and Frances, daughter and co-heir of John Bine, of Rowdell, Lewes. She married (before 1 November 1726) Talbot Yelverton, first Viscount de Longueville and first Earl of Sussex. She died in childbed 25 May 1730, aged 35. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, XII, s.v. "Sussex".

[18] Mary, daughter of John Smith, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, Bedchamber-woman to Queen Caroline, and wife of the Hon. Robert Sawyer Herbert of High Clere, second son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke, and fifth Earl of Montgomery. Ll. I: 138. "Monday we made visits to some of the townspeople; there are none better than Mrs. Herbert or some of her rank, which eases us of much ceremony." MP, Killala, Ireland, to AG, Gloucester, 21 June 1732.

[19] Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk (1681-1767), eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, baronet; married (ca.1708) Charles Howard, afterwards (1731) ninth Earl of Suffolk. She and her husband lived in Hanover, then came to England with George I. She was Bedchamber-woman to the Princess of Wales and the mistress of George II. Her house at Marble Hill, Twickenham, was frequented by Pope, Arbuthnot and Swift. She retired from court in 1734 and married the Hon. George Berkeley in 1735. *DNB*; Suffolk, *Letters*, I: v-xliv.

[20] "Though" abbreviated.

[21] John James/Johan Jakob Heidegger (1666-1749), the renowned impresario and librettist. George II made him his Master of the Revels, [possibly after the death of Col. Lee]. Highfill et al., VII: 233, 238.

[22] "To GUILD, . . . To lay over with Gold." Bailey, *Dictionary*. "When the King and Queen entered the hall the light was beginning to fade. About forty chandeliers, in shape like a crown, hung from the ceiling, each carrying about thirty-six wax candles. On the King's appearance all these candles were suddenly lighted, and everyone in the room was filled with astonishment at the wonderful and unexpected illumination. Little cords of cotton-wool, almost imperceptible to the eye, saturated with sulphur of saltpetre, with spirits of wine, and other ingredients, had been prepared and arranged so as to carry the flame rapidly from one candle to another. This arrangement had been so skilfully arranged that hardly a single candle failed to take fire." Saussure [November 1727], 262.

[23] MP continued the acquaintance with Mrs. Garland for many years: "I have been making Westminster visits; ended with Mrs. Lowther, . . . and Mrs. Garland". MD, [New Street, Spring Gardens] London, to Anne (Granville) Dewes, [Welsbourne, Warwickshire], 16 March 1756, in Ll. III: 413.

[24] *i.e.* "a particular friend of Lady Carteret's, and one of my own general acquaintance".

[25] i.e. Westminster Hall.

[26] "SCRUB . . . an old Broom, a pitifull sorry Fellow." Bailey, *Dictionary*. The modern equivalent might be "scruffy": "SCRUFF, little Sticks,Coals, *&c.* which poor People gather by the *Thames* for Fewel." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[27] "GRANADIER, . . . a Soldier which [sic] throws Granadoes. A GRANADO, . . . a little hollow Globe of Iron, *&c.* fill'd with fine Powder, which is set on Fire by a Fuzee [sic] at the Touch-hole; through which, when the Fire comes to the Hollow of the Ball, the Case flyes into many Pieces, to the great Damage of all that stand by." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[28] "For two or three days before the coronation numbers of carpenters had been working at erecting a footstool or wooden bridge [royal walkway] about three feet in height and edged with wooden railings; this bridge commenced at the chief entrance of Westminster Hall, all along New Palace Yard, King's Street, St. Margaret's Churchyard, and ended at the western porch of Westminster Abbey. On every side of this bridge, wherever the space allowed it, stands and platforms had been erected for the use of spectators. . . . at four in the morning, we started from home, but . . . we experienced considerable difficulty in getting to the stand because of the enormous crowds of people . . . At seven o'clock several companies of Foot Guards appeared and took up their position on either side of the bridge. Two regiments of Horse Guards guarded the square, the churchyard and bridge, the latter being shortly afterwards concealed by blue cloth. The bridge was so wide, it required three widths of cloth to conceal it." The coronation procession followed, preceded by the King's herb-strewer and "eight maidens carrying four baskets filled with flowers and sweet-smelling herbs" to scatter on the walkway. Saussure [November 1727], 240-1.

[29] Mr. Edward Stanley, the lawyer, afterwards Sir Edward Stanley of Alderley. Ll. I: 178n. "This morning I went into the city by appointment of cousin Will Le Grand to make over to him the 1,500 *l.* bequeathed him by his father . . . He gave me a release witnessed by his elder brother Ned and Stephen Garden, a person recommended by Mr. Stanley the lawyer, to attend on this occasion." Egmont, *Diary*, Monday 30 June 1735, II: 183.

[30] "An infinite number of the populace, called in England the 'mob' . . ." Saussure (17 September 1725), 59-60.

[31] "I was seated behind several ladies and gentlemen who were acquainted with some of the peers and peeresses seated at the table beneath us. When we saw that they had finished eating we let down a small rope, which, to tell the truth, we had made up by knotting our garters together. The peers beneath were kind enough to attach a napkin filled with food to our rope, which we then hauled up . . . This napkin took several journeys up and down, and we were not the only people who had had this idea, for from all the galleries round the same sight could be seen." After the King, Queen and nobility had withdrawn, "the big doors were thrown open and the crowd allowed to enter and take possession of the remains of the feast, of the table linen, of the plates and dishes, and of everything that was on the table. The pillage was most diverting; the people threw themselves with extraordinary avidity on everything the hall contained; blows were given and returned, and I cannot give you any idea of the noise and confusion that reigned. In less than half an hour everything had disappeared, even the boards of which the tables and seats had been made." (Saussure [November 1727], 263, 265).

[32] "WORSTED, . . . a Town in *Norfolk*, noted for fine Spinning, whence the Wooll there Spun, *&c.*, took its Name *Worste*." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[33] ? The damask tablecloths sent with the previous letter.

[34] There is a hole in the Ms. at this point.

[35] "young Mrs. Dashwood" was under the care of Dr. Bamber in Letter 13.

[36] This postscript appears to the left of the closing salutation.

Letter 15

Contextual Notes

The Lord Mayor's Show was the ceremonial procession of the Lord Mayor to the Law Courts to swear an oath of office before the Judges of the Queen's Bench. In 1215, King John, hoping to win favour with the City, granted a charter permitting elections to be held on condition that the Lord Mayor presented himself to the King or his justices to swear fealty. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the election and investiture took place on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 28 October, and next day the Lord Mayor went to Westminster to seek the monarch's approval. In 1346 the election day was changed to 13 October, but the visit to Westminster was made on 29 October until 1752. The Lord Mayor travelled by water for the first time in 1422. In 1501, there was a feast after the procession at Guildhall, where new kitchens had been built. This became the annual Lord Mayor's Banquet.

> The Lord Mayor has many privileges. He is always knighted by the King before his year of office is over; his style of living is magnificent and sumptuous; he keeps open table, and has many well-paid functionaries in his service, one of these being the officer who carries the big sword of ceremony before [him] whenever he appears in public. This appointment is worth £1,000. . . . The day of his investiture, the Lord Mayor with all his aldermen and train goes to the riverside, where a dozen or more barges and galleys are waiting for them. The Lord Mayor's barge is magnificent; it is enriched with gilding, carving, and delicate paintings; it is decked with banners, streamers, and flags, and is manned by forty oarsmen, all wearing bright-hued livery and caps of black velvet. The other barges are handsomely decorated likewise, one of them having a band of excellent musicians on board. A great number of ordinary but well-decorated boats follow and make a charming flotilla, keeping in good time to the strains of the music. The boats stop at the Stairs or Quai of Westminster, where the

> procession forms and goes on foot to the Grand Hall of Westminster. . . . the Lord Mayor proceeds to the Tribunal of the Exchequer, where he takes the oath of loyalty. He then walks round the hall and invites the Lord Chancellor and all the judges to honour his banquet with their presence. Then with all his train he returns to the canal of Fleet Street, where he and the Sheriff and Aldermen, and other persons of note . . . mount richly caparisoned steeds, and the procession forms again . . . preceded and closed by several companies of the militia of the City. When the Guildhall is reached a magnificent repast is served, and this terminates the ceremony, which is sometimes honoured by the presence of the King and by that of the Prince and Princess of Wales.
> (Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 496; Saussure (London, February 1726), 107-111).

Transcript of Letter 15

ALS, NT, I: 10/15; Ll. I: 141

[Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville the Deanery/Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

To

M^rs^. Anne Granville at Gloucester

MT 31 OC

Somerset House, 31 Octr. 1727

After a Coronation a Lord Mayors Feast[1] cannot presume to make a figure in Print, but as I love to keep my word on all occasions I will according to my promise describe as well as I am able what I was yesterday witness of, though with gazing my Eyes are so weak to Day that I fear I shall hardly be able to see my way quite through the Croud. the Dutchess of Manchester, Lady Carteret and Lady Fanny Shirley,[2] called on me at half an hour after one, the Streets were

prodigiously Crouded with Mob[3] and the Train Bands,[4] whose ridiculous appearance & odd Countenances was very entertaining; and all the windows from the Bottom to the top Loaded with people [.] we were in no bustle of Coaches for no Hackneys were allow'd to pass and all went the same way, but there was so great a Throng they could move but very slowly for fear of trampling the people to Death so that we xxx were a whole Hour going from Somerset=House to Guild=Hall, when we came to King Street the Officers upon Duty said we must not go any farther but gett out of our Coaches in Cheap Side for none but the Royall family were to drive to the Hall Gate,[5] but as the street was well swept, and Soldiers planted to keep of[f] the Mob it was very good walking, when we had walk'd about half way [down] the Street, one of the Lord Mayors Officers with a Blue & Gold Staff mett us and said with an Audible and formall Voice Ladies Open your Ticketts with which accordingly we did; very well Ladies you will have admittance into the Hall, & Ladies you may tarry till the morning, indeed from this time untill Six o'th Clock you may tarry. then we were all conducted into the Room where my Lady Mayoress and all the Aldermens Ladies were seated, our names were told & every body made a Low Curtsey to her Lady$^{P\cdot}$ who return'd it with a great deal of Civility and told us if we woud follow her we should dine at her Table, an Honour not to be refused and indeed it was a particular favour, we attended her & had a very fine dinner, and all the Polite Men of our Acquaintance waited behind our Chairs[6] and help'd us to what we wanted, I had to my share $S^{r\cdot}$ Robert Sutton and Will: Stanley.[7] as soon as we had dined Lady Mayoress got up and we follow'd her, to a very pretty Room with a good fire, where there was convenient Clossetts.[8] after that we went back to the first Room at the upper end of which was placed two arm'd chairs and two Stools for their Maje$^{S:}$ and the Princesses. all this while my Lord Mayor was performing his part through the City but the wind and Tide being against him made his return very late;[9] the King & c. were at a House which they say has allways been kept for that Purpose over against xxx

Bow Church to see the Procession. his own Coach and Horses that convey'd him to the Hall was cover'd with Purple Cloth, the eight Horses the Beautifullest creatures of their kind were cream Colour, the trappings Purple Silk & their Manes and Tails tyed with Purple Ribons. the Princesses Horses were Black dress'd with White Ribons. the King was in Purple velvet the Queens & Princesses in Black and very fine with Jewells. at Six o'th'Clock my Lord Mayor & Aldermen return'd, and in three quarters of an Hour after the King came, my Lord Mayor after having received him & pay'd the Usual Homage at the Gate he conducted him &c. into the Room where we sate. he & the Queen & the Princesses stood before the chairs and stools that were placed for them which were rais'd four steps and a very Loyal Speech was made by one of the Aldermen and an acknowledgement for the Honour received. their Majestyes were very gracious, and then the Lady Mayoress and the Aldermens wives were presented. all that Ceremony being over it was time they should have some refreshment which they had in a very Magnificent manner in the Hall, we followd the Train & saw them at dinner Lady Mayoress waited at the Queens Elbow. having Satisfyed our Curiosity so farr we thought it convenient to Secure a place in the Gallery where the Ball was to be which indeed was much to[o] Straight for the Purpose, but we solaced our Selves with Tea and Coffee, about Ten the Royall folks came [where][10] we then were but the croud was so insupportable we made the best of our way out of it I had one Glimpse of our Alderman[11] who was endeavouring to get to me but that was not to be effected for we were parted and I saw no more of him. the King & Queen went about twelve a Clock a way and we stay'd an hour and a Quarter after him not being able sooner to get to our Coach. we got home very well, and must own I was very well pleas'd with my Days expedition. the Lady Mayoress & those that had been, and the high Sheriffs Lady wore gold Chains,[12] but not as a necklace they were tack'd on the Robeings[13] of their gowns in loose scollops[14] in the Manner of a Galloon[15] and look'd very pretty upon black Velvett. their was a vast many people of Quality,

and considering the great Number of People less confussion than I expected. I have come now to the end of my Journey. but how insignificant are all pleasures
compared to your Friendship[:] I am my Dearest Sister
more yours than words will express
M Pendarves
My humble Duty & Service as due
Mrs. Badge is now here and presents her humble Duty to my Mama & your Self. She has spoke to Mr. Clayton but the other Person is not yet come to Town as soon as he is she shall know what he says. Bunny[16] fell down Stairs last week & sprain'd his foot but it is now almost well with the Help of Vinegar & an Infallible Plaister.[17] Adieu my Charming Dear Sister.[18]

Notes

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[1] "Sir *John Eyles*, Bart. elected without Opposition Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, for the Year ensuing." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI, 29 September 1726. "How many noble seats, . . . do we see erected within few miles of this city by tradesmen, . . . while the seats and castles of the antient gentry, like their families, look *worn out*, and fallen into *decay*; witness the noble house of Sir *John Eyles*, himself a Merchant, at *Giddy-hall* near *Rumford* . . ." Daniel Defoe, "The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters,"[n.p.] 1726, 372-78, in *English Historical Documents, 1714-1783*, ed. D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome, English Historical Documents Series (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1957), nos.143, 525.

"DEAR BOY: I am glad to hear that you went to see the Lord Mayor's Show. . . . You know then, to be sure, that the Lord Mayor is the head of the city of London, and that there is a new Lord Mayor chosen every year; that the city is governed by the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common Council. There are six-and-twenty Aldermen, who are the most considerable tradesmen of the city. The Common Council is very numerous, and consists likewise of tradesmen; who all belong to the several companies, that you saw march in the procession, with their colours and streamers. The Lord Mayor is chosen every year out of the court of Aldermen. There are but two lord mayors in England; one for the city of London, and the other for the city of York. The mayors of the other towns are only called mayors, not Lord mayors." *The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield to his Son*, ed. Charles Strachey and Annette Calthorp (London: Methuen, 1901), I: 57.

[2] Frances Shirley, fourth daughter of Robert, first Earl Ferrers, lived at Twickenham with her aunt, Lady Huntingdon, and was pursued for many years by Lord Chesterfield. "I had a letter from [Lord] Scarborough, acquainting me that he and Chesterfield were set out for C. Stanhope's. It gave me great joy to hear Chesterfield was removed, though for never so short a time, from Twickenham. Chartley (a seat of the late Earl of Ferrers) is near C. Stanhope's, and now belongs to the Lady Ferrers and Mr. Shirley. I hope none of that family are gone so far from London in this bad weather. [i.e., to be pestered by visits from Lord Chesterfield]." Sir Thomas Coke, Lord Lovell (d. 1759), Holkham, to the Hon. G. Berkeley (second husband of Lady Suffolk), 23 July 1735, in Suffolk, *Letters* , II: 126.

[3] M. de Saussure writes of the preceding year's Show (London, February 1726): "The populace on [Lord Mayor's Day] is particularly insolent and rowdy, turning into lawless freedom the great liberty it enjoys. At these times it is almost dangerous for an honest man, and more particularly a foreigner, if at all well dressed, to walk in the streets, for he runs a great risk of being insulted by the vulgar populace, which is the most cursed brood in existence. He is sure of not only being jeered at and . . . bespattered with mud, but as likely as not dead dogs and cats will be thrown at him, for the mob makes a provision beforehand of these playthings. . ." Saussure, 111.

[4] "Trainband, train-band. Now *Hist*. [Abbrev. of *trained band*: . . . A trained company of citizen soldiery, organized in London and other parts in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Also occas. applied to similar forces in other countries, e.g. the French *arière -ban*." *OED*.

[5] Lord Mayors' banquets were held at Guildhall. Saussure, 111.

[6] i.e. treated them like royalty.

[7] Not identified.

[8]A closet was a small room providing personal space: one of the few places in the house where the well-to-do could escape the eyes and ears of their servants. Leading from it there might be a water-closet, or toilet, and basin. A closet in Prince George of Denmark's apartment led "to a little place with a seat of easement of marble with sluices of water to wash all down." There was identical provision in the Queen's apartment. Such facilities were widespread by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but still novel enough to be noteworthy. By 1730, it was possible for country houses to have running water on all floors, and "as many baths and water-closets as its owner wanted or could afford." However, little use was made of such innovations over the next half-decade, and until the invention of a suitable valve to prevent smells and improve efficiency, outdoor earth closets were preferred to indoor water-closets. Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980),

52, 252, 256; *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris (London: The Cresset Press, 1947), 358-9, in Girouard, 253.

[9] The Lord Mayor's investiture was marked by a splendid procession by barge and on horseback. There is a delightful account of this in Van Muyden, 109, and of his banquet, 270, very briefly excerpted in the Headnotes above.

[10] This is Lady Llanover's reading: the Ms. is torn where the seal has been removed.

[11] Not identified.

[12] "You see firstly a large body of the lower officers of police called constables, carrying a thick staff, on which the arms of the King are painted, this staff being their mark of office. These constables walk two and two. Then follows a deputation of from fifteen to twenty persons from the principal merchant corporations, all wearing blue cloaks and walking by fours together; they are followed by several magistrates. Next come five-and-twenty aldermen wearing long scarlet robes bordered with marten. Those who have previously filled the office of Lord Mayor wear a heavy chain of gold hanging down to their waists." Saussure, 109-110.

[13] "Robings": an eighteenth-century term for front edges of the robe which were pleated back over the face of the garment. Rothstein, 175.

[14] "SCOLLOP, . . . a Shell Fish; also a Sort of indenting of any Thing." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[15] "GALLOON, . . . a kind of Silk or Ferret-Ribbon. FERRET, . . . a little Creature like a Weesel, serviceable in catching Rabbets: Also a sort of Ribbon. To FERRET, to search out narrowly or force out". Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[16] This was a family pet name for MP's brother Bernard.

[17] "A PLAISTER . . . a Medicine to be laid on a Sore, or pained Place *&c.*" Bailey, *Dictionary*. This was probably a compress of vinegar and brown paper.

[18] This postscript is written on folded part of the exterior of the letter.

Letter 16

Transcript of Letter 16

AL, NT, I: 11/16; LL. I: 144-6

[Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville the Deanery/Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

Somerset-House 11 Nov$^{r.}$ 1727

I promised you in my last letter to answer all the particulars of yours which I now will endeavour to perform tho$^{\wedge.}$ I am in expectation of the Cara Countess [1] to call on me to take a Jaunt[2] into the City, but I hope a Lazey fitt or D$^{r.}$ Robert[3] will make her lye long abed this morning that I may not be interrupted. I told you all I knew about my Lord Mayors feast as for the Multitude of Beaus you tax us here with I assure you except some particulars we could spare them you without a Sigh at parting they are of so little Consequence, but though they are of no great Value among us they would make a fine show in a Countrey Church. I am sorry your Noble Marquis[4] is Stupid I am affraid he will not deserve so good a Ballad to [be] made on him as patient Grizel[5] [;] his Goddess[6] is in Town, I see her sometimes. I was yesterday at the Rehearsal of M$^{r.}$ Handels new Opera call'd King Richard the first,[7] tis delightfull. there I saw Capt$^{n.}$ Elliot,[8] I was in Lady Sunderlands Box M$^{rs.}$ Dashwood & Miss Peyton with me, & he came & Sate behind me, I reminded him of his Promise about the poor man[9] and [he] said he had spoke about him and would try further, he goes to Quarters next Tuesday to Warwick. you ask me if Lady Mayoress was young or Handsome. I answer she was neither.

Masquerades[10] are not to be forbid but there is to me[11] another entertainment [,] bare faced [,] which are Balls. there is twelve Subscriber[s] every Subscriber pays ten Guineas a Night, and is to have three Ticketts to dispose of two of them to Ladies and the other to a Gentleman, that will make up four and twenty Couple, there is to be a Handsome Colation,[12] and they will hire Heideggers Rooms[13] to perform in; some Prudes already have attack'd the Reputation of those Ladies that will accept of the Ticketts, but as all the Subscribers are Men of the first Quality and most of them married Men I don't see what Scandal can ensue, only Spitefull people make harm of everything. there is to be no spectators nor Ticketts to be sold, and there is to be twelve of these Balls. I am sorry my Mama has any perplexing thoughts about her present undertaking[14] because it will be in her power to quit it provided it does not answer her purpose, I hope she has her Health and that God Almighty will continue her that Blessing and then I fancy She will find a Chimney corner, of her own with Such a Companion as my Sister very Comfortable and Happy. I share your <Sallys affliction> I am [in] no danger of feeling such a Sorrow for my Self, My Dearest Friend and Sister has that foundation of Honour as to make her incapable of the least infidelity, Secure in that oppinion, I give a loose to my Inclination and love you and trust you, being confident I never can be betray'd nor meet with any other return to my Friendship but the Tenderest Sincerest affection. My best wishes attend all Friends at Gloucester and hum^ble^ Service. make my Compliments to the fair Society, & though it, is allmost a pity to part you I cannot but wish the knott was broke,[15] I mean that another should be tyed I would not have you seperated, but instead of a Virgin Meeting making Tippitts[16] and tyeing of Ribbons you should help one another in a More Material way, and prepare for a young Society.[17] to speak Seriously Matrimony is no way in My favour, farr from it for I would much rather see you all as you are unless you each of you mett with a Man worthy of you, but that I realy think is hardly to be found, therefore you are better as ye are, were ye but in my reach, high ho!

that thought damps my Spirits and Spoyls many a pretty thing I had thought of before that Melancholy reflection came in my way. Monimia[18] is out in her conjectures Memnon[19] trembled and lookd pale when I said She had been ill, he speaks to me only to have an opportunity of Naming her. now for the modes [:] undrest people[20] wear all Sort of Second Mourning[21] & unless they go to Court, then they must wear black Silk or black velvett there is great libertyes taken in dress every Body pleases themselves, a great many people curl the Hair round the face, the young and handsome become it. Ribbon is not very much wore; M^{r}· Wise[22] has been in Town sometime & is very well he told me he had writ to my Mother or I had mention'd him sooner. I am very glad my Bro^{r}· Bevill is in France it is what I advis'd him to long ago & the only Secure Step he could take for as he has managed his affairs I doubt he could not have Staid in England with any Security.[23] You have given me many instances of your Friendship but I believe I must esteem the last as the greatest I ever received to Stay from College[24] prayers where your time would have been so well employ'd was an Indulgence I acknowledge with many thanks, poor Ha, Ha,[25] has undergone great Misfortunes he must take a Companion of another kind to make amends for those he has lost.[26] I saw him one Night at the play he stood just behind me, I was forced to bite my tongue to keep it quiett, I was in an agony to ask him after you and I thought he would take me for a Creature with great assurance to attack him without encouragement; you can think what a Struggle it was to me to deny my Self that vast Satisfaction. What is Monsieur Fenelon.[27] you shall have Cyrus[28] as soon as I can get him adieu I am forever

Yours:

My humble Duty to my Dear Mama the Compliments of this place attend you all. I go to Night to the Opera with Lady Oxford[29]

Notes

[1] i.e., Lady Sunderland.

[2] "to JAUNT . . . to drive a Horse about till he sweat[;] to trot or trudge up and down." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[3] Not identified.

[4] Not identified.

[5] The ballad MP mentions may have referred to the singer, Anastasia Robinson, who "finally submitted to the advances of the eccentric John Mordaunt" while singing the lead role in Bononcini's *Griselda* in 1723. The folk tale, made famous by Chaucer and Boccaccio, of the low-born country girl who marries a marquis, would have been especially poignant to Robinson, since *Griselda* "brought her to [Mordaunt's] arms and to a love-nest on Parson's Green, where she quickly won friends among the aristocracy by her charm and discretion in putting up with the crotchety warrior (Patient Grissel, we gather, was not in it) . . ." Since she refused to become his mistress, he married her in secret, but refused to acknowledge her as his wife for many years, until "a wasting illness and the triumph of her devout Christian principles brought him to his senses." Jonathan Keates, *Handel: The Man and his Music* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985), 104. Mary Delany was a witness to the affecting scene, and wrote an account of it; see Ll.. I: 72-4.

[6] Not identified.

[7] *Richard the First, King of England/Riccardo I, Re d'Inghilterra* premièred on the day of this letter, 11 November 1727, at the King's Theatre. It was a coronation opera fortuitously composed by Handel six months earlier, having a libretto by Paolo Rolli and published with parallel English and Italian texts. MP perhaps intends "the day before yesterday", since the *Daily Journal* for 9 November reported: "Yesterday the new Opera of King Richard I was in Rehearsal . . . where was a prodigious Concourse of Nobility." Burling, 124; *The London Stage*, II: 942.

[8] ". . . my Lord Grantham, though highly displeased at his daughter's marrying Captain Elliott of Churchill's regiment without his consent, yet expressed some consolation that he is by family a gentleman, though son to a laceman. She is 37 years old, and therefore my Lord says he could not absolutely hinder her from marrying, but he is not obliged to let his estate go to a son-in-law he was averse to,

and therefore will so secure it that if he shall hereafter be reconciled to her, the Captain shall be never the better for it, or get more by her than the 10,000 *l.* fortune which my Lord cannot hinder her of." Egmont, *Diary*, Thursday 16 June 1737, II: 414.

[9] Not identified, but presumably a man who was in need of a commission in the army.

[10] Masquerades regularly incurred the wrath of the clergy: "Heydegger is much in fear the Bishops won't let his masquerades appear, till the Plague's over. I am told, however, the King thinks that no very Stanch reason." Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle, 16 November 1721 in Highfill et al., VII: 235.George I was in favour of masquerades, but was once prevailed upon to sign a proclamation against them. Heidegger (see n. 13 below) merely changed their name to *ridotti* and invited the King to the next one. Ibid.

There had been a rumour of a royal ban the preceding month: "Last Monday Night, there was a Masquerade at the Theatre in the Hay Market, and we hear, that 'tis her Majesty's Request that there may be no more Entertainments of that kind this Season." *Parkers Penny Post*, Friday October 20, reporting news from London, 16 October 1727. See Figs. 15 and 19.

[11] "Me" is a slip of the pen for "be".

[12] "COLLATION, a handsome Treat or Entertaiment . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[13] Heidegger began holding masquerades at the Queen's Theatre in 1711 (or perhaps earlier) and continued to do so for thirty years. They earned him an annual income of about £5,000, and a present of £1,000 from George I. Highfill et al., VII: 233, 238.

[14] "This alluded to Mrs. Granville's change of residence and permanent settlement at Gloucester." Ll. I: 145.

[15] "the knot", i.e., the bond between AG and her girlfriends.

[16] A tippet was a short cape, (although functionally, it seems to have been more like a scarf) worn throughout the century, usually with a matching muff. It was draped around the neck and shoulders with long falling ends in front, and usually consisted of sable or ermine, but feather tippets were also worn. Cunnington, *Handbook*, 152. See Fig. 20.

[17] ". . . prepare for a Young Society": perhaps that of young men, or of growing families, after matrimony.

[18] See Letter 9, n. 29.

[19] Not identified.

[20] "undrest people": i.e. those not dressed formally for Court attendance or public events. Coat materials for "undress', for example, included: "cloth, camlet, frieze, drab, shag, duffle, plush, doily, damask, cut velvet, and satin, whereas gold stuff, silver stuff, brocade, flowered velvet and embroidered cloth were suitable for Court and Dress." Cunnington, *Handbook*, 71.

[21] "I put on my public mourning for the death of the Princess of Anspach, sister-in-law to the Queen. We dress without buttons, but in white gloves, sham[m]y shoes and weepers, and the ladies in crape hoods, which is looked on as strange by a great many, who wonder we should mourn as deep almost as for the Royal family, she not being in any way related to the Crown." Egmont, *Diary*, Friday 9 January 1729/30, I: 1.

[22] See Letter 7, n. 11.

[23] See Letter 2, n. 25.

[24] The College School was a very ancient boys' school, for sons of the local gentry, clergy and professional people. It was founded ca. 1541 and situated within the precincts of Gloucester Cathedral. Anne and Mrs. Granville might have attended services there, since they lived in the nearby Deanery. *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. II, ed. William Page (London: Archibold and Constable, 1907), 315, 321, 322. See Fig. 3.

[25] "Ha Ha": Lord Henry, or 'Harry' Hervey, brother of John, Lord Hervey of Ickworth. Variously referred to by MP as "Ha Ha", "Mar's pocket pistol", "Apollo's Imp", "Tiny".

[26] Not identified.

[27] François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715), eminent seventeenth-century churchman, tutor to the Duke of Bourgogne (1682-1712), grandson of Louis

XIV, for whom he wrote *Télémaque*, the mythological story of the education of Télémaque (Telemachus), son of Ulysses, in the morality and politics of kingship. The work follows Télémaque's Mediterranean search for his father and presents him with good and bad forms of government, and also expounds Fénelon's own political views, while indirectly criticizing the warmongering, luxury and despotism of Louis XIV. Sandra W. Dolbow, *Dictionary of Modern French Literature from the Age of Reason through Realism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) s. v. "Fénelon".

[28] "Cyrus . . . *n*. . . . 2. called [Cyrus] *the Younger*. died (*sic*) 401 B.C. Persian satrap of Lydia: revolted against his brother Artaxerxes II, but was killed in the battle of Cunaxa. " *Collins English Dictionary*.

Cyrus, or *Odio ed Amore*, an opera by [?Buononcini] and Rolli, premièred on Saturday 20 May 1721. *The London Stage*, II: 630.

"Cyrus" is the pseudonym MP later uses for John Wesley, founder of Methodism, apparently having fully apprehended, even at this early period (1726-27) the tenets by which he lived, and which would shape the Methodist movement: ". . . Xenophon's idealized description of *Cyrus*' court, which is presented as a vision of beauty for its own enjoyment, due to the perfect dominion that each individual exercised over himself; the ruler publicly exhibited a mastery and a restraint that spread to everyone, issuing out from them, according to the rank they held, in the form of a moderate conduct, a respect for oneself and others, a careful supervision of the soul and body, and a frugal economy of acts, . . . the individual fulfilled himself as an ethical subject by shaping a precisely measured conduct that was plainly visible to all . . ." Michel Foucault, "The Use of Pleasure", vol. 2, *The History of Sexuality* (London: Penguin Books, 1984), 91.

[29] Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only child and heiress of John Duke of Newcastle. She married, 31 October 1713, Edward, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He died in June 1741. The Countess died on 8 December 1755. Their only child and heiress was Margaret Cavendish Harley, born 11 February 1714, and married 11 July 1734 to William, 2nd Duke of Portland. She was one of the early friends of Mary Granville, and in later life a very close friend of Mrs Delany. Ll. I: 104.

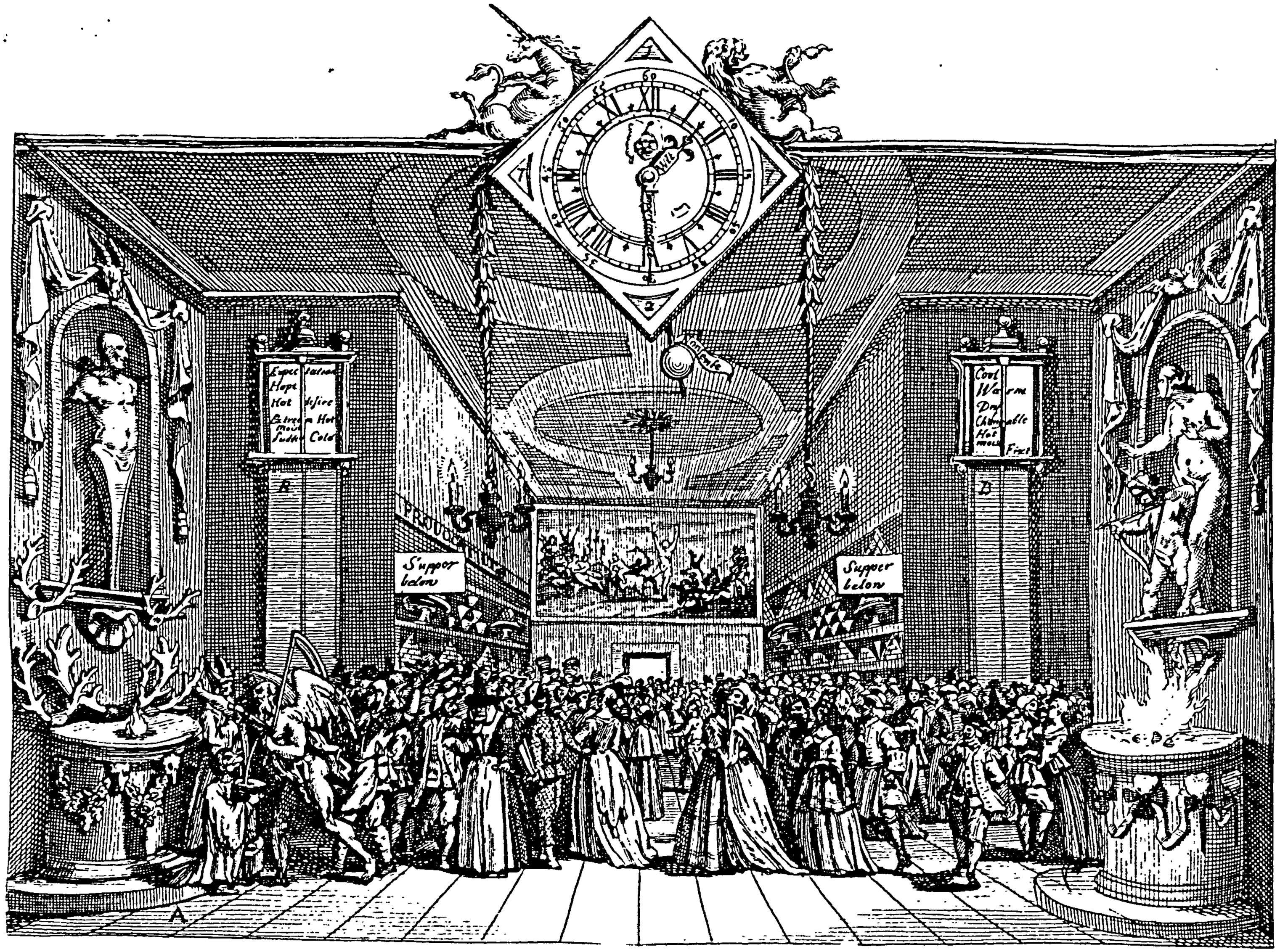

Fig. 19. Hogarth, masquerade ticket.

Tall-crowned hat. Note feather tippet and muff. (1792.)

Fig. 20. Tippet.

Letter 17

Excerpted Autobiography

> At my return to town [from Tunbridge, in the Autumn of 1727] he [Lord Baltimore] came to see me . . . he told me he was going to make a tour abroad for three months, and had fitted up a little vessel for that purpose; . . . before he went he had a request to make me, which, if I knew how great his regard was for me, and how much his happiness depended on it, I would not refuse him: he paused, and I was in such confusion I could not say a word, nor could I guess what this earnest request was to be. At last he begged me to give him my picture in miniature to take abroad with him. I told him it could not be . . . I absolutely refused him. He looked vexed and disappointed, but made me a thousand professions of love and esteem.
>
> So we parted, neither of us pleased with each other; I looked upon him as a flutterer, and was at a loss to know what his intentions were. He went to sea, and staid the greatest part of the winter.
>
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in Ll. I: 133).

Transcript of Letter 17

AL, NT I: 12/17; LL. I: 147-48

[From Mary Pendarves [Somerset House], London to Anne Granville, the Deanery/Eastgate St. Gloucester.]

[25th Novr. 1727][1]

When Friendship such as yours our Hours Bless
It sooths our Cares and makes Affliction Less

Opprest by Woes, from you I'm sure to __ Find
A Sovereign Cure, for my Distemper'd __ Mind
At Court, or Play, in Field, or Shady__ Grove
No Place can yeild Delight without y$^{r.}$ __Love.

When Me; with your Commands you Bless
My time is yours, nor can I offer __ Less
There so much Truth and Love I __ Find
That it with Transport fills my __ Mind
Happy to Live in unfrequented __ Grove
Assured of Faithfull Nanny's __ Love[2]

Although I have received a letter in the Packet [that came from] Gloucester to Brickhill,[3] I cannot say I am Satisfyed, three posts have pass'd and no letter, except that which was without a date, My Dearest Sister must excuse my troublesome Fears, but where two Such Friends as my Mother and your Self are the constant Object of my Tenderest thoughts I cannot help yeilding to my apprehensions when I miss hearing from you. now I know you blame my weakness & think your Sister a Simpleton, but I must say I am a little at ease since your letter that came to my Hands yesterday morning though not quite compos'd. you are very merry about your new Habitation.[4] I wish you merry in it, [&] I am glad you wont want light, but I doubt by your account you will be very much troubled with Wind. Which you must endeavour to expell by the force of good Liquors.[5] Allas you would fain make a Poett of me the words[6] you sent me are soft and pretty like your Self, and I have aim'd to tell you by their means a small part of what I feel b[u]^{t}. I find it a great difficulty to express my Sentim$^{ts.}$ on that Score, but you must think the rest for me, pray tell me the meaning of your Sending Those Words, I ought to be even with you & put you to your Witts end in return. therefore make Sense of these Six Words Tender, Render, Joy, Boy, Fasting, Lasting [.] I dined Yesterday at Lady Suns. her Girl is very well & like dada. I will take care of your letter to

France but you must not direct any more in that manner.[7] your other letters went to the Post last Night.[8] I did design you a long letter this post but haste prevents me dinner is just ready and I undrest adio[9] I am Faithfully Yours

Penelope

my humble Duty and Service as Due.
pray dont forgett to Date your letters

25th Novr. 1727

When I finish'd the other side of my paper I was affraid I should not find time to add to it, but I have Stole away to Say a little more to my Dearest Sister and to indulge my Self in this Darling employment I have read so much of Philosophy lately that I am convinced there is no real Happyness but in a Faithfull Friend, as Doctor Swift says in his Vanessa[10] it is a Rational delight. it fills the Mind with Generous Motives, and I must have a mean opinion of those, that call it Romantick.[11] it is the most improper Name for it in the World for the foundation of a worthy Friendship is truth. People may fancy themselves in Love, and work up their imagination to Such a Pitch as to realy believe themselves posses'd of that Passion, but I never yet heard of any Body's ~~professing~~ Carrying Friendship on by meer imagination. Herminius[12] is realy a pretty Boy but I am of your opinion and think he is not so bright within as without, but travelling will improve his Judgement and fancy.[13] Mr. Wise is now here & presents his humble Duty to Mama and you, he writ her a letter some time ago which he hopes She has received. last ~~Thur~~ Wednesday's was perform'd the Musick in Honour of St. Cecelia at the crown Tavern.[14] Dubourg[15] was the first fiddle and every Body says he exceeds all the Italiens even his Master Geminiani,[16] Senesino Cuzzoni and Faustina sung there some of the best Songs out of Several Operas, and the whole performance was farr beyond any Opera, I was very unlucky in not speaking to Dubourg about it for he told me this morning he could have got me in with all the ease in the World. one peice of extraordinary News I had almost forgott to tell you, which is the

Dutchess of Buckingham[17] and Doctor Chamberlayne[18] are parted, She has now no further Busyness for him and so has sent him home to his Wife. I doubt Opera's will not survive longer than this winter they are now at their Last gasp, the Subscription is expired and no Body will renew it. the Directors are always squabbling, and they have so many divisions among themselves that I wonder they have not broke up before.[19] Senesino goes away next winter and I believe Faustina,[20] so you see Harmony is almost out of Fashion. I have been making up some packetts of Musick for Dublin, our Friends[21] are certainly safe[ly arrived] there but the wind continues contrary for the return of the packett boats.[22] I beg pardon for not having lately enquired after your Pussey I hope she is well, all the Animals belonging to this House are in good Case. pray did you go to the Fair & had you any merry <doings> . I hope at this instant you are laughing very Heartily and eating Oysters, pray let me know how the fish proves. I expect an answer to every paragraph I believe this is the fourth letter you have to answer. once more farewell

I am eternally Yours

Notes

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[1] The date is written below MP's signature at the end of the letter, perhaps to tease AG, as the latter had apparently forgotten to date her own previous letter.

[2] AG has sent MP six words to incorporate into verse, a fashionable game, or *bout rimé*, amongst correspondents of the day. In theme it echoes the paraphrasing of St. Evremond in Letter 10.

[3] It seems that Anne and Mrs. Granville have posted a packet of letters to Brickhill, and one of the Duncombe family, visiting London, has delivered it by hand to MP, thereby saving postage costs.

[4] The "new habitation" may have been on Eastgate Street in Gloucester.

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[5] A pun. "The WIND, . . . the Current or Stream of the Air, which runs or blows from some one of the 32 Points of the Compass; Air pent up in the Body of an Animal, Breath, Breathing, Scent."

"LIQUOR, LIQUOUR} . . . any Thing that is Liquid, Drink, Juice, Water *&c.*" Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[6] See n. 2 above.

[7] Possibly a letter to their uncle Lansdowne, *persona non grata* in England, or one of the Butler family, also in exile in France.

[8] These letters were doubtless enclosed in the packet which came from Brickhill.

[9] i.e., "adieu".

[10] When Esther, or Hester, Vanhomrigh ("Vanessa") (d.1723), the daughter of Swift's friends and his protégée, twenty-one years his junior, fell passionately in love with him, he wrote *Cadenus and Vanessa* (1713) in an attempt to remedy the situation. The poem was not intended for publication, but appeared in pirated editions in 1726, with scandalous repercussions. Unsurprisingly, it recommends platonic rather than romantic love:

> *Love* why do we one passion call,
> When 'tis a compound of them all?
> Where hot and cold, where sharp and sweet,
> in all their equipages meet;
> Where pleasures mix'd with pains appear,
> Sorrow with joy, and hope with fear;
> Wherein his dignity and age
> Forbid Cadenus to engage.
> But friendship, in its greatest height
> *A constant, rational delight*,
> On virtue's basis fix'd, to last
> When love's allurements long are past,
> Which gently warms, but cannot burn,
> He gladly offers in return;
> His want of passion will redeem
> With gratitude, respect, esteem:
> With that devotion we bestow
> When goddesses appear below.

"Cadenus and Vanessa", lines 790-807, *The Oxford Authors: Jonathan Swift*, ed. Angus Ross and David Woolley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 353, my emphasis.

[11] "ROMANTICK, [*romanesque, F.*] belonging to or that favours of a Romance". Bailey, *Dictionary*.

"Romantic . . . *a.* and *sb.* . . . b. Having no real existence; imaginary; purely ideal. *Obs.*" . . . 1711 G. HICKES *Two Tr. Chr. Priesth.* (1847) I.214 He must give them priests without human infirmities; if I may say it, romantic priests." *OED*.

[12] Lord Baltimore.

[13] "FANCY, . . . Imagination." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[14] The St. Cecilia's Day concert was on 22 November 1727, at the Crown and Anchor. Highfill et al., IV: 117.

[15] Matthew Dubourg (1703-1767), violinist and composer. He became Geminiani's pupil when the latter came to England in 1714. He went to Dublin in 1724, but returned in 1727. He seems to have been one of the party when MP accompanied Mrs. Clayton to Ireland in 1731. He played in the St. Cecilia Day concert at the Crown and Anchor on 22 November 1727, and returned to Dublin in 1728, where he became leader of the Viceroy's band, and wrote many birthday odes for the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Carteret) He played in the first performance of *The Messiah* on 13 April 1742. "His contribution to the progress of violin playing in England and Ireland was considerable". Highfill et al., IV: 486.

[16] Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), violinist and composer. He studied under Lonati, Scarlatti and Corelli. He came to London in 1714 as teacher, composer and virtuoso performer. He also became an art dealer, but his false provenances landed him in gaol, whence he was released by a pupil, Lord Essex. From 1724 to 1727 he was musical director at the Philo Musicae Society, whose concerts were performed at the Queen's Head Tavern near Temple Bar. During the 1720s he was recognized as London's premier virtuoso performer, despite infrequent public appearances. In 1728 Lord Essex obtained for him the post of Master and Composer of the State Music of Ireland, but he did not take it, and Dubourg was appointed in his stead. Highfill et al., VII: 133-34.

[17] Catherine Darnley (1682-1743), illegitimate daughter of King James II, and Catherine Sedley. She married first, James Earl of Anglesea, and after his death, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, as his third wife. Ll. I: 157, n. "She was extravagantly proud of her descent from James, and affected to be the head of the

Jacobite party in England". She endeavoured to lease Buckingham House to the Prince of Wales, later George II, but drove too hard a bargain: "If their Royal Highnesses will have every thing stand as it does, furniture and pictures, I will have three thousand pounds per annum; both run hazard of being spoiled, and the last, . . . will be all to be new bought whenever my son is of age. The quantity the rooms take cannot be well furnished under ten thousand pounds; but if their Highnesses will permit the pictures all to be removed, and buy the furniture as it will be valued by different people, the house shall go at two thousand pounds." The Duchess of Buckingham to Mrs. Howard, [1 Aug. 1723], Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 114-5. The Brunswicks refused, and the Duchess left the house to John, Lord Hervey for life, when he married his eldest daughter, Lepel, to the Duchess's heir. Hervey, *Memoirs*, I: lvi.

[18] Hugh Chamberlen, the younger (1664-1728), fashionable London physician and accoucheur. He married three times, but "seems to have preferred the society of the old Duchess of Buckingham and Normanby to that of his wife. His own house was in King Street, Covent Garden, but he spent much time and at last died in the Buckingham House which occupied part of the site of the present Buckingham Palace. . . . A monument to Chamberlen, put up by the son of the Duchess . . . disfigures the north choir aisle of Westminster Abbey." *DNB*.

[19] Opera mania was at its height in the 1720s, and when *Astianatte* was repeated on 6 June 1727, rival fans of the divas Faustina (led by the Countess of Pembroke) and Cuzzoni (led by The Countess of Burlington) caused a near-riot: "The Contention at first was only carried on by Hissing on one Side, and Clapping on the other; but proceeded at length to Catcalls, and other great Indecencies: And notwithstanding the Princess Carolina was present, no Regards were of Force to restrain the Rudenesses of the opponents . . . " *British Journal* , 10 June 1727, in Highfill et al., V: 189; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds., *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), document no. 3163, II: 668.

"As to Opera feuds, they are hotter than ever. . . . both Cuzzoni and Faustina were so hissed and cat-called last Tuesday that the Opera was not finished that night: nor have the Directors dared to venture the representation of another since. They both threaten to go, but with a little bullying will infallibly stay . . . " Lord Hervey to Henry Fox, 13 June [1727], *Lord Hervey and His Friends, 1726-38*, ed. Lord Ilchester (London: John Murray, 1950), 18.

A satirical pamphlet published in late June, 1727, *The Devil to Pay at St. James's: or, A full and true Account of a most horrible and bloody battle between Madam Faustina and Madam Cuzzoni, etc.* claimed: "it is not now, as formerly, i.e. are you High Church or Low, Whig or Tory; are you for Court or Country; King George or the Pretender; but are you for Faustina or Cuzzoni . . . Handel or Bononcini, there's the Question." Milhous and Hume, *Register*, document no. 3370, II: 719; Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 205. The opera season was curtailed and although the Academy staged operas again in 1727-28, quarrels within the company and within the board of directors scuppered the 1728-29 opera season. Highfill et al., VII: 239.

[20] In a letter of 31 October 1727, the impresario Owen Swiney wrote to the Duke of Richmond that the two opera singers are threatening not to return to London, and again recommended Nicolini. Faustina had been complaining bitterly about not being paid her last year's salary. Elizabeth A. Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music (1719-1728):The Institution and its Directors*, unpublished dissertation, King's College, University of London, 1985, II: 89.

[21] MP probably refers to the Carterets. John, Lord Carteret was re-appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on 29 July 1727, after the death of George I on 11 June that year: i.e., he continued in this capacity under the new monarch, and returned to Dublin in November to open the new parliament. According to Swift, with whom he was friendly, Carteret "had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of the kingdom than most of his predecessors"; it would seem that his administration was generally popular. He "occasionally presented unimportant pieces of preferment to Swift's friends", including, and to the disgust of "the more violent whigs", the Tory clergyman Dr. Patrick Delany, later to be MP's husband. *DNB*.

[22] i.e., the Carterets will have arrived safely, but because of the weather, it is not yet possible to send them packages.

Letter 18

Transcript of Letter 18

AF, NT I: 13/18; Ll. I: 150-2

[Mary Pendarves, [Northend, Fulham] to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

Friday New Years Day 1727/28[1]
[Northend][2]

I must again repeat my wishes for my Dearest Sister that she may be blest with many very Happy New Years Nothing can be more self interested than I am in that wish, my Peace of Life depends upon it. you are the Cordial Drop Heaven in my Cup has thrown[3] & C. __ I unwilling submitted last post to a painfull Silence. Our mornings to tell you the truth are Strangely dangled[4] and I who am no friend to Idleness am obliged to Saunter[5] away a great deal of time. Mrs. Tilliers ill Health makes her lye long a bed in a morning so that our Curtains are not drawn till near Ten, I huddle[6] on my Cloaths and am summons'd to breakfast at my aunts Tea Table the ceremony of which generally lasts till twelve, by that time the necessary Duty's of the morning are over, part of which the Toylett[7] engrosses [,] 'tis too [sic] or three , then what time have I to write why after dinner, and then I am liable to impertinent Visits or am engaged to go abroad this Sketch of my Life is to show you that it is some days impossible for me to find an hour to write. there is nothing that can make me amends for Robbing of one moments conversation ^with you^ but I frequently meet with those interruptions or my letters should be as regular as the return

of the Day. thus farr of my Epistle was writ last Night. I have received my Dear Mama's Obliging letter & your P:S: and will pay my duty and thanks next post in a more particular manner, but now I hope she will accept of both at your Hands. I am glad Mr. Stanley[8] has made you a visit I find he knew what would make him welcome, I suppose the young fellow that has struck your fancy was Bob Scawen,[9] he is a Smart one I assure you, he could have given you a full and true account of all our Pranks[10] at Tunbridge; his Father and Mother I believe are two the most Miserable Parents that ever lived they have had abundance of Children all very Handsome except Bob and his Eldest brother. one of her Daughters that was married to a Mr. Trenchard Cut her Own Throat[11] , Sr. John Shelly's Lady[12] (who was another) broke her neck off of her Horse,[13] another Daughter she has[,] almost distracted with the Vile usage of a brutish Husband,[14] and about a fortnight ago the Eldest Son[15] who is immensly Rich run quite mad [.] Sr. Thomas is a downright alderman,[16] but my Lady Scawen is a Sensible well bred Religious woman as ever was born, but was so miserable as to be mad herself whenever she was with Child. but at all other times a woman of Excellent Conduct in every Respect, I think I never knew a more Melancholly relation; but we may learn from them that Riches will not procure Happyness, for they are possest of all the Plenty and affluence of Fortune imaginable. I beg your pardon for telling you so sad a Tale, the Moral is good, & how thankfull ought we to be to Providence (though placed in an humble way of Life) that we have no such Terrors to struggle with, nay I think I should sooner envy a beggar the quiett possession of his Morsell, than those poor Peoples Greatness and Riches, embitter'd with the sorrows they feel. I believe I never told you of poor Mr. Heads[17] Death you must remember we jok'd with Mrs. Peyton[18] about him he dyed ab^t.^ a month ago very suddenly to the great grief of his acquaintance for they say he was a very Honest good young man. Lady Peyton and Mrs. Peyton are both ill with violent Colds Mrs. Dashwoods felt the Effect of the bad weather and indeed among all my acquaintance, I hear nothing ^ but

complaints of colds, but I thank God have hitherto escaped, I am going to dine with Lady Sunderland and am to go to the Opera with her. Mrs. Hyde[19] made me a visit yesterday her youngest Son has had a violent Feavour, and my God Daughter[20] is so ill in the Countrey that she fears she can't recover. Sr. John Stanley complains of his Spirits and want of Sleep and a[p]petite which alarm's us very much it being the same time of year he was taken ill of before, but I hope it is only a little Effect of the Spleen and when the weather is better that he will also brighten up. I had a very kind long letter last post from Lady Carteret with a Copy of verses made by a Lady[21] which I design'd sending you this post, but last Night I show'd them to Piggy[22] and she seiz'd them and said I should not have them again till next post. I have writ you the Dullest letter that ever was penn'd, excuse it and I will endeavour to make amends another Day, tis not that I am in a Vapourish[23] way, farr from it, for I am in as good Spirits as Health [ends]

Notes

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[1] "Monday there was a very numerous Court at St. James's, where there was a Song sung by Mr. Hughes, to congratulate their Majesties on the Entrance of the New Year." *The London Journal,* no. 440, Saturday 6 January 1727/8.

[2] From the evidence of the text, MP is staying with the Stanleys, and since Lady Stanley is evidently not on duty at Somerset House, it seems likely that they were at Northend.

[3] MP quotes from Rochester's *Letter from Artemisia, in the Town, to Cloe in the Country*:

Love, the most generous passion of the mind,
The softest refuge innocence can find,
The safe director of unguided youth,
Fraught with kind wishes, and secured by truth,
That Cordial-drop Heav'n in our cup has thrown,
To make the nauseous Draught of Life go down.

The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. David M. Vieth, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 105, lines 40-5, my emphasis.

[4] "to DANGLE, . . . to hang or swing to and fro." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[5] "to SAUNTER, . . . to go riding up and down." Ibid.

[6] "to HUDDLE, To put up Things after a confus'd Manner." Ibid.

[7] "TOILET, [*Toilette, F.*] a fine Cloth spread upon a Table in a Bed-Chamber, or in a Lady's Dressing-Room." Ibid. - and by extension, the activities of washing, making-up, etc.

[8] ? Mr. Edward Stanley, the lawyer.

[9] ? A relative of William Scawen, a great business magnate, "Hamburg Merchant" and director of the East India Company, who probably purchased the family seat, Carshalton House, in Epsom, from Sir John Fellowes, the owner in 1719/20. Fiennes, 341; Girouard, 254. See also n. 15 below.

[10] "A PRANK, . . . a shrewd or unlucky Trick." Bailey, *Dictionary*. i.e. a practical joke.

[11] Not identified.

[12] "Sir John Shelley, fourth Baronet of that name, married first, Catherine, daughter of Alderman Sir Thomas Scawen, Knt." Ll. I: 151, n.

[13] "On Saturday last, a melancholy Accident happen'd at the Seat of Sir John Shelly, Bart. at Mitchel Grove, in Sussex; where Sir John, his Lady, and Mr. Shelly his Brother, . . . having diverted themselves with Fishing, rode together in their Park. The Lady's Horse taking a sudden Fright, ran away with her between two Thorn-Bushes, so that Sir John and his Brother could not readily pursue. After much Search about the Park, the unfortunate Lady was found by her Husband lying on the Ground, with her Face dreadfully cut: Surgeons were sent for from Chichester, and all possible means used for her Recovery; but on Monday Morning she expir'd. She was Daughter to Sir Thomas Scawen, one of the Aldermen of this City, and Sister to Thomas Scawen, of St. James's Square, Esq; who came Post yesterday from

Northamptonshire, on account of this Misfortune." *Parkers Penny Post*, Monday 10 October 1726.

[14] Not identified. MP omits the youngest daughter from this catalogue of woe, but could have mentioned that she died in 1725: "On Thursday last, Mrs. Mary Scawen, ... who lately [August 5th] died of a Consumption at Cashalton was very splendidly interr'd at Horton near Colebrook." *Parkers Penny Post*, 23 August 1725.

[15] "How are the antient families worn out by time and family misfortunes, and the estates possess'd by a new race of tradesmen, grown up into families of gentry, and establish'd by the immense wealth gain'd, . . . behind the counter . . . ? . . . AT (*sic*) this very day we see the son of Sir *Thomas Scawen* match'd into the ducal family of *Bedford*, . . . whose ancestors, within the memory of the writer of these sheets, were tradesmen in *London* . . ." Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters*, *1726*, 372-378, in *English Historical Documents 1714-1783*, ed. Mary Ransome, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1957), document no. 143. "Thomas Scawen of Carshalton in the County of Surrey, Esq; Son of Sir Thomas Scawen, Knt. Alderman of London, marry'd to Mrs. Russel, only Daughter and Heir of the Lord James Russel." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, X, 8 June 1725.

[16] Aldermen seem to have had a reputation for being fogey-ish: MP refers to a generic *fusty alderman* in letter 22.

[17] Not identified.

[18] Mrs. Peyton was either a widow like MP, or a single woman old enough to be called "Mrs." She is mentioned in several of the letters of this period as a friend who went with MP to social events.

[19] See Letter 4, n. 15.

[20] ? Mrs. Hyde's daughter. If MP's god-daughter Sarah, daughter of Sarah (Kirkham) Chapone were ill, AG would probably know before her sister did, since the Chapones lived in Gloucestershire.

[21] Not identified.

[22] "Piggy" is not identified, unless she was Lady Betty Lee. See Letter 12, n. 18.

[23] "VAPOURS, [among *Physicians*] a Disease, call'd otherwise *Hysterick* or *Hypochondriack* Fits, Fits of the Mother. MOTHER, . . . a Disease in that Part where the Child is formed: Also the Womb it self. HYSTERICK PASSION, . . . Fits of the Mother, a Disease in Women, according to some, a Convulsion of the Nerves of the *Pargavum* and *Intercostal* in the *Abdomen*, proceeding from a pricking Irritation and Explosion of the Spirits." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

Letter 19

Excerpted Autobiography

After Lord Baltimore had been at sea

> the greatest part of the winter . . . [i]t was reported . . . that his ship was cast away; he was much lamented by everybody, and I own I was not insensible on the occasion. One night as I was at the drawing-room, who should I see but Herminius making up to the circle. I was so prepossessed with his being drowned that had I really seen his apparition I could not have been more startled. As soon as he had been noticed by the King , . . . he came up to me: he looked dejected and ill, which I attributed to the great fatigues he had gone through. . . . he came and sat down by me, and expressed great satisfaction at seeing me again. I felt in some confusion, and to disguise it rallied him on his stratagem of giving out that he was cast away to try how his friends would lament him. He answered, it was very indifferent to him what effect the report had on the generality of the world: he wished he could know how I had been affected on the occasion for that was of more consequence to him? I told him very honestly and artlessly that I was much concerned, and felt great satisfaction in seeing him safe returned. I had no sooner said the words than I accused myself of having said too much, and was in such confusion that I was glad to . . . follow [Lady Sunderland] with whom I came to Court, and who proposed our going away. As I did not frequent public places much, and my aunt, I thought, would not approve of my seeing Herminius often at home, we seldom met that year, for I was out of town the greatest part of the summer, and the winter following. Towards the next spring [1730] I came to town and settled in a house [in Pall Mall] by myself.
> (Autobiographical letters to the Duchess of Portland in Ll. I: 133-4, 239).

Transcript of Letter 19

ALS, NT, I: 14/19; Ll. I: 152-5

[From Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

Somerset House 19 Jan$^{y.}$ 1727/8

My Dearest Sister

"O may I long the Sacred Pleasures know
Of Strictest Amity; nor ever want
A Friend, with whom I mutually may share
Gladness, and anguish, by kind intercourse
of Speech, and offices. may in my Mind,
Indelible a gratefull sense remain
Of Favours undeserv'd!" M$^{r.}$ Phillips's Poem on Cyder.[1]

Since my Confinements at home among other things to divert me I have read Cyder a Poem I have in very great Veneration, & the above written words speaking my own Sentiments I could not help transcribing them though I believe you are very well acquainted with them[.] I thank you for your letter which came to my hands last Night. I am now perfectly recover'd of all my Complaints and am sorry I gave you or Mama a moments anxiety I am so little us'd to sickness that I fancy my Self very bad when any thing ails me, though it should be but a pain in my finger. but I assure you I am now as well as ever I was in my Life. S$^{r.}$ John is pretty well but my Aunt is very much out of order M$^{rs.}$ Tillier has been very ill too but is now better, in short we have been a crazy[2] family. yesterday I din'd with Lady Sunderland she and her Babe are in good Health. Bess is always grumbling and

complaining of some part or other about her.[3] Your Harpsicord is not yet come when it does I will do my best about it. you may [keep] the Fables[4] a month longer if you please. to Night I go to the Opera with Lady Oxford. next Thursday there will be a Masquerade in the Hay Markett.[5] I believe I shall make one among them if I do I will give you a faithfull account of all Transactions there. Next Monday I go to the new Play[6] which is very much applauded, every body that has seen it commends it extreamly. I go with Lady Peyton and her family, we were to have gon yesterday but it being the first day I ventur'd abroad I thought it not discreet to run the Hazard of Heats and colds. yesterday in the afternoon I made some visits: Lady How,[7] Dutchess of Manchester,[8] M$^{rs.}$ Percival,[9] M$^{rs.}$ Cavendish,[10] and M$^{rs.}$ Page[11] found none at home but the last, who poor woman has had a melancholy confinement, her [maiden] Name was How a Sister of my Lady Pembrokes[12] an extream pretty woman[.] M$^{r.}$ Page married her for Love[.] her fortune which was but three Thousand pound She gave with his Consent to her youngest Sister, he is immensly Rich, and has vast expectations for S$^{r.}$ Gregory Page[13] his Brother is worth three Hundred thousand pounds at least has been married Several years and has no Children. this poor Gentleman for Sixteen year has been subject to a violent pain in one of his legs, the Effects of a Fevour, about half a year ago it broke out, and his Torment has been inexpressible, he would roar so loud that they could hear him a cross the street, a Terrible Sound for a Wife who loves him, at last a Surgeon that was accidently call'd in (for he has been sadly Mangled[14] and at last resolved to cut off his Leg) open'd his Leg Screwd out a peice of the Bone and has taken out the Marrow since that Operation he has recover'd wonderfully, when that visit was over I return'd to Lady Sunderland and we went together to the Princess Royalls [apartments] where was a vast croud of people and I return'd home about nine o' th' clock. Lord Thanet is Dead he has left but one Daughter unmarried Lady Bell Tufton a Handsome black woman;[15] her fortune 2000 tl which her Father has left her with this proviso not to marry Lord

Nassau Paulet, a hard injunction, they have long had an Inclination for one another[16] his Estate is about two Thousand a year but my Lord Thanett not thinking it sufficient for his Daughter forbids the Banes;[17] I have no Patience with his memory for it, who can judge of our Happyness but our Selfes, and if a thousand Pound a year and a great deal of Love will content me better than Ten Thousand with indifference, it is the reasonable Part to chuse that which will give me most Satisfaction[.] I have no Notion of Love and a Knap sack[18] but I cannot think Riches the only thing that ought to be consider'd in Matrimony. however this will prove[19] Lord Nassau's Love, if he does not persist in his address's to her now She will have reason to thank her father. I have not seen the Missons or Moody's a great while not having been abroad these twelve days. I long to see the Poetry, pray let me know the Author of it. I did design to fill my sheet of paper but I do not have time this morning so Adieu pray present my humble Duty to my Mama and Service in particular to Mrs. Viney pray ask her from me if she ^is^ Quamish[20] & I don't know howish in a morning I expect to be inform'd if it is thereabouts with her. my Compliments to all Friends and Pray make a Handsome Speech for me to Matt[21] for not having yet writ to her but my Eyes have been very much disorderd with my Cold I am for Ever yours

M Pendarves

Notes

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[1] John Philips (1676-1709) adapted Miltonic diction and metre to political and patriotic subjects and burlesque. Like MP, he was of a Tory-Royalist family. *The Splendid Shilling* (1705) discourses upon his lack of ready money, and was called "the finest burlesque poem in the English Language" by Addison. *Blenheim* (1705) describes the heroics of Marlborough. *Cerelia*, about beer, and *Cyder* are "English georgics", combining "practical agricultural advice with closely observed rural description and patriotic emotion." His work influenced that of Gay (in *Wine*), Thomson (*The Seasons*), Dyer (*The Fleece*) and Cowper (*The Task*). *Eighteenth-*

Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology, eds. David Fairer and Christine Gerrard, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 6.

[2] "CRAZY, . . . distempered, sickly, weak." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[3] i.e., subject to many small ailments.

[4] Possibly *Two court fables, apply'd to the late glorious coronation; with a short ode, on the first of March, being the anniversary of her Majesty's birth-day*. By Mr. [Daniel] Bellamy, (London: for Joseph Marshal, sold by J. Roberts, 1728).

[5] "There was a masquerade on Thursday last at the Haymarket Playhouse [Heidegger's King's Theatre]. By laying planks over the Pit, they made a continued floor as far as the Boxes, which were blocked up with pieces of fine painting, and two or three of the side Boxes left open for wine and other things. 'Twas of Heidegger's projecting; the price of tickets a guinea and a half, and not only so but they that took them were obliged to subscribe too for the next." Montague Bacon to LMWM, n.d., quoted in Highfill et al., VI: 237.

[6] ? *The Provok'd Husband; or A Journey to London* a comedy by John Vanbrugh and Colley Cibber, which premièred on 10 January 1728 at Drury Lane; or *Sesostris: or, Royalty in Disguise*, by John Sturmy, a tragedy, which premièred on 17 January 1728, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. If the former, it was not universally well-received: left unfinished at Vanbrugh's death, it was completed by Cibber, and on 13 January 1728, *Mist's Weekly Journal* complained: "On Wednesday last a most horrid, barbarous, and cruel Murder was committed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane, upon a posthumous child of the late Sir John Vanbroog, by one who, for some Time past, has gone by the name of KEYBER. It was a fine Child born, and would certainly have lived long, had it not fallen into such cruel Hands." Burling, 124; Milhous & Hume, *Register*, document no. 3395, p. 725.

[7] Sir Richard Howe, who represented the county of Wiltshire in nine parliaments, married, in 1673, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, Bart., of Kempsford, Gloucestershire, and sister of Thomas, 1st Viscount Weymouth. They had no children: he died in 1730, and his widow in 1735. Ll. I: 153.

[8] Isabella Montagu (d. 1786) married (16 April 1723) William Montagu (1700-1739), second Duke of Manchester. The marriage was unhappy. She was later engaged to Richard Lumley, second Earl of Scarborough, who committed suicide (29 January 1740). LMWM *Letters*, I: 22, n., 124, n, II: 173, n.

[9] Martha, daughter of Christopher Usher, Esq., of Dublin. She married Nehemiah Donellan, Esq., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and they had two daughters and one son. After Donellan's death, she married (12 June 1712) Philip Percival, brother of Sir John, fifth Baronet, later Earl of Egmont and author of the *Egmont Diary*. They had a son, Philip, who died in infancy, and a daughter who also died, "a year or two old". Philip Percival sat in the Irish Parliament in 1713. Ll. I: 213, n; Egmont, *Diary*, I: 204.

[10] Mrs. Cavendish died in ?August 1779, leaving "the greatest part of her estate to the Duke of Devonshire; . . . Latimers [a stately home] and all her curiosities to Lord George Cavendish, the Duke's youngest bro^{r}. A snuff-box and a seal or two to the Dr Dss. Portland, wch were what she had given her." Mary Delany to Mrs. Port, of Ilam, Bulstrode, 9 August 1779, in Ll. V: 454-5. She may have been Elizabeth, daughter of Lord James Cavendish, and wife of Richard, eldest son of Dr. Chandler, Bishop of Durham (d. 22 November 1769) who took her name by Act of Parliament. Ll. IV: 254.

[11] Judith, wife of Thomas Page, Esq., of Battlesden, co. Bedford, (second son of Sir Gregory Page of Greenwich, in Kent, Bart.), was the second daughter of Scroop, 1st Viscount Howe, by his second wife Juliana, daughter of William Lord Allington. Mrs. Page survived her husband, and died in 1780. Ll. I: 153.

[12] Mary (d. 1749) daughter of Scroop, 1st Viscount Howe, and third wife (1725) of Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (1656-1733). She married secondly (1735) Col. the Hon. John Mordaunt (ca.1709-1767) Ll. I: 153, LMWM, *Letters*, II: 26, n., II: 125, n. "The Earl of Pembroke last Monday Night married Miss How, the Maid of Honour. *The London Journal*, CCCVIII, 19 June 1725.

[13] Gregory Page of Greenwich, an eminent merchant, was created a baronet on 3 December 1714. He was for many years a Director of the East India Company, and M.P. for Shoreham. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Trotman of London, and died 25 May 1720. Their eldest son, Sir Gregory Page of Wricklemarth in Kent, married Mrs. Martha Kenward, but had no children, and dying at the age of 90, in 1775, his property descended to his great nephew, and the baronetcy became extinct. Ll. I: 154.

[14] "to MINGLE [*sic*], . . . to cut, rend or tear in Pieces: To maim or Wound." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[15] i.e., dark-haired.

[16] Thomas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, (30 August 1644 - 30 July 1729, according to his coffin-plate, but presumably 1727), married, 14 August 1684, Catherine (d. 20 April 1712, aged forty-seven), daughter and co-heir of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. He died on 30 July 1729, leaving five daughters. The youngest, Isabella (d. 10 January 1764), married (1731) the Lord Nassau Paulet (d. 24 August 1741), brother or uncle to the Duke of Bolton. She married secondly, Sir Francis Blake Delaval, Knight of the Bath and eldest son of Francis Blake Delaval, of Seaton-Delaval in Northumberland, Esq. *Memorials of the Family of Tufton, Earls of Thanet; Deduced from various Sources of Authentic Information* (Gravesend: printed by R. Pocock, 1800), 137-9; Ll. I: 154.

[17] i.e. "banns".

[18] "KNAP SACK, . . . a Leather Bag in which Souldiers carry their necessaries." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

"Then the little maid said, 'Your fire may warm the bed,
But what shall we do for to eat?
Will the flames of you're only rich in make a fire in the kitchen,
And the little God of Love turn the spit?'
UNKNOWN Old Nursery Rhyme, from an eighteenth-century broadside." Burton Stevenson, ed., *Stevenson's Book of Quotations Classical and Modern*, 2nd. ed., London: Cassell, 1935,1208.

"Starving for Love may be pretty enough in the Theory, for ought I know, but I'm fully perswaded it's exceeding comfortless in the Practice: . . . Love without Money is as uncapable to furnish out Felicity as Money without Love; nay, perhaps, even more so: neither alone can do it; they are two Extreams equally to be avoided." *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal. By Henry Stonecastle, of Northumberland, Esq;* no. IX, Saturday 7 December 1728.

[19] i.e., "test".

[20] ? Morning sickness. "QUALM, . . . a fainting Fit . . . QUALMISH, troubled with or subject to Qualms." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[21] Not identified. "Miss Matt" is also mentioned in Letter 6.

Letter 20

Transcript of Letter 20

ALS, NT, I: 15/20; Ll. I: 159-61

[Mary Pendarves [Northend], Fulham, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

29 Feb$^{y.}$ 1727/8

Though I had no letter last post from my Dearest Anna I cannot dare not reproach, being conscious of my own guilt that way. but this we can answer for one another, tis not occasion'd by neglect, or preferring any pleasure to that of Speaking to each other, but some company or impertinent interruption equaly disagreable to us. I hope my Dear Sister has found no return of her Cold, I am very well, but so little Mistress of my own time that I have not an Hour in the Day I can call my own, which by no means suits my inclination. to morrow is the Queen's birth-Day, great preparations are made for it [including] abundance of embroidery[.] I once thought of going, having a pretty gown and pretty coat by me that I made for Tunbridge and never wore it, but upon second thoughts, I changed my mind thinking it too slight for such a purpose. we are just going to Northend to avoid the bustle of the Day and return on Sunday night to be ready for the Entry of the Dutch Ambassador's on Monday[1] Yesterday, M$^{rs.}$ Peyton and I went to Court in the Morning I afterwards dined with the family of the Peytons & Dashwoods,[2] and Supt, S$^{r.}$ Tom was brighter than ordinary which makes me fancy Cymon has mett with an Iphigenia,[3] we were

very merry, and Sung the Beggars Opera[4] throughout. Talk'd and wish'd for my Mama & you but all in Vain, by Mondays coach I will send the Chocolate and Tea and the new Plays, and a Tippett[5] of my own making and invention which I desire your acceptance of. pray is not your white Satin quite ^dirty sure it is not possible it could last you so long, after the Birth ^Day[6] I believe every body will go into Colours[7] except at Court if there is any alteration in the fashions I will tell you the curly murly[8] fashion of the Hair is not much worn now. the Town is mussy[9] though very full. I have not been at an assemblee this winter, but I will go to my Lady Straffords[10] to put me in mind of some Happy Hours I have had there with my Annabella, though they never are out of my memory, but I love those places best where we have been together, high ho! Opera's will not survive after this winter, I wish I was [a] Poet worthy the Honour of writing its Elegy.[11] I am certain excepting some few the English have no real taste to musick, for if they had they could not neglect an Entertainment so perfect in its kind for a parcell of Ballad singers; I am so peavish about it that I have ^no patience. M^r. Voltaires Henriade[12] is not yet come out tis writ in French which for your sake I am sorry for.[13] you may remember in his crittiscm on Milton of a Passage he takes notice of and finds great fault with of the Allegory of Sin & Death[14] upon which My Lord Hervey (who by the by has been dying)[15] said, of Voltaire who has not the reputation of being the best Man in the World

"So much confussion so wicked and so thin
He seems at once a Chaos, Death, and Sin".

he spoke it extempory. let me know if you have seen the ballad on the Kings speech[16] if not I will send it to you. I have this moment had a letter from my Brother Beville[17] he has had a bad Cold but is now much better. our Irish Friends[18] talk of coming the Middle of April. I am very Sorry poor Mat: has been so ill but I hope by this time She is free from any Complaint. pray make my humble Service acceptable to all my acquaintance. yesterday morning I had a visit from my Sister Livingston[19] she grows younger and younger, I never saw her so brisk

and lively. I writ you word M^r·^ Kemp[20] was retired with M^rs·^ to Devonshire. I had a letter from Lucy Worth[21] who enquired after my Mama and you and desired me when I writ to make her compliments to you. I don't know if I writ you word of my Lady Ogle[22] who had a Cancer in her Breast, it has been cut off, and she is in a fair way of doing well, I am told after it was cut of[f] and the blood out, that it weighd nine pound. M^r·^ Page who has been in such Torment with a sore leg is now under a Salivation,[23] for they dare not heal it up without his [sic] submitt to that sad medecin[.] M^rs·^ Page[24] is a mighty agreable creature, I love her. for she always asks me how you do because she sees it obliges me. Miss Grace[25] comes here almost every Day she never fails drinking your Health and would not forgive me if I omitted her Duty and Services to her Aunt and Cousin Nanny.[26] the Nasty coach is come to the Door I must finish. "ah! what Pain it is to part, must I leave thee must I leave thee ["] says poor Polly[27] adieu

I am yours for ever

M Pendarves

my humble Duty

to my Mama I hope she recei'[v]d my letter which I writ last post

'twas a sad scrawl

Notes

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[1] This visit seems to have been postponed several times, perhaps due to the difficulties of travel. They were first expected in January: "Their Excellencies the Dutch Ambassadors are to make their Publick Entry through this City on Thursday the 25th Instant" then "the 5th of February next", but seem to have delayed their arrival to coincide with the Queen's birthday in early March. *The London Journal,* nos. 440 and 443, 6 January 1727/8 and 27 January 1727/8 .

[2] The Peytons and Dashwoods were allied by marriage: see Letter 7, n. 2.

[3] Not identified.

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[4] The comic opera by John Gay, with music composed by Pepusch from folk ballads, which premièred on 29 January 1728. It ran for an unprecedented 32 consecutive nights and then continued for 62 nights in total. It was revived the following season for 28 performances by the regular cast and 15 by a company of "Lilliputians" (probably the scholars of Westminster School mentioned by MP in Letter 21). Gay wrote to Swift (20 March 1728) that he had earned between £700 and £800, Rich nearly £4,000. The latter's total profit may have been as high as £9,000, and made an important contribution to the building of the Covent Garden Theatre, now the Royal Opera House. Highfill et al., XII: 337-43.

[5] "TIPPET, . . . a kind of Kerchief for women's necks (commonly of Furs) . . . " Bailey, *Dictionary.* "The tippet here mentioned was probably made of feathers. A most beautiful tippet of this description has been preserved and is still in existence. It is long, narrow, and flat, lined with white satin, made to fit the neck, and fall with long ends over the chest. The principal feathers are those of the macaw, dark blue gentianella colour relieved with scarlet, and interspersed with small feathers of the canary bird." Ll. I: 159. See Letter 16, n. 16 and Fig. 20.

[6] "The 3 Regiments of Foot-Guards are to be new Clothed against the Queen's Birth-Day." *The London Journal*, no. 444, 3 February 1727/8.

[7] "The Mourning for his late Majesty, 'tis said, will end on the Queen's Birth-Day, the first of March. By Order of the Earl Marshal, (the first Months of Mourning for his Majesty being expired) The Lords, Privy-Counsellors, and Officers of their Majesty's Household, are to put their Escutcheons of Arms on their Coaches, &c."*The London Journal*, nos. 439 and 444, 30 December 1727 and 3 February 1727/8.

[8] "Curly-murly, *sb.* and *a. Obs.* [A playful reduplication: cf. CURLIE-WURLIE.] a. *sb.* A fantastic curl or twist. b. *adj.* Characterized by fantastic curls. 1727-8 MRS. DELANY *Life & Corr.* (1861) I.159 The curly murly fashion of the hair is not much worn now. 1756 *Ibid.* III. 403 Lappets in all sorts of curli murlis." *OED.* As these are the only examples cited in the *OED* and the phrase is not listed in either Johnson's or Bailey's *Dictionary*, it may be a nonce-phrase of MP's.

[9] "Muzzy b. Of places, times, etc. : Dull, gloomy." *OED.* MP's use of the word here is chronologically the first cited by the *OED.* "MUZZEY, a Quagmire, . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[10] Ann (d. 1754), daughter and heir of Sir Henry Johnson, of Bradenham in the county of Bucks., and wife of Thomas Wentworth, third Earl of Strafford and Baron

Raby, K.G. (1672-1739). *DNB*. "Lord Strafford behaves himself every modestly and genteely, and has lost the pertness he acquir'd in his mother's assembly." When LMWM visited Lady Strafford in 1734, the latter reported: "She had no news, and I was sadly tired of her before she went."*Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, ed. J. J. Cartwright, 1883, p. 501, in LMWM, *Letters*, II: 220.

[11] The opera season was cut short after the brawl between the divas on 6 June 1727 (see Letter 17, n. 19).

[12] Voltaire fled to England in 1726, and remained there almost three years. He was a friend of John, Lord Hervey, "whom he later recalled as one of the most amiable men in England." His *Henriade* was published in March 1728. Lord Bristol, Lord and Lady Hervey being amongst its first purchasers. Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 85.

[13] AG later learned French, with MP's encouragement.

[14] In *Paradise Lost*, "*Sin* brings forth Death, this Monster inflam'd with Lust and Rage, lies with his Mother, as she had done with her Father. From that new Commerce, springs a Swarm of Serpents, which creep in and out of their Mother's Womb, and gnaw and tear the Bowels they are born from.

Let such a Picture be never so beautifully drawn, let the Allegory be never so obvious, and so clear, still it will be intolerable, on the Account of its Foulness." François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, "Milton", from *An Essay Upon the Civil Wars of France . . . And also upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations from Homer to Milton* (1727), 102-21, quoted in *Milton: the Critical Heritage*, ed. John T. Shawcross, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), 248, 254.

[15] In January 1728, George II addressed his first Parliament, and John, Lord Hervey was chosen by the Ministry to deliver the Address of Thanks to the monarch. He suffered bouts of ill-health for most of his life; this particular attack, a violent fever which confined him to his bed (at the beginning of March, according to Halsband), prevented him making political capital out of the honour. He was attended by Drs. Cheyne and Arbuthnot, and rumour had it that he was on his last legs, but by mid-April he was out riding with Mrs. Oldfield in her coach. Halsband, *Lord Hervey*, 76. MP's casual "by the by" may indicate that reports of Hervey's being at death's door were frequent.

[16] Not traced.

[17] Bevill was in France.

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[18]? Members of the Percival, Donnellan, or Butler families.

[19] MP's sister-in-law.

[20] Not identified.

[21] Not identified.

[22] See Letter 2, n. 22.

[23] "SALIVATION, [among *Chymists*] is an Evacuation of the Spittle or drawing Humours out of the Mouth by Salivating Medicines, which are commonly Mercurial Preparations . . . " Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[24] See Letter 19, n. 11.

[25] The Honourable Grace Granville, daughter of Lord Lansdowne.
Ll. I: 161.

[26] i.e., AG.

[27] "O, what pain it is to part! / Can I leave thee, can I leave thee?" Polly to Macheath, John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, act I, scene 13, (no line no.) *The Beggar's Opera and Other Eighteenth-Century Plays*, ed. David W. Lindsay (London: Everyman, 1995), 165.

Letter 21

Transcript of Letter 21

AF, NT, I: 15a/21; Ll. I: 155-8

[Mary Pendarves, Northend, Fulham, to Anne Granville Eastgate Street, Gloucester. In ?Lady Llanover's hand, at the head of the letter: *1727/8 Before the Hon. M^rs. Granville's death.*]

[early February, 1728][1]

"Epicurus declares it his opinion, that Wisdom among all the ingredients of Happyness has not a Nobler, a Richer, or a more delicious one than Friendship;["]

I could hug the Old Philosophers notwithstanding their long dirty Beards whenever I meet with a Passage that speaks my sentiments. the Book which has obliged ^me^ with the beginning of this letter, has no meaner a Person for its author than Cicero, the Title is Tully of Moral Ends[2] I have read but half yet, and though I quote Epicurus, I at present have ^no^ vast opinion of him, but Cicero charms me with his Eloquence and I am delighted to have, that Sensual Philosopher confuted in his false notions.[3] I believe you may borrow the Book if you have amind [*sic*] to read, or I will try and borrow it for you, but now I must discourse with you about some certain Manuscripts of more importance, and Value to me, as they speak the Tender Friendship of my Dearest Sister. I design'd writing to you last post which was tuesday had Pen and Ink before me when for that purpose,

and they brought me up word there was a Gentleman below that desired to speak to me about a Servant that had lived once with me, a brother of John Trenbath's.[4] upon my Permission up comes my Gentleman so spruce and so finical,[5] you would have sworn he has had [sic] been taken out of a box of Cotton, Young and smirking, he Sate down, and from the Hour of Twelve till past one, did the pretty creature entertain me with the Oeconomy of his Family and gave me to understand he lived ^with My Lady his Mother he kept four Stout Horses that will work fifty Mile a Day, many servants, is never drunk, in short the thing talkd over his own Perfections So much that I am ^in some doubt whither he had not a mind to ^offer his service to me, but the conversation was broke off by Mrs. Badges giving three gentle Taps with her Fan at the door, upon which, Essence, made me a bow and desired me to command him, and so retired. you may easily guess how provok'd I was at the wretches impertinence, he talkd so rediculously that I was forced to bite my Lips to refrain Laughing. Yesterday I received one of your favours and am also indebted to you for that convey'd by Mr. Skin,[6] who with me has not yet been. I have taken care of all the enclos'd letters. Great news stirring, but if it proves a Lye you have it as cheap as I. Lady Betty Berkeley[7] Daughter to ye. Earl of that Name, being almost fifteen, has thought it time to be married and after an Intrigue carried on with the Utmost cunning for two Year; run away last week with Mr. Henley, a Man noted for his impudence and imorality but a good Estate and a Beau, irrestistable charms in these Days. the Next I present you with is an Old fool, known and Distinguish'd by the Title of Dutchess of Buckingham[8] going to be Married to Monsieur Visconti, the Dutchess of Shrewsburys Relick. the Dutchess of Kingston[9] they say is actualy married to my Lord Clare;[10] she may be his mother, but thats nothing, she was grown weary of a single Life, and he is poor and glad of a Maintainance at any rate. Sr. John Hobart is married to Miss Bristol[11] and 'tis reported that my Lord Blandford[12] is married at Paris but I have not heard to whom I wish it was to one of my Cousins.[13]

Yesterday I was at the Rehearsal of the New Opera composed by Handel[14] I like it extreamly. but the taste of the Town is so deprav'd that nothing will be approved of but Burlesque.[15] the Beggars Opera, intirely triumphs over the Italien one. I have not yet seen [it] but every Body that has seen it say it is very Comical and full of good humour, the songs will soon be publish'd and I will send them to you not forgetting Kiss mine A—e is no Treason.[16] to morrow night I go again to see the Westminster Boys act Julius Caesar,[17] it is bespoke by the King and Queen. it is acted at the Theatre over against the Opera House.[18] Julius Caesar perform'd by my Lord Danby,[19] Marc Anthony a M^r^. Roberts,[20] Brutus Master Hay [21] Son of My Lord Kenoule's. these parts are done to perfection. Casius, Lord Middlesex Son to the Duke of Dorsett[22] a Handsome Creature. Portia and Octavius by his two Brothers. I ^am^ infinitly obliged to the Dear Unity's[23] for remembring ^me^ in my Anna's letter, I doubt in their Heart they think me unworthy of their regard having in Appearance neglected answering the favour of their letters, but I declare it is want of time, I do a thousand disagreable unavoidable things but I have it not to say I am Mistress of my time, for I must comply with those I live with, which makes me lose some agreable moments. Poor Mary[24] is [in] great Sorrow her Mother is Dead I have often promis'd to pay her humble Duty to my Mother and yourself, she had the news last Night. She was to see Molly[25] on Monday, who she found very well pleas'd with her [ends]

Notes

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[1]The wedding of Sir John Hobart and Miss Bristol, reported in this letter, was 10 February 1728, and Handel's *Siroe*, the rehearsal of which MP reports attending 'yesterday', premiered on 17 February 1728. Highfill et al., VII: 75 quote this letter and date it 29 January 1728, which may be a misprint for 19 January 1728, the date given in the Llanover edition, in which this letter is falsely presented as continuing

Letter 19. Lady Llanover omits altogether the concluding section of Letter 19, which mentions Mrs. Viney's "quamishness", or morning sickness.

[2] The book she was reading may have been *Tully's Five Books de Finibus; or, Concerning the last object of desire and aversion. Done into English by S.P. Gent* [i.e. Samuel Parker.] *Revis'd . . . with a recommendatory preface by Jeremy Collier. . . Together with an apology for the philosophical writings of Cicero . . . by Mr. Henry Dodwell* ([London:] Jacob Tonson and Robert Gibson, 1702). As AG did not read Latin, MP may have glossed "de finibus" as "of moral ends".

[3] "EPICURUS, . . . a famous Philosopher at *Athens*, who held that Pleasure, or rather an Indolency, *i.e.* a being free from Pain, was the *Summum Bonum*, or Chiefest Good; whence all voluptuous Persons are called Epicures, tho' some affirm that *Epicurus* himself lived not a voluptuous life."
'SENSUAL, . . . voluptuous [,] given to sensual Pleasure."
"SENSUALITY, . . . libertinism, a gratifying of the Senses, a giving ones self up to unlawful pleasures." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[4] John Trenbath was MP's manservant. The visitor's excuse seems flimsy.

[5] "FINICAL, spruce, neat, affected. See *Fine*. FINE, . . . spruce, handsom, excellent, pure, slender." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[6] Mr. Skin was possibly Mrs. Granville's cofferer; along with Mr. Wise, he seems to be in charge of her money.

[7] The Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Berkeley, niece of Lady Betty (Germaine) Berkeley married, 11 February 1728, Anthony Henley, Esq., of the Grange, elder (?disinherited) brother of Robert, 1st Earl of Northington. She died in 1745. Ll. I: 157, n. "We have been blessed with various kinds of happinesses since I wrote last; such as . . . my Lord and Lady Westmoreland to dine with us; . . . My lord cracked jokes, and laughed at them most abundantly; and my lady courtesied and inquired after every branch of the family of Berkeleys, both of father's and mother's side; and to be more particularly civil, dwelt a great while upon the family, friends, and circumstances of Mr. Henley." Mary Chamber, later Lady Vere, to the Hon. George Berkeley, 31 August 1728, in Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 316-7.

[8] See Letter 17, n. 17.

[9] Evelyn Pierrepont, first Duke of Kingston, and father of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, married, first, the Lady Mary Feilding, secondly, on 2 August 1714, the Lady Isabella Bentinck (1688-1728), fifth and youngest daughter of William, Earl of Portland, (by his first wife). "The Dutchess of Kingston grunts on as usual, and I fear

will put us in black Bombazine soon, which is a real greife to me." LMWM to Lady Mar, [23 June 1727], LMWM, *Letters*, II: 77. She died at Paris on February 23 1727/8, leaving two daughters. Ll. I: 157.

[10] Possibly Charles O'Brien (1699-1761), sixth Viscount Clare, who made an attempt on MP's virtue. See Letter 7 note 1.

[11] "Sir *John Hobart* of *Blick*[l]*ing* in the County of *Norfolk*, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet, marry'd to Mrs. *Bristow* ." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 10 February 1728. He was the brother of Henrietta Howard, Lady Suffolk, mistress of George II. This was his second marriage, a year almost to the day after the death of his first wife, Judith Britiffe: "Dy'd in Child-bed, the Lady Hobart, Wife of Sir John
Hobart . . ." Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 257, n.; "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XII, 7 February 1727/8. It was considered unchaste of widows to remarry; not so widowers. One year was the prescribed term of mourning for a spouse: Lord Hobart observed propriety with exactitude. Trumbach, 51, 34.

"BRISTOL, BRISTOW,} . . . a bright pleasant Place, rightly so called, for its pleasant Situation and sumptuous Buildings . . . a Famous and Rich Sea-Port and City, in the County of *Somerset*." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[12] Lord Blandford (22 November 1706 - 20 October 1758) was the step-son of MP's friend, Lady Sunderland. He was Charles Spencer, third but only surviving son of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, by his second wife, Anne (d. 15 April 1716), daughter and co-heir of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. In addition to being Marquess of Blandford (1702), he was also Duke of Marlborough (1702), Earl of Sunderland (1643), Earl of Marlborough (1689), Baron Spencer of Wormleighton (1603) and Baron Churchill of Sandridge (1685). Cockayne, s.v. "Spencer".

[13] i.e. one of Lord and Lady Lansdowne's daughters.

[14] On 17 February 1728, *Siroe, King of Persia*, by Nicollo Haym and G. F. Handel opened at the King's Theatre. Musical scores were sold at the theatre, with parallel English and Italian libretti. The opera was based on a text by Pietro Metastasio. "On Saturday last, the King, Queen, Princess-Royal, and the princesses Amelia and Carolina, were present at the new opera called *Siroe*, perform'd at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. And on Thursday Night the King and Queen, the Princess-Royal and Princess Carolina, were at the Theatre Royal in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, to see *The Beggar's* Opera." Burling, 125; *The London Journal*, no. 447, 24 February 1727/8.

[15] "BURLESQUE, . . . a comical merry way of Writing, mock Poetry." (Bailey).

[16] This appears to be the title of a scurrilous ballad, possibly from *The Beggar's Opera*, but it does not appear in any of the published texts.

[17] *Julius Caesar*, or *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, an opera by Haym and Handel, premièred on 20 February 1724, at the King's Theatre, was altered in January 1725, and printed by Thomas Wood (1724) in parallel texts. Burling, 105. "The Westminster Boys" were probably scholars at Westminster School.

[18] There were two unlicensed theatres offering musical entertainment at this time: the "Little Haymarket", across the street from Drury Lane, to which MP probably refers, and "Goodman's Fields", nearer the City of London. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Handel's London", in *Cambridge Companion to Handel*, 58.

[19] ? Peregrine Osborne, Duke of Leeds etc. and Viscount Osborne of Dunblane, from 1689-1694 styled "Earl of Danby", a Rear Admiral and Vice Admiral of the Red. The story of his marriage parallels that of Mary (Westcombe) Granville, MP's mother. He married, 25 April 1682, Bridget, only daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hyde, second Baronet, of Aldbury, Herts. Bridget had previously married, 1 October 1674, at the age of twelve, her cousin, John Emerton of the Middle Temple, and the validity of the marriage was upheld in the King's Bench, Easter Term 1675, the verdict also being confirmed by the Judges' delegates 12 July 1680. The marriage appears to have been annulled and Emerton bought off. Pepys writes in his *Diary*, "I saluted the Lord Dumblaine's wife who before had been married to Emerton, and about whom there was that scandalous business before the delegates". Cockayne, s.v."Osborne".

[20] John Roberts (fl.1722-1748), actor and ?singer. In 1724, he played Trebellius in *Sophonisba* (see Letter 9, n. 18) at Drury Lane, but was dropped from the Drury Lane company in 1726. When he was taken on again in 1728, he played rather more significant secondary roles, such as Haly in *Tamerlane* and Gloucester in *King Lear*. Highfill et al., XIII: 8.

[21] Thomas Hay (4 June 1710 - 27 December 1787), son of George Hay (d. 29 July 1758), eighth Earl of Kinnoull. Cockayne, VII, s.v. "Kinnoull".

[22] Charles Sackville, (6 February 1710 - 6 June 1765), later second Duke of Dorset and eleventh Earl of Middlesex, son of Lionel Cranfield (Sackville) (1687/8-1765), Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

[23] "The Dear Unitys": the Unet/Unitt family. Ll. I: 158, n. One of the Miss Unets, Elizabeth (d. ?January 1743/4) a close friend of Anne Granville, was daughter and co-heir of Robert Unitt Esq., and fourth wife (October 1731) of Thomas Foley, Esq.

of Whitley Court, Worcs., who, after marrying a fifth wife, died in 1749. Ll. I: 304, n. There are letters from Elizabeth Foley to Anne (Granville) Dewes in Ll. I: 306-8, II: 120, 161.

[24] Not identified.

[25] ? Moll Bramston.

Letter 22

Transcript of Letter 22

ALS, NT, I: 16/22; Ll. I: 163-4

[Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, London, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

Somerset House 14 March 1727/8

You are either very humble or very impertinent I believe tis the last. you begin your letter with desireing me to arm my Self with patiance to read the Dullest Stuff that ever was writ. you must know in your own conscience that you have nothing Dull about you, so I conclude you mean it as a reflection upon my tast[e] for which you are a ___ Saucy Jade,[1] but though your letter was not dull I must own it was very melancholy. I have not heard of a more deplorable case, poor Virgins! to be so destitute as to be willing to take up with Old Stinking Selkirk[2] your case is very desperate indeed. I desire you will introduce the beggars Opera at Glosester you must sing it every where but at Church, if you have a Mind to be like the Polite world, otherwise you will be a Sad Slut.[3] I was last Tuesday at the Italien Opera[4] with the Club.[5] twas sweet and Lovely. it gave me infinite Pleasure and you accompanied every delightfull Note. I have undertaken a large sheet of paper but I doubt neither my witt nor my time will hold out to the end of it. I have this morning writ a long letter to my Uncle Lansdowne, yesterday my Aunt Stanley received a letter from my Brother Bev: I am sorry he has an Ague[6] although it is in the Spring. I writ to you in my last letter abundance of news I have heard none since that. I dine to

Day with Mrs. Dashwood I have not seen any of the family this Fortnight. next Month Sr. John spends at Northend, the eigth Chair is now in Hand[7] and is to be finish'd forthwith the frames are makeing they are for the new Room at Northend. Now I will answer all your questions. but first [I] must tell you that I did not neglect Mrs. Unetts Commands I sent to my Jeweller Madam but the Rogue was not at home and I have not been able to meet with him since, but if Mrs. Unet will be pleas'd to let me know how much she is willing to afford I can then inform my self what sort of ring they can afford for the Price she is willing to give I suppose she would have the Sparks Brilliant. The Aldermans Name I danced with is Micajah Perry[8] a married man and as Blind as a BBeetle so I was in no danger of being liked or dislik'd. but I won't have a fusty Alderman unless He was Lord Mayor Elect. and as for your Rural Squires I detest them, and your Town Fops are my abomination. Tom Titts[9] Eyes are realy smart and look as if they did not belong to ^ye^ Socketts they are placed in,[10] the Doctor[11] is still in the Countrey and going to his Studies at Cambridge. Monsieur Bury's[12] Goddess's Name is Hutchinson[13] a young Lady of an extraordinary good Character. I will tell Mrs. Badge the dismall tale of your Smocks. I believe she will hang herself upon it, for she has been a most unlucky woman this year that way, she bought some for Mrs. Tillier that have proved as bad as yours, but seriously I am very sorry for you. well my Dearest Sister don't think me the maddest thing in the world for writing such a rantum scantum[14] letter my spirits are very allert to Day. & I dont know why, for I have not seen Dear Mr. Walker [15] lately. I hope mine A___e[16] came safe to you & c___ I never see the Chief[17] I have seen Dick Rose[18] sometimes in the Streets but he did not know your humble servant, I am to be curl'd and Friz'd to Day & am not yet a bitt drest I can no longer Rob my Toylett of my Person, but most take my leave of you for this post. but I charge you don't forgett to present my humble Duty to my Mama, & Service wherever 'tis Due. I am

My Dearest Sisters

The Compliments
of this House attends
yours.

Most Affectionate
Penelope darves

Penny
Dear
Dear Penny
I am yours
most faithfully[19]

Notes

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[1] "Why, how now, saucy jade!" Polly Peachum to Lucy Lockitt, John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, act II, scene 13, (no line no.), Lindsay, 185.

[2] Charles Hamilton, second surviving son of William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, who on his marriage with the Duchess of Hamilton was created Duke of Hamilton for his lifetime; and when he resigned his original title, his brother Charles became Earl of Selkirk. He was lord of the bedchamber to William and both Georges. He died unmarried in 1739, leaving no will. "How do all things go on at Hampton Court? Is there nothing new? — does Selkirk [stink]? — does Lady Bristol cry? — are the maids still unmarried . . .?" Lady Hervey to Mrs. Howard, Ickworth, 19 June 1731, Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 411 and n.

> "Let nauseous Selkirk shake his empty head
> Through six courts more, when six have wish'd him dead."
> Hervey, *Memoirs*, ed. Romney Sedgewick, 583.

[3] "MRS. PEACHUM (in a very great passion.)
Our Polly is a sad slut! Nor heeds what we have taught her,
I wonder any man alive will ever rear a daughter!" Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, act I, scene 8 (no line no.), Lindsay, 157.

[4] ? *Siroe, King of Persia*, by Nicollo Haym and G. F. Handel, which premièred on 17 February 1728 and ran for eighteen performances up to 27 April that year. Burling, 125; Christopher Hogwood and Anthony Hicks, *Handel* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, 282. See Letter 21, n. 14.

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[5] "The Club" seems to have been a group of women friends. See Letter 4, n. 19.

[6] "AGUE, [*Aigue, F.*, sharp, because an Ague, at least, in the Paroxism, is so] a Disease." Bailey, *Dictionary*.
"A'GUE. *n.s.* [*aigu*, Fr. *acute*] An intermitting fever, with cold fits succeeded by hot: the cold fit is in popular language more particularly called the *ague*, and the hot, the fever." . . . Johnson, *Dictionary*.

[7] "Mrs. Delany [i.e. Granville or Pendarves], Miss Sophia Ball and my Aunt Ann [Viney] worked some Beautiful Chairs all three together, and which were given to my Mother, Miss Ball . . . had a number of Beautiful frames of Shell work which Mrs. Delany did for her, I know that the three were allways together in their youth . . ." Mrs. Shaw (granddaughter of the Mrs. Viney mentioned by MP), 54 Newman Street, to Lady Llanover, 27 February 1855, Ifan Kyrle Fletcher Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[8] *Parker's Penny Post* is quoted in some detail here, for the taste it gives of contemporary politics: "Last Wensday, at Four in the Afternoon, the Poll was conducted at Guildhall, whose Numbers are (to the great Mortification of the *Whiggish* Incendiaries) as follows:

The Lord Mayor	3633	H. Parsons Esq;	3364
Sir Rich. Hopkins	3010	Sir J. Williams	3017
Sir J. Thompson	3339	R. Lockwood E.	3087
Micaj. Perry Esq;	3495	J. Barnard Esq.	3630

So that the *Lord Mayor* [Sir John Eyles, Bart.], *John Barnard*, Esquire, Micajah Perry, Esq, and Mr. Alderman *Parsons*, will be . . . duly Elected, if a Scrutiny is not demanded, which the *Whiggs* threaten to do, in Hopes of making way for Sir *John Thompson* to be Elected; And to effect it, all Gentlemen of the Livery (i.e. *Whiggs*) are strenuously invited to Enquire and make Discovery of all false Pollers and make report thereof to *North's* Coffee House near Guildhall.

In like manner, I hope all those Gentlemen Pollers of the contrary *Party*, will be as vigillant to enquire after *Whiggish False Pollers*, and send proper Evidences thereof to Mr. Harris, in Wine Office Court, Fleet-street, that a detection may be brought to Ballance; and don't doubt but that *Whiggish Zealots*, will be found to be double the number of Aggressors of that Kind, of which I will not fail to make a true Report in this Paper, when it is discovered." *Parker's Penny Post* , London, 16 October 1727.
These paragraphs are unusual in deviating from the paper's generally more impersonal editorial register.
"*Micajah Perry*, Esq., unanimously elected Alderman of *Aldgate* Ward, in the room of Sir *Francis Porteen*, Knt. deceas'd." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 24 February 1728.

[9] Sir Thomas Peyton. Ll. I: 163.

[10] This odd comment may refer to a portrait of Thomas Peyton, or might mean that he had recovered from an eye infection.

[11] ? John Wesley.

[12] Not identified.

[13] Not identified.

[14] "Rantum-scantum, *int.*, *sb.* and *a. Obs.* . . . [A rhyming comb., perh. suggested by RANT *v.*] . . . B. *adj.* Harum-scarum, disorderly." *OED*. The *OED* quotes this letter as an example.

[15] ? "At 4 o'clock had Mrs. Vesey's coach and went to dine at Mrs. Walsingham's; Mr. Walker (ye man that gives lectures) dined wth us." Diary of Miss Hamilton, Sunday 28 December, 1783, Ll. VI: 190.

[16] The ballad MP promised to send AG in Letter 21.

[17] Not identified.

[18] Dick Rose was the brother of Mary Ann Rose of Weedon, whom MP's brother married (July 1722) in the Fleet Prison. See Letter 2, n. 25.

[19] These words are written in a neat hand, at 90 degrees to the salutation above them.

Letter 23

Transcript of Letter 23

ALS, NT, I: 16a/23; Ll. I: 161-2

[Mary Pendarves, [Northend, Fulham], to Anne Granville, [Eastgate Street], Gloucester.]

12 March 1727/8

My Dear Sister

Should have heard from me last post but I took that Day to make a visit to Lady Sunderland not having had the pleasure of Seeing her in above a fortnight and Sunday morning we went to Northend and took the Lover Monsieur Bury[1] with us, he seems very much enamour'd but talks more reasonably than generally people do under his circumstances he is to be the Happy Man in a month or six weeks, we return'd last Night. I am in a Hurry as you may guess by the distance of my words and lines. but I will jumble together all the news I have heard. first tis said that Lady Mary Capel[2] and M^r^. Mordaunt[3]have taken Pett at one another and that match is broke off. no more is said of the Maids of Honour's Matches. Lady Harriet Hamilton will shortly be yoked to Lord Boyle[,] Son to my Lord Orrery.[4] and M^r^. Clinton Brother to Lord Lincoln was married last week to one of the Miss Carls, the youngest of them.[5] the Preliminaries of the Peace[6] is settled and all that grand affair is almost at an End. S^r^. Robert Walpole and M^r^. Pulteney are very Hott every Day about the Detts of the Nation, & no body understands them but themselves.[7] I

shall go to the Opera to Night I believe, I have sent to Lady Sunderland to know if she has any room in her Box. to morrow morning an Opera is to be rehearsd I have not heard of the fame of it, its name nor Author.[8] the last is a charming Peice of Musick but quite Neglected for the Beggars Opera. I sent by a Gentleman who came from M$^{r.}$ Skin[9] last Friday three pounds of Chocolate at 4 shilling a pound one pound of Bohea 13 shilling. the Man would have paid me for it but I would not take the money of him. I thought my Mama might want it in the Countrey & she may pay me when it is most convenient to her. I sent a little box with some Plays and the Tippett I should have sent your fan but the nasty folks dissappointed me and did not bring it home till a day after the fair so if you know of any way I can send it you safe inform me. pray tell M$^{rs.}$ Viney I have not seen M$^{r.}$ Wise[10] since I received her Postscripts but as soon as I can get a Sight of him I will deliver her Message. when Lampreys[11] come in I shall be glad to have as many potts sent me as will come to the money I have laid out in the Chocolate & Tea, which is 25 shilling, I would have them when they are plenty enough for me to have 10 or 12 potts for that money all expences paid. M$^{rs.}$ Badge is just come in and desires me to present her most humble Duty to my Mama & your Ladyship, she grunts mightily poor woman. but I hope the Sun will revive her as it does the Butterflyes. considering I began my letter with an apology for the Haste I was in I have play'd my part very well with you I believe I writ you word Miss Thornhill[12] was come to Town. M$^{rs.}$ Roper[13] has just made us a visit & Enquired after you I am

My Dearest Sisters
Most Affectionate
& Faithfull
M Pendarves

My humble Duty to My Dear Mama. Compli$^{ts.}$ from hence attend you I hope favoritta[14] is well.[15]

Notes

[1] Not identified, but the fiancé of Miss Hutchinson, as mentioned in Letter 22.

[2] See Letter 13, n. 26.

[3] Col. the Hon. Lewis Mordaunt, who married, 8 May 1728, Anne Howe, daughter of the first Viscount Howe by his second wife, Juliana, daughter of William Lord Allington of Horseheath. Ll. I: 173.

[4] "*John Boyle*, stiled Lord *Boyle*, only Son and Heir Apparent of *Charles Boyle*, Earl of *Orrory*, marry'd to the Lady *Henrietta Hamilton*, youngest Daughter of *George Hamilton*, Earl of *Orkney*." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 18 April 1728.

[5] The Hon. George Clinton, (d. 1761), second son of Francis, 6th Earl of Lincoln, and Senior Admiral of the White. He married Anne, daughter and heiress of Major-General the Honourable Peter Carl. Ll. I: 161.

[6] "Spain ceased hostilities and accepted the Paris Preliminaries as confirmed by the Confirmation of Pardo, and outstanding issues were referred to a congress between February and March this year." Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-industrial Britain, 1722-1783* (London: Longman, 1993), 320.

[7] The Bank of England lent the government £1.75 million at a rate of four per cent. in May 1728. Ibid.

[8] ? *Il Proteo Novello*, anon., a comedy, premièred on 16 March 1727. It was probably not published. Burling, 122.

[9] See Letter 21, n. 6.

[10] See Letter 7, note 11.

[11] "LAMPREY, A Kind of Fish." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[12] "Johanna, third daughter of Sir Bevil Granville, married Col. Richard Thornhill. Miss Thornhill was probably a member of this family." Ll. I: 162, n.

[13] Not identified.

[14] Not identified.

[15] This postscript is written to the left of the final salutation.

Letter 24

Transcript of Letter 24

ALS, NT, I: 17; Ll. I: 164-6

[From Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

To Mrs Anne Granville

In Glocester

Rob. Sutton[1]

Free

Somerset House 19 March 1727/28

I was just return'd from making my Court last Night when your sugar sweet letter came to my hands; Yesterday was a very racketting[2] day with me. for at Noon the Sun shone very bright and inticed me and miss Thornhill[3] to take a Turn in St. James's Park we went but alas the wind and the Dust had like to have demolish'd us we made the best hast we could into our Chairs[4] and went to Piggys. I returnd home with an intention to sit sedate by our own fire side till Court hour. but I found a message from Mrs. Hyde wherein she begg'd I would dine with her and afterwards go to a Concert of Musick[5] with her which I could not refuse. I thought it barbarous[6] to disappoint one who has so few pleasures in this Life. Matrimony. I marry! yes, there's a Blessed Scene before my Eyes of the Comforts of that State. a Sick Husband and Squawling Bratts,[7] a Cross Mother in Law, and a thousand unavoidable impertinences.[8] No, No, sister it must be a Basilisk[9]

indeed that makes me doat on those wretched incumbrances. but Stop my rage, be not too fierce, I may be dash'd on the very Rock I endeavour to avoid and therefore I will say no more against a Station of Life which in the Opinion of some People is not in our power to prevent. "if Fate be not then what can we foresee?

or how can we avoid it if it be?["]

You are a meer wagg[10] Sister and think us London Ladies such Gudgeons[11] as to bite at any thing. I am sorry for the poor Mans[12] Feavour, but my Conscience does no way accuse me of being accessary to it, you have said a great many pretty things for the man, or if they were his own tis likely since his feavour is so high that he was delirious when he utter'd so many things to my Advantage. I desire you will persue the Scheme of performing the beggars Opera, but you must deferr it till I come to you for I put in for the Part of Mrs. Slamikin.[13] I must say you was a little unconsionable to expect a letter last post. you think witt Springs up as fast as mushrooms. you are mightily mistaken a very little now adays goes a great way. all the Butterflye Men were at Court last Night no great plenty of Females, last Sunday I stay'd in Town on Purpose to hear my Friend Mr. Williams[14] preach at Whitehall he gave us an excellent Practicall Sermon. I dined with him afterwards at Lady Peytons. Sr Tom is gone out of Town for a week or Ten days. I supp'd with the family the Night before he went, and he laid aside Spadill[15] and all his Mistical Healths to Toast my Dearest Sister by her own proper Name. which has inclined me a little to him. I can't tell you much news. Mrs. Moody[s] little Boy is Dead.

Mrs. Mangy[16] is with Child. Mrs. Drummond[17] has been very much out of order all this winter but is now better she desird me when I writ to Gloucester to present her humble Service to Dear Mrs. Granville and Miss. [Granville] and little Bell:[18] does not forgett her favourite. Lady Gearings youngest Daughter[19] is extreamly troubled with convulsions fitts they have had a great deal of advise for her to no purpose. Operas are Something mended within this fortnight, they are much fuller than

they have been any time this winter. Captn. Eliott[20] was at the Cour last Night he has been return'd from his Quarters about a fortnight. the creature ask'd after pretty Miss Scudamore[21] not one word of you. I told him she had been ill and you had nurs'd her so he had some obligation to you though he had not the Manners to ask after you he conducted me to my Chair.
Lord Hermitage[22] is at Nottingham where he diverts himself very well for he visits all the Ladies whither they will ^or^ no. pray is not Miss Sally Blizzard[23] a Sadlers daughter for he told me the Town of Gloucester was so obliging as to say he was in Love with such a one. fye upon Mrs. Snell[24] how can She so Soon engage a Second venture. I am glad my Mama has obtain'd her point,[25] I wish her joy and comfort in the wearing. tell Mrs. Viney if I could take Journeys as easily as she getts [children][26] (or her Husband for thats pretty much the same thing) [I] should not so long have been a Stranger to Gloucester. pray when is the little thing expected to make its Publick Entry I would rather hear the Affair is well over than be a witness of her pains. I am call'd away to Breakfast, & then I am to try on a new pair of Stays.[27] Lady Sun: was here last night & left word I must go to Court with her this Morning & I suppose go to the Opera at Night, oh! the fatigues of this Life, how shall I be able to Support such a Succession of Toyls?. adieu if I have time to fill the other Side I will do't My humble Duty and Services as due Whilst Life doth last thou has me fast

MP MP MP MP[28]

Mrs. Badge desires that Mrs. Anne Carter may be inform'd she has paid the money she had of hers & would have given notice of it herself but she is to much out of order she cannot write[29]

Notes

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[1] This is Sir Robert Sutton's signature.

[2] "Racket . . . 1. To live a gay life, to take part in social excitement. Also with *about*. . . . Racketing [*sic*] . . . That rackets, in senses of the vb.; characterized by racket or racketing. 1763 ELIZ. CARTER in *Mem.* (1808) I.362 We live a very racketting life at the Hague. *OED.*

[3] See Letter 23, n. 12.

[4] i.e., sedan chairs.

[5] ? *Harlequin Happy and Poor Pierot Married*, by ?Roger, premièred 11 March 1728 at Drury Lane. Burling, 125.

[6] "BARBAROUSNESS, Cruelty, Outrageousness, Clownishness, Unpoliteness" Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[7] "BRAT, .. a beggerly Child." Ibid.

[8] Jane Hyde is referred to throughout the letters with concern and pity, and if this is a picture of *her* married life, one can see why.

[9] "Basilisk" was one of MP's names for her suitor, Lord Baltimore. "BASILISK, . . . a Serpent call'd a *Cockatrice*. COCKATRICE, . . . a sort of Serpent, otherwise called a *Basilisk.*" Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[10] "WAGGISH, wanton, toyish." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[11] "GUDGEON, . . . a small fish." Ibid.
"Gudgeon . . . to play the gudgeon . . . 1785 Grose *Dict. Vulg. Tongue, Gudgeon,* to swallow the bait, or fall into a trap, from the fish of that name which is easily taken." *OED.*

[12] Not identified.

[13] "Mrs. Slammekin! As careless and genteel as ever!" Mackheath, act II, scene 4 (no line nos.), Gay, *The Beggar's Opera,* ed. Lindsay, 171. Mrs. Slammekin is one of Macheath's seraglio of prostitutes.

[14] "I went in the morning to Whitehall Chapell to hear M^r^. Williams . . . " ALS, MP, London, to AG, Gloucester, 8 April 1729, Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Gwent; Ll. I: 206.

[15] "Spadille . . . *sb*[2] The ace of spades in ombre and quadrille. 1728 YOUNG *Love Fame* VI. 516 Imaginary ruin charms her still; Her happy lord is cuckol'd by spadill." *OED.*

[16] Mrs. Mangey may have been the wife of the Dr. Mangey, as mentioned by Viscount Percival: "In the evening Dr. Bearcroft came to see me. He was my son's tutor, and very free with me in discoursing of such clergy matters as came to his knowledge. . . . I mentioned Dr. Mangey. He said he was a man of vile character in private life, which called to my mind his making Counsellor Hungerford's will in his last moments and taking that advantage to give his estate, or a great part of it, away to uses he never intended." Egmont, *Diary*, Thursday 25 March, 1736 II: 251.

[17] One Andrew Drummond (1687-1769) is mentioned by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: he was a London goldsmith and banker. LMWM, *Letters*, II: 188, n.

[18] "Bell" was perhaps Mrs. Drummond's daughter.

[19] ? relation of Sir Francis Geary (1710-1796), admiral of the white and baronet. DNB.

[20] See Letter 16, n. 8.

[21] "Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, &c. marry'd to Mrs. Frances Scudamore, Daughter of the Lord Viscount Scudamore." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIV, 9 June 1729. She might have fared better with Captain Elliott: Beaufort divorced her. Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 313, n.

[22] "Francis Scott, eldest son of Henry, 1st Earl of Deloraine, was the Lord Hermitage alluded to as being then at Nottingam." Ll. I: 166.

[23] Not identified.

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[24] "Mr. Snell is gone to London, I imagine to consult his father about the wedding, for I believe he is certainly to have Miss Phillips and her twenty thousand pounds." Anne Dewes to Bernard Granville, Bath, April 27 [1767], LI. IV: 132.

[25] "Point . . . *sb*[1] . . . 31 b. A piece of lace used as a kerchief or the like." *OED*.

[26] Ms. torn around seal.

[27] "A STAY, . . . a Prop, a Supporter." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[28] These initials grow progressively smaller from the left to the right of the page, as if fading away.

[29] This postscript appears on the outside of the letter, to the left of, and at right angles to the address. There is also a sketch of a cat on the right of the address. See Appendix 7.

Letter 25

Transcript of Letter 25

ALS, NT I: 18/25; Ll. I: 166-8

[Mary Pendarves, Northend, Fulham, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

16 April 1728

I am indebted to you my Dearest Sister for a very kind letter, but I should have chid you for not acquainting me with my Mothers having been out of order but that I know it was kindly meant to save me the anxiety ~~of~~ her illness would have given me I hope you tell truth when you say she is quite recover'd of her cold, the fortnight past of ill weather that we had was enough to try the toughest constitution. I beg my humble Duty: to Day I suppose will bring me a letter from your fair Hands, and I hope a confirmation of both your Healths. I expect a faithfull account of all your doings at the assizes, I think my Mama had best tye you by the Leg for fear some of the Lawyers should clap y^o^. into their bag, for you are a Portable thing & not much heavier than a bundle of papers, tho^ a Person of great consequence. if you did not tiff out[1] for the fine Men it was out of arrogance ^& Pride, you thought your native charms were sufficient, and scorn'd to be obliged to any ornament for the conquest of your Eyes. Northend has all the Beauties of Arcadia, the Trees, the Water, The Nightingales the flowers, all now are gay and Serene, only now and then a Gentle Breeze serves as a thourough bass to the Singing Birds. but as for Celadon[2] we have no room nor desires for one, if such a mad nymph as Annabella were here I don't doubt but those kind of Animals would find encouragement,

but I will have you to know I have a forbidding way, and make them keep their distance, tell me of Swains an[d] wreaths[3] and Purling Streams and scraps of verses and delights in Solutude [sic], what does the Girl mean - why you are enough to make a Body mad. enclos'd I have sent you Sally's[4] letter pray take care of it and send it me by the first opportunity. I desire you will read this first for you can never hear these trifles after her Solidity. M^r^. William Stanley[5] talks of taking a Tour to Gloucester some time this week but promis'd to see us first, but the churl[6] may think better of it, however he designs you the Honour of a Visit (that is Mama[,] you come in by the by.) I don't know if he will be acceptable this time to you for he will not bring a pretty fellow with him beside himself. I beg your Parlours pardon for supposing it a Lilliputian Circumference, but in London : a Parlour big enough to swing a Cat is a notable Size so you need not be so Huffy. I am very much oblig'd to you My Dear Sister for all the trouble you have taken about M^r^. Gibbs[7] I wish he was more worthy of it but I hope he is not quite so bad as he ^is^ represented. Oh the Charming month of May Charming Charming month of May, June succeeds May, and please God I will be with you before the first of July. never did woman take so much pains about Love powder as I have done about Cassia[8] and am now as wise as I was a fortnight ago, what they give me for it can never be what you mean for there is no possibility of sending it in a letter. therefore be pleas'd to describe the thing to me for neither apothecary, Drugist or confectioner can tell me what I mean when I ask for it and they desire me tell them what kind of a thing it is, and hang me if I can, I believe you meant I should ask for ^it^ on the first of April. but to be serious, there is two or three sorts and you must be more particular before I can supply you. Mr Mulenex is Dead the Rabbitt Merchant he married a Sister of my Lord Essex's.[9] last week as we were sauntring[10] agreably in the Kings road to take a little air we mett Princess Amelia in her way to the Bath she is carried in a Chair not being able to bear the Motion of a Coach[.] our Coach was very close to her and she lookd Smiling and pretty, bow'd to us all and

ask'd who we were I wish the Bath may do her good for she had lived hitherto a Life of Misery, and every body commends her Temper. I hear our Irish Friends will be here the first week in May but I doubt not till the later end of the Month. I think it will be a Scandall upon your Sheriff[11] if he does not give you a Ball, but being a Musty man I suppose he will not think himself obliged to do a Gallant thing. pray what Cavalliers have you now at Gloucester or have they all forsaken your Noble City. where is Harry Harvey,[12] his Brother my Lord they say is past recovery.[13] the Dutchess of Somerset[14] is with child. My Lord Essex[15] has lost his only son.[16] but a Match at new Markett will dispell the grief.[17] I have not any news to tell you more, not at the present writing nothing but the old Story over again that I am most

Affectionately Yours

M.Pendarves

Sr. John has his Health perfectly well. I doubt my Aunt finds her Breast very bad but she will not own it nor do any one thing she is orderd [~~xxx xxx~~] they constantly drink your Healths and desire me to make their compliments as doth Mrs. Tellier who is now hard at work and according to custom brawls[18] in my Ears to finish my letter.

Manerva

Minerva[19]

Notes

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[1] "Tiff, *v*[1] *Obs.* [a. OF. *tifer, tiffer'* to adorn. . . ; 1. *trans.* to attire, dress, deck out, trick out, 'titivate' (one's person, hair, etc.). (In 18th c. like F. *attifer*, usually familiar). 1768, Tucker, *Lt. Nat.* (1834) I. 40 Her desire of tiffing out her mistress in a killing attire." *OED*. This letter is also cited.

[2] "Celadon" here seems to be the type of a pastoral fainting swain, rather like Thyrsis in Letter 9, n. 13. "celadon . . . *n.* 2. a pale greyish-green colour, sometimes

somewhat yellow. [C18: from French, from the name of the shepherd hero of *L'Astrée* (1610), a romance by Honoré d'Urfé]" *Collins Dictionary.*

[3] "A WREATH . . . a Garland . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[4] Sally Chapone, mother-in-law of Hester Chapone. See Letter 9, n. 30.

[5] Not identified, but possibly a nephew of Sir John Stanley.

[6] "CHURL . . . a Clown, a covetous Hunks. " "HUNKS, a Miser, covetous, niggardly Wretch." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[7] The mother of Lady Sunderland (Tichbourne) was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Gibbs, of Gloucester (see Letter 3, n. 19.). "Mr. Gibbs" may have been one of her relations.

[8] "Cassia . . . 1. An inferior kind of cinnamon, esp. the bark obtained from *Cinnamomum Cassia;* thicker, coarser, less delicate in flavour, and cheaper than the true cinnamon. More fully, *Cassia-bark.*" *OED.* However, Lady Llanover (I :172) notes that it is "a pod with a pulpy fruit, much used for medicine in Italy". "CASSIA FISTULA, Cassia in the Cane, a Reed of a Purging quality." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[9] Samuel Molyneux (1689-1728), astronomer and politician, secretary to George II. In calling him "the rabbit merchant" MP is making glancing reference to his credulity over the Mary Tofts affair of December 1726. He believed Tofts's claim to have given birth to rabbits. "Dy'd *Samuel Molyneux*, Esq; One of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Member of Parliament for the City of *Exeter*, and F.R.S. He marry'd the Lady *Elizabeth Capel*, Sister of *William*, Earl of *Essex*, by whom he had no Issue." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 13 April 1728.

[10] "To SAUNTER . . . to go idling up and down." Bailey, *Dictionary.*

[11] The sheriff of Gloucester was Robert Cocks, of Dumbleton, Esq., according to the list of Sherriffs appointed by His Majesty in Council, for the Year 1728, but Rudge has Richard Finch and John Blackwell for that year. *Historical Register*, XII, 1727, 327; Thomas Rudge, *History and Antiquities of Gloucester* (Gloucester: printed by J. Wood, Herald Office, 1811), 30.

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[12] Henry Hervey, younger brother to Carr, Lord Hervey, and John, later Lord Hervey. See Letter 7, n. 15.

[13] John, Lord Hervey, (1696-1743), who suffered ill-health for most of his life. "At the beginning of March a violent feaver confined him to his . . . room for several weeks. He was attended by both Dr. Cheyne and Dr. Arbuthnot. Rumour-mongers put him past recovery and on the point of dying . . ." Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey, Eighteenth-Century Courtier* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 76.

[14] "The Lady *Charlotte Finch*, Dutchess of *Somerset*, Wife of *Charles Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, brought to Bed of a Daughter, who was baptiz'd by the Name of Charlotte." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 7 July 1728.

[15] Willliam Capel, third Earl of Essex (1697-1743) married in 1718 the Lady Jane Hyde, sister of the Duchess of Queensbury. Suffolk, *Letters*, I: 314 n. The latter was none too fond of him: "As for my Lady Essex &c., I am quite passive, but if you could send me word that my lord had a broken head, I should think it had received its only due reward." Catherine, Duchess of Queensbury, to Mrs. Howard, 20 August 1730; ibid., 382. The lady to whom she referred was not Lady Jane Hyde, but his second wife, Elizabeth Russell, daughter of the Duke of Bedford. "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XI, 3 February 1726.

[16] "Dy'd of the Small-Pox by Inoculation, the Lord Viscount *Malden*, an Infant, only Son and Heir Apparent of *William Capel*, Earl of *Essex*." "Chronological Diary", *Historical Register*, XIII, 16 April 1728. The boy's birth had been an occasion of great rejoicing: "On Monday last . . . the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Essex, Sister to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, was brought to Bed of a Son and Heir . . . to the great joy of that Noble Family. In the Afternoon the King and Queen sent their Compliments to his Lordship on that happy Occasion." *The London Journal*, no. 442, 20 January 1727/8.

[17] Gambling may have been his downfall: "Lord Essex . . . was so linked with Lord Bolingbroke that the whole management of Lord Essex's shattered fortune was in Lord Bolingbroke's hands and his affairs by that management put into good order and retrieved." Hervey, *Memoirs*, 1729, I: 96-7.

[18] "To BRAWL, . . . to bellow . . ." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

[19] These words are written in a rounder and fainter hand than MP's usual one. "MINERVA, the Goddess of Wisdom, and all the Arts: the President of Learning." Bailey, *Dictionary*.

APPENDICES

MARGARET, Mar. Sir Richd. Leigh.

MARY, Mar. John Giffard, of Brightley.

JANE, Mar. Robt. Whettal.

JOHN. Eldest son, died young.

SIR ROGER GRANVILLE, = Drowned in his father's lifetime, on board the *Mary Rose*, 1545, which ship sunk with 700 men before the eyes of King Henry VIII.

THOMASINE, Dau. of Thomas Cole, of Slade Devon, in parish of Cornwood.

GILES and ANNE.

RICHARD, = ... Co-heiress of Kelway.

GEORGE. = JULIANA, Dau. and co-h. of Wm. Viel, of Trevorder.

SIR GEORGE, = ... 7 daughters.

A daughter born in 16[?]. The property of Penhele sold to Sir John Specott.

GEERARDT D'EWES, = Lord of Kessel, about 1400.

GEERARDT

GEE[...] Ob[...]

JOHN, Died young.

SIR CHARLES GRANVILLE, Died young.

SIR RICHARD GRANVILLE, = Vice-Admiral. Killed in an action at sea, at Terceira, Aug., 1591.

MARY, Dau. and co-h. of Sir John St. Leger, of Annery, ob. 1623.

RICHARD, = Of Poughill, ob. 1639. 4th son.

GERTRUDE INCLEDON, Of Bramston, mar. 1616.

BRIDGET, Married (1) to Sir Christoph. Harris. (2) John Weeks, Rect. of Sherwell, Devon, and Prebend of Bristol.

CATHERINE, Mar. to Justinian Abbot, of Hartland Abbey, co. Devon, June 2, 1589.

MARY, M. Arth. Tremain, of Collacomb, June 11, 1587.

ROGER, Buried June 5th, 1616. 2nd son.

JOHN, Died young. 3rd son.

SIR BERNARD GRANVILLE, = Ob. June 16th, 1636.

ELIZABETH, Sole dau. and heir of Philip Bevil, of Bryn and Killigarth, co. Cornwall.

URSULA and REBECCA.

CHAMOND, = Bap. Oct. 6, 1622, ob. 1689.

HONOR, Ob. 1698.

GRACE, Bap. March 6, 1619.

SIR BEVIL GRANVILLE, = Bap. March 25, 1595. Slain at Lansdown fight, July 5, 1643. Buried in a vault at Kilkhampton, July 26, 1643.

GRACE, Dau. and co-h. of Sir Geo. Smythe, of Matford (Maydford) in the parish of Heavitree, near Exeter.

SIR RICHARD GRANVILLE, = "*The King's General in the West*," bap. June, 26, 1600. He was Knight Banneret. D. at Ghent, 1658.

MARY FITZ, Of Fitzford, near Tavistock.

JOHN, Bap. Sep. 29, 1601. ob. s.p.

ROGER, Drowned in the service of Chas. I., s.p.

GERTRUDE, Bap. May 8, 1597, mar. Christopher Harris, of Lanrest, M.P., ob. 1682.

ELIZABETH, Buried at Kilkhampton, Sept. 12th, 1605.

GEERARD[...]

RICHARD. = MARY, Bap. March 3, 1657.

JAMES, Bap. 17th Feb., 1658.

CHAMOND, Bap. Aug. 8, 1660. Rector of Kilkhampton. Ob. 1726.

REBECCA, Ob. 1729.

JOHN, Bap. Dec. 11, 1661.

GERTRUDE, Bap. Feb. 4, 1662.

MARGARET, Bap. Mar. 9, 1663.

Should've been 1st Earl of Bath

had 13 children

A son, put to death by the Roundheads.

ELIZABETH, Married to Colonel Lenard, a staunch [...]

HONOR, [...] Jan. 23, 1687.

RICHARD, Bap. Mar. 5, 1689.

ROBERT, Bap. Jan. 3, 1692.

GERTRUDE, Bap. Dec. 9, 1694, married, Nov. 30, 1728, Wm. Cook, of Clovelly.

ANNE, Bap. Dec. 8, 1697, ob. 1716.

CATHERINE, Bap. Apr. 16, 1702.

RICHARD, Born 19th March, 1620, ob., s.p. circa 1640.

ELIZABETH, Born 1621-2, mar. Sir Pet. Prideaux, Nov. 17, 1645.

GRACE, Mar. Robert Fortescue, Esq., of Filleigh, Feb. 20, 1645.

BEVIL, Born June 23rd, 1626, ob. Feb. 6, 1626.

SIR JOHN GRANVILLE, = Born 29th August, 1628. Created Earl of Bath, Visct. Lansdown and Baron Granville in England, and recognized as Earl of Corboil, &c., by King Charles II., 1661. Ob. Aug. 21st, 1701.

→ Wm. & Mary

JANE, Dau. of Sir Peter Wyche, ob. Feb. 17th, 1692.

BRIDGET, Born 30th Jan., 1629, mar. (1) Sir Simon Leach of Cadely. (2) Sir Thomas Higgons.

BERNARD, * = Messenger to Chas. II. from the Duke of Albemarle, Groom of the Bedchamber to Chas. II. at the Restoation. Died 14th Jun, 1701. Buried at Lambeth, in which church there still exists (1861) a tablet and inscription to his memory, though moved from its original place and despoiled.

ANNE, * Sole dau. and heir. of the Honourable Cuthbert Morley, of Haunby, in Cleveland, co. of York, Esq.

CATHERINE, Bur. Feb. 12, 1632.

GEORGE, Born 22nd Aug., 1632, died young.

ROGER, Born Nov. 3, 1633, ob. 1635.

JOANA, Born Sept. 1635, mar. Col. Richd. Thornhill.

DENNIS, D.D., born Feb. 13, 1636, Rector of Kilkhampton, 1661, Dean of Durham, 1684, d. at Paris, s.p., 18th April, 1703. Married Anne, dau. of Cosen, Bishop of Durham.

Jacobite: would only speak to George, Lord Lansdown after he'd sided w. Wm. & Mar[y]

MARY, Born June 24th, 1638, ob. 1639.

CHARLES, 2nd Earl of Bath. In his father's lifetime, and while bearing the courtesy title of Viscount Lansdown, he was called up to the House of Lords as Baron Granville, 1689. In 1684 he was made a Count of the Roman Empire. Mar. (1) May 22nd, 1678, Martha, dau. of Thos. Osborne, Duke of Leeds. (2) Isabella, dau. of Henry de Nassau, Duc d'Auverquerque. He died Sept. 4, 1701.

WILLIAM HENRY, 3rd Earl of Bath. Born Jan. 30, 1692. Died May 17, 1711.

JOHN, Created Baron Granville, of Potheridge, 1703, mar. Rebecca, dau. of Sir Josias Child, of Wanstead, Bart. He died Dec. 3rd, 1707.

BEVILL, Died Sept. 15th, 1706.

HENRIETTA, Died Sept. 17th, 1690.

JANE, Born Aug. 23rd, 1653, mar. Sir W. Leveson Gower. She died Mar. 13, 1697.

CATHERINE, Mar. Craven Peyton, Esq.

GRACE, * Born Sept. 3rd, 1654, mar. Geo., Baron Carteret, of Hawnes. She was created Countess of Granville and Viscountess Carteret. She died Oct. 18, 1744.

SIR BEVIL, * Knighted by Jas. II., 1686. Governor of Barbadoes. Ob., s.p., Sept. 15, 1706.

GEORGE, * = 2nd son, created Baron Lansdown of Bideford, Dec. 30, 1711. Sec. of War and Comp. of Household to Qu. Anne. Ob. Jan. 30, 1735.

Jacobite

MARY, * Dau. of Edward Villiers, Earl of Jersey, widow of Thomas Thynne, Esq., and mother of Thos., 2nd Vis. Weymouth.

All daughters

BERNARD, * = Lt.-Gov. of Hull, M.P. for Camelford and Fowey, ob. Dec. 8, 1723.

MARY, * Dau. of Sir Martin Westcomb, Bart., ob. 1747.

ANNE, * Mar. Sir Jn. Stanley, of Grange Gorman, in Ireland, Bart.

ELIZABETH, * D. unmarried.

SIR JOHN, * 1st Baron Gower, 1703. Mar. Catherine, eldest dau. of John Manners, Duke of Rutland. He d. 1709.

CATHERINE, * Mar. Sir Edw. Wyndham, ancestor of the Earls of Egremont.

JANE, * Married Henry Hyde, Earl of Rochester and Clarendon. Catherine, Duchss. of Queensberry, was one of their daus.

JOHN, * Earl of Granville, K.G., Visct. and Baron Carteret, born April 22, 1691. Mar. (1) Frances, dau. of Sir Rob. Worsley, Bart. She died June 9, 1743. (2) Sophia, dau. of Sir T. Fermour, Earl of Pomfret. She died Oct. 7, 1745. He died 1763.

ANNE, * d. unmarried.

MARY, * Mar. March 14th, 1729, Wm. Graham, of Platten, near Drogheda; d. Nov. 1735.

GRACE, * Mar. March 29th, 1740, T. Foley, of Whitley, Newport and Stoke Edith. Created Baron Foley, 1776. She died, Nov. 1st, 1769, leaving Thos., afterwards 2nd Baron Foley, and other children.

cousins

ELIZABETH, * d. unmarried.

BERNARD, * Of Calwich Abbey, h. of Geo. Granville, Lord Lansdown. The last of the male line of Granville. Ob. 1775, s.p.

BEVIL, * 2nd son, mar. Mary Anne Rose, died in Jamaica, s.p., 1736.

MARY GRANVILLE,

Married (1) Alexander Pendarves, of Roscrow, in co. Cornwall, Esq. (2) Patrick Delany, D.D., Dean of Down. Ob. 1788, s.p.

ANN, * Born 1707, mar. Ob. 1761.

JOHN, * 2nd Baron Gower, created Earl Gower and Viscount Trentham, 1746, mar. (1) March 18th, 1712, Evelyn, dau. of Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston. (2) Oct. 31, 1733, Penelope, dau. of Sir J. Stonehouse, Bart. (3) 1736, Mary, dau. and co-h. of T. Tufton, Earl of Thanet. He died 1754.

And others.

ROBERT, * 2nd Earl of Granville.

GRACE, * Mar. 1729, Lionel, 3d Earl of Dysart.

LOUISA, * Mar., 1733, Thos., 2nd Visct. Weymouth. She died 1736.

GEORGIANA CAROLINE, * Mar., (1) 1734, Hon. John Spencer. (2) 1750, William, 2nd Earl Cowper.

FRANCES, * Mar., 1748, John, 4th Marquis of Tweeddale. She d. 1788.

SOPHIA, * Mar., 1765, Wm., Earl Shelburn, 1st Marquis of Lansdowne. She d. 1771.

JOHN HENRY, * 2nd Marquis of Lansdowne, mar., 1805, Mrs. Gifford.

GRANVILLE, * 2nd Earl Gower, K.G., created Marq. of Stafford, 1786, M. (1) 1744, Elizabeth, dau. of N. Fazakerley, Esq. (2) 1748, Louisa, dau. of Scrope Egerton, Duke of Bridgewater. He d. 1803.

GERTRUDE, * Mar. John, 4th Duke of Bedford.

And others.

LIONEL, * 4th Earl of Dysart. Twice married. Died 1799.

WILBRAHAM, * 5th Earl of Dysart. Died 1822.

LOUISA, * Countess of Dysart. Mar. John Manners, Esq. She died 1840.

THOMAS, * 3rd Visct. Weymouth, K.G., created Marquis of Bath, 1789. Mar., 1759, Elizabeth Cav. Bentinck, dau. of Wm., 2nd Duke of Portland. He died 1796.

HENRY FRED. CARTERET, * Created Baron Carteret of Hawnes, 1784. He d. 1826.

JOHN SPENCER, * Created Baron and Viscount Spencer, 1761. Visct. Althorpe and Earl Spencer, 1765. M. 1755, Georgiana, dau. of S. Poyntz, Esq. He d. 1783.

GEORGE, * 5th Marquis of Tweeddale, died a minor, in 1770.

CATHERINE, * Mar. Wm. Hay, Esq. She d. 1776.

And others.

GEORGE GRANVILLE, * 2nd Marquis of Stafford, K.G., created Du. of Sutherland, 1833. Mar., 1785, Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland. He died 1833.

GRANVILLE LEVESON, * Created Visct. Granville, 1815, and Earl Granville, 1833, Mar., 1809, Henrietta, dau. of Wm. Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire. He died 1846.

And others.

WILLIAM, Lord Huntingtower. Mar. Catherine, dau. of Francis Gray, Esq. He died 1833.

And others.

THOMAS, * 2nd Marquis of Bath. M. Isabella, dau. of Geo., 4th Visct. Torrington.

GEORGE, Baron Carteret, 1826, mar. Harriet, sister of Visct. Courtenay. He died 1838.

JOHN, Baron Carteret, 1838, mar. Harriett Master. He died 1849.

GEORGE JOHN, * 2nd Earl Spencer, mar. Lavinia, dau. of Chas. Bingham, Earl of Lucan. He died 1834.

GEORGIANA, * Mar. Wm. Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire.

And others.

FRANCES, * Mar., 1797, Chas. Manners, of South Witham, Esq.

GEORGE, 2d Du. of Sutherland, K.G., mar., May 27th, 1823, Harriett, dau. of Geo. Howard, 6th Earl of Carlisle.

And others.

GRANVILLE, George, 2nd Earl Granville. Mar., 1840, — dau. and h. of the Duc de Dalberg.

And others

LIONEL, 6th Earl of Dysart. Mar. Maria, dau. of S. Tone, Esq.

THOMAS, 3rd Marquis of Bath.

LORD JOHN THYNNE, Mar. Anne Beresford.

JOHN CHARLES, 3rd Earl Spencer, mar. Esther, dau. of Richd. Acklom, Esq.

BEVIL, Born 1831, Brevet-Major 23rd Royal W[elsh] Fusiliers. At the battle of Alma, Inkerm[an] and taking of Sebastopol. In India, a[t] the relief and taking of Lucknow.

Appendix 1

Recollections of Mrs Kratter

9 Dec. 1857

That her Uncle Mr. Delabere told her when admiring Mrs Jermille's picture that she had married the Dk. of Ormonde ~~secretly~~ privately (probably abroad in Spain) that she had 2 children by him Mrs Viney & her sister (query Mrs Butler or who?) that the Duke had proposed immediately as a simple thing during a trip in England – that ~~consequently~~ (the Ormonde family ~~[illegible]~~ having done every thing possible to hunt the Viney's Mr Viney was the Duke's (chaplain) ~~[illegible]~~ Mrs Viney was treated in the most considerate way by the Jermille family after the marriage of (A. G. with Miss Wickenden – the whole private marriage & being known to him & the secret kept by all parties among the friends of the Jermilles.

Appendix 2

Mr. Venn had a very nice house in the Close at Gloucester - a good garden all shut in by gates - Mrs Granville lived there after Mr. Venn's death & all Mr. Venn's children were born there Capt. Leonard Henry & Thomas

Now Mrs Granville proposed that Miss Mrs Stratton did not know -

Mrs Shaw said Q. E. Butler left all her personal property to the Venns - perhaps this was her house & left to them & to Mrs Granville.

Know all men by these presents that I Mary Granville Widow and Relict of Bernard Granville late of Burklands in the County and Diocess of Glouc. Esq. intestate deceased for divers good causes & considerations me in this behalf moving Have renounced relinquish'd and utterly disclaymed and by these presents Do renounce relinquish and utterly disclayme the Administration of the goods rights and credits of the s.d Bernard Granville deceased and all my right title and interest therein and thereto, and do hereby expressly consent and desire that Administration of the goods rights and credits of the Sais Bernard Granville deceased may be granted and committed to George Wise and William Townesens principal Creditors of the Sais deceased And that this my renunciation may be effectuall I do hereby constitute and appoynt Charles Brereton and Robert Moore Senr Proctors of the Consistory Court of Glouc. joyntly and severally to appeare before the Worpful S.r Henry Penrice Kn.t Chancel.r of the Diocess of Glouc. his Surrogate or other competent Judge in this behalf to pray and procure this my renunciation to be admitted and enacted and whatsoever my Sais proctors shall joyntly or severally do concerning the premisses lawfully I will ratify and confirm In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale in the presence of the three and twentieth day of July in the yeare of o.r Lord Dos 1724

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us

Mary Granville

Sarah Savage

Anne Carter

1

Appendix 3

Gloster 20th Ch. 1734

So much Magnificence & order
must be a Noble Sight, well, gorridively when we
marry an other Daughter I will Cendr. me do be in
Town thanks to my Dearest Sister for her fine
description, your words render every thing how
fine & agreable in its self doubly so to me, I
have not read your Letter yet so above a dozen
People but it will be made Known to the whole
Town, the author of the Journal would give me a
good price for it, the Dress of the Princess & her
Train bearers must be extremely becoming, it
put me very much in mind of Henrietta
Cavendish, tho' I have small hopes of being
a Courtier yet methinks I am sorry Princess Royal
is going away, I have allways heard her Commended
yet her perfections have been more talkd of
since she made was on foot than before, I am
glad the Prince of Orange has so much
Understanding I wish it have ingenious People
come togather be it in high or low Life, there
must be greater unhappyness to a Person of Sense
then to be forced to live with those of small
Capacity. there are many places more Polite
than Dutch but I assure you none more Loyal.
There was such general Rejoycing that it really
gave one Spirits, a great Illumination at Night
Lady Somerset says our Billit Board so, for my
Brother made all her Windows very bright as
but she wold square only one House. & they
offerd for it I hope next Winter there will be
Masquerades offerd for Princess Anne's and
Princes Marriage. I am very glad your Ma
Gives so much Gaiety. I am very glad your ma

Appendix 4

[1]

Parker's Penny Post.

Numb. 383

Wednesday October 18, 1727

An Account of the Procession *from* Westminster-Hall *to the* Abbey *at the* Coronation *of their Majesties last Wednesday.*

THE Herb Woman with her Maid Servants, strewing sweet Herbs, &c. The Dean's Beadle of Westminster with his Staff. The High Constable of Westminster with his Staff, in a Scarlet Cloak. A Fife. Drums. Drum Major. Trumpets. Kettle Drums. Trumpets. The Serjeant Trumpet. The six Clerks in Chancery, in Gowns of Black flower'd Sattin, with Black silk Loops and Tufts upon the Sleeves. The Closet Keeper of the Chapel Royal. Chaplains having Dignities in Scarlet, and black silk Tippets, with square Caps in their Hands. Sheriffs of London. Aldermen, and Recorder of London, in their Scarlet Gowns, those having passed the Chair wearing their Gold Chains. The Masters in Chancery in rich Gowns. The King's younger Serjeants at Law in Scarlet Gowns with their Caps in their Hands. The King's Solicitor. The King's Attorney. The King's ancient Serjeant. The Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches in their Judges Robes of Scarlet, with their Caps in their Hands, &c. Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, Lord chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Scarlet Robes, with their Collars of SS's gilt. The Master of the Rolls in a rich Gown Lord chief Justice of the King's Bench, in a Scarlet Robe, with his Collar of SS's gilt. Children of the Choir of Westminster in Surplices. Serjeant of the Vestry, and the Serjeant Porter in Scarlet Gowns Children of the Chappel Royal in Surplices, with Scarlet Mantles over them. Choir of Westminster in Surplices. The Organ Blower. The Groom of the Vestry. A Sackbut. A double Courtal. A Sackbut. Gentlemen of the King's Chappel in Scarlet Mantles. Sub Dean of the King's Chappel in a Scarlet Gown turn'd up with black Velvet. Prebandaries of Westminster in Surplices and rich Copes, with their Caps in their Hands. The Master of the Jewel House in a Scarlet Robe. Bath King of Arms. Knights of the Bath, in the Habits and Collars of their Order. Knight of the Thistle. Knight of the Garter, in the Habit and Collar of that most Noble Order. Vice Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household. Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household. Privy Counsellors of Great Britain, not Peers. Two Pursuivants of Arms. Baronesses, Barons, in their Robes of Estate, with their Coronets in their Hands. Bishops in their Robes, with their Square Caps in their Hands. Two Pursuivants of Arms. Viscountesses, Viscounts in their Robes of Estate, with their Coronets in their Hands. Two Heralds of Arms in their Coats and Collars of SS's. Countesses, Earls, in their Robes of Estate, with their Coronets in their Hands except such as carry'd any of the Regalia. Two Heralds of Arms as before. Dutchesses and Dukes in their Robes of Estate, with their Coronets in their Hands, except such as carry'd any of the Regalia, or walk'd as great Officers. Duke of Grafton Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold. The two Provincial King of Arms, with Ulster King of Arms of all Ireland, in their Coats, Collars, and Badges, with their Coronets in their Hands. The Lord Trevor, Lord Privy Seal. The Duke of Devon, Lord President of the Council. The Lord Archbp. of York. The Lord King, Lord High Chancellor, bearing his Purse. The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Two Persons, representing the Dukes of Aquitain and Normandy, in Crimson Velvet Mantles lin'd with white Sarsenet, and faced with Miniver, powder'd with Ermin, each of them his Cap in his Hand of Cloth of Gold, furr'd and powder'd with Ermin. Queen's Vice Chamberlain. Two Gentlemen Ushers. Queen's Lord Chamberlain. Ivory Rod, with the Dove, borne by the Earl of Northampton. Scepter with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Rutland. Queen's Crown, borne by the Duke of St. Alban's. The Queen in her Royal Robes of Purple Velvet richly furr'd with Ermin, having a Circle of Gold upon her Majesty's Head, under a Canopy borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. Supported by the Bishops of London and Winchester. Gentlemen Pensioners. Her Majesty's Train supported by the Princess Royal, and the Princesses Amelia, and Carolina, assisted by the Lady Frances Nassaw, Lady Mary Capel, Lady Rebecca Herbert, Lady Ann Hastings. The Coronets of the Princesses borne by the Lord Carnarvon, Lord Glenorchy, and Lord Lewisham. The Dutchess of Dorset Lady of the Bedchamber. Countess of Sussex attending the Princess Royal as principal Lady of the Chamber. Two of her Majesty's Women, Mrs. Herbert, and Mrs. Howard. The Regalia of his Majesty. St. Edward's Staff, borne by the Duke of Kent. The Golden Spurs, borne by the Duke of Manchester, for the Earl of Sussex. The Scepter, with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Montague. The second Sword by the Earl of Lincoln. The third Sword by the Earl of Crawford. Curtana by the Earl of Pembroke. Lord Mayor of London. Lyon King of Arms of Scotland. Garter principal King of Arms. Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Lord Great Chamberlain of England in his Robes of Estate, with his Coronet and white Staff in his Hand. The Earl of Sussex, acting as Earl Marshal of England, in his Robes of Estate, with his Coronet and Earl Marshal's Staff in his Hand. The Sword of State in the Scabbard, borne by the Earl of Huntingdon.

The Lord High Constable of England in his Robes of Estate, with his Staff and Coronet in his Hands. The Duke of Richmond. Deputy to the High Constable of Scotland, Duke of Roxburg. The Scepter with the Dove, borne by the Duke of Argyle. St. Edward's Crown borne by the Duke of Dorset, Lord High Steward. A Gentleman going one side of the Rank, carrying the Staff of the Lord High Steward. The Orbe. borne by the D. of Somerset. The Paten by the Bishop of Rochester. The Bible by the Bishop of Coventry. The Chalice by the Bishop of Peterborough. The King in his Robes of Crimson Velvet, furr'd with Ermin and border'd with Gold Lace, wearing on his Head a Cap of Estate of Crimson Velvet, turn'd up with Ermin, supported by the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph and the Lord Bishop of Durham. Barons of the Cinque Ports supporting the Canopy. His Majesty's Train borne by four Noblemen's Eldest Sons, viz. The Lord Hermitage, Lord Brudenel, Lord Cornbury, Lord Euston. The Master of the Robes. The Earl of Leicester, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards. The Captain of his Majesty's Horse Guard in Waiting. The Marquess of Hartingdon, Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. The Lieutenant of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. The Standard Bearer to the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. A Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed Chamber. The Earl of Essex. Two Grooms of the Bedchamber. Ensign of the Yeomen of the Guard. Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard. Corporals or Exempts. The Yeomen of the Guard, with Partizans on their Shoulders. The Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard.

On Wednesday last in Westminster Hall, his Majesty was pleased to conferr the Honour of Knighthood on the following Persons, *viz.* George Walters, Esq; who represented Duke Aquitain, Col. Lambert who represented the Duke of Normandy at the Coronation, William Wynne, Esq; Standard Bearer to the Band of Pensioners, and Wm. Taylor, Esq, one of the Gentlemen of the said Band.

Those of his Majesty's Chaplains that are Deans, are removed from being Chaplains; and if any of his Majesty's Chaplains are promoted to the Dignity of Deans, they are to quit their Chaplainship.

The Dutchess Dowager of Marlborough, who walked in the Procession to their Majesties Coronation from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, was taken so ill in the Church, that her Grace was oblig'd to be carried home.

Mr. Justice Cowper is to hold his Place of Chief Justice of Chester.

A most sumptuous Entertainment will be provided for their Majesties on the Lord Mayor's day, which falling on a Sunday, will be kept the 30th, which happens to be his Majesty's Birth day, it is computed the dinner will come to Two Thousand Four Hundred Pounds.

'Tis currently reported that the Right Hon. Dr. George Verney, Lord Willoughby of Brooke, Dean of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, and Register of the most Noble Order of the Garter, dy'd lately at his Seat at Compton Murdock in the County of Warwick.

Last Friday the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Oxford, who perform'd Service at their Majesty's Coronation, were introduced by the Right Hon. the Earl of Abingdon to his Majesty, who was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on the Mayor, and one of the Aldermen of the said City.

Capt. Pitman, Commander of the Swift Sloop, a sixth Rate Ship, is made Commander of the Pearl, a 5th Rate, in the room of Sir Hugh Middleton, lately broke by a Court Martial.

Saturday South Sea Stock was 109, 3 qrs. South Sea Annuity 103, 1 qr. Bank 133. India 161, 3 qrs. *Royal* Exchange Assurance 93. London Assurance 12, 3 qrs. African 48. York Buildings 8 1 half.

ADVERTISEMENTS

For AGUES *and* FEVERS, *the now raging* Distempers throughout the Kingdom.

Our Sovereign Lord the KING.

IN Consideration that the new invented Medicine, called Dr. *Bateman's Pectoral Drops*, hath cured many Thousands of his loving Subjects, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant the Proprietors thereof his Royal Letters Patentes, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, strictly forbidding all Persons from imitateing or counterfeiting the same. These *Drops*, are a certain Cure for *Agues*, and the most violent *Fever*, if taken in time. They give present Ease in the most racking Torment of the *Gout*, and all Sorts of *Cholicks*. They have brought away *Sand* and *Gravel*, and *Stones* as big as Horse Beans from divers Persons. They cure the *Rheumatism*, and in all Sorts of Pains, ever so grievous, they give Ease in a few Minutes

Note, They are not purging, but work by moderate Sweat and Urine.

A Book of Certificates of Cures affected by these *Drops* throughout the whole Kingdom, is given Gratis at *Clver's* Printing Office in Bow Church Yard, where they are Sold at One Shilling a Bottle.

London, Printed by *George Parker*, at the Ball and Star in Salisbury Court where Advertisements are taken in.

Nº. X.

The UNIVERSAL SPECTATOR, AND WEEKLY JOURNAL.

By HENRY STONECASTLE, *of* Northumberland, *Esq;*

By HBaker. SATURDAY, December 14. 1728.

From my House in the Minories.

AS my Purpose is, to divert my *Readers*, as much as possible, I shall from Time to Time present them with whatever Pieces of *Wit*, either in Prose or Verse, shall come to Hand, of a proper Nature to be communicated, still keeping clear of *Controversy*, *Scandal*, and *Immodesty*: and, whoever thinks fit to favour me with such Performances, shall be always sure to see them come abroad, in the best Light they can be plac'd, for the Instruction or Entertainment of Mankind. —— To better the World is my chief Aim; but, I am very sensible, the only Way of doing so, is, to please: for no Advice will be regarded, if we dislike the Person from whom it comes. My Study therefore shall be, under the agreeable Charms of *Humour*, *Wit*, and *Novelty*, to insinuate the serious Principles of *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Decency*. —— The Years of my Privacy have been wholly spent in Observations on *human Nature*, and I have, to the utmost of my Power, abstracted myself from all Regards of *Interest* or *Affection*, that I might be qualified to judge impartially. For this Reason I would never marry, least Family Considerations should abate my Zeal for the Good of all my Countrymen; and, as I have neither *Parents*, *Children*, or *Relations*, I am intirely free from those Attachments which are apt to biass, misguide, and contract the Mind. I have no *selfish Views* to serve: I court no *great Man*'s Favour, nor dread his Frowns: my *Passions* are calm'd by Age, and made obedient to the Dictates of right Reason: I have no Love but for *true Merit*, nor hate any Thing but *Vice* and *Immorality*.

To HENRY STONECASTLE *Esq;*

SIR,

THE inclos'd Account of some extraordinary *Curiosities*, collected by a Gentleman in our own Country, will, I presume, be agreeable to the VIRTUOSI: for, I much question whether all the Cabinets in *Europe* can furnish greater *Rarities*. It is requisite to premise, that Mr. *C. H.* who collected them, had been cured of a dangerous Illness by the Skill of Dr. *L*——: and afterwards having Occasion to travel over the West of *England*, was desired by the Doctor to procure for him any uncommon Things he could meet with in his Journey. How well he has acquitted himself, I leave his own Letter to inform.

Mr. C. H. *to Dr.* L——.

SINCE you, *dear Doctor*, sav'd my Life,
To bless, by Turns, and plague my Wife,
In Conscience I'm oblig'd to do
Whatever is enjoin'd by *You*.
According, then, to your Command,
That I should search the *Western Land*,
For curious Things of every Kind,
And send you all that I could find,
I've ravag'd *Air*, *Earth*, *Seas*, and *Caverns*,
Men, *Women*, ~~*Children*~~, *Towns*, and *Taverns*: (Cathedrals,
And greater RARITIES can shew
Than *Gresham*'s Children ever knew;
Which *Carrier* DICK shall bring you down,
Next Time his Waggon comes from Town.

First, I've three *Drops* of that same *Shower*
Which JOVE in DANAE's Lap did pour.
From *Carthage* brought, the *Sword* I'll send,
Wherewith Queen DIDO made her End.
The *Stone*, whereby GOLIAH dy'd,
Which cures the *Head-Ake*, — well apply'd.
A *Snake-Skin*, which you may believe,
The DEVIL cast who tempted EVE.
A *Fig-Leaf Apron*; 'tis the same
That ADAM wore to hide his Shame;
But now wants dearning: — I've beside,
The *Blow* by which poor ABEL dy'd.
A *Whetstone*, worn exceeding small,
TIME us'd to sharp his *Scythe* withal.
The *Pigeon* stuff'd, which NOAH sent,
To tell him where the Waters went.
A *Ring* I've got of SAMPSON's Hair,
Which DALILAH was wont to wear.
St. DUNSTAN's *Tongs*, as Story shews,
Which pinch'd the DEVIL by the Nose.
The *Smock* which PEN spun, when ULYSSES
Was wantoning among his *Misses*.
The very *Shaft*, as all may see,
Which CUPID shot at ANTONY:
And, what beyond the rest I prize;
A *Glance* of CLEOPATRA's Eyes.
Some *Strains* of *Eloquence*, that hung
In *Roman* Times on TULLY's Tongue,
Which undiscover'd still had lain,
But COWPER found them out again.
Then, I've, most curious to be seen,
A *Scorpion's Bite* —— to cure the *Spleen*.
A *Cord*, that us'd with Skill will prove
A certain Remedy for *Love*.
A *Root* of that surprising *Tree*
Which brings back lost *Virginity*.
As MOORE kills *Worms* in Stomach bred,
I've *Pills* for *Maggots* in the Head:
With the *Receipt* too how to make them;
To *you* I leave the Time to take them.
I've got a *Ray* of PHOEBUS' *Shine*,
Found in the Bottom of a *Mine*.
A *Powder* rare, which rightly ta'en,
Will make *old Women* young again.
A LAWYER's *Conscience*, large and fair,
Fit for a JUDGE himself to wear.
I've a choice *Nostrum*, how to make
An Oath —— a —— will not take.
In a *Thumb-phial*, you shall see,
Close cork'd, some Drops of *Honesty*.
Which, after searching Kingdoms round,
At last were in a *Cottage* found:
An *Antidote*, if such there be,
Against the Charms of *Flattery*.
I han't collected any CARE,
Of that there's Plenty every where:
But after wondrous Labour spent,
I've got one *Grain* of rich CONTENT.

It is my *Wish*, it is my *Glory*,
To furnish your NICKNACKATORY:
I only beg, that when you shew 'em,
You'll tell your *Friends* to whom you owe 'em;
Which may your other *Patients* teach
To do as has done

Yours,
C. H.

I receiv'd the following *Epistle* some Time ago, tho' till now I could not possibly find Room for it.

Venerable Sir,

"ACcording to the first Leaf of my Father's "*House-Bible*, I am now above seventy Years of "Age: during which Space of Time I have under-"gone many Changes in Life; and am (from "being Master of a large Estate) reduc'd so low, "that I am wholly kept by the Generosity of a "*Grandson*, who this Summer married a *Lady* of a "great Fortune, and one who bore a good Cha-"racter for Sense and Discretion. After their "Nuptials they prepared for their Country Seat: "and on my *Grandson*'s asking Leave of his *Spouse* I "was admitted to be there with them, and was "put in the Stage-Coach a Day before their setting "out. I got safe to my Journey's End, and on the "Morrow walked out to meet them, understanding "they were to travel in a Chaise for the Benefit "of the Air. I walked till I was tired, and then "sat down under an Hedge to rest me. E'er long "I heard a Noise upon the Road, and presently "saw a Chaise making towards me, with two "Men as I thought in it. When they came up, "it stop'd, and my *Grandson* alighted to salute me. "I told him, *I rejoic'd to see him, but wondered he "had not brought his Wife*, and ask'd to know, *what "strange Gentleman that was with him in the Chaise.* "I scarce had spoke, before I heard a Woman's "Voice cry angrily, *Come, my Dear, or I must "drive without you: I can't bear to hear my self insul-"ted in this Manner; I never was thought to have "a masculine Face in my whole Life before.* —— "My Surprize at this Mistake was so great I had "not a Word to say in my Excuse. He put a Gui-"nea in my Hand, and bid me get a Lodging that "Night, for he found his *Spouse* was so disobliged "at my believing her a Man that it would be "better for the present to keep from her. Away "they drove, and I was left to shift as well as I "could till next Morning, at which Time I went "to hear my Doom, which, my *Grandson* told me, "was to return to *London*, for his Wife would not "see me, notwithstanding all his Endeavours in "my Behalf. So I was sent back in the Coach, "losing the Country Pleasure I had flatter'd my-"self with by an unhappy Mistake, which any "one might easily have committed: for I declare, "they seem'd to me exactly dress'd alike, their "*Perriwigs*, *Hats*, *Ruffles*, *Gloves*, &c. being just the "same. —— In my youthful Days, the Female Sex "were plainly distinguish'd by an high-crown'd "Hat or a Pyramid Head, but if all Women "dress like my Grandaughter, (as it seems all the "rich ones do,) it will be very difficult to know a "Gentleman from a Lady. I have since studied "a Way to avoid giving any future Offence by such "Blunders, and have bought a Spying-Glass, "which I carry about me, that it may be always "ready to use when any one I meet speaks, and "prevent my saying *Sir* instead of *Madam*: and I "find it of so great Advantage, that I desire you "to give this Information to the *Publick*, whereby "all Persons that have weak Eyes, or decay'd by "Age like mine, may distinguish Men from Wo-"men, and escape falling into a Mistake, for "which I myself have so severely suffer'd.

I am, Sir, &c.

Your Diligent Reader,
POLLETOSUS.

If People think fit to come abroad disguis'd, they should have more Discretion than to be angry with such as take them for what they seem to be. The *Lady* was her self the sole Cause of this Mistake: I enjoin her, therefore, immediately to receive the *old Gentleman* into Favour, and beg his Pardon for the Uneasiness her extraordinary Conduct has occasion'd him.

In every Country, Decency requires, that the Sexes should be differenc'd by *Dress*, in order to prevent Multitudes of Irregularities which otherwise would continually be occasion'd. It's no great Matter

679

Appendix 6

Appendix 7 Facsimile of Letter 24. Microfilm of letter in Walter Roch Bequest, Central Library, Newport, Gwent, Wales.

Somerset House 19 March 1727/28

(7)

My Dear

I was just return'd from making my Court last Night when your Sugar Sweet Letter came to my hands. Yesterday was a very racketting day with me. For at Noon the Sun shone very bright and tempted me and Miss Thornhill to take a Turn in St James's Park &c. we went but alas the wind and the Dust had like to have demolish'd us so made the best haste we could into our Chairs and went to Piggys. I return'd home with an intention to sit Sedate by our own fire side till Court hour. but I found a Message from Mrs Hyde wherein she begg'd I would dine with her and afterwards go to a Concert of Musick with her which I could not refuse. I thought it barbarous to disappoint one who has so few pleasures in this Life. Matrimony! I marry? yes, there's a Blessed Scene before my Eyes of the Comforts of that State. a Sick Husband and Squeeking Brats, a Crosse Mother in Law, and a thousand unavoidable impertinencies. No, no, Sister it must be a Basilisk indeed that makes me doat on those wretched incumbrances. but Stop my rage, least it Pierce, I may be dashed on the very Rock I endeavour to avoid and therefore I will say no more against a station of life which in the opinion of some People is not in our Power to prevent. "if Fate be not then what can we foresee? or how can we avoid it if it be?

You are a mere Lagg Sister and think us London Ladies such Gudgeons as to bite at any thing. I am sorry for the poor Mans Heavour, but my Conscience does no lay a crime

me of being

accessary to it, you have said a great many pretty things for the man, or if they were his own tis likely since his fearour is so high that he was delirious when he utter'd so many things to my advantage. I desire you will persue the Scheme of performing the beggars Opera, but you must deferr it till I come to you for I put in for the Part of Mrs Slamikin. I must say you was a little unconsionable to expect a letter last post. you think with Springs up as fast as mushrooms. you are mightily mistaken a very little now adays goes a great way. all the Butterflye men were at Court last night no great plenty of Females. last Sunday I stay'd in Town on Purpose to hear my Friend Mr Williams preach at Whitehall he gave us an excellent Practicall Sermon. I dined with him afterwards at Lady Peytons. Sr Tom is gone out of Town for a week or Ten days. I supp'd with the family the night before he went, and he laid aside Spadill and all his mistical Healths to Toast my Dearest Sister by her own proper name. which has inclined me a little to him. I can't tell you much news. Mrs Moody little Boy is Dead. Mrs Mangy is with Child. Mrs Drummond has been very much out of order all this winter but is now better she desired me when I writ to Gloucester to present her humble Service to Dear Mrs Granville and Miss. and little Bell: does not forgett her favourite. Lady Gearings Youngest Daughter is extreamly troubled with convulsions fitts they have had a great deal of advise for her to no purpose. Operas are something mended within this fortnight, they are much

fuller than they have been any time this winter. Captn Elcott was at the Court last night he has been return'd from his Quarters about a fortnight. the creature ask'd after pretty Miss Sundamore not one word of you. I told him she had been ill and you had nurse her so he had some obligation to you though he had not the Manners to ask after you he conducted me to my Chair. Lord Hermitage is at Nottingham where he deserts himself very well for he visits all the Ladies whither they will or no. pray is not Miss Sally Blizzard a Sadlers daughter, for he told me the Town of Gloucester was so obliging as to say he was in Love with such a one. fye upon Mrs Snell how can she so soon engage a Second venture. I am glad my Mama has obtain'd her point, I wish her joy and comfort in the wearing. tell Mrs Viney if I could take Journeys as easily as she gets [illegible] for her Husband for her thats pretty much the same thing should not so long have been a Stranger to Gloucester. pray when is the little thing expected to make its Publick Entry I would rather hear the affair is well over than be a witness of her pains. I am call'd away to Breakfast, & then I am [illegible] try on a new pair of Stays. Lady Sun: was here last night & left word I must go to Court with her this morning & I suppose go to the Opera at night, oh! the fatigues of this Life, how shall I be able to support such a Succession of Toyls.. adieu if I have time to fill the other side I will do't My humble Duty and Service as due whilst Life doth last thou hast me fast

M. M. M. M.

To Mrs Anne Granville

Free

Gloucester

Mrs Badge desires that Mrs Anne Carter may be
informed that she has paid the Money the Lad of Lers
& would have given Notice of it herself but she
is so much out of order she cannot write

to his studies at Cambridge. Monsieur Bury's goddess's name is Hutchinson, a young lady of an extraordinary good character. Well, my dearest sister, don't think me the maddest thing in the world for writing such a *rantum scantum* letter; my spirits are very alert to-day, and I don't know why. I am to be curled and friz'd, and am not yet a bit dressed; I can no longer rob my toilette of my person, but must take my leave of you for this post.

PENELOPE DARVES.

Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville, in Gloucester.

Somerset House, 19 March, 1727-8.

I was just returned from making my Court last night, when your letter came to my hands. Yesterday was a very racketing day with me, for at noon the sun shone very bright, and enticed me and Miss Thornhill to take a turn in St. James's Park; we went, but, alas! the wind and the dust had like to have demolished us: we made the best haste we could into our chairs and went to Piggy's.[1] I returned home with an intention to sit sedate till Court hour, but I found a message from Mrs. Hyde, wherein she begged I would dine with her, and afterwards go to a concert of musick with her, which I could not refuse. I thought it barbarous to disappoint one who has so few pleasures in this life. Matrimony! I marry! Yes, there's a blessed scene before my eyes of the comforts of that state.—A sick husband, squalling brats, a cross mother-in-law, and a

[1] "*Piggy.*" The Editor has not been able to discover the real name of this lady, but it might possibly be one of the Bellenden family.

thousand unavoidable impertinences; no, no, sister mine, it must be a "*Basilisk*" indeed: but stop my rage! be not too fierce. I may be dashed on the very rock I endeavour to avoid, and therefore I will say no more against a station of life which in the opinion of some people is not in our power to prevent,

> "If Fate be not, then what can we foresee?"
> Or how can we avoid it if it be?"

But you are a mere wag, sister, to think London ladies such gudgeons as to bite at anything. I am sorry for the poor man's fever, but my conscience does no way accuse me of being accessary to it. You have said a great many pretty things *for him*, or if they were his own 'tis likely, since his fever is so high, that he was *delirious* when he uttered so many things to my advantage. I desire you will persue the scheme of performing the Beggars' Opera, but you must defer it till I come to you, for I put in for the part of Mrs. Slamikin! I must say you was a little unconsionable to expect a letter last post: you think wit springs up as fast as mushrooms. You are mightily mistaken, a very little now-adays goes a great way—all the butterfly men were at Court last night, no great plenty of females.

Last Sunday I staid in town on purpose to hear my friend Mr. Williams preach at Whitehall: he gave us an excellent practical sermon. I dined with him afterwards at Lady Peyton's. Sir Tom is gone out of town for a week or ten days. I supped with the family the night before he went, and *he* laid aside Spadill and all his *mistical healths* to toast my dearest sister by her own proper name, which has inclined me a little to him.

Operas are something mended within this fortnight;

they are much fuller than they have been any time this winter. Captain Elliott was at the Cour last night, he has been returned from his quarters about a fortnight. He asked after pretty Miss Scudamore.[1] I told him she had been ill and you had nursed her, so he had some obligation to you; he conducted me to my chair.

Lord Hermitage[2] is at Nottingham, where he deverts himself very well, for he visits all the ladies whether they will or not. Pray is not Miss Sally Blizzard a sadler's daughter; for he told me the town of Gloucester was so obliging as to say he was in love with such a one! Lady Sun was here last night, and left word I must go to Court with her this morning, and I suppose go to the opera at night.

Mrs. Pendarves to Mrs. Ann Granville.

April 16th, 1728.

I am indebted to you, my dearest sister, for a very kind letter. I expect a faithfull account of all your doings at the assizes. I think my mama had best tye you by the leg, for fear some of the lawyers should clap you into their bag, for you are a portable thing and not much heavier than a bundle of papers, though a person of great consequence. If you did not tiff out for the fine men, it was out of arrogance and pride, you thought your native

[1] The Hon. Frances Scudamore, born in 1711, only child of James, 3rd Viscount Scudamore. She married first in 1729, Henry Somerset, 3rd Duke of Beaufort; and second, Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, Esq. Her only child, Frances Scudamore, married, in 1731, Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk.

[2] Francis Scott, eldest son of Henry, 1st Earl of Deloraine, was the Lord Hermitage alluded to as being then at Nottingham.

charms were sufficient, and scorned to be obliged to any ornament for the conquests of your eyes. Northend has all the beauties of Arcadia—the trees, the water, the nightingales, the flowers all now are gay and serene; only now and then a gentle breeze serves as a thorough bass to the singing birds. But as for a Celadon we have no room nor desire for one. If such a mad nymph as Annabella were here, I don't doubt but those kind of animals would find encouragement, but I will have you know that I have a forbidding way, and make them keep their distance. Enclosed I have sent you Sally's[1] letter; pray take care of it, and send it me by the first opportunity, but I desire you will read this first, for you can never bear these trifles after *her solidity*. Mr. William Stanley talks of taking a tour to Gloucester some time this week. I am very much obliged to you, my dear sister, for all the trouble you have taken about Mr. Gibbs: I wish he was more worthy of it, but I hope he is not quite so bad as he is represented.

Oh the charming month of May—charming, charming month of May. June succeeds May, and please God I will be with you before the first of July. Never did woman take so much pains about love powder as I have done about "*cassia*," and am now as wise as I was a fortnight ago. What they give me for it can never be what you mean, for there is no possibility of sending it in a letter, therefore be pleased to describe the thing to me, for neither apothecary, druggist, nor confectioner can tell me what I mean when I ask for it; and they desire me to tell them what kind of a thing it is. I believe you meant I should ask for it on the first of April, but

[1] Sally, (Sarah Kirkham,) Mrs. Capon.

Letter 24

Transcript of Letter 24

ALS, NT, I: 17; Ll. I: 164-6

[From Mary Pendarves, Somerset House, to Anne Granville, Eastgate Street, Gloucester.]

To Mrs Anne Granville

In Glocester

Rob. Sutton[1]

Free

Somerset House 19 March 1727/28

I was just return'd from making my Court last Night when your sugar sweet letter came to my hands; Yesterday was a very racketting[2] day with me. for at Noon the Sun shone very bright and inticed me and miss Thornhill[3] to take a Turn in St. James's Park we went but alas the wind and the Dust had like to have demolish'd us we made the best hast we could into our Chairs[4] and went to Piggys. I returnd home with an intention to sit sedate by our own fire side till Court hour. but I found a message from Mrs. Hyde wherein she begg'd I would dine with her and afterwards go to a Concert of Musick[5] with her which I could not refuse. I thought it barbarous[6] to disappoint one who has so few pleasures in this Life. Matrimony. I marry! yes, there's a Blessed Scene before my Eyes of the Comforts of that State. a Sick Husband and Squawling Bratts,[7] a Cross Mother in Law, and a thousand unavoidable impertinences.[8] No, No, sister it must be a Basilisk[9]

indeed that makes me doat on those wretched incumbrances. but Stop my rage, be not too fierce, I may be dash'd on the very Rock I endeavour to avoid and therefore I will say no more against a Station of Life which in the Opinion of some People is not in our power to prevent. "if Fate be not then what can we foresee?

or how can we avoid it if it be?["]

You are a meer wagg[10] Sister and think us London Ladies such Gudgeons[11] as to bite at any thing. I am sorry for the poor Mans[12] Feavour, but my Conscience does no way accuse me of being accessary to it, you have said a great many pretty things for the man, or if they were his own tis likely since his feavour is so high that he was delirious when he utter'd so many things to my Advantage. I desire you will persue the Scheme of performing the beggars Opera, but you must deferr it till I come to you for I put in for the Part of Mrs. Slamikin.[13] I must say you was a little unconsionable to expect a letter last post. you think witt Springs up as fast as mushrooms. you are mightily mistaken a very little now adays goes a great way. all the Butterflye Men were at Court last Night no great plenty of Females, last Sunday I stay'd in Town on Purpose to hear my Friend Mr. Williams[14] preach at Whitehall he gave us an excellent Practicall Sermon. I dined with him afterwards at Lady Peytons. Sr Tom is gone out of Town for a week or Ten days. I supp'd with the family the Night before he went, and he laid aside Spadill[15] and all his Mistical Healths to Toast my Dearest Sister by her own proper Name. which has inclined me a little to him. I can't tell you much news. Mrs. Moody[s] little Boy is Dead.

Mrs. Mangy[16] is with Child. Mrs. Drummond[17] has been very much out of order all this winter but is now better she desird me when I writ to Gloucester to present her humble Service to Dear Mrs. Granville and Miss. [Granville] and little Bell:[18] does not forgett her favourite. Lady Gearings youngest Daughter[19] is extreamly troubled with convulsions fitts they have had a great deal of advise for her to no purpose. Operas are Something mended within this fortnight, they are much fuller than

they have been any time this winter. Capt$^{n.}$ Eliott[20] was at the Cour last Night he has been return'd from his Quarters about a fortnight. the creature ask'd after pretty Miss Scudamore[21] not one word of you. I told him she had been ill and you had nurs'd her so he had some obligation to you though he had not the Manners to ask after you he conducted me to my Chair.

Lord Hermitage[22] is at Nottingham where he diverts himself very well for he visits all the Ladies whither they will $_{\wedge}^{or}$ no. pray is not Miss Sally Blizzard[23] a Sadlers daughter for he told me the Town of Gloucester was so obliging as to say he was in Love with such a one. fye upon M$^{rs.}$ Snell[24] how can She so Soon engage a Second venture. I am glad my Mama has obtain'd her point,[25] I wish her joy and comfort in the wearing. tell M$^{rs.}$ Viney if I could take Journeys as easily as she getts [children][26] (or her Husband for thats pretty much the same thing) [I] should not so long have been a Stranger to Gloucester. pray when is the little thing expected to make its Publick Entry I would rather hear the Affair is well over than be a witness of her pains. I am call'd away to Breakfast, & then I am to try on a new pair of Stays.[27] Lady Sun: was here last night & left word I must go to Court with her this Morning & I suppose go to the Opera at Night, oh! the fatigues of this Life, how shall I be able to Support such a Succession of Toyls?. adieu if I have time to fill the other Side I will do't My humble Duty and Services as due Whilst Life doth last thou has me fast

MP MP MP MP[28]

M$^{rs.}$ Badge desires that M$^{rs.}$ Anne Carter may be inform'd she has paid the money she had of hers & would have given notice of it herself but she is to much out of order she cannot write[29]

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