Self, Society, and the Passions: Reading Late Eighteenth-Century British Women's Plays

Rose Mary Hilton

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement
of Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2024

Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

1. I have not been enrolled for another award of the University, or other academic or professional organisation, whilst undertaking my research degree.

2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.

3. I am aware of and understand the University's policy on plagiarism and certify that this thesis is my own work. The use of all published or other sources of material consulted have been properly and fully acknowledged.

4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy.

5. The word count of the thesis is 79,615

Name	*Rose Mary Hilton*
Award	*PhD*
Date of Submission	*20.05.2024*
Research Institute	*Culture and Creativity Research Institute*
Director(s) of Studies	*Dr Ana María Sanchez-Arce*

Abstract:

This thesis argues for a connection between later eighteenth-century women's literary dramaturgy and medical and philosophical writing on the topics of self and sociality, in ways that have yet to receive sufficient critical attention. This thesis features close readings of eight play texts written by four female playwrights of the eighteenth century: Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Griffith, Elizabeth Inchbald, and Hannah More. This research sits at an intersection between literary, dramatic, medical, and philosophical writing as I place the works of the female dramatists examined here in contrast and conversation with the male-dominated fields of medicine and philosophy, and it is through a close reading of various texts that this work investigates the non-linear relationship between theories of self in each field. While critical interest in eighteenth-century female playwrights has increased since the 1980s, attention to male authors and playwrights from this period remains significantly higher, affecting the ways in which women of this period are positioned in relation to perceived 'male' fields of knowledge. This thesis demonstrates an original contribution to studies of eighteenth-century drama by focusing on these connections in literary analyses of these plays, building on scholarship that provides the groundwork for the historical and biographical contexts for these dramatists and eighteenth-century theatre more broadly. The hybrid space of the theatre and the very different discursive space of the dramatic text afforded women a unique opportunity to engage with and participate in public discussions about the self and society. Drawing on a keen awareness of their contemporary moments and a clear interest in both philosophical concepts and social questions of 'performance', these texts offer a negotiation between philosophy, medicine, and popular discourse. I argue that eighteenth-century British female playwrights were active participants in the social examination and (re)conceptualisation of the self that was also taking place in other fields and that their works are deserving of greater critical attention, particularly using the framework that I showcase in this thesis. In analysing these plays I demonstrate that the self and ideas of social behaviour and performance were central to the writing of dramatists, philosophers, and physicians in the eighteenth century, and I argue that close readings of these plays illuminate how these women were engaging in public discourse on the self. This study, therefore, contributes to the critical re-positioning of women in literary and dramatic studies particularly on the history of the self.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments:

I've spent a lot of time considering why I wanted to write this thesis. Ultimately, I think I wrote this because I care about women, and I want, in some small way, to combat our enduring social hatred of women. Somehow a huge number of people grow up not learning or accepting that women are people. We know we're people, but even in trying to make this simple statement we're regularly silenced. It may not seem like a particularly pressing social concern to rediscover and amplify the voices of eighteenth-century female playwrights, however, I believe it's worth doing. I don't understand why we pretend that women weren't a fundamental part of the social process of creating and recreating a functioning definition of the self - is it perhaps because we still struggle to critically acknowledge women as people? It would be a reductionist claim to say that the academy is misogynistic, imperialistic, and problematic. It's not *not* those things, but it's not *only* those things. There are women, non-binary people, trans folks, anti-imperialists, radicals, and inspiring people of all types existing and creating within academia. It's just that, as in all areas of life it seems, those existences are often fragile and require particular tenacity and bravery. As a white woman I'm definitely having an easier ride than many; I hope and try to use this privilege in ways that help us all. To me, paying attention to the work, words, and concepts of women from the eighteenth century is one small way of practicing this intent. To have reached this point and to be able to pursue this work I have many people to thank.

To my supervisory team of Drs Mary Peace, Kaley Kramer, Ana María Sanchez-Arce, thank you for your time and support throughout this project.
To my undergraduate supervisor, Professor John Gardner, thank you for inspiring me to pursue my academic interests and for introducing me to Joanna Baillie.
To my parents, Sharon and Gary, for teaching me to read, encouraging me, reading my essays, always being genuinely invested in me and, perhaps most importantly of all, making sure I grew up a feminist. The first album my dad bought me was Sandra Kerr's 'We Were There' so maybe it was always inevitable that I'd end up writing about women's history. I miss you, dad.
To my friends, Alice and Aisling, you are two of my favourite women. Seeing you both putting so much good and kindness into the world never fails to inspire me. I'm lucky to know you and I can't wait to see you get married!
To my family-in-law, Cari and Nathan, thank you for all of your support and love, and Daisy and Poppy, you give me hope by being two of the most authentically wonderful people, I think you'll change the world. I hope all of your futures are full of joy.
To my husband, Joe, I know I could have done this without you, but it would have been even more miserable. You are the best of the best. You are an ally, a friend, and the best husband I could ever ask for. There aren't enough words to describe how grateful I am for you, and how deeply I love you.
To myself, for doing the work, for not giving up, and for remembering that if all of the mediocre, entitled men you've met can do it, you definitely can.
Finally, and most importantly, to my cat Lucy, for being the best.

Introduction

The idea of the self, as something shared and private, innate and performed, cultivated and natural, held the attention and imagination of thinkers and writers across the eighteenth century. While generally understood to belong to the 'masculine' realms of philosophy, medicine, and political thought dominated by men like John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, and David Hume, concepts of and negotiations with the 'self' were as likely to emerge in popular discourse, particularly where performance was explicit. The eighteenth-century theatre was a crucial space for the social representation and examination of the self and, as this thesis will demonstrate, provided women with an opportunity to participate in these cultural discourses and, in some cases, innovate and develop concepts of 'self'. The fact that women were using the popular, and often populist, theatrical space to explore ideas of selfhood highlights how eighteenth-century articulations of self were not restricted to one realm or area of thought, or to one sex. Scholarly neglect of eighteenth-century female playwrights and of women's negotiations and explorations of the self through dramatic writing has resulted in an incomplete critical record of the history of the self and of the various cultural discussions of social behaviour that were taking place in the eighteenth century. Critical discussion of British female playwrights began more earnestly in the 1980s with feminist recovery efforts, but eighteenth-century female playwrights still receive relatively little critical attention. This thesis analyses the work of four eighteenth-century dramatists, Elizabeth Griffith, Elizabeth Inchbald, Hannah More, and Joanna Baillie, in relation to the intellectual discourses about the self present in medical writing and philosophy of the period as there is yet to be a thorough study of self and sociality featured in their dramas as contextualised by these theories. I argue that the eighteenth-century concerns of medical and intellectual philosophy, especially those about the social legibility of the self, are also present in late eighteenth-century female dramatists' plays. The questions about selfhood and social performance that are frequently identified in male thinkers' writings are also evident in these dramas written by women, and yet these plays receive significantly less critical engagement than the works of male authors across the fields of medicine, philosophy, and drama and are often overlooked in histories of the self or even in the canon of eighteenth-century theatre. My contribution to knowledge therefore lies in drawing attention to this hitherto underexplored overlap and in my analysis of how these plays operate as acts of thought on the fundamental question of what it means to be a person.

I address these plays as written texts within the dramatic medium, produced for both entertainment and education, but also as treatises and explorations of the dominant philosophical questions on the topic of selfhood and social behaviour that have engaged thinkers across fields and eras. In this thesis, I use the writing of male philosophers and physicians as context for my readings of the plays. This partially new historicist approach enables me to contextualise the theories of selfhood and sociality that I identify in each text but does not serve as an argument about the specific context of production or as a claim that there was any direct correlation between texts or authors. I do not discuss the potential reading habits or influences of these various writers, instead I claim that the publication of these works across several decades within the same century demonstrates an enduring and complex intellectual and dramatic interrogation of the topics of self and social behaviour. I have selected a sample of the four playwrights' plays written and published between the 1770s and the 1790s. I have selected four female playwrights as case studies although there were many more working in the eighteenth century, and there was even a "slow but steady rise in new productions by women playwrights, which accelerated noticeably in 1779, and continued through to the end of the century."[1] I analyse plays published between 1772 and 1798, dates which straddle this noticeable acceleration of productions by women playwrights. Serving as a clear example of why my framework for reading these dramas is both viable and valuable, I begin with analysis of Joanna Baillie's dramas written at the end of the century; her biography and the existing critical engagement with her writing both demonstrate the influence of eighteenth-century medical writing and philosophy on Baillie's dramas. Following the critical acknowledgement that female playwrights were increasingly producing dramatic work in this period, I argue that these women were creating dramas that explored the topics of selfhood and social behaviour in a way that aligns with eighteenth-century medical and philosophical writing on the same topics, and in ways that have yet to receive sufficient critical attention.

Throughout the eighteenth century, medical, philosophical, and dramaturgical texts all engaged with theatrical or performative models of the self. While there may not have been a *direct* correlation between these female dramatists and specific philosophers,

[1] Ellen Donkin, *Getting into the Act: Women Playwrights in London, 1776 – 1829* (London: Routledge, 1995), 15. It is worth noting that despite this increase in the later decades, the work of women dramatists was never numerically dominant in the London theatre scene: "[o]f all playwrights whose plays were being produced in London from 1660 to 1800 only about seven percent were women. At certain points the percentage was higher, and at others it was lower." Donkin, *Getting into the Act*, 1.

the play texts demonstrate the influence of various systems of thought on popular concepts as well as how women negotiated public aspects of the self (gender and national identity, for example) through their writing. After setting out the critical contexts and framework of my argument, this thesis offers four case-studies that align each dramatist's work with a specific aspect of the self, for example, Baillie's exploration of the passionate self in her *Plays on the Passions* (1798). My analysis of the dramatic texts uncovers the common search for the limits and definitions of the human self that crosses gendered fields of knowledge, demonstrating women's active participation in shaping public understanding of complex philosophical ideas of the self and social behaviour. I contextualise the plays with reference to the philosophies of David Hume, Adam Smith, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Bernard Mandeville, and Francis Hutcheson as they highlight some of the prominent conceptualisations of self and social behaviour that were circulating in this century. I also use the medical writing of William Buchan, Richard Mead, George Cheyne, Matthew Baillie, and John Brown, alongside a discussion of the plays to examine the interrelationship between philosophical and physical concepts of the, specifically 'feeling', self.

Eighteenth-century medical writing and dramatic writing shared an interest and frequent focus on themes of self, embodiment, and social virtue. The medical writing of, for example George Cheyne or John Brown, through prescriptive depictions of the boundaries of health and disease, regularly veers beyond the physical into the metaphysical. Combined with the explicit theorising of the physical self, the philosophical theories of the eighteenth century, particularly those of Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, David Hume, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, considered the moral dimensions of social performance and the body. I argue that these articulations of intellectual theories and concepts of the virtuous, healthy, and social self find expression in the popular form and content of the theatre. The theatre, as a populist medium, was a space for exploring these same ideas, and female playwrights, traditionally excluded from these more commonly considered 'intellectual' and 'masculine' fields of study, were able to use this medium to participate in the late eighteenth-century cultural conversations on the topics of self and sociality. In addition to the perception of 'low-brow' entertainment, the genre that many women wrote in – comedy – may have influenced the degree to which their works were overlooked as contributors to the period's intellectual discourse on self. The generic conventions of comedies, farces, and even tragedies were well established, and weighted in terms of

their artistic, cultural, and critical value. This relative weightiness of genre may have influenced a critical dismissal of these women's dramas as texts that were also engaging with the fundamental queries about self and sociality. Critics including Ros Ballaster in *Selective Forms* (1992), Karen Raber in *Dramatic Difference* (2001), and Lisa Freeman in *Character's Theater* (2002), have explored the relationship between genre and gender in women's dramatic writing. Freeman's exploration of genre is particularly relevant to my approach in this thesis as she illustrates how dramatic genres "manipulated markers of identity such as gender, class, and nation for representation on the eighteenth-century stage."[2] The playwrights I feature in this thesis all explore the markers of identity that Freeman links to genre here. However, in the following chapters I create readings that focus more on those individual themes of identity, for example gender, class, and nationality, all under the umbrella theme of the social self, and I discuss genre only where specifically relevant. For example, genre impacts my reading of Inchbald's presentation of the gendered self in her farce *A Widow's Vow* (1786) as the farcical genre impacts the tone and possible implications of each line. However, although genre can affect the tone and impact of a scene, especially in performance, my overall emphasis is on the tropes and types of self that these playwrights are creating and the interplay between ideas about sociality and selfhood in the dramas and intellectual fields of thought in this period.

In this thesis I examine the literary and the dramatic elements of these plays while creating a literary study of these playwrights' dramas. To help clarify this balancing act of literary and dramatic, throughout this thesis I use the term 'literary dramaturgy'. I use 'literary dramaturgy' to consider the content and form as well as the context of the plays as dramas; a form intended for, if not always performed for, a public audience. The authorial intent of the playwrights is not something that can be fully determined, of course, and with the exceptions of instances where the purpose or intent of the work has been explicitly stated (for example, in Joanna Baillie's 'Introductory Discourse') I largely consider the intent to be beyond the remit of this study. However, a discussion of the literary and dramaturgical elements of these texts informs the many possible readings of the works, considering the specific medium of the play text as text and drama, and hopefully serves as a steppingstone to further interdisciplinary work in the future. This thesis is a work of literary studies; thus, I do not discuss the performance history of the plays. However, I consider the dramatic elements of these

[2] Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 1.

plays, for example in my discussion of metatheatricality in Baillie's plays, masquerade and spectatorship in Griffith's, dramatic irony and farce in Inchbald's, and the intended audience of female students reading these plays in More's dramas.

As will become clear throughout this thesis, these female British dramatists used theatre as a foundation for exploring the social performance of the self, using popular form to explore the concepts that physicians and philosophers were also examining through abstract and empirical methods. The theatre in the eighteenth century was key to the cultural dissemination of emergent ideas of social virtue and individual self-fashioning, whilst it was also engaging in conceptualising broader ideas of constructed identity including nationality and nascent ideas of citizenship, class, gender, and sexuality. This thesis, therefore, focuses on the topic of the social self as presented in these dramas. While they use different tools or approaches, I argue that the creation, analysis, and deconstruction of the self in medical and philosophical texts, and the dramatic writing of female dramatists, centres on the self *in society*. This thesis examines the literary presentation of the self as it interacts with, and performs for, others in each of the chosen plays. The self was a contested concept, re-evaluated and influenced by the writing in each of the fields of medicine, philosophy, and theatre in preceding centuries as well as in this period. These plays all demonstrate aspects of the multidimensional process of defining and presenting the social self, often in ways that overlap with the medical and philosophical writing of the eighteenth century. The analysis that I undertake in this thesis contributes to, and correlates with, several critical topics including the study of female playwrights, the topics of self and character, and the passions. The below sections address some of the key critical voices and claims relevant to these topics to contextualise the following case-study chapters.

Gender, Women, and Theatre

There is no question that the eighteenth-century London theatre scene was a crucial part of the social and cultural public of the eighteenth century. As with other writing from the period, dramatic texts offer "direct or indirect commentary upon the contemporary world and the ways in which it was changing."[3] The use of theatre to discuss social behaviour and the self was not something new, as Paul Goring explains "[t]elling stories served the purposes of entertainment, but stories were often also a

[3] Paul Goring, *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (London: Continuum, 2008), 4.

way of coming to terms with aspects of contemporary life, or a tool by which writers attempted to make a difference to the society around them."[4] Eighteenth-century female playwrights discussed, defined, and represented the self and how a multitude of selves could and should behave socially and relate to each other, by using the dramatic medium. This study continues the important work of closely reading some of the ideas of self and sociality identifiable in their plays and I believe that there is much still to be learned and revealed through this process.

Women's public and often successful use of the theatre to tell these stories and explore the themes of self and sociality in the eighteenth century has been, to a large extent, critically overlooked and overshadowed by the work of male authors in all different fields of thought in this period. Even now critics frame the analysis of women's writing from the long eighteenth century in relation to male authors' work, including prominent discussions of Shakespeare and his enduring influence on writing in this period. For example, Fiona Ritchie does valuable work to demonstrate how women were key to Shakespeare's continued relevance in theatre and culture of the eighteenth century. In her introduction to *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (2014), Ritchie notes how women were "active in the theatre of the period, making up a large proportion of the playhouse audiences and (after 1660) performing on the professional stage and shaping the presentation of drama in the long eighteenth century."[5] This acknowledgement of the role of women in shaping the presentation of drama in the eighteenth century is also seen in this thesis; while my argument is not centred on Shakespeare or other prevalent male dramatists, an acknowledgement of the importance of female voices in shaping the theatre of the eighteenth century is shared between Ritchie's work and my own. Furthermore, I look at how women quite directly affected the shaping of dramas by writing them, not just observing and performing them.

Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam's collection *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity* (2016) demonstrates the increased 21st century critical interest in women's theatre from the long eighteenth century. Crisafulli and Elam begin by identifying the material fact that women were creating dramas for the stage and page in the eighteenth century and that there was some

[4] Goring, *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, 4.
[5] Fiona Ritchie, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1.

degree of acceptance for these women: "Baillie's 'testicular' talent, together with Byron's praise, was shared by other women playwrights, in particular Elizabeth Inchbald, whose skills and professionalism were undeniable even to male poets, critics and theatre managers of the period."[6] The phrasing here demonstrates the lens of defining value relative to, or as ascribed by, male figures and the inherent patriarchal systems at play in the eighteenth-century London theatre scene. I attempt to avoid some of this gendered evaluation and understanding of women's work relative to their male counterparts in this thesis by focussing on the play texts rather than the biographies of the playwrights featured in this study. I depart from the critical model of examining female playwrights in relation to male playwrights and authors. While I draw on the work of male physicians and philosophers in my critical framework, my central focus in this study is the play texts of these female dramatists, and the treatment of the self in these works. In my exploration of the self in these plays, I analyse the tropes of identity and performed selfhood found in each drama and recognise how these topics of identity have frequently been the subject of critical categorisation and exploration. From the sexually determined identity of women in the theatre, to the many subdivisions of class, gender, and national identity, texts like Ritchie's explore the identity of the eighteenth-century woman in the theatre, but there are texts that more broadly analyse the larger cultural categories of identity and briefly considering these texts helps to contextualise my work in the following case study chapters.

Although the 1990s saw a swathe of studies "focusing on early modern Britain and Europe that are concerned with questions of identity – of nation, gender, empire, class, politics and race – the concept of identity itself, and its usefulness as an analytic or descriptive category in historical work, has received surprisingly little attention,"[7] argues Kathleen Wilson in *The Island Race: Englishness, empire and gender in the eighteenth century* (2003). Wilson explains that "historians have not been able to agree exactly on what "identity" means in premodern societies."[8] The complexity of trying to define identity or selfhood can create problems for studies that focus on these ideas. In my thesis I refer to the self as an umbrella term capable of different meanings and connotations in different circumstances, rather than as something fixed

[6] Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam, *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 4.
[7] Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, empire and gender in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1-2.
[8] Wilson, *The Island Race*, 2.

or easily defined. I primarily focus on the self as something socially performed and observed. The central link between the various fields of literary and intellectual thought that I bring into my analysis is the preoccupation with the self and identity in this period, and Wilson clarifies that "identity was in fact a concept used in scientific and philosophical discussion in the eighteenth century."[9] Attributing the increasingly oppositional definition of identity in the period to the philosophy of Hume and Smith Wilson argues that "identity results from the negotiation between where one is placed and where one places oneself within social networks, working through what is possible as well as what is forbidden."[10] The process of negotiating possibility and forbidden behaviours and expressions within social networks is something that I claim is central to the plays I analyse in this thesis. The theatre and the play text were spaces in which playwrights were able to highlight what a self, especially one acting in society, should or should not be. In several of these dramas there is a specifically didactic tone and intent, namely in Baillie and More's plays, and the dramatic space was ideal for their instructive expressions of appropriate and inappropriate social expressions of self. Identity, as something relationally defined, and social expressions of self are both inherently theatrical due to their relationship with performance and spectatorship or reception. The social performances and negotiations that Wilson discusses are clearly found in the dramas I analyse in this thesis. The themes of identity, including gender, nationality, and class that Wilson and many other critics engage with recur throughout the plays I analyse as elements that combine to create and present a self.

The crucial combination of different elements of identity has also been explored by various critics, including specific discussions of how gender combined with other categories of identity to create a public understanding of the gendered self. For example, race and gender, and the transformation of public understanding of these terms, are explored by Felicity Nussbaum, in *The Limits of the Human* (2003). Nussbaum, summarising the ideas of long eighteenth century 'monogenists' who articulated views about race and common descent, recounts a view that "[w]omen are granted special moral authority in shaping civilization through public and private virtue, and they bear a special responsibility for the preservation and reproduction of

[9] Wilson, *The Island Race*, 2.
[10] Wilson, *The Island Race*, 3.

the species in its purest form."[11] While monogenists held a view of women being able to literally determine the race of their children through their moral actions, the belief that women were broadly responsible for the public and private virtue of their society is applicable beyond their role as mothers. Women in eighteenth-century England were navigating various public beliefs about their roles as moral educators, potentially responsible for the metaphoric virtue of their country, while simultaneously being subjugated and oppressed all due to the same root source: their gender. Addressing the specific interplay between gender and culture in the eighteenth century, Declan Kavanagh argues that "discourses of effeminacy and masculinity underwent a decisive change during the mid-eighteenth century in Britain."[12] Kavanagh attributes this change to the development of Western ideas of liberty and freedom and the increasing "incommensurability of the effeminate with the private, reasoned, and manly citizen."[13] Kavanagh argues that this incommensurability is seen in the definition of the eighteenth-century public sphere that Jürgen Habermas presents and Kavanagh's work engages with the public and private aspects of self and identity and the idea of the perceived self. In this thesis I analyse how women were using the medium and forum of the theatre to write complex work that engaged with ideas of self, identity, and social behaviour portraying both the internal and external aspects of selfhood.

Some critical discussion of eighteenth-century women and theatre is centred on female actors; women's appearance onstage was relatively nascent in the eighteenth-century and texts that address female actors from this period often argue that these actors were able to use some of this novelty and the reach of the stage to express themselves and challenge some of the dominant ideologies of the day. Helen Brooks in *Actresses, Gender, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (2015) frames 'actresses' as potentially savvy businesspeople, capable of using the rhetoric and techniques of acting to challenge concepts of gender binaries or respond to models of femininity that they were experiencing. Felicity Nussbaum argues, in *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (2010), that "[s]cholarship over the past few decades has emphasized the economic achievements of women

[11] Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11-12.
[12] Declan Kavanagh, *Effeminate Years: Literature, Politics, and Aesthetics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2017), xv.
[13] Kavanagh, *Effeminate Years*, xiv.

writers but slighted those of actresses, an equally powerful and influential group."[14] Nussbaum, focussing on select actresses argues that these women "changed the course of theater history and afforded unprecedented models of public display as they confronted the social and theatrical strictures that traditional femininity imposed."[15] Focussing on maternity, Laura Engel and Elaine McGirr's collection *Stage Mothers: Women, Work, and the Theater, 1660-1830* (2014) also explores the different categories of femininity and identity that women actors were navigating throughout the long eighteenth century. Engel and McGirr claim that "[t]he stage mother, whether performed or performing, expands the discussion of eighteenth-century women's social and dramatic roles by demonstrating the complicated, contradictory, and celebratory faces of maternity onstage and on the page."[16] However, the focus in these texts on the performance history or biographical details of those involved distance the criticism from my own; in my partially new historicist approach I do not attempt to delineate authorial intent (with the slight exception of some of Joanna Baillie's writing in the 'Introductory Discourse') and instead I focus on the play texts as given text in this thesis and place literary and non-literary texts alongside each other to explore how their different discourses represent the popular debates around the topics of self and social behaviour in this period. Although, as Nussbaum argues, women writers have been afforded attention that women actors have not, there is still much scope within eighteenth-century studies for continued and in-depth analysis of women and the theatre overall. From asserting the cultural power that women actors could wield, to closely analysing the written texts of female playwrights, the topic of women and theatre is deserving of continued critical attention and in this thesis, I contribute to the study of women and theatre in the eighteenth century by reading a selection of plays closely and with a contextualised framework.

There are examples of criticism that relate more closely to the work I undertake in this thesis, for example, Misty G. Anderson in *Female Playwrights and Eighteenth-Century Comedy: Negotiating Marriage on the London Stage* (2002) discusses four playwrights, one of which is Elizabeth Inchbald, and argues that the playwrights and their heroines "measure the disparity between idealized marriage narratives and the

[14] Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 7.
[15] Nussbaum, *Rival Queens,* 9.
[16] Laura Engel and Elaine M. McGirr, eds. *Stage Mothers: Women, Work, and the Theater, 1660-1830* (Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 2.

real circumstances of characters in history through the gendered scripts of comedy."[17] This argument, and Anderson's use of four playwrights as case studies for her claims corresponds closely with how I have structured my chapters in this thesis, and my discussion of marriage in Elizabeth Griffith and Elizabeth Inchbald's dramas. This structure works well to establish a small but meaningful case study set, and the discussion of gender, genre, and scripts demonstrates an overlapping interest in the work of female dramatists as women working in the dramatic medium, creating written plays. Differing from Anderson's text, my study focusses much more closely on the play texts, I consider tragedy as well as comedy and explore themes beyond marriage. Furthermore, this thesis serves a broader purpose of analysing the dramas of female playwrights using a contextualised framework of medical and philosophical thought to read the plays, and my identification of a range of types of self and social performance seen in the plays.

Emily Hodgson Anderson explores another dimension of female authorship and theatricality in *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction* (2009) wherein she analyses the dual use of the theatrical medium and the novel form for female authors. Anderson argues that "theatrical frames often enable the articulation of truths and passions that may, under alternate conditions, be otherwise inexpressible."[18] Anderson not only highlights the possibility that the theatre, and theatrical conventions or framings in other mediums, held for the expression of feelings or social ideas, but she also links this to the experience of gendered binaries in the period. Anderson explains that while men and women were able to use theatricality to express their ideas, "gender-specific constraints on expression – and types of authorship – made the eighteenth-century woman particularly likely to gravitate toward such frames, particularly attuned to issues of self-expression within her life and work."[19] In this thesis I specifically focus on female playwrights as I agree with Anderson, and other critics', recognition of the relationship between theatre and female expression. I argue that the play texts of female dramatists demonstrate the opportunities for this expression that the theatrical medium afforded these women, and that this expression is particularly interesting when analysed alongside the theories of self and social behaviour seen in male-dominated fields of

[17] Misty G. Anderson, *Female Playwrights and Eighteenth-Century Comedy: Negotiating Marriage on the London Stage* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1.
[18] Emily Hodgson Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 1.
[19] E.H. Anderson, *Eighteenth-Century Authorship,* 2.

medicine and philosophy.

Critical work on women dramatists from the long eighteenth century also often comes in the form of edited collections of essays, such as Douglas Canfield and Deborah Payne's *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theater* (1995)*;* Catherine Burroughs' *Women in British Romantic Theatre: Drama, Performance, and Society, 1790-1840* (2000)*;* or Crisafulli and Elam's *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity* (2016)*.* As seen from the titles of these collections, eighteenth-century drama is often categorised and analysed temporally and not in isolation; being grouped with earlier and/or later dramas from either the Restoration or the Gothic and Romantic periods. Burroughs, in her introduction, argues that by giving readers information about women who worked in the theatre "during the critical transitional years between the neoclassical and Victorian eras, the essays collected here contribute to the process of revising narratives of theatre history and reinforce the idea that the dating of a theatrical period depends upon whose perspective is privileged."[20] As Burroughs highlights the 'dating' and defining of different theatrical and literary periods is a somewhat subjective process. The proliferation of historically significant events in the long eighteenth century, and the categorisation of the 'long eighteenth century' itself, can lead to some difficult critical untangling, and in this thesis, I apply medical and philosophical texts written from across the eighteenth century and across Europe, to my analysis of the play texts. This ranging exploration of key ideas is supported by the fact that I am not claiming direct correlation or correspondence between the playwrights and the writing and ideas of the physicians and philosophers all featured in this study. Instead, much like the collections named above, I draw on relevant ideas from across the century to demonstrate a continuous and complex interplay between ideas of self and sociality seen in different intellectual and literary fields.

Canfield and Payne identify the marginalisation of the theatre in eighteenth-century studies, arguing that "the drama has always been something of a foster child within the family of eighteenth-century studies, especially by comparison with such "legitimate" progeny as satire and the novel."[21] In the almost three decades since the

[20] Catherine B. Burroughs, ed., *Women in British Romantic Theatre: Drama, Performance, and Society, 1790-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.
[21] Douglas J. Canfield, and Deborah C. Payne, eds. *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 1.

publication of this collection there has been a notable contribution to criticism of eighteenth-century theatre, however, Canfield and Payne's claim remains accurate when comparing the treatment of theatre to the novel in eighteenth-century studies. While the critical attention paid to women dramatists from this period has increased, there is a large scope for textual analysis of their play texts and a new historicist or cultural studies reading grounded in a framework of comparative reading between fields of thought, which I produce in this study. Another key example of a critical investigation of the connections between women, theatre, and sociality is Gillian Russell's *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (2007). Russell focusses on the 1760s and 1770s and argues that these decades are crucial to better understand the 1790s and the Romantic period that followed. Drawing on Paul Langford's claim that the 1770s saw a "full-blown revolution"[22] of women and women's writing, Russell argues that Langford's phenomenon "has not been substantively analysed, nor has there been any sustained attempt to link the high profile of women as artists, performers and *salonniérres* with other women in the public eye."[23] Russell therefore engages with a wide scope of British culture both 'high' and 'low' in her analysis of eighteenth-century women and their contributions to the shaping of social ideologies and behaviours.

Russell also makes clear that sociability refers to something relative, and that "it tends to be treated by both historians and literary critics as an unchanging given rather than as a set of concepts and related practices, configured by factors of class, ethnicity and gender, which altered in meaning in the course of the century."[24] In a similar vein, Dror Wahrman argues that by the late eighteenth century the categories of gender, race, and class were imposed upon individuals and that this 'essentialised' social categorisation may in turn have "turned them into the privileged sites of modern subjectivity."[25] The themes that I identify and analyse in the following case study chapters, for example the perceived self as seen through the lenses of clothing, national identity, and class, correspond with the concepts and practices of sociability that Russell and Wahrman highlight. I claim in my thesis that women playwrights were using these themes and practices to discuss the self and sociability in their

[22] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 603.
[23] Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4.
[24] Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre,* 9.
[25] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 282.

dramas in much the same way that male physicians and philosophers used their fields of writing to discuss these topics, and that women playwrights therefore were and are a key part of the cultural history of the socially defined self and sociability or social behaviour.

The Self and Character

Dror Wahrman is a key critical voice in eighteenth-century studies of self, character, and identity; his text *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (2006) charts the different trends and influences on the social understanding of the self across the century. Wahrman draws on Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self* (1989) and summarises Taylor's formulation of changing ideas of self stating: "[t]he process of change in understandings of identity and self "takes place over the whole culture", far beyond the pronouncements of philosophers."[26] Wahrman criticises Taylor's focus on philosophy and defends his own work claiming "[i]t is precisely this diffuse and ambiguous movement across a whole culture of understandings of identity and self that is the subject of the present inquiry."[27] Wahrman's identification of the interplay between different cultural investigations of the self corresponds with my creation and application of a framework of reading medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing together in this thesis. I posit, similarly to Wahrman, that in eighteenth-century Britain and Europe there was a culture-wide preoccupation with the self and specifically the self in society, or as something socially performed.

Approaching the topic of self in a similarly philosophical and overarching way to Wahrman, Raymond Martin and John Barresi address the self and its social meaning and perception in the eighteenth century, in their text *Naturalization of the Soul* (2000). They claim that in the long eighteenth century "the self as immaterial soul was replaced with the self as mind."[28] They further argue that this replacement "involved movement away from substant accounts of personal identity, according to which the self is a simple persisting thing, toward relational accounts, according to which the self consists essentially of physical and/or psychological relations among

[26] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self,* xv.
[27] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self,* xv.
[28] Raymond Martin and John Barresi, *Naturalization of the Soul: Self and personal identity in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 2000), ix.

the different temporal stages of an organism or person."[29] Martin and Barresi's account of the shifts in definitions of the self by the eighteenth century covers the impacts of increasing secularity in Britain, and the philosophical and scientific theories that showed a sustained focus on defining aspects of the self and identity in this period. They claim that "by the end of the eighteenth century the self had become the mind, a dynamic natural system subject to general laws of growth and development."[30] This awareness of the thinking self and the impact of internal experience on self is particularly seen in dramatic renderings of self and character, namely those I explore in this thesis. The theatre and the novel form both allowed the audience or reader to have a particular insight into the motivations and feelings of characters and the theatre, as a space that historically served as a site of entertainment and instruction, was a site of continued attention to the debate on the construction and definition of self. I argue that female playwrights created plays that spoke to this self as a thinking and feeling, self-aware, self and explored the many social norms and expectations that could affect the self and its social behaviour.

Wahrman's ideas about self and society in the eighteenth-century are one part of this discourse and these topics are also explored in, for example, Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning's *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2011)*;* Elaine McGirr's *Eighteenth-Century Characters* (2007)*;* Lisa Freeman's *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (2002), and Deidre Lynch's *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture and the Business of Inner Meaning* (1998)*.* These texts take the ideas of self and social behaviour seen in studies like Wahrman's, but they also specifically delve into the theatrical element of character and performed identity. Lynch addresses the association between the creation and depiction of characters in the novel form and the emergent global economy in the eighteenth-century. Lynch's approach to characters centres on an initial claim that "trying to displace the approaches to character that have traded in essences and made a variety of disparate practices appear as versions of a singular form, I address character's changing conditions of legibility."[31] Lynch uses 'character' to refer to the expression of a self that is not a person, but a reflection of personhood and she asks: "[w]hat happens if we do not assume that the history of

[29] Martin and Barresi, *Naturalization of the Soul,* ix.
[30] Martin and Barresi, *Naturalization of the Soul,* 1.
[31] Deidre Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1.

character and the history of the individual are the same thing?"[32] Lynch's work places the character as an "expressive analogue to ourselves."[33] This character analogue serves as a valuable entryway to discussions of self; if the character is legible, and the observers or audience are easily able to determine things about the character's actions, the dramatic work that the playwright has undertaken can be interpreted and the character serves as a valuable tool for these debates about self and social behaviour. In a more specifically social and theatrical context, Ahnert and Manning offer a clear definition of an eighteenth-century understanding of the term 'character' stating that it "was partly a tool for designating the terms of interaction between strangers. It was a product of civil society, the highest form of human interaction and social expression."[34] They continue by explaining that character "was also a means of reading strangers when the basis for social relations tipped from kinship to civil contract and commercial exchange."[35] Whilst their emphasis is clearly on the Scottish Enlightenment, the concerns with legibility of character and a transparency of motive that Ahnert and Manning identify are broadly applicable to the literature and philosophy of this period.

Elaine McGirr begins her analysis of character by explaining the development of the term from something "primarily used to signify the external marks of signs by which something could be recognised (e.g. the characters of the alphabet)" to "the estimate formed of a person's moral qualities."[36] McGirr explains that the intermingling of these definitions should correspond with their presentation: "the moral qualities should be represented by physical characteristics."[37] McGirr continues by highlighting the use of literature and drama in linking these definitions, and by stating that "the 'character' is a didactic genre at heart; it teaches readers how to recognise and value different types of people, from lawyers to drunkards."[38] The work of female British playwrights, particularly those included in this study, recognisably demonstrate the use of this didactic purpose behind their characters. In this thesis, I identify key types of character or self that I argue Baillie, Griffith, Inchbald, and

[32] Lynch, *The Economy of Character*, 1.
[33] Lynch, *The Economy of Character*, 2.
[34] Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning, eds. *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13.
[35] Ahnert and Manning, *Character, Self, and Sociability*, 13.
[36] Elaine McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1.
[37] McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters*, 1-2.
[38] McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters*, 3.

More are employing in their broader discussions of self and social behaviour, and I provide readings of their plays that discuss how these character choices can be interpreted. From Ahnert and Manning and McGirr's ideas about character, the multivalence of the term 'character' or 'self' becomes apparent, and in this thesis, I analyse the selected plays as sites of discussion of this complex term and its possible meanings and values, rather than claiming to find any fixed or finite definitions of the self in these works.

Lisa Freeman, in *Character's Theater,* makes a clear argument that "the stage functioned as a critical focal point in eighteenth-century cultural discourse."[39] Similarly to Freeman, I claim that the stage, and the printed play text, functioned as tools for women dramatists to engage in cultural discourses on huge topics including the creation and performance of the social self. Freeman focusses on the term 'character' and argues that "in deploying an alternative model of identity based on the concept of character, it [the theatre] marked a site of resistance to the rise of the subject and to the ideological conformity enforced through that identity formation."[40] Just as McGirr notes the didacticism possible through the genre of character theatre or literature, Freeman argues that the theatre could be used to deploy an 'alternative model of identity'. The shaping of the self, through instructive plays that either encouraged or discouraged certain portrayals of self, character, and/or identity, has been critically identified across eighteenth-century studies. Through my use of a case study structure and contextualised framework for reading, I make the case that women were fundamentally engaged in the cultural shaping of ideas of self and sociality in the eighteenth century. The self was defined and understood not only in terms of character but, largely, in terms of feeling and behaviour, and the idea of the passions shaping or influencing the self was present across the fields of eighteenth-century literature and thought.

Theatre and the Passions

The modern study of affect theory and the history of emotions has continued the focus on the passions found in eighteenth-century literature, into the 21st century. Adela Pinch, Jean I. Marsden, James Harriman-Smith, Joseph Roach, and Glen

[39] Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 1.
[40] Freeman, *Character's Theater*, 1.

McGillivray, for example, explore emotions, passions, performance, and theatricality in their scholarship. Adela Pinch covers philosophy, sonnets, poetry, and novels in her expansive text *Strange Fits of Passion* (1996). Pinch identifies the social and interpersonal dimension of passion in the eighteenth century, and, engaging with David Hume's work, explains that the topic of the passions was used to discuss feelings, and the passions were employed in literature to both warn against certain emotional displays or to teach others how to appropriately feel. Similarly, in Chapter 1 I address the philosophy of Adam Smith and David Hume and use critics like Pinch to discuss the passions and the self in greater detail. Pinch argues that "[e]ighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers seek after the origins and locations of feelings",[41] and I posit that the process of seeking the origins of feelings and the passions was part of a larger goal to understand the origins and meanings of the self in the theatre. Furthermore, the recurrent use of the passions in the play texts analysed below demonstrates the importance of the passions to the work of female British playwrights in their examination of selfhood and social behaviour.

Joseph Roach's *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (1985) makes explicit the relationship between theatre and the passions in the eighteenth century. Roach explains that the "rhetoric of the passions, derived from the work of Quintilian and his successors, dominated discussions of acting up until the age of Diderot and Garrick."[42] The passions evoked discourse on the best way to regulate and perform feeling both when acting and when socially performing. Roach argues that the use of rhetoric and rhetorical explanations of how to appropriately and effectively perform the feeling self in society was widespread because it was based on then-contemporary understandings of how the body works. He claims that "[g]iving emotional resonance to such scientific and medical thinking was a bedrock of ancient belief in a spiritual realm that justified man's sense of the commanding forces that work within and upon his body."[43] Therefore, Roach argues that by bridging scientific thought, rhetoric, and spiritual belief, the passions were endowed with "longstanding power to explain and illuminate the actor's art."[44] By grounding the passions in their contextual links to other cultural fields of thought and study, Roach's claims in this text can be used to

[41] Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 3.
[42] Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 26.
[43] Roach, *The Player's Passion*, 26.
[44] Roach, *The Player's Passion*, 26.

demonstrate the validity of my framework of reading play texts using medical and philosophical theory. Roach also identifies the association between passions and the social desire, or even need, to control their expression which is a recurrent theme in the medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing of the eighteenth century; the passions were regarded as something to be directed and worked with or against as necessary.

James Harriman-Smith references the complexity of trying to define 'the passions': "[d]ifferent understandings of what constituted passion had, as Joseph Roach has shown, significant ramifications across the eighteenth century for the study of acting as well as the dramatic expression of a character's feeling."[45] Passion was therefore both potentially ambiguous but incredibly powerful with a capacity to affect the study of acting, the dramatic expression of feeling, and, therefore, the experience of the audience. Roach explains that the fact that the word 'passion' is derived from "the Latin *patior* (to suffer), suggested that emotions seize upon and possess those who suffer them, just as Quintilian's *visiones* penetrate and pervade those experiencing them. How to control and restrain that process became a major question of acting theory well into the eighteenth century."[46] Roach's explanation here relates to Pinch's claim that "[f]eelings often seem to have lives of their own in eighteenth-century writing."[47] The near-autonomy of feelings and passions in Roach and Pinch's descriptions demonstrate how the passions were something suffered by the feeing person, and they represented something more persistent than 'normal' feelings, being felt with greater intensity and serving as a cause for action. When describing the eighteenth-century attitude towards the passions it becomes clear that passions, feeling, and the subject were interconnected in language and meaning, all reliant on one another. The ambiguity of passions makes them a potential social threat and they are referred to and deployed in the plays as motivators of action, causes of comedy or tragedy, and, specifically in Baillie's dramas, as a key indicator of character.

The impact of the passions was not restricted to the actor and, as Roach and many other critics have noted, the role of the spectator was also critically examined in relation to the passions. Jean I. Marsden, in *Theatres of Feeling: Affect, Performance,*

[45] James Harriman-Smith, *Criticism, Performance, and the Passions in the Eighteenth Century: The Art of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 10.
[46] Roach, *The Player's Passion,* 28.
[47] Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion*, 1.

and the Eighteenth-Century Stage (2019), outlines the eighteenth-century expectation that the theatre was supposed to evoke emotion in the audience. Using James Boswell's accounts of attending the theatre, Marsden clarifies that after watching a play "[t]o remain unmoved represents a failure on the part of the actor, the playwright, and even the spectator."[48] Marsden's text centres on the link between theatre and feeling taking 'inspiration from this repeated emphasis on emotional experience and its inextricable connection to the theatre of the eighteenth century."[49] The identification of theatre and emotional experience as intertwined in the eighteenth century has been stated by many critics, but Marsden's work further relates to the work I undertake in this study when she positions Adam Smith's philosophy as theatrical. Marsden states that "[t]he *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, however, is remarkable not only for theatre's influence on its general discussion of sympathy but also for its own debt to drama."[50] Smith's theories about spectatorship, sympathy, and the correspondence between observation and feeling relate closely to the analysis I undertake in the following chapters, and I address Smith in more detail in Chapter 1. Importantly, Smith's ideas about spectatorship, that Marsden and others have identified as theatrical, tie into the possible didactic nature of not only the character theatre that McGirr refers to, but the work of female playwrights more broadly.

Marsden specifically argues that not only was the use of the passions and emotions a near-necessity in the late eighteenth-century London theatre scene, but that the consistent use of emotion in the style of the period was enough to lead to the frequent dismissal or overlooking of eighteenth-century drama as significant in modern literature and theatre studies. However, Marsden claims that a formalist approach that marks emotive drama as broad or simple ignores the fact that, as she claims, "the drama that emerged during the later eighteenth century can best be described as a mode, plays structured by affect, not logic, designed to create an emotional response based on a sense of fellow-feeling or identification."[51] Marsden's classification of later eighteenth-century dramas as structured by affect and designed to create an emotional response is supported by the readings that I undertake in the body of this thesis which are contextualised by the theories of sympathy in Adam Smith and

[48] Jean I. Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling: Affect, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 3.
[49] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling*, 3.
[50] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling*, 25.
[51] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling*, 11.

David Hume's philosophy. The passions, specifically as they relate to both the self and the theatre, play an important part in eighteenth-century studies and in the criticism produced in this thesis. Therefore, in Chapter 1 I discuss the self and the passions in further detail while introducing some of the key eighteenth-century philosophical and medical ideas relevant to my readings of a selection of plays by female British playwrights.

Glen McGillivray in *Actors, Audiences, and Emotions in the Eighteenth Century* (2023) begins by identifying the struggle to comprehend the emotional and social experience of people from other times and places accurately or fully. McGillivray argues that "the theatre – how it was produced and how it was experienced – provides unique insights into emotional behaviour especially in relation to other people."[52] McGillivray's recent work demonstrates a continued and growing critical interest in the interplay between the text, the performer, and the audience. However, in this thesis I claim that regardless of their performance history the play texts themselves provide a site of multivalence and that there is room for many more readings using frameworks like my own to understand these texts as part of an eighteenth-century cultural discussion of the self and social behaviour. These examples of recent scholarship demonstrate that there is a largely unrealised potential for critical engagement with, and the development of new readings of, eighteenth-century female dramatists' works. What is currently lacking in this field are detailed and sustained studies that undertake the analysis of eighteenth-century women's plays. These plays deserve greater attention on their own merit, as opposed to an overview of the work and the relationships between, for example, the playwrights and the novel form, or their male counterparts writing poetry or dramas. In this thesis I work to redress this current absence of close reading of the play texts and the use of a framework of reading dramas alongside medical and philosophical writing. I claim that it is essential to read these works for what they are, namely a complex and fascinating exploration of social behaviour and self-expression in the same vein as the theories of medical and philosophical texts from this century. The theories found in the male-dominated intellectual fields of eighteenth-century medicine and philosophy pair with the dramatic writing of British female playwrights as they are all fundamentally exploring what is to be a self both amongst and for others, using the spaces within

[52] Glen McGillivray, *Actors, Audiences, and Emotions in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 2-3.

their respective mediums to tease out different ideas of interiority and exteriority. The plays offer exciting avenues for scholars to explore the topical concerns of the period and the theatrical themes and socio-political preoccupations that were repeatedly depicted in dramas written and performed during this time. This study fulfils the dual aims of analysing these texts while also situating female playwrights in the middle of the period's cultural dissection and definition of selfhood.

Beginning at the End: Resituating Joanna Baillie

The four playwrights I focus on are not unknown: the critical neglect of them does not stem from being entirely overlooked, or unpublished. This neglect instead stems from an overall lack of close reading of these play texts, a lack of emphasis on the literary dramaturgy of these women in creating theatre that served as part of a much larger cultural discussion of self and social behaviour. In the following chapters I eschew chronological order for my case studies in favour of analysing Joanna Baillie's work as an entry-point to my analysis. Baillie is a perfect starting point for the application of my framework as her work has received the closest critical responses to the readings I produce in this thesis, namely the possible correspondence between medicine, philosophy, and Baillie's drama. Joanna Baillie was related to the "famous Hunter physicians [John and William] of Glasgow and London",[53] and her brother, Matthew Baillie, was also "a celebrated London physician."[54] These familial links have been critically explored, for example in Frederick Burwick's book chapter "Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the pathology of the passions" (2004). Equally, the relationship between Baillie and the philosophy, particularly of the Scottish Enlightenment, popular in the period, have been identified, for example in Barbara Judson's article ""Sympathetic Curiosity": The Theater of Joanna Baillie" (2006). Judson argues that Baillie "follows the Scottish philosophers."[55] I discuss these texts and other critical responses to Baillie and the topics of embodiment and enlightenment philosophy in more detail in the following chapter, but it's noteworthy that critics like Judson and Burwick have produced work that engages with Baillie in context, specifically noting her medical and philosophical influences.

[53] Judith Bailey Slagle, *Joanna Baillie, a Literary Life* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 35.
[54] Slagle, *Joanna Baillie, a Literary Life*, 35.
[55] Barbara Judson, ""Sympathetic Curiosity": The Theater of Joanna Baillie," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 50. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20455261.

Notably, Louise Duckling argues that "[e]xluded from the world of scientific inquiry because of her gender, Baillie had created a dramatic experiment in which she could participate in the medical and philosophical debates of her day."[56] Joanna Baillie, and her female contemporaries, were not able to enter the worlds of medicine and philosophy without serious obstacles, and therefore the medium of theatre was a space where they could engage with the key debates of their day. In this way women were not only left the theatre as a space for these debates, but the topics of identity and the tropes of character were their tools for discussing the idea of the self. As Joanna Baillie herself writes in the 'Introductory Discourse' from 1798, "the dress and the manners of men, rather than their characters and dispositions are the subject of our common conversation."[57] Female playwrights were using the dress and manners to begin to explore the characters, dispositions, and implications of the thoughts and actions of people in society in their dramas. However, while this claim from Duckling makes it sound like there may be criticism that addresses both the medical and philosophical in detail with Joanna Baillie's dramas, the existing critical work on Baillie only addresses either the medical *or* the philosophical. The framework I present here is more comprehensive in my inclusion of both medical and philosophical ideas, especially considering medical and philosophical texts in my analysis as well as featuring more detailed engagement with the plays themselves. For example, Dorothy McMillan (1998) writes about Joanna Baillie's drama in the context of her brother Matthew Baillie's medical writing and argues that "[i]t is in drama that the fullest embodiment is possible. Even unperformed drama embodies its characters more fully than narrative verse or dramatic monologue, where voice is always more important than presence."[58] McMillan uses embodiment to discuss the impact of the dramatic medium on Baillie's work, and in doing so she draws on the context of Baillie's medical family. Equally, Sean Carney (2000) argues that the struggle between self-command and passion that Baillie centres in her dramas "constitutes a theatrical spectacle anticipated by her predecessor Adam Smith in his work of stoic philosophy, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*."[59] Regardless of the fact that critics separately

[56] Louise Duckling, "Coming Out of the Closet and Competing with John Anybody: The Bold World of Joanna Baillie," in *British Women and the Intellectual World in the Long Eighteenth Century,* ed. Teresa Barnard (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 143.
[57] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," *A Series of Plays in Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (London: T. Cadell Jr, and W. Davies, 1798), 4.
[58] Dorothy McMillan, "'Dr' Baillie," in *1798 The Year of the Lyrical Ballads,* ed., Richard Cronin (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), 77.
[59] Sean Carney, "The Passion of Joanna Baillie: Playwright as Martyr," *Theatre Journal*, 52, 2 (2000): 227. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068778.

discuss aspects of medical and philosophical theory in relationship to Baillie's dramas, there is yet to be a unified study that creates the readings I produce in this thesis by using a framework of critical reading of all three fields, and in beginning this study with Baillie I make evident the viability of this reading for other playwrights and their dramas.

Baillie's writing, first published anonymously, garnered very positive reviews. According to Anne K. Mellor, "Joanna Baillie was the leading playwright of the romantic era; she was hailed by her peers as the most original and successful of all contemporary dramatists."[60] Initially, the authorship of her plays was ascribed to a man, with speculation that it could be one of many different men, but the eventual revelation that Baillie was the, female, author, led some critics to disparage her efforts.[61] Baillie had early theatrical successes, especially when her work was anonymous, but ultimately many of her works were assigned to the closet. Catherine Burroughs, however, offers an important reconsideration of this critical assignation of Baillie's plays as 'closet dramas': "[r]ather than reinforcing the idea that closet spaces are incompatible with theatricality, Baillie's theory suggests that they are sources of passionate, valuable, and instructive drama."[62] Christine A. Colón follows Burroughs' recovery of Baillie's literary dramaturgy in her depiction of the moral and instructive elements of the plays. Colón considers Baillie "a purposeful writer who used ideas from various sources as she attempted to discover the best way to craft her plays and transform her society."[63] This transformative intent or possibility in Baillie's work has received further attention in recent years. There is current criticism of Baillie's writing that stresses her role as a didact and the instructive potential of her dramas. Gerard Lee McKeever, for example, in his *Dialectics of Improvement* (2020) notes that "[m]uch of the existing work on Baillie is relatable to improving concerns as we will see, but there has yet to be a study that explicitly draws attention to the pluralistic culture of improvement."[64] McKeever firmly situates Baillie's writing in her context of

[60] Anne K. Mellor, "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere," *Studies in Romanticism* 33, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 559, https://doi.org/10.2307/25601086.
[61] Baillie had a well-documented feud with Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review* – see Christine A. Colón's *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2009), 4.
[62] Catherine B. Burroughs, *Closet Stages: Joanna Baillie and the Theater Theory of British Romantic Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 12.
[63] Christine A. Colón, *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2009), 2.
[64] Gerard Lee McKeever, *Dialectics of Improvement: Scottish Romanticism, 1786-1831* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 114.

production by arguing that her writing contributed specifically to the 'pluralistic culture of improvement' seen in the Scottish Enlightenment. Similarly, M. Soledad Caballero and Aimee Knupsky frame Baillie's ideas of "sympathetick curiosity" (I discuss this term in further detail in the following chapter) in relation to modern day discussions of emotional regulation and argue "that regulatory flexibility is a learned skill that can be improved by actively engaging sympathetic curiosity."[65] The improvement that McKeever discusses in relation to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, Caballero and Knupsky also identify in twenty-first century ideas of regulating emotions and improving mental wellbeing through this practice.

These texts and their lines of enquiry demonstrate the enduring relevance of Joanna Baillie's drama and her stated intent and purpose of her work; the theories about passions, self, and human nature that Baillie expounds and explores in her literary dramaturgy provide fertile ground for continued and interdisciplinary study. Yet, they also demonstrate that although Baillie remains fascinating, her work has not yet been approached using the framework I am applying in this thesis. In turn, while Baillie makes a clear first point for the application of this framework through her already established links to medical and philosophical debates in her work, the other playwrights' works included in this thesis also clearly demonstrate the value of this type of reading and the viability of this framework for extended use beyond the scope of this study. The debates about self, social behaviour, and human nature that are significant in medical and philosophical theory of the eighteenth-century are also important elements in the plays of female playwrights of the period. Reading the plays and the intellectual theories of health and self together allows for complex and new readings that help to identify female voices in the theatre as crucial to these cultural debates.

Baillie, Griffith, Inchbald, and More

In each chapter I identify prominent ideas of selfhood that these writers portray, I show that Baillie writes about the passionate self; Griffith, the perceived self; Inchbald, the gendered self; and More, the virtuous self. I define the passionate self in Baillie's

[65] M. Soledad Caballero and Aimee Knupsky, ""Some Powerful Rankling Passion": An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Emotion Regulation Strategies in Joanna Baillie's Passions Plays," *Poetics Today* 40:3 (September 2019): 475.

writing as the self shaped and controlled by passionate feeling. Baillie writes about the progress and development of the passions and how feeling can affect action in her 'Introductory Discourse'. Baillie's dramas explore how people can be shaped by their strong emotional experiences and she explicitly portrays the correspondence between mental and physical experience and internal and external feeling in *The Plays on the Passions*. In the following chapter I clarify the idea of the passions and their possible meanings in the eighteenth-century, explaining how the term does not serve as a direct synonym for feeling. In Baillie's dramaturgy, she spends time outlining the mental process that a character undergoes when building towards passionate action. She argues that this not commonly portrayed in dramas, yet it is necessary for a proper study of the rise and fall of the passions. Therefore, the passionate self that I identify and explore in Baillie's dramas is one motivated by internal experience, context, and feeling. Equally, however, Baillie stresses the impact of the passions on an observer, asking:

> What human creature is there, who can behold a being like himself under the violent agitation of those passions which all have, in some degree, experienced, without feeling himself most powerfully excited by the sight?[66]

This question demonstrates Baillie's perspective on the passions as a cause for the social spread of feeling, a sympathetic motivator of emotion, and a potential cause of social disruption. The passions in both Baillie's work and many of the medical and philosophical theories of the eighteenth century are something to be contended with, expressed but only in controlled ways, and they possess the potential for severe effects on the person feeling and enacting their passions. The passionate self is a key concern of Baillie's entire dramatic 'project' encompassing the three volumes of the *Plays on the Passions.*

In the first case study of this thesis, on Joanna Baillie and the passionate self, my focus is on the two plays in the first volume of *Plays on the Passions* (1798) that explore the theme of love; *The Tryal* is a comedy, and *Count Basil* is a tragedy. These two plays are connected through content but differ in genre, and the emphasis on the passions is eponymously central to the whole collection. I also use Baillie's 'Introductory Discourse' to analyse her direct claims about her literary dramaturgy and its expression

[66] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 9-10.

within these plays. The 'Introductory Discourse' not only states Baillie's specific intentions behind the plays, but the rhetoric and language Baillie uses in this essay are also similar to the writing of her brother, Matthew Baillie, in *A Morbid Anatomy* (1793). I analyse Baillie's literary dramaturgy which aimed to contribute to the accurate and morally didactic theatrical exploration of the self. I explore how this is seen in *Count Basil* and *The Tryal.* Metatheatricality, a term I further explore in the chapter, is one of the key themes of Chapter 2, partly as seen in processions, masquerade, and disguise which I also analyse in the chapters on Griffith and Inchbald. Embodiment and the combination of internal and external experiences and expressions is the other key theme in this chapter, specifically in relation to Baillie's express desires to make visible the internal workings of the mind and the feeling self. This chapter applies specific and sustained emphasis to Baillie's literary dramaturgy as understood through close readings of her plays focusing on the passionate self in these plays.

I analyse Baillie's portrayal of passionate selfhood using the prevalent ideas of passions represented in the medical and philosophical writing of her brother Matthew Baillie in *A Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body* (1793), and philosophers Adam Smith and Francis Hutcheson. By reviewing Baillie's plays using her ideas about selfhood articulated in the 'Introductory Discourse' and the medical and philosophical writing of Matthew Baillie, Smith, and Hutcheson, I provide a close reading of her work as written play texts that highlight the concerns about self and society that Baillie was engaging with, as well as the intersecting ideas about passions and the performance of self in society seen in types of discourse in the period. This analysis builds on some of the critical writing on Baillie's dramas, while, importantly, adding to this critical field by not only combining the medical and philosophical in one study, and foregrounding Baillie's writing in its own light and merit rather than compared to her contemporaries for example, but also by representing the validity of this framework for critically analysing other eighteenth-century female playwrights' dramas.

In my discussion of Elizabeth Griffith's plays *A Wife in the Right* (1772), and *The Times* (1780), I focus on what I refer to as the perceived self. The perceived self is key to Griffith's dramas as she creates characters who make choices about their actions and presentation and who judge the actions and presentation of others. I define the perceived self in this thesis as not only the self that is being perceived but as a

recognisable type of self recurring in these plays who makes choices about how they may be perceived and who also interprets the clothing, actions, and speech of others. While this definition may appear broad, it is the continued focus on the self as presented and interpreted to and by others in Griffith's work that allows for my definition of this as a trope of selfhood in her writing. Furthermore, the specific readings applicable under this interpretation ensure that even this broader category of selfhood is a rich starting point for creating complex readings of eighteenth-century British female playwrights' works. The perceived self is also informed by the theatrical medium, particularly the genre of the dramas I analyse here, as being seen and understood or unseen and misunderstood play an important role in farce and tragedy. Ideas of performing a legible self are seen in eighteenth-century philosophy and in this chapter I employ the philosophy of Adam Smith and Jean-Jacques Rousseau to analyse Griffith's presentation of the perceived self. I also use the medical writing of John Brown and George Cheyne as part of my analysis of the tropes present in two of Griffith's plays and how her literary dramaturgy was part of an intellectual and cultural tradition of depicting and commenting on the performing social self. This approach is crucial to my conclusion that, despite there being an emphasis on the individual throughout the plays, Griffith uses the social behaviour of the individual to analyse the actions of whole ranks of society.

Elizabeth Eger explains that Griffith's first staged play, *The Platonic Wife* (1765), received expressly negative criticism. The play was critical of the patriarchal benefits of marriage at the expense of female liberty. Critical responses included the *Monthly Review* which avoided "too rigid an examination of a performance she [Griffith] may possibly wish to forget. Let the curtain therefore descend, and all deficiencies of plot, character, sentiment, language, and moral, be for ever veiled from the eye of Criticism."[67] Eger explains how, following this response, Griffith realised that in order to make money from her writing, she "would have to conform to contemporary sexual stereotypes rather than challenge the orthodoxy."[68] The commercial and practical aspects of Griffith's involvement in the London theatre scene can therefore be read as

[67] Ralph Griffiths, ed., "Art. 19. *The Platonic Wife, a Comedy*," *The Monthly Review*, 42 (February 1765): 155, https://search.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/docview/4754543/B36FD08ABFEB49E9PQ/3?accountid=13827.
[68] Elizabeth Eger, 'Elizabeth Griffith', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11596.

having influenced a degree of subtlety or reserve in her didactic social commentary in her play texts. As with almost any other playwright in this period, the commercial element of their theatre will have impacted the playwrights in this study, equally, the decisions of censors, theatre managers, and publishers will have impacted on the finished product of the play text. Although this statement may pose an issue for those who take a more traditional view of literary texts as the works of a single author without external influence, I am considering the play text as a remaining artefact, a surviving product of practical compromise. In doing so, I argue that these texts serve as compelling works written by female playwrights that, regardless of unknowable authorial intent and the nuances of their material production, stand as valuable additions in a hugely complex cultural discussion of self across multiple types of discourse. Griffith uses the symbolism of clothing, and the comedic trope of mistaken identity, to explore identity as related to class and appearance. The self is therefore presented as performed and perceived in society in these plays. The perceived self is arguably evident across Griffith's other dramatic writing, but I claim this trope of selfhood is particularly evident in the plays I have selected for analysis.

In Chapter 4, I consider Elizabeth Inchbald's fascination with gender roles, and social performances of gender focussing on *The Widow's Vow* (1786) and *Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are* (1797). Both texts feature the marriage trope that is one of Inchbald's most direct tools for examining gender inequality. Inchbald became a successful playwright who was both prolific and capable of writing with a complexity that, as Betsy Bolton wrote, "deserves and repays attention."[69] Inchbald "wrote twenty plays, ten of which were adaptation, and ten of which were original."[70] One of the recurring themes in Inchbald's writing is a criticism of the hypocrisy of the prevalent forms of power in British society in the late eighteenth century. Her critical and satirical treatment of themes — including the social treatment of women, the institution of marriage, and the British Empire — has led critics like Anna Lott to claim that "Inchbald's entire corpus of work was boldly radical."[71] Although Inchbald's writing was impacted by a desire for commercial success, and the socio-political limitations that a woman writing for the theatre faced, through reading her

[69] Betsy Bolton, "Farce, Romance, Empire: Elizabeth Inchbald And Colonial Discourse," *Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation* 39, no. 1 (1998): 7, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41467682.
[70] Donkin, *Getting into the Act*, 86.
[71] Anna Lott, "Sexual Politics in Elizabeth Inchbald," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 34, no. 3 (Summer, 1994): 635, https://doi.org/10.2307/450886.

dramas as texts there is a greater scope for interpreting her commentary and more radical statements. I believe that the gendered self is identifiable as a concern and trope across her different forms of writing but that it is particularly notable in the content and framing of the plays I analyse in this thesis.

For example, Inchbald's *The Widow's Vow*, an adaptation based on Patrat's one act farce *L'Heureuse Erreur* (1783), introduced themes that emphasise an examination of the gendered self. It is worth noting that Inchbald adapted rather than merely translated the work of Patrat, and that the themes relating to gendered selfhood that Inchbald included in this adaptation are also present in her other dramas, including *Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are.* In *Wives as They Were*, in addition to an examination of gender, Inchbald treats the topic of empire from the perspective of the 1790s and the increasingly popular disparagement of imperial themes that is also notable in the 1770s with Griffith's treatment of the nabob. My analysis of Inchbald's plays makes use of the medical and philosophical theories of Adam Smith, David Hume, Bernard Mandeville and George Cheyne. *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as They Were* demonstrate Inchbald's treatment of gender as a performance, and by applying the philosophy of David Hume in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1740) and his ideas about custom and expectation, this chapter covers the subjective and perceptive aspect of gender in these plays. Inchbald's dramas present the political and social impact of marriage on the selfhood of women, and the impacts of empire and luxury culture on national identity. I define the gendered self that I identify in these plays as a person whose social behaviour is impacted by the cultural ideas and readings of gender that they are faced with. I argue that reading the gendered self in her plays enables a reading of Inchbald's dramas as entries into a cultural debate on self and social behaviour.

In the final case study of this thesis, I analyse Hannah More's *The Search After Happiness* (1773), and *The Fatal Falsehood* (1779). Just as Baillie, Griffith, and Inchbald explore the themes of social performance and the external legibility of internal processes or facets of selfhood in their dramas, More's plays demonstrate her interest in virtue as tied to performances and understandings of the self. I demonstrate that More's construct of the virtuous self is central to her play texts and that these plays feature both overt didacticism and a mediation between form and content that More uses to express her moral teaching. I use the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and

Adam Smith, and the medical writing of William Buchan and Richard Mead, to support my analysis of More's literary dramaturgy and her presentation of the virtuous self in these plays. Mead and Buchan's writings offer advice to the public on maintaining health and treating or avoiding disease. Buchan was notable in his attempts to encourage preventative action and bring medical knowledge into the domestic setting. Mead, through his creation of a regimen, partly in response to what he perceived as the failures of other physicians, also aimed to instruct. In my reading of these texts, I place the bodily symbolism found in More's complicated use of sentimental signifiers, her presentation of motherhood, and the natural world, alongside the writing of Buchan and Mead, and Rousseau and Smith's philosophy. This chapter situates this analysis of More's literary dramaturgy within the context of her broader religious message, namely that piety is key to virtue. I define More's virtuous self as her depiction of people driven by pious teachings and measured action. Her emphasis on virtue takes the form of both encouragement and warning; virtuous selfhood is the standard More holds up for her audience to respond to.

More was born in Fishponds and received an education both at home and at the girls' school run by her sisters in Bristol. She later became a teacher there, and her early drama *The Search After Happiness* was written (in 1762, but later published in 1773) for the female students to perform. More's use of her platform, and position, to perpetuate an ideology of virtue and piety as central to the self-fashioning and presentation of the self in society is evident across her texts. More, in the critical receptions to her life and work, has been simultaneously termed a feminist and a conservative anti-radical. Given her wide range of publications, including *Percy* (1777), *The Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-8), and *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), she is difficult to categorise. Some of her texts offer a more sympathetic and some a more critical depiction of her evangelical, political, and polemical ideologies.[72] Scholarly works, such as *Hannah More in Context* (2022) explore the multivalence of More and her writing.[73] However, More's dramas still remain largely under analysed, with Patricia Demers' *The World of Hannah More* (1996), being one of the only texts to apply close reading to More's dramas. Critical

[72] For example, see Anne Stott's summary of critical approaches to More: Anne Stott, "Patriotism and Providence: The Politics of Hannah More," in *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860*, ed. Kathryn Gleadle and S. Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 39.
[73] To which I have contributed a chapter: Rose Hilton, "Feeling Good: Sentimental Virtue in Hannah More's *The Search After Happiness* (1773) and "Sensibility" (1782)" in *Hannah More in Context* (Oxon: Routledge, 2022), 34-49.

emphasis lies instead on More's links to theatre through her personal connections, particularly her close relationship with David Garrick and his wife, Eva.[74] More's relationship with Garrick rested in part on their shared understanding of the theatre as a space for disseminating and performing social theory and versions of the self. M. G. Jones notes that: "Garrick's attitude towards the stage appealed to Hannah More no whit less than his genius as actor and manager. Her dramatic standards, intelligent as they were, were inextricably mixed up with her moral standards."[75] Hannah More's interest in theatre was deeply entwined with her desire to create accessible social reform based on the religious and political standards that she subscribed to. Equally, her relationship with Garrick enabled her to navigate the London theatre scene with the assistance of a powerful male ally. Elizabeth Inchbald and Joanna Baillie, producing work after Garrick's death, did not have this advantage, and More herself gave up writing for the theatre after Garrick's death in 1779.

Although More had Garrick as benefactor and friend, her interest was perhaps not in the commercial success of her writing but more so in the dissemination of her moral ideals; it seems that her work was driven by a desire to instruct others as to how they should behave, and to use either positive or cautionary models to inform social behaviour. While More and Baillie made their authorial intent clear in their writing, and critics including Anne Stott and Frederick Burwick have identified the clear respective interests in religious virtue and the passions in their writings, the analysis I undertake in this thesis primarily does not address authorial intent. I produce readings of the plays using a viable framework and I argue that these playwrights were all participating in the cultural discussion of the self and social behaviour commonly seen in medical and philosophical writing. The plays analysed in this thesis span a range of genres: comedy, farce, tragedy, and the pastoral. The variety of generic conventions and trends engaged with across this selection of plays do not detract from the central, and observable, fascination with core concepts of self and social behaviour that each playwright demonstrates. Each playwright brought her own ideologies to the London theatre scene, and while each have received some degree of critical engagement in previous scholarship, by combining them and applying close reading to their work, I create a more thorough study of their dramas, and the role of women in social

[74] Anne Stott in *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) dedicates a chapter to 'The Garrick Years 1774-1779' (pp. 24-47).
[75] M.G. Jones, *Hannah More* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 26.

discourses of self.

Theatre, Philosophy, and the Self: Summarising my Argument

British female playwrights played an important part in the social negotiations of not only women's roles in society, but of the understanding of what the eighteenth-century self was, and how it should behave. The theatre was a key social space, an arena for the embodiment of ideas about the limits and boundaries of the human and of social behaviour, and I evidence this claim with the readings that follow. The theatre was a literal site of play that served ideas to a broad spectrum of social classes. By applying the medical and philosophical ideas of self to the theatre, the relationship between more formal, intellectual writings of self in these formats and the 'lay-person' exploration of the self in the theatre is exposed. There is, found across these different strands of writing, a mutual preoccupation with certain eighteenth-century lexical and conceptual themes of selfhood. For example, the passions, the soul, the somatic self, and reading these together serves to highlight the role of the self in these women's dramas. In summary, I analyse the constructions of self in these plays and the overlaps between the literary dramaturgies of my chosen female playwrights and the male intellectual traditions of the medical and philosophical writing in the eighteenth century. Each chapter uses a particular trope of identity or enacted self to reflect on how these authors are representing ideas of a performing social self in their plays. Women were primarily left, or equipped, with the tropes of identity and the populist literary mediums of theatre and novels to join in with the more metaphysical and physiological explorations of human nature and self in this period. My structure displays an emphasis on the examples of self and social behaviour present in the play texts covered, but also allows me to focus in from my broader claims that these plays and these playwrights were creating works that added to the eighteenth-century discourse on what constituted virtuous embodied social performance. Underpinning the close readings of each play is my assertion that eighteenth-century British female playwrights were not only responding to popular tropes and topics in their plays but that they were simultaneously engaged in the fundamental questioning and definition of the core tenets of selfhood and social performance. The work begun in this thesis sits within the growing critical resurgence in interest in eighteenth-century female dramatists, and this work specifically contributes to this field by placing greater emphasis on a sustained literary critique of the play texts.

Chapter 1: The Self

In this thesis I argue that the discussion of who and what the self is, and, specifically, how that self might be constructed, perceived, and enacted around others was a concomitant concern of philosophers, physicians, and dramatists alike in the eighteenth century. I aim for this thesis to provide evidence of a framework that is easily applicable for further work and to encourage wider-ranging critical examinations of the work of female dramatists and how the cultural examination of the self is not and has never been restricted to one field. This is not to suggest that these writers, working in the same relatively short span of time in London, were part of a coherent 'school' of dramaturgy or philosophy. Instead, the milieu in which these women wrote and lived was part of the same public sphere in which medical, philosophical, and civic ideas about the self and society were formulated and exchanged. The theatre, a frequent site of transgressive and explorative public expression as well as conservative corrective narratives, offered women unique access to a site of experimentation in which to present their ideas of selfhood and sociality. I do not attempt to define the self, as this is a centuries-old line of enquiry without a finite answer, but I do present some of the notable tropes of character and the discussions of how to be a self in society that are particularly evident in the selected texts in this thesis. In this chapter, I explore the key ideas of the philosophers and physicians I use in this thesis and their relationship to Cartesian and Lockean empiricism and mind and body, I then explore some of the key ideas of self that are both seen in the plays and evidenced in medical and philosophical writings. Adam Smith, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Francis Hutcheson were key eighteenth-century voices in a long project of reconceptualising Cartesian philosophy of the mind-body relationship. Equally, new approaches to medicine were engaged with Cartesian and post-Cartesian models of physiology and nascent concepts of psychology. The internal and external experience of the self is explored in eighteenth-century medicine, philosophy, and drama. The works of John Brown, George Cheyne, Bernard Mandeville, Richard Mead, William Buchan, and Matthew Baillie all also demonstrate this emphasis on the social self and the internal and external experience of the individual, and I draw on these works to examine the interrelationship between philosophical and physical concepts of the feeling and social self in the dramas of female playwrights.

The value of this discussion of selfhood in the fields of medicine, philosophy, and literature lies in the wider understanding of the shifting narrative of self, social behaviour, and the mind/body 'problem' that dominates Western thought and what Dror Wahrman terms "the making of the modern self". In *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (2006) Wahrman explores eighteenth-century culture and uses the term "ancien régime" to refer to the very specific set of eighteenth-century "assumptions that defined the meaning, significance, and limits of identity up to the last two decades of the century."[76] The last two decades of the century onwards, however, are where Wahrman argues a configuration of identity and sociality that is more familiar to a 21st century reader emerged. He writes that there was a "sea change in the last two decades of the eighteenth century in which this distinctive configuration lost its cultural ground and was rapidly superseded by another. The new, alternative identity regime was defined by a fundamental emphasis on self, and we are thus more likely to find it familiar."[77] While this distinct shift can be evidenced from the selections seen in Wahrman's text, I argue that what Wahrman identifies as the abruptness of this cultural attitudinal shift was heralded by decades of enduring cultural and social emphasis on the self in medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing. Exploring eighteenth-century literature and culture reveals that there was a continual focus on the self in the cultural creations of this century, however, the discussions regarding what that self was and how it was defined did indeed change. Despite this change the ideas about the self that were being published and shared in the early eighteenth century were not suddenly rendered irrelevant to this cultural discourse by the more 'modern' ideas seen at the end of the century. This thesis, therefore, offers an original contribution to the field of eighteenth-century studies and studies of the history of the self in this period, by arguing that there was an evident non-linearity in the concepts of the self that were being shared and (re)produced in this period. Wahrman and other critics note elements of the cultural discourse around selfhood but at times fail to consider the circularity and repurposing of thought in the different fields of writing produced across the century. Ideas of selfhood never existed in isolation and the theories presented by authors across discourses and decades often featured the same lines of thought or approaches to the fundamental questions of what it meant to be a self in society.

[76] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xiii.
[77] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, xiii.

The ’nonlinearity’ I refer to in relation to the theories and texts used in this thesis is an articulation of the enduring influence of the ideas of self present across different areas of European and English culture in the eighteenth century. It is my contention that the ideas Bernard Mandeville was espousing in the 1720s hold relevance to the ideas seen in the dramas of the 1770s and 1780s, and that this is not due to a direct correlation or causal link of authors reading Mandeville or similar theories directly, but rather due to the cyclical, complex, and indefinite nature of the cultural examination of self and sociality in this period. Throughout this thesis I employ medical and philosophical texts that show corresponding and relevant readings and lines of thought about the self, and that were publicly available and therefore represent an influence and/or response to the wider cultural discussions taking place during the century. In this chapter I establish the importance of mind and body in all the fields I discuss in this thesis. As I have set out in the introduction, I am examining the social self in this thesis by considering how medical, philosophical, and dramatic texts all presented an embodied self in their renderings of the social self, and I claim that the theatrical embodied self seen in the plays can be closely read using the medical and philosophical theories also arising in the eighteenth-century. In using the range of physicians and philosophers included in this thesis I am arguing that there are valuable readings of the play texts of eighteenth-century female British playwrights that can be produced when using this framework, and that by understanding the cultural conversations on the topic of the self as enduring and intertwined across the decades a clearer picture of the complexity of these women’s dramas emerges.

Mind/Body/Self

Key to my selection of the philosophers and physicians whose works I read in this thesis was the recurrent theme of the mind-body relationship. The eighteenth-century navigation of this core relationship between internal and external feeling and experience was informed by Cartesian and Lockean thinking, and the texts I use in the following chapters all feature an empirical, embodied, understanding of what is to be a person. There is a notable interest in the writings I have selected in describing and dictating what it may mean to be a healthy and socially accepted self and I claim that these writers were contributing to a cultural conversation that defined that type of self, just using the various tropes and tools of their own fields to take part in this discussion. The fixation on mind and body seen in writing across different fields and genres in this period indicates the importance of the relationship between the mental and the physical

in eighteenth-century examinations of the self. This analysis of the self stems, in part, from a conversation about what the soul is, and where it may be situated. The passions, as signifiers of feeling and an external demonstration of an internal process, are also intricately tied to these topics and in this chapter, I explore the key philosophies of self in the selected writings and examine the relevance of certain themes of self and sociality that I identify in the following chapters. For example, I discuss sensibility, the mind/body relationship, gender, clothing, self-command, and the passions by setting out some of the important philosophical and medical thinking expressed in the selected texts that address these topics and serve as grounding for the detailed analysis in the following chapters.

The idea of mental and physical experience being aligned, and the implications of this thinking were part of a philosophical discourse that was popularised with Descartes' writing in the seventeenth century. This history of popular renderings of the mind-body relationship is particularly relevant to the theatre as drama offers playwrights the opportunity to create embodied characters that enact their selfhood and passions for an audience. Somatic, emotional, and mental experience are all key to the dramatic presentation of character and the socially instructive element of these playwright's depictions of sociality in the eight plays I analyse. The complicated interaction of mind and body, particularly the post-Cartesian examination of this interaction, relates to eighteenth-century depictions of self and sociality wherein the ongoing discussions of what the self was and how it should behave were also shaped by ideas of mental and physical experience, interiority and exteriority, and the process of trusting the legibility of another person's social performance. The mind-body 'problem', as it was written about in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is relevant to my critical analysis of the construction of self in these play texts. Key to popularising these discussions of mind and body, and in turn the self as situated between these two, was the philosophy of Descartes. R. Darren Gobert, in *The Mind-Body Stage* (2013), makes a clear case for the impact of Cartesian thought and theory on the world of the theatre. Gobert does not restrict this analysis to playwriting, rather he notes the broader impact of Descartes's thinking on the theatre: "[a]ctors adapted their performance styles to account for new models of subjectivity and physiology. Critics theorized the theatre's emotional and ethical benefits to spectators in Cartesian terms. Architects sought to intensify these benefits by altering their designs."[78] Gobert also makes the claim that "[a]fter

[78] R. Darren Gobert, *The Mind-Body Stage: Passion and Interaction in the Cartesian Theater* (Stanford:

Descartes, playwrights self-consciously put Cartesian characters on the stage and thematized their rational workings."[79] The central focus of *The Mind-Body Stage* is re-dressing the faulty conceptions of Descartes and his theories of dualism. Gobert explains that Descartes used the ideas of subjectivity and, crucially, the passions to consider the relationship between mental and somatic experience. He writes: "Descartes teaches us that the passions unite mind and body and that, whatever his commitment to substance dualism, the material and immaterial are inextricable."[80] This was a theory that was simultaneously being espoused in medical theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which is seen in my examination of Mandeville (a philosopher and physician) who wrote in the early eighteenth century (1711), and physicians from across the period; namely George Cheyne (1720s), William Buchan (1770s), Richard Mead (1750s), Matthew Baillie (1790s), all of whom were exploring the interplay of mind and body.

Descartes, writing in the seventeenth century, created a scientific framework for understanding the passions; he created "an intricate model, painstakingly worked out to avoid inconsistencies with medicine, physics and mathematics."[81] In *The Passions of the Soule* (1650) Descartes explains that "Action and Passion are one and the same thing, which hath two several names, because of the two several subjects whereunto they may relate."[82] Further arguing his point that bodily or mental action can initiate the passions as part of this close interrelationship between physical and emotional experience Descartes claims that nothing

> more immediately agitates our soul, than the body joyned to it, & consequently we ought to conceive that what in that is a Passion, is commonly in this an Action; so that there is no better way to attain to the understanding of our Passions, than by examining the difference between the soul and the body.[83]

This encompassing approach to the passions as part of bodily experience, something at

---

Stanford University Press, 2013), 1.
[79] Gobert, *The Mind-Body Stage*, 1.
[80] Gobert, *The Mind-Body Stage*, 6.
[81] Joy Albuquerque, Dorian Deshauer, and Paul Grof, "Descartes' passions of the soul – seeds of psychiatry?," *Journal of Affective Disorders* 76 (2003): 286, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-0327(02)00104-0.
[82] René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soule In three Books. The first, Treating of the Passions in Generall, and occasionally of the whole nature of man. The second, Of the Number, and order of the Passions, and the explication of the six Primitive ones. The third, Of Particular Passions* (London: J. Martin & J. Ridley, 1650), 2.
[83] Descartes, *The Passions of the Soule*, 2.

once identifiable and mis-classifiable due to their awkward situation between feeling in the soul and the body, and the attention that Descartes bestowed upon passions in his theories helped to establish their importance in eighteenth-century examinations of human nature. Anthony Gottlieb explains the relevance of Cartesian thought in this period, writing: "[b]y the eighteenth century, Descartes, and especially the topics of his *Meditations,* was a popular starting-point for any philosophy that regarded itself as modern."[84] The centrality of Cartesian thinking can be seen in the responses, both negative or positive, to these theories of mind and body particularly in Hutcheson, Rousseau, Hume, and Smith's writing. Their writing was not only hugely influential in the eighteenth century but also holds an enduring place in contemporary understandings of the history of enlightenment and empirical philosophy. The theories of self and social behaviour found in these philosophers' writings are employed in the close reading of the play texts that follow in this thesis.

However, this discussion of self, sociality, and mind and body needs further context from a seventeenth-century philosopher whose work remains deeply influential in conversations about the philosophy of the self. The work of John Locke held an important place in the development of eighteenth-century understandings of consciousness, self, and empirical philosophy. Although Locke was writing in the seventeenth century, his philosophy and its placement within a continuum consisting of Cartesian dualism, materialism, and theological uncertainty influenced eighteenth-century concepts of the feeling self. Locke not only discussed the religious aspect of individualism, but he also considered the relationship between mind and body. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke outlines contemporary views of soul and body: "[a]nother *idea* we have of body, is the power of *communication of motion by impulse;* and of our souls the power of *exciting motion by thought.*"[85] He continues: "[t]hese *ideas,* the one of body, the other of our minds, every day's experience clearly furnishes us with."[86] The idea of empirical knowledge of mind and body leading to a possible mental comprehension of the soul as a thinking thing is a central component of the seventeenth-century growth of individualism that Locke's philosophy exemplifies. Roy Porter views Locke's philosophy as a proto-psychological study of humanity; stating that "[t]he new Lockean psychology

[84] Anthony Gottlieb, *The Dream of Enlightenment: The Rise of Modern Philosophy* (St Ives: Penguin Books, 2016), 30.
[85] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* Vol I (London: The Bassett, 1690), 321-322.
[86] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* Vol I, 321-322.

awakened a bold vision of man making himself – viewed both as the *producer* but also as the *product* of social development and the civilizing process."[87] The re-emergence of an entire discourse focussed on feeling, self, and the interrelation of mind and body in this period was central to understandings of religion and the soul, however, the materiality of the soul remained a contentious issue.

The possible situation of the soul in either mind or body, contributed to a suspicion surrounding the existence of the soul which would, in turn, undermine the idea of a, broadly Christian, deity. Locke was careful to attribute the unknowable essence of human existence to God, but his philosophy nonetheless sat within a philosophical shift from assumed religious to increasingly interpersonal social culpability for performances of self and passions. With the relationship between mind and body being realigned in Descartes and Locke's philosophies, the social relationship between individual culpability and religiously defined social morality also became a topic of interest that is seen reflected in the literary, medical, and philosophical writings of the eighteenth century. The plays analysed in the following chapters address ideas of self, social performance, and embodied expressions of feeling or thought, and it is through the lens of growing empirical trends in knowledge, and the varied implications of this empiricism, that I read these texts. Following Descartes' and Locke's discourses on self, sociality, and the passions in the seventeenth century, eighteenth-century philosophers brought some of the concerns found in these theories into their own writings. Adam Smith and David Hume, particularly their theories of sympathy and spectatorship, feature heavily in the following case studies because their philosophy is informed by a theatrical metaphor of social performance; in their philosophy there is an ongoing emphasis on interpretation and observation of behaviour which positions the individual as a social actor and the public as their audience. This emphasis on observation and judgement corresponds with the theatrical model that is identifiable in the writing of these women playwrights. Equally, the passions are a present theme in each of these philosophers' writings as the expression of mental and physical feeling was understood as an issue of social concern, something that, to use the theatrical metaphor seen in Hume and Smith, affected both the social actor and the social audience.

[87] Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), 4.

David Hume's writing, for example in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1740), reflects on the social dimension of feeling by placing the passions, as a symbol of the interrelationship between mind and body, in a social context. A context in which sympathy and sympathetic observation were key to an individual's experience of their own feelings and their interaction with others. Pinch summarises Hume's concept of sympathy, by claiming that "[s]ympathy seems to be the basis not only of ideal social relationships but of an ideal theory of mind, one that would overcome the passivity of mind of the empiricist account as it is usually understood."[88] Sympathy and the mind-body relationship were knotted together in eighteenth-century thought, due to a shared public concern about the passions and their appropriate expression as a form of social self-fashioning or performance. Adam Smith, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), also discusses the feeling self as something bodily, mentally, and socially enacted. Smith expressly discusses the passions as an impetus for social sympathetic feeling: "[t]he passions, upon some occasions, may seem to be transfused from one man to another, instantaneously, and antecedent to any knowledge of what excited them in the person principally concerned."[89] The passions are presented in Smith's writing as, at least sometimes, uncontrollable, or instinctual in both their origin and their transmission. He discusses the social response to passions by defining sympathy as something distinct from compassion or pity: "[s]ympathy, though its meaning was, perhaps, originally the same, may now, however, without much impropriety, be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever."[90] Smith uses the concept of sympathy to delineate a process of imaginative transference where a spectator comes to realise the impact of another's passions.

Smith explains that through this imaginative process, the passionate individual's "agonies, when they are thus brought home to ourselves, when we have thus adopted and made them our own, begin at last to affect us, and we then tremble and shudder at the thought of what he feels."[91] The Smithean concept of sympathetic response, like Descartes' claim in *The Passions of the Soule,* unites mental and somatic experience. For Smith the passion begins by provoking the imagination, which in turn provokes a somatic response: "[w]hen we see a stroke aimed and just ready to fall upon the leg or arm of another person, we naturally shrink and draw back our own leg or our own

[88] Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 34.
[89] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), 6.
[90] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 6.
[91] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 4.

arm."[92] Sympathy, and therefore the thinking and feeling self, is firmly associated with the passions in Smith's philosophy which, in turn, contributed to the wider discourses on public feeling and selfhood in this period. By referring to Smith and Hume's sympathetic reasoning, something that also features in Joanna Baillie's 'Introductory Discourse' and plays, I explore how these female playwrights were corresponding with, and contributing to, broader discussions of self and social behaviour in the eighteenth century.

Smith and Hume socialise the passions by arguing for the power of observation and understanding via sympathy. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophy, however, takes a more wary approach to the passions. The relationship between mind and body is not questioned, but rather presented as established in these philosophies. The process, however, of communicating and transferring emotions and thoughts to other social actors is investigated and at times disparaged in later eighteenth-century philosophy. Rousseau, in *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (1761), makes the claim that the individual holds social and personal culpability for their actions, but he also criticises the social systems in which the individual functions. He claims that there are "[m]en like me, whose Passions have irretrievably destroyed their original Simplicity, who can no longer live upon Grass and Acorns, or without Laws and Magistrates."[93] Rousseau presents the passions, or the passionate self, as a problem whilst also indicating that the society that fosters such passions is corruptive. In Rousseau's discourse on the moral effects of arts and sciences, he expounds the idea that, in a pre-civilised setting, "[h]uman nature, it is true, was not fundamentally the better, but men found their security in the facility of reciprocal penetration."[94] Rousseau writes that the effects of social performances and consumption of arts and sciences led to a social norm of obfuscation of true motive and feeling. This performative deceit was condemned by Rousseau but was popularly subsumed into the period's cultural depictions of sociality. The physical and emotional self was a self whose mind-body relationship was easily explored in the theatre through dramaturgy informing an audience member of the mental and physical state of the character. This self was understood as a performer, and yet condemned for performing, specifically in Rousseau's philosophy.

---

[92] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 4.
[93] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1761), 218.
[94] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse of J. J. Rousseau, which obtained the prize of the Academy of Dijon* (London: W. Richardson, 1779), 48.

Rousseau considers the performance of the social self, asking: "how have our subtle refinements and pernicious taste reduced the art of pleasing to a mere system; it reigns in our whole behaviour."[95] By making clear that he is proscribing the acts of performed behaviour, Rousseau is placing the focus on social performance - specifically deceitful, inauthentic performances. The legible self was one that externally performed their internal experience for the public. The passions, as a prominent example of internal feeling publicly expressed, are treated in Francis Hutcheson's philosophy also from the start of the century. For example, Hutcheson's *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (1728) demonstrates the centrality of the passions to discourses on human selfhood as understood through behaviour and sociality. Hutcheson argues that the passions are significant influencers of human behaviour: "[t]he Nature of human Actions cannot be sufficiently understood without first considering the *Affections* and *Passions.*"[96] Hutcheson continues by defining affections and passions as "*[m]odifications, or Actions of the Mind consequent upon the Apprehension of certain Objects or Events, in which the Mind generally conceives Good or Evil.*"[97] He further claims that it is benevolence that can assist in calming and contending with the passions. Jeffrey Barnouw relates Hutcheson's writing to Descartes' by claiming that both present the passions as confused thoughts or perceptions. He writes that "Hutcheson, who, for all his positive emphasis on moral and aesthetic "sense," perpetuates the idea that the passions are dangerous because they involve bodily sensation and are therefore "confused"."[98] The interrelatedness of bodily sensation and mental feeling is both problematic for philosophers in this period and used to argue for the transmissible power of the passions. The embodied self, as an individual experiencing feelings and passions, was a concern in each of these fields, but was most explicitly explored in medical writing.

Bernard Mandeville, a Dutch physician and philosopher who lived and worked in England for most of his life, was writing in the early 1700s writing and his work is influential in the social understanding of the self historically and presently.

---

[95] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse,* 48.
[96] Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (London: P. Crampton and T. Benson, 1728), 1.
[97] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections,* 1.
[98] Jeffrey Barnouw, "Passions as "Confused" Perception or Thought in Descartes, Malebranche, and Hutcheson," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 3 (1992): 401, https://doi.org/10.2307/2709884.

Mandeville's writing, whilst not necessarily adopted or approved of by other writers and thinkers in the period, offered a new dimension to the discourse on self and sociality in the long eighteenth century. Mandeville's famous claim was that private vices could operate for the public good was articulated in *The Fable of the Bees* (1714) and was part of a philosophical and cultural movement towards individualism. E. J. Hundert provides the insight that while Mandeville's writing created a stir amongst readers, "Mandeville's most anxiety-provoking claim was neither that his contemporaries were immoral nor that the springs of their actions could be shown to contradict their professed ideals."[99] Instead Hundert argues that Mandeville's truly disruptive idea was "that fiction and fantasy profoundly influenced the fashioning of selves in commercial society and that the primary stabilizing forces of this society were those inherent in the essentially theatrical relations through which it regulated itself."[100] Mandeville's early writing not only influenced those directly responding to his ideas, but also served to integrate the ideas of theatrical, potentially inauthentic, social performances with the idea of internal selfhood. While there were philosophers and social theorists who disliked the negative view of human nature that Mandeville's work espoused, this reception became part of the ongoing discourse which emphasised the role of the individual in society. Mandeville wrote medical and philosophical texts that addressed topics like prostitution (*A Modest Defence of Publick Stews,* 1724), virginity, sex, and marriage (*The Virgin Unmask'd,* 1709), and the difference in male and female medical needs (*A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, Vulgarly call'd the Hypo in Men and Vapours in Women,* 1711). Following Mandeville's interest in individual identity, the social categories and definitions of subjects like gender, class, and nationality preoccupied the next generation of thinkers as keys to understanding and presenting the individual self legibly.

George Cheyne was a physician writing in the first half of the eighteenth century; his famous works include *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) and *The English Malady* (1733). Cheyne, in these texts, tackles the issues of public health including diet, mental health, and nervous diseases. Anita Guerrini explains that in "the first half of the

[99] Edward Hundert, "Performing the Passions in Commercial Society Bernard Mandeville and the Theatricality of Eighteenth-Century Thought," in *Refiguring Revolutions Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (London: University of California Press, 1998), 160.
[100] Hundert, "Performing the Passions," 160.

eighteenth century George Cheyne was much admired."[101] Guerrini makes explicit how "Cheyne uniquely epitomizes the transition between premodern and modern culture. He crosses back and forth over the boundaries between the view of a world governed by God and one governed by the laws of Newtonian physics."[102] Sitting in a complex position between old and new, Cheyne's ideas about health and the self illustrate the non-linear interaction between emergent and ongoing discourses on selfhood. Cheyne's ideas were less popular later in the century, and yet the clear overlaps seen between the themes and approaches that Cheyne displays in his natural philosophy and those found in the dramas I have selected provides a strong foundation for my literary analysis of these plays. The ideas of self that Cheyne wrote about put the emphasis on self-regulation and individual responsibility for health with the encouragement of a regimen; "[s]elf-help was not a new medical approach, but few elite physicians (of which Cheyne was one) preached it with fervor."[103] The increasing emphasis on the individual, in philosophy, medicine, and culture in the long eighteenth century is exemplified in texts like Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* and Cheyne's *An Essay of Health and Long Life.* For example, in *An Essay of Health and Long Life* Cheyne argues that "at present, there is not any Thing that the Generality of the better Sort of Mankind so lavishly and so unconcernedly throw away as *Health.*"[104] Not only does Cheyne identify health as something the individual is capable of throwing away, but he also makes it clear that the onus is on the individual to preserve their healthiness, stating: "'tis easier to *preserve* Health than to *recover* it, and to *prevent* Diseases than to *cure* them. Towards the first, the Means are mostly in our own Power: Little else is required than to *bear and forbear.*"[105] Cheyne, therefore, places emphasis on the individual taking preventative measures and acknowledging their own role in maintaining their own good health. The emphasis on the individual and the discussion of mind and body that medical and philosophical writing of this period regularly features is also seen in Richard Mead's medical writing.

Richard Mead, a physician to King George II and a fellow in the Royal Society, wrote *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* which was translated from Latin to English and published in 1751. In his *Precepts,* Mead explains that "[t]he affections of the mind,

[101] Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), xiv.
[102] Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment*, xiv.
[103] Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment*, xiv.
[104] George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724), 2.
[105] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 2.

commonly called *passions,* when vehement and immoderate, may be justly ranked among diseases; because they disorder the body various ways."[106] Mead's work in the mid-century was responsive to what he considered the failures of other physicians of the period, and he argues for a simplistic life that avoids the inflammation of the passions in order to remain physically healthy. Mead, described by Roger Jones as "one of London's most brilliant physicians at the beginning of the 18th century,"[107] also highlighted the role of the individual in the preservation of good health, and literally distinguished mind and body in his medical writing. In *Medical Precepts and Cautions* (1751) he argues that the human body, also known as "this wonderful machine, incapable of putting itself into motion, was still in want of a first mover: wherefore the *mind* is placed over it, as a ruler and moderator, and is the efficient cause of all sense and motion."[108] Mead does not try to pinpoint the details of the mind and its internal process, but does identify the distinct and interplaying internal and external processes of feeling and action. Mead's medical writing also demonstrates a shift from a previous school of medical thought, namely hydraulic iatromechanism and the understanding of the body as a series of pipes and tubes carrying fluids, to a corpuscular iatromechanism. Arnold Zuckerman describes this shift as Mead giving more attention "to practical matters than in his earlier works, and iatromechanical theory is now corpuscular, not hydraulic. A shift in thinking can also be seen in the works of George Cheyne."[109] Zuckerman points to the influence of Herman Boerhaave, whom Mead knew, and Zuckerman argues that Boerhaave's medical theory can be identified in Mead's writing when Mead claims that: "health consists in the regular motions of fluids, together with a proper state of the solids."[110] The interplay and influence of different ideas of the body were evident in the medical writing of the eighteenth century, however, there was also an important degree of general rumination being undertaken; physicians were studying and practicing natural philosophy, and many of their works demonstrate a philosophical and at times even conversational tone wherein broad statements about health and the self are expressed.

William Buchan, in the second edition of *Domestic Medicine* (1772), explains his view of the relationship between mind and matter. Buchan writes: "there is established a

[106] Richard Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* trans. Thomas Stack (Dublin: W. Smith, 1751), 185.
[107] Roger Jones, "Richard Mead, Thomas Guy, the South Sea Bubble and the founding of Guy's Hospital," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 103, no. 3 (March 2010): 88.
[108] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 2.
[109] Arnold Zuckerman, "Plague and Contagionism in Eighteenth-Century England: The Role of Richard Mead," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 78, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 283.
[110] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 345.

reciprocal influence betwixt the mental and corporeal parts, and that whatever disorders the one, likewise effects the other."[111] This apparently widely accepted perception of the reciprocal duality of mind and body is asserted in its presence in both the philosophy and the medical writing of the eighteenth century. Buchan also describes the performative aspect of the role of the physician and his aim to make medical knowledge comprehensible and open to the general public. He writes of how the "veil of mystery which still hangs over Medicine, renders it not only a conjectural, but even a suspicious art."[112] Buchan's writing was based on a self-reported desire to discover, and share his discovery of, the causes of ill health and their cures. The attempt to bring an awareness of medicine and health to domestic settings was part of an enlightenment and eighteenth-century increase in medical knowledge that impacted all areas of cultural and social life in this period. Buchan's work in the 1770s, however, was met by further, more empirically investigated, medical and anatomical knowledge by the end of the century. For example, Joanna Baillie's brother, Matthew Baillie, and her uncles, the famous John and William Hunter, produced highly influential work based on their observations and autopsies of the human body. Matthew Baillie in *The Morbid Anatomy* (1793) builds on his access to his uncle's collection to produce a work that more accurately and logically describes diseases and their effects on the body than previous texts. His work also points to the lack of definite correspondence between observation and causation; he writes: "[i]t is very much to be regretted that the knowledge of morbid structure does not certainly lead to the knowledge of morbid actions, although the one is the effect of the other."[113] The nascent formality and breadth of knowledge seen in the work of later eighteenth-century physicians was part of a move towards more diagnostic medical writing and a move away from the 'natural philosophy' of the early and mid-century.

The growing scientific model left the ruminations on the complex interrelationship between mind and body, as a question with social and spiritual implications, more to the realm of philosophy. However, the eighteenth century, in its move towards the scientific model of modern medicine, still saw an overwhelming production of medical texts that attempted to tackle philosophical and metaphysical questions through their prescriptive writing on health and the passions. As seen in the philosophy included in

[111] William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines* (London: W. Strahan, 1772), 139.
[112] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine,* xx.
[113] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body* (London: J. Johnson, and G. Nicol, 1793), i-ii.

this study, particularly Rousseau's writing, the search for balance between 'natural' feeling and expression of passions, and the socially imbued understanding of how to regulate and perform these in certain contexts was key to social life in the eighteenth century. John Hill's instructive text, *The Actor* (1755), makes clear the mid-century understanding of the importance of this balance between feeling and its conveyance. Hill writes: "[a]ll the advantages a player can possibly have from nature will serve him to little purpose, unless he have understanding to regulate them."[114] The concept of balance was also central to the medical theory of John Brown. Brown initially wrote his *The Elements of Medicine* in 1780 in Latin, and they were translated into English in 1788. Therefore, his philosophy of balance as key to a healthy self was emergent at the same time as the circulation of several of the play texts discussed, and presents a late eighteenth-century, albeit subjective, perspective on health.

Brown's 'system' of medicine asserted that the process of restoring and preserving good health was predicated on balancing one's stimuli to mediate one's reactionary excitability. Brown's justification for this process and this emphasis on stimuli came down to the central idea that "EXCITEMENT, the effect of the exciting powers, when *of a* proper *degree,* constitutes health; when *either* excessive or deficient, *it proves the occasion of* disease."[115] Brown's notion of excitement was partly responsive to William Cullen's ideas of "nervous sensibility and power."[116] Guenter B. Risse formulates that Brown, in creating a quantifiable notion of bodily excitability, "aimed at greater certainty in medicine through the employment of a Newtonian-like principle capable of explaining the behaviour of all living organisms."[117] Critics of Brown considered his overarching claim, that all diseases essentially stemmed from a lack or an excess of stimuli creating excitement, to be rudimentary. However, there was a formal method in Brown's work, and one often based on empirical evidence from his own life or his patients' lives. Brown's theories stress the importance of balance, and this is a notion that can be read as applicable to social theories of self in the period. The idea that an individual body needs fine-tuning is a social view of the constructed self that can be easily transferred to theories of behaviour. The social self held the competing demands of a need to perform politely, but authentically, and needing to

[114] Hill, *The Actor*, 29.
[115] John Brown, *The Elements of Medicine; or, a Translation of the Elementa Mecinæ Brunonis* (London: J. Johnson, 1788), 50.
[116] Guenter B. Risse, *New Medical Challenges During the Scottish Enlightenment* (New York: Editions Rodopi B. V., 2005), 107.
[117] Risse, *New Medical Challenges During the Scottish Enlightenment*, 107.

reach a balance between being socially appealing and being deceitful. Rousseau's philosophy, and specifically his direct associations of the city and inauthentic social performances adheres to this fear of a lack of balance between feeling and performance. The navigation of the relationship between mind and body is ubiquitous in the philosophy of this period, either through fears of a discrepancy between the internal and external versions of self, or the social responses to self inspired by sympathy.

The discussions surrounding self and social performance in the philosophies of Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, and Rousseau serve to demonstrate some of the central ideas about social interaction that are also notably present in the medical and dramatic writing of this period. The use of these philosophical writings in this study enables me to contextualise the dramatic writing of my chosen playwrights using responses to the Cartesian mind-body relationship, and the eighteenth-century emergent trends of empirical understanding of personal identity. The foregrounding of consciousness and simultaneous mental and somatic feeling is present in the works of these five philosophers. The medical writings of Brown, Mandeville, Cheyne, Mead, Buchan, and Baillie also demonstrate the interactions that these physicians' texts display between mind and body, and social theories of self and health. Just as the philosophy and the medical writing included in this thesis present models for healthy and socially approbated individual action, this presentation of selfhood is also represented in the dramatic writings of Baillie, Griffith, Inchbald, and More. Furthermore, the passions were deployed in each field of study to address issues of bodily and mental social and individual feeling. The following sections all address some of the topics and tropes that I analyse in the case study chapters, providing context and insight into the readings that feature in the chapters.

Sensibility and Virtue

Sensibility, in the eighteenth century, was understood as something that was part of an individual's physical self, as a form of bodily feeling that encompassed sympathy for others and could be physically and socially expressed. Writing from the second half of the eighteenth century recognised the ambiguity of the term; Hannah More's poem of the same name highlights the nebulous nature of sensibility. She writes, addressing sensibility, "Thy subtile essence still eludes the chains/ of Definition, and defeats her

pains."[118] In Chapter 5 I explore how sensibility featured in Hannah More's dramas, and how the embodiment of self that sensibility refers to is employed in theatrical, philosophical, and medical writing from the eighteenth century. The term relates most to More's writing due to its links to morality; G.J. Barker-Benfield suggests that while "sensibility rested on essentially materialist assumptions, proponents of sensibility came to invest it with spiritual and moral values."[119] The moral dimension of sensibility was key to the didactic role of many literary works that engaged with social behaviour, namely through sentiment and sensibility. While sensibility gained an increasingly critical and satirical role in literature of the late eighteenth century, Jean I. Marsden makes the important distinction between a social distrust of sensibility as related to politics and gender, and the relative acceptance of sensibility as part of theatrical displays. She argues that "[e]xcesses of emotion might be the object of scorn, but within the theatre they were rarely sources of anxiety, largely because, even though the theatre was an acknowledged site of powerful emotion, the sources of this emotion were carefully regulated."[120] Therefore, sensibility held an unstable position within the dual realms of populist writing and the emotional arena of the theatre. Without always specifically referring to sensibility in their plays Griffith, More, Inchbald, and Baillie all deploy the tropes of sensible feeling and passionate expression, and therefore use these tools to offer social instruction to their audiences.

Sensibility and sentimentality rose and later fell in popularity by the end of the eighteenth century which led to increasingly satirical and condemning representations of these expressions in literature. Valerie Purton explains the social threat that sentimentality, as something potentially deceptive, posed: "the possibility of hypocrisy behind the sentimental mask was a constant source of anxiety to both eighteenth- and nineteenth- century sentimental writers."[121] Purton's description of the performance of sentimentality as a mask, and the association of sentimentality with anxiety neatly summarises the perceptions of sentimentality in later eighteenth-century literary works. In turn, sensibility, as seen in texts like Hannah More's poem "Sensibility" (1782), and Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) received an increasingly complicated presentation in literature of this period. As Barker-Benfield argues,

---

[118] Hannah More, *Sacred Dramas: Chiefly Intended For Young Persons: The Subjects Taken From The Bible. To Which Is Added Sensibility, A Poem* (London: T. Cadell, 1782), 282.
[119] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, xvii.
[120] Jean I. Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling Affect, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 14.
[121] Valerie Purton, *Dickens and the Sentimental Tradition: Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Lamb* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), xv.

sensibility "became a paradigm, meaning not only consciousness in general but a particular kind of consciousness, one that could be further sensitized in order to be more acutely responsive to signals from the outside environment and from inside the body."[122] This claim is supported by eighteenth-century writing, for example Hill, in *The Actor*, notes that: "[t]he disposition to receive those impressions by which our own passions are affected, is this quality of sensibility."[123] These claims show that sensibility was used to make the individual more responsive to external and internal stimuli, but also to regulate those responses to stimuli such as the passions, both in themselves and others. Sensibility constituted a civilising process that could ensure the individual social actor was not performing outside of the popular parameters of public expression. Sensibility was not always popular, however, and as Chris Jones argues, by the 1790s sensibility "and its associated vocabulary were virtually unusable except for purposes of satire."[124] The accepted parameters of social performance were subject to change and authors, philosophers, and dramatists alike began to condemn the inherent performativity, and therefore possible inauthenticity, of control over the passions under the title of sensibility.

Sensibility in the realm of the theatre was defined by Hill as "[a] disposition to be affected by the passions which plays are intended to excite."[125] This process of emotional transference between actor and spectator was central to the experience of eighteenth-century theatre, as Marsden argues "[t]he theatre of later eighteenth-century England was a world of feeling, where audiences came to experience emotion."[126] Lily B. Campbell discusses the growth of what she terms "realistic Romanticism" on the stage. Campbell, contrasting this realism with its precursor, explains how, "[f]rom some time about 1690 until 1741, this style of acting, which we may fairly call classical, dominated the English stage. The period of its dominance almost exactly coincided with the period of the so-called classicism in English literary history."[127] The acting theory and practice of the eighteenth century was in responsive dialogue with the concept of the passionate self and the tensions between external and internal experience and performance. The feeling self, the eighteenth-century

[122] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), xvii.
[123] John Hill, *The Actor Or, A Treatise on the Art of Playing* (London: R. Griffiths, 1755), 49.
[124] Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility Literature and ideas in the 1790s* (Oxon: Routledge, 1993), 3.
[125] Hill, *The Actor*, 48.
[126] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling*, 1.
[127] Lily B. Campbell, "The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century," *PMLA* 32, no. 2 (1917): 178. https://www.jstor.org/stable/457045.

passionate character, was conceived both as something embodied as well as abstract. McGirr considers the way that "the eighteenth century is defined by the always-present possibility of this divergence between being and seeming and the overwhelming desire to close that gap, to make appearances unambiguously signify natures."[128] The theatrical trope of the legibility of sentimental 'codes' or expressions, and the association of medical feeling and health with appearance and external symptoms can be read as part of the attempt to align these internal and external characters.

Sensibility and the passions were terms that highlighted the correspondence and expected regulation of feeling between mind and body in this period. Equally, the interrelationship between mental and physical was inherent to medical writings of this period, and the medical association of 'proper feeling' both somatically and emotionally was played out through the prescriptive nature of medical writing for social behaviour. Wayne Wild explains how "[t]he adoption of the rhetoric of sensibility by established medicine both exemplified and smoothed the way for the merging of classical and Christian-based medical ethics, starting most particularly with the immense rhetorical influence of the physician, George Cheyne."[129] The embodied or somatic dimension of the feeling self in Descartes and Locke's writing was an enduring theme which, in turn, influenced the literary depictions of sensibility and sentiment. Eighteenth-century theories of embodiment and sensibility were informed by the work of physicians like George Cheyne, who discussed the nervous aspect of the self. Wild summarises Cheyne's medical legacy, writing: "Cheyne, building on the foundation of the new centrality of the nervous system to explain human physiology and human conduct, compellingly, and with immense popular success, joined the ascendant nervous physiology to individual responsibility."[130] Other than attributing individual culpability to the patient, Cheyne was also part of a medical history that reformulated "the objective rhetoric favored in the late-seventeenth and earlier-eighteenth century, the rhetoric of Newtonian-inspired physicians of iatromechanical medicine, was replaced by a subjective rhetoric of malaise, such that illness, filtered through nerve "sensibility", became appropriate discourse for patient and

[128] McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters,* 1.
[129] Wayne Wild, "The Origins of a Modern Medical Ethics in Enlightenment Scotland: Cheyne, Gregory and Cullen as Practitioners of Sensibility," in *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture 1762-1832,* eds. Megan J. Coyer and David E. Shuttleton, (New York: Rodopi, 2014), 57.
[130] Wild, "The Origins of a Modern Medical Ethics," 57.

physician."[131] Cheyne's work stressed the effect of the passions on the nerves, as part of a system of medicine that tapped into pre-existing notions of sex and gender, and sensibility as part of social expression.

Materialist ideas of the thinking self, and an increased anatomical awareness, specifically of the brain, in the eighteenth century led to an anxiety surrounding the conceptual dissolution of the soul as an immaterial, esoteric thing that elevated human consciousness and therefore the 'self'. The medical writing of this period played a large part in a social re-negotiation surrounding certain long-established concepts of self, social behaviour, and mind and body; these concepts were re-negotiated through the literary dramaturgy of eighteenth-century dramatists as well as in the philosophies of the period. Locke's philosophy demonstrates the complex theological implications that empiricism raised. The direct loss of church power through the growing popularity of the belief that a person could self-define, and therefore also worship alone compared with the traditions of church attendance, and a belief in a pre-determinist definition of the worshipper led to an ideological and material struggle between old and new theology and philosophy in this period. The possible materiality of the soul or the spirit was problematic for Locke; "the substance of spirit is unknown to us; and so is the substance of body equally unknown to us."[132] The late seventeenth-century move away from a less uncertain model of self, and the nature of the soul, through religious declaration was present in the philosophy of this period and was part of an ongoing discourse surrounding the relationship between mind and body that can be identified also in the medical writing of the eighteenth century.

Gender and the Self

The topic of the gendered self clearly relates to the above outlined ideas of social performance and sensibility. Sensibility, as a set of social behaviours and attitudes towards others' behaviours and signs of feeling, was gendered in literature and discussed by philosophers and physicians as such. Furthermore, the medical understanding of sexual difference was deepening and changing in the eighteenth-century and the medical and philosophical writing of, for example, Hume and Cheyne demonstrates the increasingly binary perspective on gender that was articulated by

[131] Wild, "The Origins of a Modern Medical Ethics," 58.
[132] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding Vol 1*, 323.

authors in the eighteenth century. Gender, as I explore in more detail when analysing Elizabeth Griffith (Chapter 3) and Elizabeth Inchbald's plays (Chapter 4), was used to identify and characterise people and their social behaviours, and the gendering of different social behaviours was one aspect of the social determination of selfhood that is overlappingly and particularly present in the medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing of the eighteenth-century authors I have selected for this thesis.

The eighteenth-century understanding of sexual difference and gendered social behaviour was informed by increasing anatomical knowledge, one key example of the medical rhetoric of sex and gender being deployed in literature was in sentimental literature. Markman Ellis explains that sentimental novels of this period "adapted the vocabulary of the scientists' model of the workings of the nerves to communicate a deepened range of emotions and feelings."[133] Ellis continues by stating that this adaptation led to "the repertoire of conventions associated with the sentimental rhetoric of the body: fainting, weeping, sighing, hand-holding, mute gestures, the beat of the pulse, blushing- and so on."[134] These sentimental tropes are also evident in the literary dramaturgy of my chosen playwrights. The sentimental representation of bodily and mental feeling as associated was, as Juliet McMaster writes, seen in the process of "[r]eading the mind through the body."[135] McMaster explains that in the eighteenth century, this "was a highly conscious process, and the different languages of the body were not only being translated and analysed by the experts, but eagerly learned and interpreted by a growing population of keen and knowledgeable amateurs."[136] The wide-spread and popular appeal of this introspection and observation is reflected in both the cataloguing of these sentimental acts in the theatre, philosophy, and medical texts of this period, and in the symbiotic relationship between ideas of self and social behaviour found on stage, or in play texts, and in quotidian social arenas.

Barker-Benfield argues that, for the term 'sensibility', "[t]he flexibility of a word synonymous with consciousness, with feeling, and eventually identifiable with sexual characteristics, permitted a continuous struggle over its meanings and values."[137] The

[133] Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.
[134] Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 19.
[135] Juliet McMaster, Reading the Body in the Eighteenth-Century Novel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), x.
[136] McMaster, *Reading the Body*, x.
[137] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, xvii.

sexed and gendered element of sensibility in this period was part of a conversation about who was allowed to feel certain passions and how they were supposed to express this feeling. As Pinch explains, "[t]he social currency of feeling in the eighteenth century and the romantic period is inseparable from its complex interactions with ideas about gender."[138] Pinch's writing, in fact, questions the critical assumption that women were associated with emotion by further exploring the relationship between both men and women and feeling. However, these assumed relationships between gender and feeling were explicitly asserted in philosophies from the period, for example when David Hume claims that "women and children are most subject to pity, as being most guided by that faculty."[139] The role of gender in the period's definitions of self, and how this related to social issues like marriage and national identity, is particularly explored in Elizabeth Inchbald's dramas. Gender and feeling are frequently placed together by critics, and Jaqueline Taylor, for example, discusses Hume's philosophy and how this relates to the passions.

Taylor, in her chapter "The Idea of a Science of Human Nature" (2013), discusses Hume's philosophy in relation to social trends and norms. Taylor recounts how Hume "examines the relations between, on the one hand, the operations of the mind such as the imagination and the passions, and on the other, the influence of social customs and institutions."[140] This examination allowed Hume to "account for the ways in which our expression and attribution of the passions both reflect and sustain community understanding of social identities."[141] The use of the passions to assert social understandings of identity, is linked of course to the formation and sources of these identities. "The most important of these identities, for Hume's analysis, are "rank" and "sex," according to Taylor,[142] and the social preoccupation with establishing and reaffirming these identities is also notably present in the literary dramaturgy of eighteenth-century dramatists. Pinch addresses Hume's concept of sex and identity: "[w]omen's association with the realm of taste and the aesthetic was generally seen, by Hume and by others, as having very serious consequences for society as a whole."[143] The outward facing anxieties surrounding female feeling were not restricted to Hume's analysis: "[t]he philosopher's analysis of the proximity of taste and passion

[138] Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion*, 12.
[139] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol II, 165.
[140] Jacqueline Taylor, "The Idea of a Science of Human Nature," in *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. James A. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 75.
[141] Taylor, "The Idea of a Science of Human Nature," 75.
[142] Taylor, "The Idea of a Science of Human Nature," 75.
[143] Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion*, 53.

in women, however, expresses a sentiment that can be found throughout eighteenth-century discussions of women's special sensibilities: the concern that women's feelings do not discriminate between appropriate and inappropriate objects."[144] The material aspect of women's social performances of self, a self that was unable to determine the appropriateness of certain objects and was therefore susceptible to the threat of luxury culture, is part of a rhetoric surrounding luxury and 'effeminacy' in the eighteenth century.

Dana Harrington, in "Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain" (2001), explains that authors "drew upon the traditional association of luxury with civic decay to explain the social and political ills of early modern Britain and invoked the gendered connotations of virtue by linking "effeminacy" with conspicuous consumption."[145] This cultural relationship between gender and luxury was also exhibited in the work of physicians of the period, and Cheyne's writing is one key example of this attitude. Anita Guerrini explains that "[o]ver the course of the century, the medical definition of the female changed from being primarily physical to being primarily emotional: from body to spirit. The works of the eighteenth-century Bath physician George Cheyne (1671-1743) display the process of this redefinition."[146] Guerrini presents Cheyne as not only influential but potentially manipulative as he "played on the relationships between class and gender, illness and intelligence, and sensitivity and animality in his finely tuned popular writings."[147] Guerrini argues that Cheyne presented and described nervous illnesses as related to class rather than gender, as part of his playing on this relationships, however, "he directed his discussion primarily toward women, or at least those who cultivated feminine sensibility. Women, he believed, were by nature more susceptible to luxury and other social pressures which led to hysteria."[148] While Cheyne was less direct in his treatment and presentation of gender in his writing than Hume, his attitude towards effeminacy and women as associated with luxury bears similarities to Hume's and the writing of other physicians and philosophers of this period for whom gender was one of several key categories for defining the self and their behaviour. There was a somatic

[144] Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion*, 53.
[145] Dana Harrington, "Gender, Commerce, and Transformations of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 35. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3886041.
[146] Anita Guerrini, "The Hungry Soul: George Cheyne and the Construction of Femininity," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (1999): 279. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053907.
[147] Guerrini, "The Hungry Soul," 281.
[148] Guerrini, "The Hungry Soul," 281.

and a societal conception of gendered difference of the feeling self manifest or performed by each sex in the eighteenth century that is evident in the dramas of Inchbald and Griffith in particular and that I analyse in the following chapters.

Dressing the Self

The topic of dress is part of a larger discussion of the legible self that is a concern in the literature I examine in this thesis, as dress could reveal or hide a person's class, nationality, body, and gender. In Chapters 3 and 4 I analyse Griffith's use of clothing to discuss nationality and class, and Inchbald's treatment of gender in part through clothing, both examples also highlight the importance of the social performance and legibility of the self. In this section I introduce the topic of dress as important to social performances of self before thoroughly exploring this theme in relation to the dramatic work of Griffith and Inchbald in the case study chapters.

Peter McNeil's edited collection *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Age of Enlightenment* (2017) covers the many roles that clothing played in the long eighteenth century. In a chapter on "The Body" Isabelle Paresys not only highlights the importance of clothing to social performances, claiming that "[t]he fashioned body really was a body in performance on the social stage",[149] but she also establishes the links that were drawn in the eighteenth century between health and clothing: "[f]rom the 1760s, clothes had also become a major subject of interest for physicians, particularly in France."[150] Paresys uses the example of Rousseau as an influential French thinker discussing the impacts of clothing, seen when Rousseau claims that "[d]ress is an alien from virtue, which is the strength and vigour of the soul."[151] Rousseau makes an explicit connection between clothing and virtue, arguing that the health and strength of the labourer, namely not someone dressing fashionably and living an active life, is evident because of their lack of artifice. He writes that rich attire "may announce the man of opulence, and elegance proclaim the man of taste; the healthy and robust man is known by other characters; it is under the coarse garb of the labourer, and not the tinsel frippery of the

[149] Isabelle Paresys, "The Body," in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Peter McNeil (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 84.
[150] Paresys, "The Body," 78.
[151] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse,* 46-47.

courtier",[152] by placing these two categories of people across society in these spheres of associated virtue and vice, Rousseau argues for simplicity. Rousseau talks about the exchange of information between performer and observer (or a pair of performers and observers simultaneously) by adhering to their nature and sharing parts of themselves in a way that can be interpreted clearly by their society. He argues that 'civilisation' has complicated this language and exchange, that false performances are easy, and that misinterpretation is a constant threat compared to the simplicity of previous times. Rousseau claims this simplicity is virtuous and that social trends and customs have made contemporary existence complex to a negative degree to the extent that he states: "[t]he honest man is a wrestler who prefers to engage naked; he despises all those vain ornaments which impede his natural strength."[153] Clothing, certainly to Rousseau, therefore held an important role in the social performance of self and the clothes that one wore were susceptible to a moral reading.

The role of clothing in social performances of selfhood, and the potential moral implications of clothing that is evident in Rousseau's writing is also identified by Gillian Russell in *Women, Sociability, and Theatre* (2007). Russell explores the eighteenth-century "profound anxiety about the practice and ideology of civility and commerce, the bulwarks of British identity. That anxiety became concentrated on the phenomenon of fashion."[154] Russell clarifies that "fashion epitomized both the acquisitive dynamism of a commercializing culture which was necessary for the progress of civilization and the inherent tendency of that commerce to corrupt its subjects."[155] The corrupting influence of luxury culture was decried by Rousseau in particular but was a focus of a lot of social anxiety in this period; I explore these themes in greater detail when analysing Griffith's depiction of the nabob in Chapter 3. The nabob was a figure potentially laden with meaning as their cultural and social legibility was coded by their clothing and their wealth and status. Legibility of different characteristics, namely national, gender, and class identity was not only a theatrical concern to clarify characters to the audience, but a widespread social concern that was particularly evident in the treatment of gender in eighteenth-century writing, for example, in Cheyne's medical theories.

[152] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse*, 46.
[153] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse*, 47.
[154] Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 3.
[155] Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre*, 3.

Guerrini argues that Cheyne's medical writing worked within the boundaries of social definitions of femininity and masculinity, including effeminacy, and that in *The English Malady,* "Cheyne's description of nervous disorders in that book employed both ancient and contemporary female imagery: those susceptible to nervous disorders tended to be small-boned and white-skinned."[156] Cheyne's discussion of clothing and bodies was, as Carolyn Day identifies, also related to physical and social trends in the eighteenth century. Day argues that female bodies were, as they still are, under particular scrutiny and that being underweight was a social expectation for female bodies: "[l]itheness would, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, become visible in sartorial choices, and the growing stress on the desirability of a thin body for women, in particular, was allied to the emerging culture of sensibility in helping to define refinement."[157] Day argues that "[i]n the first half of the eighteenth century physicians such as George Cheyne helped lay the groundwork for the assertion that 'refinement meant delicacy' and that beauty relied on the appearance of delicacy."[158] Therefore, the work of physicians discussing bodies, clothing, and social trends was potentially highly influential in eighteenth-century British culture. Furthermore, Guerrini points to Cheyne's 1742 letter to Samuel Richardson wherein Cheyne writes that most women "would rather renounce Life than Luxury."[159] The association of femininity and luxury and the potential threat that both things posed to society at large was a concern in the work of philosophers and physicians alike in the eighteenth century and was a topic ripe for dramatic exploration as seen in the plays I analyse in this thesis.

Fashion was an important tool used to understand social, national, and individual status and loyalties. Adam Smith clarifies the nature of fashion as that worn by those "who are of a high rank, or character."[160] Giving examples, Smith explains that "[a] well fancied coat is done in a twelve month, and cannot continue longer to propagate, as the fashion, that form according to which it was made."[161] He highlights the high-turnover of fashionable clothing and styles and hints at the social forces at play in determining the status of individual's clothing. Equally, eighteenth-century clothing was represented in

[156] Guerrini, "The Hungry Soul," 285.
[157] Carolyn A. Day, "Dying to be Beautiful: Fragile Fashionistas and Consumptive Dress in England, 1780-1820," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 4 (2017): 604. https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12512.
[158] Carolyn A. Day, "Dying to be Beautiful," 604.
[159] David E. Shuttleton and John A. Dussinger, eds. *The Cambridge Edition of The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson: Correspondence with George Cheyne and Thomas Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 30.
[160] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), 373.
[161] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 374.

medical texts in reference to the effects it could have on the healthy body. Cheyne explains that "[p]eople ought always to go *well-cloathed* [sic]",[162] continuing with the claim: "[t]he Custom of wearing *Flanel*, is almost as bad as a *Diabetes.*"[163] This was due to a belief that heavier fabrics caused too much perspiration which would upset the balance of the body, and lead to further illnesses. What is evident from this somewhat bizarre dismissal of flannel is the impact of, and concern surrounding clothing and fashion in this period. From the quotidian fabric choices of the embodied public to the uniforms of the military, clothing held a powerful position in relation to health, status, and performance in the late eighteenth century. Physicians were able to ascribe and dictate meaning from the body shape, the performance of gender, and the individual's approach to luxury culture, their work therefore dovetails with the dramatic writing of British female playwrights who were also concerned with these various topics and were applying the social meaning behind bodies and performances to effect in their literary dramaturgy. Clothing was one of many tools used by physicians, philosophers, and playwrights to discuss interplaying social themes like nationality, class, and gender.

Self-Command, Passions, and the Self

In Chapters 3 and 5 I respectively analyse Griffith's use of didactic examples of good behaviour, namely bestowing virtuous characters with the quality of self-command, and More's discussion of self-command and virtue. I identify that the socially performed self created in these dramas is one that requires regulation. I draw on Smith to demonstrate the importance of regulation and self-command in the theories of the period, and in turn I discuss how this specifically relates to the respective dramatic writings of Griffith and More.

Adam Smith evidences self-command as something used to stifle passions and to allow the self to behave with propriety, propriety meaning socially approbated or understandable behaviour. The self that Smith conceptualises is enacted socially and perceived and judged by a public. Smith outlines how actions that a self undertakes can and will be perceived by spectators, and he indicates what the moral implications of these actions may be when observed or perceived by spectators. Virtue, a key concern

[162] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 195.
[163] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 195.

of any moral philosopher, is, to Smith, tied closely to control and moderation of the passions. Smith refers to self-command or self-governance as a process of overcoming the passions to behave in a socially correct way. He states, however, that a failure of self-command is not always negative or alienating to a spectator, explaining: "[t]here are some situations which bear so hard upon human nature, that the greatest degree of self-government, which can belong to so imperfect a creature as man, is not able to stifle, altogether, the voice of human weakness."[164] Despite this relatable weakness of human nature, Smith provides a theatrical explanation of how a social observer understands and values self-command in another person: "nothing pleases us more than to observe in other men a fellow-feeling with all the emotions of our own breast; nor are we ever so much shocked as by the appearance of the contrary."[165] Smith uses the example of negative passions, like anger, that when expressed strongly, can alienate the observer rather than increase their sympathy: "[t]he furious behaviour of an angry man is more likely to exasperate us against himself than against his enemies."[166] Smith therefore posits that by using self-command and regulation, the principal social actor is able to encourage sympathy and understanding from those interacting with and observing them. He also claims that self-command serving as a kind of delayed gratification process is a tool equal to superior reason and understanding and equips the individual with the virtue of prudence when deployed.[167] Smith's model of self-command therefore refers to both social pragmatism, and the moral capacity of the individual. I discuss this further in the chapters, including using Brown and Cheyne's medical instruction to highlight the importance of regulation, regime, and self-command in the physical and philosophical theories of health and positive social performance in this period. While Smith's philosophy on self-command is explicit, physicians like John Brown explored the same ideas using different phrasing. Brown, in his *Elements of Medicine* (1788), explains his theories of excitability and argues that "[t]he degree of stimulus, when moderate, produces health; in a higher degree it gives occasion to diseases of excessive stimulus; in a lower degree, or ultimately low, it induces those that depend upon a deficiency of stimulus, or debility."[168] Brown is, in part, here referring to stimuli as things that one would eat, drink, smoke, or participate in, and therefore his argument about the effects of different levels of exciting stimulus is underpinned by the idea of regulation and self-command, much like the presentation of self-command that

[164] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 46.
[165] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 14.
[166] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 7.
[167] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 360.
[168] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine*, 14-15.

Smith employs when discussing social behaviour.

Passions, the Self, and Spectatorship

The passions are something I specifically explore in more detail when analysing Joanna Baillie's plays in Chapter 2. However, the passions feature in my analysis and readings of the plays in each of the following chapters. The topic of the passionate self relates to the above outlined ideas of mind/body and social performance, to sensibility and gender through the performance and perception of physical signs of the passions, and to self-command because control over the passions was presented as key to behaving well socially and to eliciting sympathy. I link passions and Baillie's writing on human nature to the same position on the self as socially performed, requiring regulation, social sympathy, and didactic instruction to understand how to navigate the passions.

Philosophically, the passions were important to both the acting individual and the social observer; they were understood as feelings that could affect different parties. Understanding how the passions were defined and depicted in the eighteenth century, therefore, ties into a discussion of the social self and why, and how, social behaviour was associated with feeling. One key example of the philosophical positioning of the passions can be found in David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1740) where he defined the passions by focussing on their social impact. Hume explains:

> When I see the *effects* of passion in the voice and gesture of any person, my mind immediately passes from these effects to their causes, and forms such a lively idea of the passion, as is presently converted into the passion itself.[169]

Hume depicts the embodied effects of passionate thought and feeling as essentially contagious, and these passionate exchanges were subject to a scrutiny in philosophy, medicine, and literature of this period. This theory depicts the passionate self as holding a potentially disruptive social power that required careful handling.

Elizabeth Radcliffe explains that "[s]ince the passions influence action, on the prevailing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century view, they could be useful when

[169] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (London: Thomas Longman, 1740), Vol III, 204.

controlled, but harmful or misleading when not."[170] Due to this attitude towards the passions, Radcliffe identifies that "one persistent refrain in the work of philosophers prior to and around Hume's time was the governance of the passions, whether the internal authority of reason could direct the passions, or whether an external authority was necessary."[171] Both as a benevolent tool or as a cautionary example, passion was a useful way of offering instruction and advice in a wide range of disciplines and forms in the eighteenth century. Hume argued against the previously dominant idea that passion and reason were at odds, writing that "[n]othing is more usual in philosophy, and even in common life, than to talk of the combat of passion and reason, to give the preference to reason."[172] However, Hume complicates this presentation of the combat between the two, as John Mullan notes, by restating this "as a conflict between 'calm' and 'violent' passions".[173] What Mullan identifies is the shift from the traditional prominence of reason in a discourse about passions to Hume's emphasis on the use of passions to combat other passions. Mullan places Hume's philosophy in the context of a cultural attempt to "refute Hobbes's description of the passions as dominant and competitive primal 'appetites' and Mandeville's depiction of a world in which 'public benefits' flow not from human virtue but from the inevitably self-interested operation of private passions."[174] Partly in response to Hobbes and Mandeville's theories of the inherent selfishness, or cultivated selfishness, of human nature Hume's philosophy, and Smith's in turn, centralises sympathy as part of the social rehabilitation of the passions. It is through sympathetic imaginative exchange between the spectator and the person who they are observing that the passions become sociable in these philosophies. Hume's argument is that the passions can represent a currency of sociability, becoming "interchangeable with a set of other terms — 'feeling', 'affection', 'sentiment'."[175] While the association of these terms with sympathy helps to socially resituate the passions as less inherently or necessarily destructive, it is an association that has some ambiguity. Eugenio Lecaldano, discussing the limitations of Hume's metaphor of sympathetic response as like a mirror, explains that "[i]f we think of the self as an idea that is born by reflecting the passion that others feel towards us, the mechanism of sympathy would end up assembling a collection of mirrors, none of which would be

[170] Elizabeth Radcliffe, *Hume, Passion, and Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 4.
[171] Radcliffe, *Hume, Passion, and Action*, 4.
[172] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* Vol II, 244.
[173] John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 22.
[174] Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, 24.
[175] Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, 24.

able to reflect the image of anyone at all."[176] Lecaldano claims "I think, then, that in Hume we have a continuity, or better an identity, between the self as an object of pride and the moral self."[177] Sympathy, moral feeling, and the passions are inextricably linked to Hume's discussions of the self, and the discourse of passion versus reason relates closely to the central anxiety between ideas of the mind-body relationship in literature of the eighteenth century.

Radcliffe creates a summary of Hume's characterisation of reason and passion, and she outlines how, in Hume's philosophy, passions "make no reference to anything beyond themselves; they are "original facts and realities" (T 3.1.1.9). In other words, passions are not copies of previous experiences and so contain no content that portrays the world in one way or another."[178] She then contrasts this with reason and explains that "[s]ince passions do not represent something to be the case, as reason does, passions cannot contradict reason."[179] Radcliffe explains how Hume was able to argue that passion and reason need not be at odds, and also was asserting the value of both for the social actor. The passions hold an important role in Hume's philosophy as essential motivators of action. For Hume, "beliefs, the products of reason, produce no impulses to action on their own, they cannot move us without the passions. Hence, Hume argues that reason cannot oppose passion for the direction of the will."[180] While both reason and passion are important in Hume's model, it is passion that is accredited for the motivation of action, and therefore is key to both feeling and behaviour, particularly the expression of feeling.

Passions, in Hume's model and beyond, were tied to the core of human social action, as motivators for feeling and behaviour the passions were of great social importance. Hume not only identifies the social power of the passions, but his philosophy also refers to the power that the passions possessed to help determine the individual self internally. Lecaldano argues that in his philosophy, "Hume offers indications on how a person becomes aware of himself by perceiving himself intellectually, by considering himself at the center of his own passional life, or by considering his own character from a moral

[176] Eugenio Lecaldano, "The Passions, Character, and the Self in Hume," *Hume Studies* 28, no 2 (2002): 189. https://doi.org/10.1353/hms.2002.a385862.
[177] Lecaldano, "The Passions, Character, and the Self in Hume," 189.
[178] Radcliffe, *Hume, Passion, and Action,* 8.
[179] Radcliffe, *Hume, Passion, and Action,* 8.
[180] Radcliffe, *Hume, Passion, and Action,* 8-9.

point of view."[181] Lecaldano identifies the relationship between Hume's theories and perspectives on self and his writing about the passions; the passions are key to understanding Hume's changing perspective on the self and self-awareness as Hume uses the passion of pride to identify unthinking self-awareness. Lecaldano's article goes into some depth on the different ideas on the self that Hume depicts in his three books of the *Treatise of Human Nature* and he claims that Hume's understanding of the self is inherently moral with the passion of pride revealing "that specific development of the awareness of the self that refers to a more specific collection of qualities – those which are morally significant."[182] Lecaldano, therefore, associates Hume's treatment of the passions with his central arguments about the self, and identifies that Hume writes about the passionate self not as a separate entity, but in his overall discussion of selfhood and social behaviour. This serves to highlight the role of the passions in intellectual thinking of this period, and as part of a cultural discussion of the behaviour of the social self.

The passions were a central concern in Hume's philosophy and a topic that was closely related to his conceptualisation of the individual self and the performance of the social actor. Equally, the passions were also of critical importance across medical writing and literary texts in this period. Using a medical metaphor, Hume argues that: "[t]he passions are so contagious, that they pass with the greatest facility from one person to another and produce correspondent movements in all human breasts."[183] Hume's description of passions through the language of pathology makes clear the relevance of medical theories in these discourses examining self and the social expression of feeling. Hume's depiction of the contagious threat of the passions demonstrates the idea that performances of feeling were powerful social expressions. The association of medical and philosophical concepts of passion is also noted by Barker-Benfield who explains that: "[t]he terms "sensation", "matter", and "instinct," along with Dr Johnson's "quickness," "perceptions," and "delicacy" all referred to the late eighteenth-century's common understanding of the nervous system."[184] This eighteenth-century lexical association between feeling, behaviour, and nerves demonstrates the literary and popular intellectual perception of the physically and emotionally 'feeling' self as part of a broader passionate self. The term, however, had further connotations in the field of drama as passions were understood as a performed expression, an expression that was

[181] Lecaldano, ""The Passions, Character, and the Self in Hume," 176.
[182] Lecaldano, "The Passions, Character, and the Self in Hume," 185.
[183] Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, Vol III, 254.
[184] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 1.

central to the communication of character and plot. The literary trends of this period were also responsive to the ubiquity of discussions of the passions, and the ideas of sensibility and sentiment became an important part of cultural depictions of feeling as a socially performed process.

The passions were a featured concern in the medical texts of this period, exemplified in Cheyne's *Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724) where he dedicates a chapter ('Of the Passions') to an examination of their links to health and ill health. This is also seen in Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1772) in the chapter titled 'Of the Passions', which divides passions into Anger, Fear, Grief, Love, and Religious Melancholy. The passions are given an important role in the period's understanding of mental health, as they are presented as strong emotional states or the mental disturbances that accompany strong emotion and therefore are shown as able to affect an individual's physical health. These medical theories call for regulation and balance in order to avoid disease, and they include an awareness of mental and emotional states and their ability to disrupt the operation of the physical systems of the individual. The performance of feeling was discussed in medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing across this period, and while the passions were a slippery term with moral associations and ties to the core of human action, as seen in Hume's writing, the world of the theatre also heavily focussed on the passions. Acting conduct books, which were guides on how to create a performance based on contemporary acting trends, alongside the reviews and critical consensus of what popular and effective expressions of passions were, helped to formalise the enactment of passions. The eighteenth-century performed, dramatic, passions were couched in theory and criticism that gave them a depth beyond their spectacular realisation; there was a theory beyond the aesthetics of expressing passion onstage. The purpose of prescribing passionate performance was to enable sympathetic feeling in the audience. However, as John Hill explains, the ability to stir up and feel passions in oneself and even one's audience was not the only aspect of successful performance. Hill states that unless the actor "knows what passion is peculiar to the present circumstance; and what is the exact degree in which it is required,"[185] they will only be "half qualified."[186] In the critical theory and the dramatic writing of this period there is a continued concern with the issue of qualification: the actor had to be qualified to be successful, but the contemporary social performer also had to reach a degree of

[185] Hill, *The Actor,* 34.
[186] Hill, *The Actor,* 34.

'qualification' for their performance of self and feeling to receive social approbation. However, too much experience at portraying these passions or presenting them in theatrical ways would disqualify the social performer from being considered authentic. The interplay between performances onstage and their value as social instruction for the audience's own, offstage, performances of self and sociality is a fundamental part of how theatre has operated for centuries. Specific to eighteenth-century drama, however, Jean I. Marsden states that "[e]motion itself was a central topic within the plays, as characters displayed their worth through the warmth and sincerity of their passions."[187] The didactic element of this emotional display is also noted by Marsden, who states that: "[j]ust as the characters elevated true feeling above superficial art, the performance of these plays sought to evoke emotion within the breast of the spectator, emotion that would, in turn, promote virtue, both individual and communal."[188] The agency of the individual to judge, mediate, and then convey their emotional experience is a model that can be applied to social performances of self and character on and off-stage in the eighteenth century.

While this thesis focuses on the literary dramaturgy of my chosen playwrights by engaging with the text, rather than the performance history, of these plays, it is worth noting the traditions and theories surrounding performative dramaturgy in the eighteenth century. In 1744, David Garrick published *An Essay on Acting* which made clear his position on the purpose and expression of performance. Garrick wrote that:

> ACTING is an *Entertainment of the Stage*, which by calling in the Aid and Assistance of *Articulation, Corporeal Motion,* and *Occular Expression, imitates, assumes,* or *puts on* the various *mental* and *bodily Emotions* arising from the various Humours, Virtues and Vices, incident to human Nature.[189]

This definition of acting as a process in which one bodily and mentally expresses the passions enables a comparison to be drawn between standard social behaviour and the inherent performativity of dramatic expressions. Garrick's dramaturgy did not stand without criticism, however, and one notable example is in Samuel Foote's *Treatise on the Passions So far as they regard the Stage* (1747). This treatise serves as an

[187] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling,* 1.
[188] Marsden, *Theatres of Feeling,* 1.
[189] David Garrick, *An Essay on Acting In which will be consider'd The Mimical Behaviour of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor and the Laudableness of such unmannerly, as well as inhumane Proceeding. To which will be added, A short Criticism on His acting Macbeth* (London: W. Bickerton, 1744), 5.

extended criticism of Garrick's acting with additional criticism of other contemporaries, but Foote begins his foray into dramatic criticism with broader claims about the passions. Foote explains that "[t]he word Passion is applied to the different Motions and Agitations of the Soul, according to the different Objects, that present themselves to the senses."[190] He continues with the disclaimer that: "how or by what means this mutual Action or Communication between Soul and Body is effected, remains a Secret to us."[191] Foote therefore presents an acceptance of the passions being bodily expressed and physically legible, yet the true force behind the mental, spiritual, and physical association that leads to the feeling and performance of passions was something he claimed was unknowable.

This claim is also present in Locke's *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (1690) when he writes: "I shall not at present meddle with the Physical Consideration of the Mind; or trouble my self to examine, wherein its Essence consists."[192] The unanswered questions of where the soul sits, and what the self might be constituted of are particularly rife in the philosophy, medical, and dramatic writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The passions simultaneously served to elucidate empirical and metaphysical concepts of the self. The individual as presented onstage, or through the narrative text, was one that expressed passions in specific ways, and that evoked sympathetic passionate responses in the spectator. The interrelation between physical performance and mental action was central to this emergent idea of the 'modern' individual, and now holds relevance to the theatrical figures of self found in the characters written by playwrights of the period. Through the simple act of writing characters that demonstrate their passions and motivations via physical action, speech about physical feeling, and speech explaining mental feeling, these playwrights were engaging with the discourses of self in this period. A core element of these discourses is the negotiation of the composition of the self, and how that self interacted with, was shaped by, and shaped in return, the surrounding culture. Medical writing, as both philosophical and practical, offered both abstract and embodied examples of passion as cause and effect; likewise, dramatic writing, which existed both as literary and performed texts could speak to both figurative and literal

---

[190] Samuel Foote, *Treatise on the Passions So far as they regard the Stage; With a critical Enquiry into the Theatrical Merit of Mr. G – K, Mr. Q – N, and Mr. B – Y. The first considered in the Part of Lear, the two last opposed in Othello* (London: C. Corbet, 1747), 10.
[191] Foote, *Treatise on the Passions,* 10.
[192] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* Vol 1, 1.

performances of self. Tracing the representation of the passions in dramatic texts enables new ways of reading both the scientific and cultural conceptions of, as well as attitudes and anxieties about, the self.

The Plays and the Passions

Baillie, in *The Plays on the Passions*, makes the examination of human nature her direct purpose and sculpts her literary dramaturgy around this central aim. She writes: "[f]rom that strong sympathy which most creatures, but the human above all, feel for others of their kind, nothing has become so much an object of man's curiosity as man himself."[193] The spectacle of humans behaving in a variety of circumstances was equally fascinating in the theatre as it was in the fields of medicine and philosophy at this time. Just as the theatre served as a site of observation, Smith's social philosophy extended this idea of spectatorship to broader social behaviour. Smith made a case for the primacy of sympathy as a social feeling that served to further understanding through empirical reasoning. Understanding another's external displays of feeling by 'bringing them home' to oneself and filtering this observation through the subjective reasoning of what the individual, as spectator, would feel if they were in that situation. Focussing on the concept of ongoing social spectatorship, Baillie's dramaturgy expresses the idea that it is through "sympathetic curiosity" that humans can further understand their own experiences. Baillie states that "it is not in situations of difficulty and distress alone, that man becomes the object of this sympathetick curiosity; he is no less so when the evil he contends with arises in his own breast, and no outward circumstance connected with him either awakens our attention or our pity."[194] Baillie states that passion and extreme examples of the passions are fascinating to the sympathetic observer, and, although describing both the internal and external battling with passions, she expresses these ideas through depictions of physical action. Smith exhibits a similar concept at the start of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. He states that however selfish "man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it."[195]

[193] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," *A Series of Plays in Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (London: T. Cadell Jr, and W. Davies, 1798), 2.
[194] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 9.
[195] Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 1.

Observation of both pleasure and pain are accounted for in Smith and Baillie's respective works, stemming from an understanding of the value of spectatorship and judgment of embodied social behaviour.

While Smith was publishing decades before Baillie, the empirical and sympathetic philosophies of social observation that Smith's philosophy posits are identifiable in Baillie's literary dramaturgy. These key similarities in the use of sympathy and spectatorship serve to demonstrate the ubiquity of the contemporary philosophies of self and social behaviour that are non-linearly represented in the dramas and medical writing of this period. In each of the following chapters I apply philosophical and medical writing to the contextual analysis of the play texts determined by thematic relevance rather than chronological correspondence. This use of texts from across the eighteenth century to analyse plays from the 1770s – 1790s adheres to the initial premise of this investigation; namely, that in all three of these fields, and across the period, there were wide-ranging and ongoing (re)interpretations of the self and approbated social behaviour, and that the voices of female British playwrights were an important part of this discourse. These women's voices constitute a part of this discourse that has received relative neglect and a lack of close critical reading supported by contextual evidence of the discourses of self found in medical and philosophical writing from the eighteenth century.

The passions were part of a cultural understanding of self in this period. The Cartesian and post-Cartesian understanding of the combination of mind and body, operating in conjunction, meant that the passions constituted a mental and physical experience. The dramatic medium, and the play text regardless of performance history, was a space for playwrights to depict mind and body operating, and the implications of social performances. Whilst Baillie makes evident her position on the passions and employs a use of sympathy that is closely related to Smith's theories, Griffith, More, and Inchbald all also employ sympathy and the passions in their dramas. Despite not necessarily foregrounding the passions in their plays, these other female playwrights engaged with the ideas of sociality and self that the passions raised in the philosophy and medical writing surrounding mind and body. Themes of legibility, authenticity, morality, and sexual difference appear in a contextualised discussion of the passions and these play texts. For example, Griffith, in her depictions of legibility of character in *A Wife in the Right* (1772) and *The Times* (1780) makes a case for the importance of

matching up internal and external feeling and expression. More, through her school drama *The Search After Happiness* (1773), and her staged play *The Fatal Falsehood* (1779), is determinedly didactic, offering moralising on the 'correct' social actions an individual should take, and on the direction of feeling via piety and religious dedication. Inchbald, in *The Widow's Vow* (1786) and *Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are* (1797) depicts the inequalities of marriage, and her social satire presents dialogue and expressions of feeling as parts of a larger social discourse on gender and sociality.

Although Baillie's dramaturgy can clearly be seen in conversation with philosophies of social sympathy, the reading framework that I apply throughout the following chapters enables a close analysis of the dramaturgies and plays of all my chosen playwrights and how these texts enter broader social discourses of self and the regulation of the passions. By asserting the role of theatre and literary dramaturgy in the creation of this broader cultural narrative of self and society, this thesis contributes to growing scholarship on eighteenth-century theatre while offering a focused perspective on the work of female playwrights engaging in a male-dominated discourse of self and society. The following chapters explore how these female dramatists were participating in eighteenth-century discourses on the self, and how they used the tropes and themes at their disposal, including the passions, to explore the central idea of selfhood in their dramas.

Chapter 2:
Joanna Baillie and the Passionate Self

Joanna Baillie announces her fascination with the passions in the title of her 1798 collection *A Series of Plays: in which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (1798), also known as the *Plays on the Passions*. In this chapter I focus on the treatment of the passionate self in both the 'Introductory Discourse' that accompanies the first volume of the *Plays on the Passions* and the plays *Count Basil* and *The Tryal* from this volume (1798). Baillie explicitly sets out the specific intentions motivating her playwriting in the 'Introductory Discourse' when she states that tracing the passions "in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist."[196] Baillie continues by explaining her intent to write a tragedy and a comedy each on the topic of several different passions and, after explaining what she has identified as the failings of current tragedies, claims:

> I have been led to believe, that an attempt to write a series of tragedies, of simpler construction, less embellished with poetical decorations, less constrained by that lofty seriousness which has so generally been considered as necessary for the support of tragick dignity, and in which the chief object should be to delineate the progress of the higher passions in the human breast, each play exhibiting a particular passion, might not be unacceptable to the publick.[197]

Similarly, after explaining the flaws in current comedies, Joanna Baillie claims that:

> I have been induced to believe, that, as companions to the forementioned tragedies, a series of comedies on a similar plan, in which bustle of plot, brilliancy of dialogue, and even the bold and striking in character, should, to the best of the authour's [sic] judgment, be kept in due subordination to nature, might likewise be acceptable to the publick.[198]

Baillie, therefore, sets out the differences between the work being created and shared by her contemporaries and those before them, and her own work, wherein she aims to address the oversight that she has identified, namely the abrupt depiction of the passions without due care for their progress. In *Count Basil* and *The Tryal* the shared focus is the passion of love, and in these plays Baillie, respectively in the forms of a

[196] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," *A Series of Plays in Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (London: T. Cadell Jr, and W. Davies, 1798), 38.
[197] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 41.
[198] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 56.

tragedy and a comedy, explores the effects of love as an unregulated passion on her protagonists. Baillie tackles the passions as a key concern of her dramas with an intended moral effect on her audience: "I am confident, that tragedy, written upon this plan, is fitted to produce stronger moral effect than upon any other."[199] She makes clear her interest in how people behave and why, and the passions serve as a key tool for her dramatic exploration of the nuances of human nature, the self, and sociality.

Joanna Baillie created a theorised, experimental, and well-reasoned literary and dramaturgical exploration of the human self in her writing. Baillie justified this exploration, in her 'Introductory Discourse', by offering the rhetorical question: "[i]f the study of human nature then, is so useful to the poet, the novelist, the historian, and the philosopher, of how much greater importance must it be to the dramatick writer?"[200] Her study of human nature in the *Plays on the Passions* was based on a belief that not only was this study relevant in the dramatic field, but also that it could be undertaken by placing the somatic and linguistic expressions of internal and external feeling together to thoroughly represent the passions of a person. In this chapter I explore Baillie's depiction of bodily expression of internal feeling in her dramas and I refer to the writing of her brother, Matthew Baillie, and her uncle William Hunter in my analysis of Baillie's embodied literary dramaturgy. I explore the similarities between Matthew and Joanna Baillie's writing in the following section on sympathetic curiosity and the 'Introductory Discourse' and I consider how William Hunter's medical theory in his *Introductory Lectures* relates to Baillie's dramas including in my analysis of *The Tryal* and Baillie's descriptions of deceit. I expand the medical basis that I use in my reading of Baillie's dramas by also drawing on the writing of physician Walter Vaughan, specifically his discussion of the effects of clothing on the body and the individual. This is specifically relevant to my analysis of the role of fashion in *The Tryal.* Published in 1792, Vaughan's *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing* addresses fashion and its impact on the individual and the public. In order to critically analyse Baillie's writing in the context of eighteenth-century theories of the self, social performance, and the passions I also refer to Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and Francis Hutcheson's *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions* (1728). Smith and Hutcheson in their

[199] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 42.
[200] Joanna Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 23.

philosophy explicitly tackle the passions as a social force and consider the progression of passionate feeling when conveyed between spectator and actor. This chapter takes these texts and Baillie's use of dramatic theory in combination to contextualise and understand her presentation of the passionate self. I claim that Baillie represents the physicality and appearance of her characters across *Count Basil* and *The Tryal* in the themes of military masculinity, fashion, and metatheatre, and that her inclusion of these themes is part of her overarching exploration of human nature and the passionate self.

Sympathetick Curiosity and the 'Introductory Discourse'

Throughout the *Plays on the Passions* Baillie depicts her characters as distinct and shaped by their experiences; this is part of her literary dramaturgy which in turn is shaped by her interest in human nature and its expression through dramatic writing. Baillie outlines this in her 'Introductory Discourse' in which the similarities between her and her brother's medical writing can be clearly identified. The 'Introductory Discourse' is an essay in which Baillie outlines the purpose of her dramaturgy whilst criticising the state of late eighteenth-century British theatre. She observes that whilst passionate feeling was being represented in the theatre the passions, particularly in tragedies, were represented suddenly and in extremes. Baillie's dramaturgy, by comparison, was based on tracing the rise and fall of the passions to better examine the state of the human self. Writing about the work of her predecessors and contemporaries she explains that:

> They have made use of the passions to mark their several characters, and animate their scenes, rather than to open to our view the nature and portraitures of those great disturbers of the human breast, with whom we are all, more or less, called upon to contend. With their strong and obvious features, therefore, they have been presented to us, stripped almost entirely of those less obtrusive, but not less discriminating traits, which mark them in their actual operation. To trace them in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist.[201]

Baillie clarifies her belief in the value of tracing the progress of the passions and focussing on the more subtle and transitive elements of human expression, and she states that this differs from the literary dramaturgy she observed in this period. Baillie's introduction also represents her view that theatre is a key space for social

[201] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 38.

instruction and that the process of observing and sympathising with others offers the observer an opportunity to undertake a simultaneous internal and external examination of their own character. Key to Baillie's dramaturgy, and the themes present in her *Plays on the Passions* is her concept of "sympathetick curiosity".[202] Also referring to it as a sympathetic propensity, Baillie argues that "[e]very person, who is not deficient in intellect, is more or less occupied in tracing, amongst the individuals he converses with, the varieties of understanding and temper which constitute the characters of men".[203] This universal interest in the feelings and characters of other people that Baillie articulates is markedly similar to Adam Smith's theories of sympathy as something empirically and imaginatively felt. Notably, Smith begins *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* by arguing that "[h]ow selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others".[204] Smith and Baillie respectively identify the human fascination with, and reciprocal interest in, others.

Baillie's presentation of sympathetic reasoning argues for its universality, as she describes "that strong sympathy which most creatures, but the human above all, feel for others of their kind".[205] While Baillie identifies a universal human curiosity, her concept of sympathetic curiosity extends to the observation and judgement of the passions and their expression. Barbara Judson defines Baillie's sympathetic curiosity as "a speculative fiction that defines moral feeling as a secondary development growing out of a primary passion for spectatorship, particularly a lust to view human suffering."[206] Like Adam Smith, Baillie notes the particular draw that dangerous and physical spectacles of human action have on observers. Smith gives examples of the physical and emotional sympathetic response of spectators: "[t]he mob, when they are gazing at a dancer on the slack rope, naturally writhe and twist and balance their own bodies, as they see him do, and as they feel that they themselves must do if in his situation."[207] The physical expression of sympathy, and more broadly the passions, is depicted across Baillie's dramas and Smith's philosophy, to a similar end of exploring the human self and the social performances of selfhood. This connection between

[202] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 9.
[203] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 2.
[204] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1.
[205] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 2.
[206] Barbara Judson, ""Sympathetic Curiosity": The Theater of Joanna Baillie," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 50. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20455261.
[207] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 3-4.

Baillie's presentation of morality, passions, and sympathy, and eighteenth-century philosophy has been critically established. For example, when Barbara Judson explains that for Baillie "morality is a function of passion- that is, the disgust we spontaneously feel for cruelty; the admiration we feel for an act of heroism- in which respect, she follows the Scottish philosophers, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith."[208] Equally, Karen Dwyer explains that Baillie's ""master propensity" of "sympathetic curiosity", which is something like the sympathetic theories of David Hume, Adam Smith, and the moral sense philosophers, involves and engages the spectator in the social practice of sympathetic identification with an other."[209] The other that Dwyer writes about, however, is only a psychologically different creature, the shared physical human experience is key to Baillie's sympathetic moral theory, and indeed to some of Adam Smith's descriptions of sympathetic responses. The correspondence of thought and the emphasis on empiricism seen in both Smith and Baillie's writings demonstrates the philosophical element of Baillie's dramaturgical exploration of human nature.

Equally, the empirical positioning of Baillie's dramaturgy, the embodied and physicalised conceptualisations of internal experience seen in her drama, can be read considering the Baillie family's connections to the world of medicine. The 'Introductory Discourse' holds several semiotic similarities to the preface of Matthew Baillie's *Morbid Anatomy,* written five years earlier in 1793. Matthew's work was "one of the period's most influential medical textbooks, was published in eight English and three American editions, two in French and one in Italian, German and Russian."[210] Frederick Burwick explains that, although Joanna was by "no means limited to the works on pathology by her brother, Matthew Baillie, she shared in her early endeavors the typology of mania that her brother had forwarded in his lectures."[211] Whilst there is a critical acknowledgement of the influence and overlap of the Baillie siblings' texts, it is often presented in broad strokes and vague terms. Alan Richardson acknowledges that "critics who have placed Baillie in the context of contemporary medical discourse have usefully emphasized her interest in abnormal psychology, reading the "[p]lays on

[208] Judson, ""Sympathetic Curiosity": The Theater of Joanna Baillie," 50.
[209] Karen Dwyer, "Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* and the Spectacle of Medical Science," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 29 (2000), 24. https://doi.org/10.1353/sec.2010.0244.
[210] Fiona Macdonald, "Medicine," in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2 Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800,* ed. by Stephen Brown, and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 498.
[211] Frederick Burwick, "Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the pathology of the passions," in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist,* ed. by Thomas C. Crochunis (London: Routledge, 2004), 48.

the Passions" as an exercise in "mental pathology" that parallels her brother's work in "morbid" anatomy."[212] Yet the critics he refers to (Dorothy McMillan, and Frederick Burwick) do not explicitly engage with the numerous similarities in these texts, both rhetorically and in terms of content. Angela Monsam makes one of the strongest cases for reading the Baillie siblings' work together. She argues that "[i]n *A Series of Plays,* Joanna Baillie depicts passion as disease and, to unveil the pathology of these hidden passions, I assert she employs soliloquy as a metaphorical vivisection."[213] This summary of Baillie's dramaturgical approach makes clear the association of physical and mental, internal and external, and the medical and the literary. What is yet to be recognised, however, is the overlap between Baillie's drama, the medical writing of the period, and the philosophy of the eighteenth-century. It is in examining all three discourses alongside one another, establishing this framework of reading as something which is much more widely applicable (certainly in the process of critically re-examining women's dramas from this period) that the originality and validity of the arguments I undertake in this thesis can be most clearly seen.

Despite a critical acknowledgement of the overlaps in the Baillie siblings' works, there are semiotic and thematic similarities that are yet to be examined, for example, the titles of *The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body* and *A Series of Plays: in which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* share certain characteristics. Apart from the differing focus, on either body or mind, these titles are similar in their structure; both begin with what they are, either 'a series of plays', or 'the morbid anatomy', both then move on to an explanation or a qualifier. Both titles demonstrate a degree of tentativeness, or a limitation to the work: either the choice of the phrase: "*some* of the *most important* parts", in Matthew Baillie's text, or Joanna's choice of the term "it is *attempted* to delineate". Despite this reservation in the titles, the prefaces these siblings wrote demonstrate an awareness of the pioneering nature of their work. Matthew Baillie's preface announces that "[t]he object of this work is to explain, more minutely than has hitherto been done, the changes of structure arising from morbid actions in some of the most important parts of the human body."[214] This sentence is claiming that previous authors and texts have

[212] Richardson, "A neural theatre: Joanna Baillie's "Plays on the Passions", 137.
[213] Angela Monsam, "A Vivisecting Dramatist: The Anatomy of Theater in Joanna Baillie's "Introductory Discourse" and *De Monfort*," *European Romantic Review* 28, no. 6 (2017): 751. https://doi.org/10.1080/10509585.2017.1388798.
[214] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body* (London: J. Johnson, and G. Nicol, 1793), i.

not managed to fulfil this task, and Joanna Baillie's 'Introductory Discourse' makes the same claim about her work: "to trace [the passions] in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist."[215] Matthew Baillie argues that "our knowledge of the changes of structure produced by disease, which may be called the Morbid Anatomy, is still very imperfect",[216] and Joanna Baillie writes that the task of "unveiling the human mind under the dominion of those strong and fixed passions […] [tragedy's] poets in general have entirely neglected, and even her first and greatest have but imperfectly attempted."[217] Yet another similarity in thinking is found when Matthew Baillie writes that "[t]he human mind is prone to form opinions upon every subject which is presented to it, but from a natural indolence is frequently averse to inquire into the circumstances which can alone form a sufficient ground for them."[218] This claim is corroborated by Joanna Baillie when she writes that to change a "certain disposition of mind which makes us view objects in a particular light, and thereby, oftentimes, unknown to ourselves, influences our conduct and manners, is almost impossible."[219] The fact that both are creating an argument for the relevance of their work, including claims of a lack of critical depth to the work preceding their own, and the repetition of the word 'imperfect', demonstrates how the similarity in these texts extends from a broader world view, to a persuasive word choice.

Both Matthew and Joanna Baillie exhibit an awareness of the broader context, and effect, of their work. Matthew writes that the object of his work "I hope, will be attended with some advantage to the general science of medicine, and ultimately to its practice",[220] whilst Joanna writes "I am confident, that tragedy, written upon this plan is fitted to produce stronger moral effect than upon any other."[221] The bold claims of the texts are quickly followed by references to their useful nature; for Matthew Baillie he simply writes that he hopes to contribute to his field of work and study, however, Joanna appeals to the moral nature of her work. She writes of the preventative role that her drama can serve: "looking back to the first rise, and tracing the progress of passion, points out to us those stages in the approach of the enemy, when he might have been

[215] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 44.
[216] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy*, vi.
[217] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 38.
[218] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy*, iv.
[219] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 43.
[220] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy*, i.
[221] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 42.

combated most successfully."[222] This description of passion as something which can be combated suggests a conceptually medical approach, just as Matthew Baillie was writing about the progress of morbid diseases in the hopes of combating and creating an eventual cure of them. Dorothy McMillan writes that the structure of Joanna's *Plays* itself demonstrates this medical approach to the passions: "Baillie's scheme prescribes both diagnostic tragedy and curative comedy."[223] McMillan further explains how in Joanna Baillie's dramaturgy "[t]he passions must be fully embodied to be understood, the course of the disease followed and if possible cured."[224] Both the general approach of the *Plays on the Passions* and the specific content and phrasing of Joanna's work can be read as medicalising the mental experience of emotion.

Matthew Baillie writes "[i]t is very much to be regretted that the knowledge of morbid structure does not lead with certainty to the knowledge of morbid actions, although the one be the effect of the other."[225] The desire to build these connections between the effects and the cause of changes to the human body is something which Joanna Baillie also displays in her writing about the passions. She observes that the average person does not closely track these different emotions or their changes: "t]hough a native trait of character or of passion is obvious to them as well as to the sage, yet to their minds it is but the visitor of a moment; they look upon it singly and unconnected."[226] Matthew Baillie explains that the difficulty in tracing the effects of morbid diseases is caused by the fact that "morbid actions are going on in the minute parts of an animal body excluded from observation."[227] The autopsies that Matthew Baillie undertook provided him with physical signifiers of the progress of fatal diseases. Joanna Baillie, however, could not dissect a prone body, instead her work centred on living examples of the external and physical expressions of the internal experience. As Roy Porter writes, "the original meaning of 'autopsy' is to look into one's self",[228] and Baillie uses introspection to create dramatic characters with motivation behind their expressions of passion. She acknowledges the fact that the external indications of character, such as "the dress and the manners of men, rather than their characters and disposition are the

[222] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 43.
[223] Dorothy McMillan, "'Dr' Baillie," in *1798: The Year of the Lyrical Ballads,* ed. by Richard Cronin (Hampshire: Palgrave Publishers Ltd., 1998), 77.
[224] McMillan, "'Dr' Baillie," 77.
[225] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy*, i-ii.
[226] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 13.
[227] Matthew Baillie, *The Morbid Anatomy*, ii.
[228] Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2004), 44.

subjects of our common conversation."[229] However, Baillie uses the external, and theatrical tropes of dress and manners, to begin a thorough examination of the internal. Catherine Burroughs addresses the fact that Baillie's choice to write for the stage placed her work in a physical medium, "Joanna Baillie chose to tell her stories through that genre most ineluctably tied to the body, the drama."[230] However, Burroughs uses this fact to argue that Baillie's work was therefore sensual and erotic. She claims that this erotic element can be found in Baillie's relatives' work, like Matthew's, "whose *The Morbid Anatomy* (1793) featured detailed engravings of the vagina and uterus-, and like her uncle, John Hunter- a renowned surgeon who sought to calm the hysteria over masturbation by becoming an 'informed and enlightened spokesman' on the practice."[231] Burroughs' reading takes the critically accepted view of Joanna Baillie's plays being influenced by her family's writing, "[h]istorically, most critics agree, Baillie's relationship with her brother informed her materialist approach to the crafting of her characters and the cultivation of her plots",[232] and focuses on the sexual aspects of these texts. However, as opposed to a reading of the sexual body in these works, I argue that there is a stronger case to be made for the shared emphasis on human nature. The common aim of Joanna's uncles, her brother, and herself to chart the growth and development of either the body, diseases, or the passions in the human mind, demonstrate a familial focus on what the human self is formed of, and how it changes. Joanna Baillie's focus on the passionate self can be understood through the various themes that feature in her dramas, including military masculinity which she uses in *Count Basil* to highlight the passionate feelings that can arise from circumstances or professions, as well as other people and in this tragedy Baillie explores the passion of love.

Military Masculinity in *Count Basil*

Count Basil is the first play in the *Plays on the Passions,* and this play establishes the importance of the body to the formation of character and characters' responses to the passions very early on, while featuring a depiction of military masculinity.
Set in the sixteenth century, *Count Basil* centres on the eponymous Basil, a young but respected general, passing through Mantua with his troops. He meets and falls in love

[229] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 4.
[230] Catherine Burroughs, "The Erotics of Home: Staging Sexual Fantasy in British Women's Drama," in *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama – History, Agency, and Performativity,* ed. by Lilla Maria Crisafulli, and Keir Elam (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), 112.
[231] Burroughs, "The Erotics of Home," 112.
[232] Bergen, "Reimagining the Romantic Imagination," 194.

with Victoria, the Duke of Mantua's daughter. Unbeknownst to Basil, the Duke is plotting Basil's military downfall, and intends to ensure his absence from the front through the attractions of his daughter. When Basil receives news of his troops' defeat, he commits suicide by shooting himself, in an offstage scene, and then he is shown bleeding and dies onstage. Basil is set up as a passionate character and is torn between his enduring love of war and his nascent love for Victoria; there is a strain between Basil's identities as soldier and lover and through this character arc Baillie's aim to explore the passions and human nature are evident.

Although the later eighteenth century, as Elaine McGirr notes, saw the increased introduction of the "foppish soldier" in literature, Baillie's representation of militarism is more in line with the earlier century's more serious soldier figure. [233] McGirr also explains how "the early fop is always presented in contrast to martial characters."[234] This trope can be seen broadly across Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* especially in the generic change between the tragic *Count Basil* and the comedic *The Tryal* wherein the fop characters are key to the comedy. In *Count Basil*, Basil demonstrates an identity-encompassing military masculinity, and this is made explicit when he claims that "[f]rom early youth, war has my mistress been, And tho' a rugged one, I'll constant prove."[235] This line also sets out a key conflict in the drama between Basil's ongoing passionate connection to his profession and to war itself, and his love for Victoria. As this conflict evolves Baillie begins to demonstrate the effects of Basil's increasing passions on his behaviour and uses the body, and the notion of the military man to explore the passions in this character. Matthew McCormack explains that "[b]odily comportment was an important attribute in polite society, so military training arguably gave humble men access to an accomplishment that would normally be accessible only to gentlemen."[236] Basil demonstrates the gentlemanly comportment of an ideal military man, and his status as Count informs the audience that Basil is gentry. Basil therefore possesses both the bodily comportment of a gentleman and a soldier, and yet his status, and his external presentation of these characteristics is affected by his passions. By the end of the play Basil's internal and external experience is depicted as corresponding with his outward appearance revealing his lack of mental composure, and he is shown

[233] Elaine McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 50.
[234] McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters*, 50.
[235] Joanna Baillie, "Count Basil," in *A Series of Plays in Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (London: T. Cadell Jr, and W. Davies, 1798), 86.
[236] Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2.

looking dishevelled and distraught before his suicide. In *Count Basil* Baillie takes her example of the potentially ruinous effect of unchecked passion, in combination with the circumstances of the plot, to the conclusion of Basil's suicide shown in the final scene of the play. In this way, Baillie highlights the extent of the power that passions hold over the internal experience and external behaviour of the individual in this drama and her aims from the 'Introductory Discourse' to examine the rise and progress of the passions, from Basil's regulated passions at the start of the play, to his complete submission to the passions he is experiencing at the end of the play.

Basil and his troops are not the only characters demonstrating the embodied military masculinity that Baillie presents in this play. Baillie positions her veteran character, Geoffry, a wounded soldier, front and centre of the opening scene of *Count Basil.* In this scene Baillie populates the stage with people waiting to observe a procession. These characters are given general titles like "First Man", "Citizen", and "Young Man". By placing these opening scene characters in dialogue, rather than having Geoffry enter and soliloquise, Baillie avoids the dramaturgical lack of subtlety of which she accuses her contemporaries. This decision to open the play with characters discussing the imminent action and appearance of the central characters fulfils Baillie's stated intentions in the 'Introductory Discourse'. She writes that the "second and even the inferiour persons of each play, as they must be kept perfectly distinct from the great impassioned one, should generally be represented in a calm unagitated state."[237] These secondary characters talk to Geoffry, a veteran soldier with a missing arm whose presence in the play serves as a warning symbol of the physical and mental effects of war on the individual, but also as a possible contrast to Basil's passionate demise; Geoffry survives war but loses an arm, Basil survives war but his passions lead him to suicide and by this comparison it is possible to identify Baillie's caution that the passions can be more deadly than war. Geoffry, described by the Citizen as an "old remnant of the wars,"[238] serves as an enduring reminder of the physical reality of warfare. His embodied character, made more explicit through his relationship to his missing arm, highlights Baillie's use of the body in her examination of the self. The passionate self in *Count Basil,* and in Baillie's other plays on the passions, is an embodied and enacted self.

[237] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 69.
[238] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.

Baillie's writing encompasses both the grander signifiers of physical and mental correspondence, seen in Geoffry's missing arm, and the subtler signs of this association, such as his word choice. The language of Geoffry appeals to physical experience, using bodily metaphors, he recalls how his "mind's eye backward turn'd."[239] This phrase relates a part of the human body, the eye, to the mental, the mind. Geoffry explains that when he joined the army "clashing arms, and sights of blood were new."[240] The term 'arms' takes on a double meaning here, signifying both the weapon and the body part that holds it. By verbally depicting bodies fighting bodies Baillie grounds the actions of war in a physical setting. The phrasing of 'sights of blood' places the emphasis on observing rather than feeling, suggesting that Geoffry was not the bleeding party. This line also features the juxtaposition of internal and external, Geoffry's unfamiliarity with sights of blood makes clear the idea that this is bodily conflict and that seeing the internal parts of the body externally is not a quotidian experience. Geoffry introduces the topic of his missing arm by claiming that "I speak not of it oft",[241] and then, included as a stage direction, "(*Pointing to his empty sleeve*)."[242] This action is unnecessary as it is clear what he is referring to through speech alone, but it serves to highlight this action to both reader and audience and leaves no ambiguity about Geoffry's subject especially when twinned with the following line: "which now thou seest is no arm of mine."[243] Through this claim Geoffry is dissociating his self from his body, there is a distinct idea of 'mine' versus the 'it' of the missing body part. These subtler aspects of Geoffry's speech and action serve as a testimony to Baillie's attempts to create dramas that centred on internal feeling and its physical expression, and to provide a mental depth to her characters, while representing the passionate self.

The psychological impact of Geoffry's service is demonstrated by Baillie when he responds to martial music. The stage direction reads: "*[m]usick is heard again, and nearer. Geoffry walks up and down with a military triumphant step.*"[244] Alan Richardson explains that "Geoffry's character and history are manifest in his body, not only in the scars he will reveal later in the play, but in his involuntary movements."[245]

[239] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[240] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[241] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[242] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[243] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[244] Baillie, "Count Basil," 79.
[245] Alan Richardson, "A neural theatre: Joanna Baillie's "Plays on the Passions"," in *Joanna Baillie*

However, Baillie, once again combining forms of expression, makes this point clear through Geoffry's lines. Geoffry's explanation of this behaviour verbally asserts his association of mental and physical experience: "I've march'd to this same tune in glorious days. My very limbs catch motion from the sound, As they were young again."[246] In contrast with his disassociation from his missing arm, Geoffry's enthusiastic description of '*my* limbs' at this point signals that this is a full march that involves arms and legs. Walter Vaughan points to the limbs as evidence of "the Superiority of Man over all other Animals from the Excellence of his Sensation, the Form of his Body, especially his Limbs, and the Freedom of his Motion."[247] With the structure of the human form, and the limbs in particular, held up as symbols of the function and beauty of the human body in eighteenth-century medical texts, Baillie's choice to include a character missing a limb demonstrates her desire to depict the impact of military life, as part of her discussion of masculinity and the passionate self. The passive phrase 'catch motion' suggests that motion is contagious, and this metaphor aligns with Hume's description of the passions as so contagious that "they pass with the greatest facility from one person to another and produce correspondent movements in all human breasts."[248] This medical language in Hume's philosophy, using the theory of contagion, demonstrates the embodied understanding of the passions and their relationship to physical behaviour and feeling in eighteenth-century theory. The fact that Geoffry's body catches motion in this scene suggests an autonomous response and that physical action and the self are separated. Francis Hutcheson, in his *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections,* discusses passionate and physical conditioning and association when he writes that a certain "*[t]emperament* may be brought upon the Body, by its being frequently put into Motion by the Passions of *Anger, Joy, Love,* or *Sorrow*; and the Continuance of this Temperament shall make Men prone to the several Passions for the future."[249] The idea, expressed in eighteenth century medical and philosophical theories, that the body and the mind work in tandem to combine feeling and action is also represented in Baillie's literary dramaturgy. I posit that through scenes like these, Baillie is dissecting elements of military expression and presenting the long-term effects of service and the associated passions on the body and mind of her characters. This, in turn, serves as part of her dramaturgical aim to

---

Romantic Dramatist, ed. by Thomas Crochunis (London: Routledge, 2004), 136.
[246] Baillie, "Count Basil," 79.
[247] Walter Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing* (W. Gillman: London, 1792), 31.
[248] Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature,* Vol III, 254.
[249] Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (London: S. Powell, 1728), 37.

encourage moderation of self- expression and her literary aim to present the rise and progress of passions.

Baillie's characterisation of Geoffry does not focus on the negatives of his experience in the military; he treats his missing arm with the apparently casual dismissal that he 'speaks not of it oft', and he reflects positively on his military experience, referring to the battlefield where he lost his arm as "a well-fought field", and talks with hyperbolic pride about how "[i]n a straight pass I stopp'd a thousand foes."[250] However, although Geoffry initially appears to be adjusted to the realities of his physical wounds and mental conditioning, namely autonomous marching, this changes when he is shown attempting to prevent Basil from committing suicide. Baillie places Basil and Geoffry together at the end of the play in a tragic scene where Geoffry attempts to first reason with and then physically restrain Basil from leaving stating "O! pardon me! I am old maimed Geoffry. O! do not go! I've but one hand to hold thee."[251] Basil "*(Breaks violently from him)*" and Geoffry declares "Curs'd, feeble hand! he's gone to seek perdition! I cannot run. O! curse that stupid hand."[252] At this point in the play the reader is given a very clear picture of a man who has lost both an arm and his youth, status, and physical autonomy to war. It may be possible to read Geoffry as a character who is not negatively affected by his identity as a soldier, however, this reading requires an emphasis solely on Geoffry's perspective and ignores the status of the audience perceiving Geoffry and his eventual position as someone who is unable to prevent tragedy as a direct result of his physicality.

The perception of Geoffry by other characters is made apparent at the beginning of the play. Geoffry's position at the procession is literally under question by a guard who is "(*Pushing* Geof. *and endeavouring to put another in his place*.)."[253] It is when Geoffry asserts his military masculinity and history as a private, that the guard changes their attitude. In doing so Geoffry refers to himself as "private of the tenth brigade, who sav'd his [the prince's] army on the Danube's bank, and since that time a private hath remain'd."[254] Geoffry must literally convince other characters to see beyond his disabled body, making the case that he still has social value and standing. In this instance, Geoffry's claim to relevance is retroactive based on previous actions, but

[250] Baillie, "Count Basil," 76.
[251] Baillie, "Count Basil," 179.
[252] Baillie, "Count Basil," 179.
[253] Baillie, "Count Basil," 77.
[254] Baillie, "Count Basil," 77.

also a claim of both previous and continuous military identity. I argue that Baillie uses Geoffry to examine the soldier off the battlefield and the position of the veteran in society, specifically one who considers himself to still be a soldier; for both Geoffry and Basil the role of military man is an identity and not just a profession. Geoffry is shown to be both physically and mentally affected from his experiences and therefore establishes the correspondence between the physical and psychological states that Baillie strives to display. Francis Hutcheson argues that value judgements are formed by the association of ideas, and that "[w]hen any *Circumstance, Dress, State, Posture* is constituted as a Mark of *Infamy*, it may become in like manner the Object of Aversion, tho' in it self most inoffensive to our Senses."[255] By first presenting Geoffry, an old, disrespected, and visibly wounded character to the audience and making clear his ties to militarism and masculinity, the character of Basil, also introduced as a military man, is marked with this association. William Hunter, attributes value to "the observance of bodies killed by violence, attention to wounded men, and to many diseases, the various ways of putting criminals to death, the funeral ceremonies, and a variety of such things",[256] in understanding human anatomy and medicine over time. Geoffry, however, possesses both physical and mental wounds and can therefore be read as Baillie applying the soldier figure in understanding the body, but also the passions. Although Geoffry has survived his military experiences, his lost arm and verbal descriptions of war serve to highlight the physical risk associated with war. I argue that his appearance in the drama serves as a foil to Basil's character, potentially foreshadowing Basil's fatal ending by demonstrating that an impassioned love for war can have severe consequences just as impassioned love for Victoria proves fatal for Basil. Baillie, through these military men, therefore, explores the effects of extreme passion on the individual.

Fashion and Passion in *The Tryal*

Baillie's examination of the passions is not restricted to the tragic genre and accompanying *Count Basil* as a drama exploring the passion of love is Baillie's comedy *The Tryal.* In *The Tryal* Agnes, an heiress, decides to swap places with her less wealthy cousin, Mariane. Agnes uses this identity swap to test her suitors to find a

[255] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections*, 7.
[256] William Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures, Delivered by Dr. William Hunter, to his last course of Anatomical Lectures, at his Theatre in Windmill-Street: As they were left corrected for the Press by himself* (London: J. Johnson, 1784), 5-6.

husband who cares about her, regardless of her wealth or rank. She gains the suitor Harwood through this scheme. Her uncle, Withrington, considers Harwood to be more in love with Agnes than she is with him, and convinces Agnes to test Harwood further. Agnes sets up a test where Harwood intercepts a letter in which she, falsely, confesses to terrible social behaviour. The test is designed to determine Harwood's moral compass; should he agree to marry her after this revelation, she would turn him down. Harwood is so distressed by what he reads and his feeling of complicity in Agnes' bad behaviour that he faints. He tells Agnes that he cannot marry her, and Agnes, overjoyed by this, reveals the truth. Baillie, in *The Tryal,* uses the theme of fashion specifically in her portrayal of the 'man of fashion' character and her use of clothing to represent a performance of self in this play. As Baillie notes in the 'Introductory Discourse', it was common in social circles to discuss the superficial attributes of others, and therefore, in her opinion, not enough attention was paid to either the passions or the subtler indications of an individual's character. She writes:

> It is easier to communicate to another how a man wears his wig and cane, what kind of house he inhabits, and what kind of table he keeps, than from what slight traits in his words and actions we have been led to conceive certain impressions of his character.[257]

I claim that Baillie's treatment of fashion in this play serves as part of her call for consistency and moderation in both passionate and fashionable self-expression as part of her examination of human nature and the self.

Baillie's use of sartorial signifiers of character sits within a theatrical tradition of the visual language of costume, and a broader social discourse on clothing and appearance found in the fields of medicine, philosophy, and literature. Published in 1792, Walter Vaughan's *An Essay, Philosophical and Medical, concerning Modern Clothing* demonstrates a social and cultural concern surrounding the impacts of fashion and appearance – both for the individual wearing the clothes and for the public perceiving them. This concern was also seen in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* when Adam Smith notes that what is fashionable "is not the fashion which every body wears, but which those wear who are of a high rank, or character."[258] Smith treats the influence of custom and context on fashion and clothing with sincerity by establishing the

[257] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 4.
[258] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), 373.

relationship between status and clothing and how both are closely tied to public perception. The association of the rich and highly ranked members of society with sartorial fashion is something that Vaughan despairs at in his essay: "[h]ow often have I been grieved that such Evils should be every Day so much practised by those whose Example is likely to betray thousands, and reduce them to Poverty and Distress!"[259] Just as Smith and Vaughan wrote about the influence of fashion on the health of the public, Francis Hutcheson explored ideas of appearance and social perception through the umbrella term of beauty. Hutcheson's *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) comprises two treatises on beauty and morality in which he initially argues that "our Perceptions of Pleasure, or Pain, do not depend directly upon our Will."[260] Whilst eschewing 'innate ideas' Hutcheson argues that objects and experiences impress upon the observer a sense of pleasure or pain, leaving them pleased or displeased, without the observer necessarily applying a rational reading of what they are sensing. Beauty, as a broader concept that encompasses social performances as well as appearance and clothing, therefore also factors into Hutcheson's ruminations on moral sense in a way that I argue resonates with Baillie's prescriptive dramatic presentation of clothing and passions. The works and arguments of Vaughan, Smith, and Hutcheson regarding appearance, fashion, and clothing, contextualise my reading of Baillie's inclusion of external displays of character in *The Tryal.*

Male fashion is a particular focus in this play, and while female clothing is mentioned and addressed, the 'man of fashion' trope is criticised by Baillie throughout *The Tryal*. For example, Sir Loftus Prettyman, one of the fop characters that pursues Mariane because he believes that she is an heiress, describes himself as "a man of fashion, and of some little consequence in the world."[261] In contrast, Baillie bestows her more virtuous and less comical characters with a mistrust of fashionability. For example, Sir Loftus describes Mariane as a fine woman and explains that for him to say this "is no despicable praise from one who is accustomed to the elegance of fashionable beauty,"[262] and in response Harwood, the male protagonist, explains "I would not

[259] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing,* 25.
[260] Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue In Two Treatises* (London: John Darby, 1725), v.
[261] Joanna Baillie, "The Tryal," in *A Series of Plays in Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind* (London: T. Cadell Jr, and W. Davies, 1798), 225.
[262] Baillie, "The Tryal," 207.

compare her to any thing so trifling and insipid."[263] Harwood, in an aside to the audience, underlines his meaning that the value of character and unaffected beauty far outweighs 'fashion' when he states that Loftus "would prefer the most affected ideot, who boasts a little fashion or consequence, as he calls it, to the most beautiful native character in the world."[264] Loftus' association of fashion with high social standing highlights the value that he bestows on the quality. His, nominatively determined, lofty ambition and emphasis on prettiness demonstrate that this character serves a quite traditional dramatic role as moral caution. He also serves as a foil against which the proper values of the more virtuous and less comedic characters can be measured, namely a dismissal of the power of fashion in favour of the quality of someone's character or their unaffected beauty. I posit that in *The Tryal* Baillie is making a claim against fickle fashionability, particularly using the character of Sir Loftus, and that although she makes a point of discussing fashion her stated focus remains on the internal realities of a character and how the self is apparent through outward passions and observable behaviour.

The man of fashion, and the very role of fashion in social interaction in this period can be related to the attempts to prescribe and control fashionable expression in medical theory, philosophy, and literature. Walter Vaughan insists that "every reasonable Man must be aware of the little Attention which is generally given to the Nature of, and Manner of putting on, his Clothes, as a possible Cause of embittering and shortening his Days."[265] He condemns tight sleeves and clothes that catch sweat in particular, and his essay positions 'fashion' as the opposite of both practicality and good health. Vaughan also addresses the association of fashion with class by stating "[n]or will I refer Abuses in Clothing to the vulgar and illiterate: for they are far more general among the rich, the polished and the well-informed; constituting a principal Part in the luxurious Parade of Wealth and Distinction."[266] The polished and wealthy characters that Vaughan claims abuse fashion for the purpose of social performance are the same characters that are satirised in Baillie's dramaturgy. Whilst Sir Loftus and Jack Opal, as men of fashion, serve a comedic role that fits the play's generic structure, they also serve as a warning against a lack of consistency between outward expression and internal feeling or character.

[263] Baillie, "The Tryal," 208.
[264] Baillie, "The Tryal," 210.
[265] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing*, 1-2.
[266] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing*, 24-5.

Through her depiction and interrogation of 'fashion', Baillie both criticises the wealthy fashionable characters in *The Tryal* and identifies the positive male characters in contrast to the superficial presentation and concerns of the negative male characters. Hutcheson explains how "*Dress, Retinue, Equipage, Furniture, Behaviour,* and *Diversions* are made Matters of considerable Importance by additional *Ideas.*"[267] The value of these fashionable items is determined by the connotations they hold for both the wearer and the observer. Hutcheson argues that although wise and great individuals may try to break this associative chain, because "the bulk of Mankind will retain them, they must comply with their Sentiments and Humours in things innocent, as they expect the *publick Esteem,* which is generally necessary to enable Men to serve the Publick."[268] Hutcheson's idea of the necessity of social adherence to certain fashions in order to possess social currency can be applied to Baillie's depiction of Withrington's character, as part of her broader discussion of the self performing in society. In the opening scene of *The Tryal* Agnes and Mariane's uncle, Withrington, describes himself as "an old fellow, with a wig upon his bald pate."[269] Agnes' lines reveal that the wig Withrington is currently wearing is new, and "as youthful, and as sly, and as saucy looking as the best head of hair in the county."[270] Agnes is shown throughout the play shamelessly flattering and gently manipulating Withrington in order to carry out her schemes.

However, these remarks about Withrington's wig serve as more than just a chance for Baillie to demonstrate the dynamic between Agnes and her uncle. Rather, the wig operates as an external symbol of internal character-development. Lynn Festa points to William Prynne's tract *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks* (1628) to highlight an anxiety about social performance and appearance that was being articulated in public literature both pre-eighteenth century and during. Festa writes that "[t]wo rival forms of the person surface in eighteenth-century discussions of the wig, where the liberal idea of the subject as an individual jostles against the notion of the self as possessor of detachable parts."[271] Withrington's wig, like Geoffry's amputated arm, suggests the idea of the self as an amalgam of different parts, some internal and inalienable, some

[267] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, 7-8.
[268] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, 8.
[269] Baillie, "The Tryal," 195.
[270] Baillie, "The Tryal," 195.
[271] Lynn Festa, "Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 48, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/184260.

external and potentially detachable. While Baillie's stated focus is on the passions, she explores the self and the social performance of selfhood through the relationship between internal feeling and external behaviour and appearance in these dramas. Baillie's use of the wig serves to indicate the character and social behaviour of the wearer. Agnes refers to Withrington's old wig as possessing so much "curmudgeon-like austerity about it, that young people fled before it, as, I dare say, the birds do at present, for I am sure it is stuck up in some cherry orchard, by this time, to frighten the sparrows."[272] The idea that his former wig was not only austere, but also only fit to be used in the orchard indicates that Withrington possessed this wig for a while. Baillie represents Withrington changing his fashion in correspondence with his character rather than changing wigs on a whim and frequently.

Withrington changes his appearance to gain and maintain public esteem, as well as personal status in his family. His change of wig is not motivated by mere vanity, a claim that is corroborated by his easy admittance that he is bald, but rather the change of wig corresponds with his change in demeanour. This all foreshadows his service to his family through assisting in Agnes' schemes and his agreement to furnish Mariane with a comfortable dowry by the end of the play. Festa explains how in the long eighteenth century wig fashions changed often, partly as a way to counter members of the lower classes adopting the appearance of social grace and wealth by wearing a wig. Wigs used to cost "an enormous sum of money in the late seventeenth century – up to £50 in England. The wig was therefore amongst the more expensive items in a gentleman's wardrobe, although the price dropped considerably over the course of the century."[273] The inaccessibility of the regular, and expensive, changes in wig style allowed those who were able to afford these changes to demonstrate their status. Baillie makes use of the role of the wig as an external signifier of class and gender identity, as well as an indicator of one's fashionability, in tandem with her examination of the passions and internal selfhood in this play. However, in the 'Introductory Discourse' Baillie demonstrates annoyance at the use of superficial signs of character, without the more subtle and intricate elements of characterisation and Vaughan expresses a similar frustration in the social shift away from the legibility of one's character being determined by facial expressions. He writes that men "of a sound Understanding can often tell the Emotions of the Soul by external Signs. These Signs

[272] Baillie, "The Tryal," 195.
[273] Peter McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World* (New Hampshire: Yale University Press, 2018), 45.

were formerly sought after in the Features of the Face: they are now looked for as much in the Costliness of one's Apparel."[274] Festa argues that "[t]he rapidly changing styles meant to create social distinction render the wig a protean object and the wig wearer, the plaything of mercurial fashion."[275] However, in Baillie's play Withrington has avoided the fate of plaything of mercurial fashion by seeming to only change his wigs infrequently, and, it is revealed, by keeping his former, curmudgeonly, wig "up stairs in my wig-box."[276] Although the wig is used in the opening scene of the play by Baillie, her focus on male performances of fashionability continue throughout *The Tryal* and function as part of her social instruction for legibility of character in a way that mirrors her call for moderated, but still socially expressed, passions.

Withrington's use of fashion in aid of his expression of self is depicted favourably by Baillie, her other characters, however, are less positively represented. Baillie introduces the characters of Jack Opal and Sir Loftus as part of Agnes and Mariane's scheme to deceive the community into thinking that Mariane is the heiress. Baillie describes Opal and Loftus in ways that place them in opposition to Harwood, Agnes' virtuous love interest. Agnes refers to Loftus as "haughty and reserved in his manners; and though not altogether without understanding, has never suffered a higher idea to get footing in his noodle than that of appearing a man of consequence and fashion."[277] Mariane describes "Jack Opal, who has for these ten years past, so successfully performed every kind of fine gentlemanship, which every new fool brought into fashion."[278] The mercurial nature of fashion that Festa describes is evident here and, further, both Agnes and Mariane's observations connect the fashionable man with fools. The 'man of fashion', especially when depicted in a comedic play, can be understood as little more than a fop character and as Peter McNeil explains "[f]oppery was a complex cultural pose. It was not unified, but could range from the sweetness of a sixteenth-century French *mignon,* and the insistent negligence and untidiness of the seventeenth-century English rake, to the strict control of the Regency dandy."[279] The complexity of this position can be seen in the change from Loftus and Opal's apparent pride in their role, to the defence that Opal makes in the final scene when trying to avoid having to pay a breach of contract fine to Mariane. On discovering that Mariane

[274] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing,* 28.
[275] Festa, "Personal Effects," 49.
[276] Baillie, "The Tryal," 196.
[277] Baillie, "The Tryal," 203.
[278] Baillie, "The Tryal," 204.
[279] McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World,* 34.

is not an heiress, but that he has already signed a promise to marry her for her merits alone, Opal states "we men of fashion don't expect to be called to an account for every foolish thing we say."[280] He is here employing the reputation associated with this character trope to present himself as foolish, but unthreatening. In speaking of both Loftus and Opal, Agnes and Mariane frequently use the terms 'appearing' and 'performing', suggesting a lack of substance associated with such fashionable displays. Equally, Baillie blurs the distinctions between Opal and Loftus by having them enter a scene "*dress'd pretty much alike.*"[281] This is a similarity that extends for their clothing to their manners as Baillie describes how "*both saunter about with their hats in their hands.*"[282] In their mirrored clothing and behaviour these characters are made ridiculous and symbolic of the power of fashion to diminish individuality. The inclusion of hats in this scene can be read alongside Vaughan's essay wherein he argues, as part of his analysis of how fashion is centred on custom and appearance rather than function, that the hat is an unnecessary accessory. He writes: "if the early Fashion of ornamenting the Head had not degenerated into the Habit of wearing a Hat, I am mistaken if the Hair alone had not been found sufficient to keep our Heads warm."[283] Despite her claims in the 'Introductory Discourse', Baillie is, in the characters of Sir Loftus and Jack Opal, basically describing 'the wig and cane', however, this stands in contrast with her protagonists whom she imbues with passionate feeling and observable corresponding internal and external signifiers of their selfhood. Opal and Loftus's more subtle indicators of their selfhood, as well as their passionate rise and progress are missing not just because these characters fulfil a purpose in the comedic arc of the plot, but also because Baillie uses these characters to make an example of how fashion can disguise selfhood from the observer.

Vaughan, in a statement that is reminiscent of Rousseau's claims in *The Celebrated Discourse* about the natural virtue of the 'uncivilised' citizen, argues that "[r]efinement teaches Men to dislike every Thing natural, fits them only to disguise, and disqualifies them for assuming with a manly and a liberal Air that Character which alone is truly great."[284] This movement away from an observable "Character" towards disguised performativity is something that Baillie also cautions against in her depictions of fashionable sociality. Withrington and Harwood, however, offer positive

[280] Baillie, "The Tryal," 295.
[281] Baillie, "The Tryal," 222.
[282] Baillie, "The Tryal," 222.
[283] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing*, 93.
[284] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing*, 29.

examples of resisting fickle fashion, in comparison with Opal and Loftus, who are fit 'only to disguise' and lack any greater or lasting character. Baillie associates performed gentility, and an adherence to changing fashions, with foppery, inauthenticity, and either stupidity or duplicity in *The Tryal*. For her male protagonist, Harwood, however, she reserves a less ostentatious appearance and manner. Harwood is described as "a genteel young man, with a dark grey eye, and a sensible countenance, but with so little of the foppery of the fashion about him, that one took him at a distance for a much older man."[285] This description of Harwood marks him as similar to Withrington, whose refusal to succumb to 'frivolous' fashion and frequent wig changes gives him an aged appearance, but whose character is presented as positive by Baillie. Central to this play is the operation of the passion of love in the protagonists, and Baillie writes these characters with signifiers of their compatibility which allow the audience to support their connection. Mariane asks, about Harwood, "[w]ore he not a plain brownish coat?"[286] The double adjectives of 'plain' and 'brownish' establish how moderate and reserved Harwood's clothing was, and this is how both Agnes and Mariane, and the audience, therefore, are introduced to his character. Catherine Burroughs suggests that the coat is "Baillie's sartorial signal that Harwood is destined for the physically plain Agnes."[287] Furthermore, Harwood's clothing does not conceal because it does not draw attention away from his character by being outlandish or even fashionable. The item of the man's coat, in Vaughan's essay, is treated more favourably than women's coats or dresses because "[m]en seldom or never suffer such general Compression of the Arms from the Smallness of the Sleeves of their Coats."[288] Harwood, at least in a reading informed by Vaughan's expressed understanding, is therefore shown wearing practical clothing that neither inhibits his physicality or his ability to communicate his character. Adam Smith notes that fashionable styles changed rapidly in the eighteenth century, and "[a] well fancied coat is done in a twelve month, and cannot continue longer to propagate, as the fashion, that form according to which it was made."[289] However, the plain style of coat that Harwood is shown wearing reinforces the durability, in terms of mode, of the coat, and of the character. Therefore, Harwood, much like Withrington with his old wig, is represented as a more steadfast and less fickle character, affected less by perennial

[285] Baillie, "The Tryal," 204.
[286] Baillie, "The Tryal," 204.
[287] Catherine Burroughs, ""A Reasonable Woman's Desire": The Private Theatrical and Joanna Baillie's The Tryal," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 38, no. 3/4 (1996), 276. http://www.jstor.com/stable/40755103.
[288] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing*, 36-37.
[289] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 374.

changes to fashion.

Earlier in the play Mariane has a teasing exchange with Opal where she tells him she hopes he has "never condescended to assume any other than your natural manner."[290] Opal replies "O! not at all, I detest affectation; there is nothing I detest so much."[291] The dramatic irony inherent in this statement is made double for the audience who are aware that Mariane is also performing a social deception. However, like Hutcheson's description of the use of fashion to garner public esteem to enact public service, the difference in these characters is intent. What distinguishes Agnes, Mariane, Harwood and Withrington from the satirised men of fashion in this play is the purpose or intent behind their public performances. Mariane, when Agnes hatches her scheme to swap identities, explains why she wants to trick Loftus: "[h]e insulted a friend of mine last winter, to ingratiate himself with an envious woman of quality."[292] Agnes is deceptive to test her lover, but with the interest of preserving her reputation, dignity, and fortune. While she deliberately enacts a different temper, acting with more passion, for example when she "*[p]ulls away her gown in a passion, and tears it*",[293] at the end of the play it is revealed that her greatest deception was only pretending not to love Harwood as much as she truly did. Baillie gives Agnes the motivation of passionate love but passion that is mediated by reason and that directly serves the plot of the drama. Whilst Withrington's accessories change to suit his demeanour he is not a man of fashion, and his consistency between appearance and character are depicted as positive by Baillie. Harwood, as a protagonist in this comedy, both feels and expresses his passions, but without affecting an appearance that is at odds with his character. Crucially, he passes the trial by allowing reason to govern over even the extreme passion of love. Through the action of the plot and her characterisations, Baillie demonstrates the value of appropriate social expression of both feeling and appearance in *The Tryal* as part of her investigation into human nature and her instruction on social behaviour of the individual self. She employs dress as one element of this dramatic exploration of the passions and the self. In Joanna Baillie's literary dramaturgy her exploration of human nature centres on the passionate individual and is seen through stage directions and scripted physicality, clothing, and external appearance of her characters' expressions, but also in larger spectacles and

[290] Baillie, "The Tryal," 244.
[291] Baillie, "The Tryal," 244.
[292] Baillie, "The Tryal," 203.
[293] Baillie, "The Tryal," 251.

metatheatrical displays.

Metatheatricality in *Count Basil* and *The Tryal*

Metatheatricality is used in Baillie's comedy and tragedy alike to highlight not only the performative nature of human behaviour but also to further elicit curiosity and imaginative sympathy from her reader-spectators. Anne K. Mellor uses Habermas' concept of the public sphere and constructs a reading of Baillie's drama as utilising the public sphere to discuss human behaviour, specifically gender. Mellor argues that in order "[t]o achieve a "natural" or probable revelation of the human passions, Baillie devised several specific dramatic techniques."[294] Amongst these, Mellor lists: "the staging of processions, balls, banquets and other social rituals or ceremonies in place of the subplots in order to arouse audience attention but avoid distraction; and the confinement of the action to a small, intimate, often domestic space."[295] Both plays under discussion in this chapter utilise these techniques, for example, *Count Basil* begins with two processions and features a masquerade; in *The Tryal* Agnes and Mariane devise and perform a scheme to test Harwood's loyalty, a scheme that involves performing different identities and ends with them hiding behind a screen in a small, intimate, domestic space. *Count Basil* also includes larger scale examples of metatheatricality in the featured processions. According to Richardson, these processions are "visually announcing the tensions between duty and desire, masculine and feminine spheres, and the personalities of Basil and Victoria that the play will develop."[296] However, these processions do more than establish these tensions; Baillie's use of spectacle relates to her claim that "[i]f man is an object of so much attention to man, engaged in the ordinary occurrences of life, how much more does he excite his curiosity and interest when placed in extraordinary situations of difficulty and distress?"[297] The first stage direction of the play: "*[a]n Open Street, crouded with People, who seem to be waiting in expectation of some show",*[298] informs the readers, and shows the audience, that there is a group of human bodies onstage, waiting to witness others. This sight fulfils Baillie's point that humans are obsessively concerned with the observation and judgment of each other. The dramatic beginning of this text

[294] Anne K. Mellor, "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere," *Studies in Romanticism* 33, no. 4 (1994): 562. http://www.jstor.com/stable/25601086.
[295] Mellor, "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere," 563.
[296] Richardson, "A neural theatre," 136.
[297] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 5.
[298] Baillie, "Count Basil," 75.

also establishes the role of metatheatricality in the play, and the respective position of an onstage audience presented to the offstage audience enables Baillie to make explicit her commentary on social behaviour and passions in a way that is easily understandable to her audience.

By the end of *Count Basil,* however, the audience are privy to the extreme spectacle of Basil about to commit suicide. The violent act that Basil commits is not shown onstage, but the line "I cannot live, therefore I needs must die",[299] followed by him taking up his pistols demonstrates to the audience the scene that they must now imagine. Baillie's belief that human sympathetic curiosity is aroused by extraordinary situations is associated with violence in her 'Introductory Discourse' and her play texts. Jeffrey N. Cox explains the appeal of these spectacles; "we are enthralled by scenes of violence to the other. However, in that Baillie seeks to offer moral instruction, the exhibition of violence itself cannot be sufficient; we must not take pleasure in violence but learn from it."[300] Violence of action and violence of passion are seen in Baillie's dramaturgy as instructive; her didactic emphasis on reading the body and the actions of the individual to better understand one's own emotional and passionate feeling is key in the *Plays on the Passions.* Smith writes that "[w]hen we blame in another man the excesses of love, of grief, of resentment, we not only consider the ruinous effects which they tend to produce, but the little occasion which was given for them."[301] The second scene of *Count Basil* features this very response, as Rosinberg is bemused at Basil's infatuation at such slight provocation as the mere sight of Victoria. Basil declares his feelings and when Rosinberg's reply is not positive he asks: "[t]hou wouldst not sound my knell?",[302] and Rosinberg states: "[n]o, not for all beneath the vaulted sky! But to be plain, thus earnest from your lips, Her praise displeases me."[303] Rosinberg's dissatisfaction at Basil's emotional display demonstrates his belief that Basil's passion is, as Smith might have termed it, disproportionate.

Violence is a physically emotive spectacle, and one that can be widely understood, as it lacks some of the nuance of the subtler expressions Baillie considers so important in

[299] Baillie, "Count Basil," 181.
[300] Jeffrey N. Cox, "Staging Baillie," in *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist,* ed. by Thomas Crochunis (London: Routledge, 2004), 151-152.
[301] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 28.
[302] Baillie, "Count Basil," 85.
[303] Baillie, "Count Basil," 85-6.

her writing. The inclusion of spectacle, particularly violent spectacle, in Baillie's texts demonstrates her appeal to bodily experience and to the moral philosophy of her contemporaries. Francis Hutcheson argues that an individual should focus on controlling of the passions by, like Baillie's call for observant spectatorship, paying close attention to the sensations of the mind and the emotions. He writes, of human desires, that one should "in all Affairs of Importance to our selves or others, prevent the *Violence* of their *confused Sensation*, and stop their *Propensities* from breaking out into Action, till we have fully examined the real *Moment* of the Object."[304] Hutcheson provides the answer to this possible violence of feeling by stating that this requires "a constant *Attention* of Mind, an habitual *Discipline* over our selves, and a fixed *Resolution* to stop all Action, before a calm *Examination.*"[305] Baillie, in her expression of her dramaturgy in the 'Introductory Discourse' also calls for observation and reflection before action, and she places her drama as a morally and behaviourally instructive stepping stone to this type of introspection. Equally, her uncle, William Hunter writes of the possible advancements of medical theory stating that, considering "that health and disease are the opposites of each other, there can be no doubt, that the study of the natural state of the body, which constitutes the one, must be the direct road to the knowledge of the other."[306] These philosophical and medical concepts explain an eighteenth-century belief that it is through both internal and external observation that one achieves the kind of self-discipline that would allow for healthy living. Baillie's call for regulation of the passions and the observation of the social and individual self ties into these discourses of health and self-regulation found in other fields.

The use of masquerade or disguise is the other prominent form of metatheatricality in the *Plays on the Passions*. In *Count Basil,* Baillie uses Basil's attire to signify his character in relation to his developing passion in the text. This can be seen when Basil attends the masquerade party "*in the disguise of a wounded soldier*."[307] The disguise can be read as less deceptive and more truthful, as Basil is not physically wounded but the damaging effects of his emotional state on his character can be read as an internal wound. Mellor describes how Basil's "struggle is not between erotic passion and military duty but rather between three kinds of passion: heterosexual love, homosocial

[304] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, 109.
[305] Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, 109.
[306] Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures*, 65.
[307] Baillie, "Count Basil," 125.

love, and self-love."[308] Mellor views his character as partly defined by these different loyalties and tensions, and she views Basil's love of Victoria as directly in conflict with his homosocial love for his military men. Mellor writes that "[t]he 'wounded soldier' whose mask Basil wears at the ball is not only the rejected lover of Victoria, as he claims, but also the rejecting lover of his own wounded men."[309] Mellor makes her claims about Baillie's intentions in writing the plays and her 'Introductory Discourse', acknowledging Baillie's discussion of psychology and human nature in her work. However, Regina Hewitt responds to Mellor's article by arguing that "Basil's struggle is not, however, only psychological. His dilemma is created by a society that defines these loves as mutually exclusive and that thus sacrifices the complex self to the simplified role."[310] Basil's conflated sense of self and difference is embodied in his costume, which "half conceal[s], and half declare[s] my state."[311] In this line Baillie makes explicit the metaphor of Basil's wounded soldier costume as simultaneous disguise and revelation of Basil's character and state of being, and in doing so highlights the importance of the internal and the external in the performance and understanding of the self. Appearance and disguise are aspects of Baillie's metatheatrical dramatic composition that is also reflected, as previously discussed, in *The Tryal.*

The metatheatre present in *The Tryal* is centred on physical interactions in the domestic sphere and the process of observing and performing in this space. Burroughs discusses how the "frequency and ease with which Agnes and Mariane touch their uncle's body underscore the relaxed atmosphere over which Withrington presides, as well as show how the dynamic of this domestic space encourages the women to use their imaginations."[312] The use of this physicality to relay the internal and the personalities of these characters can be seen primarily through Baillie's stage directions, particularly when she writes that Agnes and Mariane are "*coaxing him in a playful manner*."[313] Their playful spirits can be seen through their ease with both their own bodies and their physical interaction with others. Their commentary on Withrington's appearance, and their manipulation of

[308] Mellor, "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere," 565.
[309] Mellor, "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere," 565.
[310] Regina Hewitt, "Joanna Baillie's Stardom: Social Claims, Literary Objects, and Scholarly Lenses," *Literature Compass,* 1 (2004): 7. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00085.x.
[311] Baillie, "Count Basil," 126.
[312] Burroughs, ""A Reasonable Woman's Desire"," 272.
[313] Baillie, "The Tryal," 219.

his body; "[Agnes] *turning his face towards* Mariane",[314] is demonstrative of the active and confident character of these female protagonists. By including contradiction in Agnes' dialogue with Withrington, Baillie provides her with a strong sense of self, and the power to assert it. This is shown when Withrington calls Agnes' request a "foolish girl's whimsy' and she corrects him, stating '[i]t is a reasonable woman's desire."[315] The confidence of these characters corresponds with their physicality in terms of their relationship to the men in their company; their playful nature can be seen through their lack of barriers between them and the male characters. As Burroughs notes, this physicality demonstrates a domestic power dynamic wherein Agnes and Mariane are both at ease and in control. Their flattery is paired with light criticism which reinforces Baillie's creation of a scene in which the women are expressing themselves with control and a general lack of patriarchal restraint. Found in the setting up and enacting of the trial itself, Agnes and Mariane's constant positive physicality can be read as opposed to Basil's pathological violent or disturbed action and appearance at the end of *Count Basil*, marking the embodied difference between Baillie's tragedy and comedy.

The disguise and concealed identity central to the plot of *The Tryal* does not just serve the comedic medium of the work, but also, alongside the masquerade present in *Count Basil*, speaks to Baillie's view of human nature. Baillie's drama offers the idea of human nature as socially performative, and William Hunter, in his *Introductory Lectures*, discusses the same ideas of concealment and deceit. Hunter offers the view that the difference between young men's openness to new ideas and old men's reticence can be understood: "[a] little reflexion into human nature, will shew, that vanity is the principal force of this absurdity."[316] This vanity comes from the fact that, as Hunter views it:

> All men wish to be respectable; and most of them carry about with them, through life, what they think a secret, and yet what very few of them can conceal, a constant endeavour to pass in the world, for what they are not; for being more acute, more judicious, more studious and learned, than they really are.[317]

Hunter identifies what he claims to be a universal ambition, at least within men, to

[314] Baillie, "The Tryal," 219.
[315] Baillie, "The Tryal," 220.
[316] Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures*, 53.
[317] Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures*, 53.

appear as something more than what they are, and therefore highlights the importance of social perception to the formation and performance of the self. This is a key concern in Baillie's work, and in *The Tryal* Agnes' character, and her performance of her self around others, is a driver for the plot. Agnes' character changes in relation to her scheme and her uncle's concerns about its outcome; Withrington warns Agnes that "there are men whose passions are of such a violent over-bearing nature, that love in them, may be considered as a disease of the mind."[318] Withrington specifically states that "[s]uch men as these we sometimes see attach themselves even to ugliness and infamy."[319] Burroughs claims that this is "a choice of words that Agnes in all probability hears as a reference to herself, accustomed as she is during the play to having her physicality criticized."[320] Agnes' external response to these lines is to assume "*a grave and dignified air*."[321] Her physical change enables a shift in the power dynamic between her and Withrington, as Burroughs writes that, symbolic of "his regaining control of domestic space - her uncle borrows a gesture that we have come to associate with Agnes and Mariane when they were at their most confident: he 'claps' Agnes on 'her shoulder affectionately'."[322] Her change in demeanour is also immediately apparent to Mariane, who claims that "I never saw Agnes with any thing of this kind in her head, wear such a grave spiritless face upon it before."[323] In all the plays in the *Plays on the Passions*, the observation of changes to the central characters' behaviour and physicality is included by Baillie, this helps the reader and audience to focus on how the characters are changing and to make evident the extent of their changes. This tendency is noted by Thomas Crochunis, who explains that Baillie also regularly uses "loyal servant characters as key observers of main characters, thus revealing the varied perspectives from which the servants perceive the family's vaunted honor."[324] Baillie's inclusion of externally obvious alterations to her characters corroborates her belief that the mind and the body operate in conjunction and that the passions can alter both as part of her consideration of the self and how the passionate self acts socially.

[318] Baillie, "The Tryal," 276.
[319] Baillie, "The Tryal," 277.
[320] Burroughs, ""A Reasonable Woman's Desire"," 274.
[321] Baillie, "The Tryal," 277.
[322] Burroughs, ""A Reasonable Woman's Desire"," 275.
[323] Baillie, "The Tryal," 279.
[324] Thomas Crochunis, ""Literary Homosociality and the Political Science of the Actor's Closet," *Victorian Studies*, 49 (2007): 261. https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.1353%2Fvic.2007.0093.

The final act of *The Tryal* serves as the primary scene of metatheatre in this play, specifically when Agnes, Mariane, and Withrington hide behind a screen to observe Harwood's response to the last stage of the trial. The audience are made privy to the how Royston, their male cousin and mostly comic-relief character until this point, literally sets the stage by placing a screen in the room. In his dialogue, Baillie makes explicit the metatheatrical dimension of this plan by likening it to a puppet-show. Royston explains: "[w]e'll place it here, if you please, cousin, then you and the ladies can stand as snugly behind it, as kings and queens in a puppet-show, till your time comes to appear."[325] Hiding and observation are key to this scene, and the tension inherent in this metatheatre is heightened by certain instances, for example when the servant, "Jonathan *goes, as if he were looking for something, and takes a sly peep behind the screen, to see if they are all there*."[326] Jonathan's actions here tease the audience with the possibility that Harwood will find the characters hidden behind the screen and these raised stakes help to emotionally contextualise for the audience Harwood's extreme passionate response upon considering Agnes to be unworthy of his love. Before Harwood has entered Agnes shows concern about being seen, telling Withrington "[d]o uncle draw in the edge of your coat."[327] As established earlier in this chapter, Harwood and Withrington can be considered similar through their choice to avoid mercurial fashion, and by the fact that their clothing serves to communicate their characterisation rather than disguise it. Agnes' concern about Withrington being seen is therefore made more meaningful in this scene as the coat may give away their position, but also may give away their characters. Since concealed aspects of identity are key to her scheme neither option is ideal. Harwood in turn considers Agnes to be transparent, as he explains "[h]er faults are plain and open as her perfections: these she disdains to conceal, and the others it is impossible."[328] The deliberate expression of one's character and feeling in appearance and social behaviour was promoted as virtuous in the medical, philosophical, and literary works of this period. Vaughan, in response to eighteenth-century theorist Count de Buffon's theories about fashion being used to hide and flatter respective qualities, wrote: "[w]hat a motley Appearance we should make, if we were all clothed *rationally*, according to Buffon's Opinion: if every one of us were to cover his supposed Defects and Blemishes, and to expose his

[325] Baillie, "The Tryal," 283.
[326] Baillie, "The Tryal," 287.
[327] Baillie, "The Tryal," 286.
[328] Baillie, "The Tryal," 287.

supposed Beauties and Excellencies!"[329] Vaughan continues: "[w]hat Reason is there in Disguise?"[330] The same call for authentic outward expression can be seen in literature across this period, however, Baillie's presentation of character specifically ties into an instructional call for moderated but expressed passions.

The metatheatre in this scene reaches a pinnacle when Harwood faints, Agnes and company rush out from behind the screen, and the whole trial is revealed. Harwood's physical response to believing Agnes to be immoral is initially described by Royston: "[s]ee how his lips quiver, and his bosom heaves!"[331] This description of an observable scene adds to the sense of performed spectacle. Royston calls "[l]et us unbutton him",[332] which adheres to the statement that Vaughan makes about restrictive clothing: "[t]hat Pressure on the Neck is often hurtful in the fashionable World, and is sometimes fatal, it is universally known."[333] When Agnes hears that Harwood is going to faint she attempts to enter from behind the screen but Withrington pulls her back in again and it is not until Harwood "*[g]ets up hastily from his chair, and then falls back again in a faint"* that she enters again.[334] The spectacle and the conceit are therefore maintained until Harwood's passionate and physiological response forces the matter to its conclusion. By presenting her male protagonist as so affected by passion that he is somatically overcome, Baillie subverts the sentimental, and frequently effeminised, spectacle of the faint and furthers her dramatic aim to present all her characters as influenced by the passions and their nuances. In *The Tryal* although Harwood's passion takes him to heights of feeling and physical response through fainting, the triumph of reason over passion allows the play to end happily. However, in *Count Basil* Basil's experience and expression of the passion of love leads him to disaster.

Basil's shift from a self-confident young commander to a man consumed by passion is caused by the change of his love interest. Basil is also shown as physically overwhelmed by his passions, when he claims that he is not aware or able to stop himself. In a scene where Victoria holds out a hand to stop Basil speaking, he "*runs eagerly up to her and presses it to his lips*",[335] and when Victoria appears offended by

[329] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing,* 27.
[330] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing,* 27.
[331] Baillie, "The Tryal," 290.
[332] Baillie, "The Tryal," 290.
[333] Vaughan, *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing,* 53.
[334] Baillie, "The Tryal," 290.
[335] Baillie, "Count Basil," 136.

this, he justifies his actions by claiming "pardon me, I know not what I do."[336] This yet again demonstrates Baillie's dramaturgical interplay between mind and body, and mental and physical action. The trouble in *Count Basil* arises when Victoria usurps Basil's relationship with war, and the sense of self that was connected to that relationship. The destruction of this identity and self-love can be read as symbolic of the societal restrictions on Basil's performance of self. Basil's physical presence onstage is different by the end of the play. At the beginning of the play Basil is seen surrounded by his company, in military dress, shrouded in military pomp and spectacle, by the end of the play he is seen alone "*with his hat off, his hair and his dress in disorder, stepping slowly, and stopping several times to listen, as if he was afraid of meeting anyone.*"[337] Basil is shown converted from a man who wants to be seen, whose identity and confidence are tangibly perceived, to someone who is alone, stripped of his sense of self and whose outwards appearance reflects this change. Baillie, therefore, uses the theatrical tools, and socially observable signifiers of external character, to contribute to her investigation of human nature, the passionate self, and the interrelationship between internal and external feeling.

Although Baillie's literary dramaturgy focusses on an exploration of human nature, she is also offering an instructional message to her audiences to regulate their passions, to consider the internal and external self as connected and to therefore use various forms of self-expression with care. In the 'Introductory Discourse' Baillie explains the happy ending of *The Tryal* wherein the characters' moral reasoning had to overcome the passion of love before the trial could be successfully completed. She writes that "it is not my intention to encourage the indulgence of this passion, amiable as it is, but to restrain it."[338] The passionate self that is present in Baillie's literary dramaturgy is unrestrained, either with terrible results or, in her comedy, with the power to regain composure. Baillie writes that "[t]he impassioned character is generally brought into view under those irresistible attacks of their power, which it is impossible to repell [sic]; whilst those gradual steps that led him into this state […] are left entirely in the shade."[339] She argues that the gradual steps leading towards passionate states are frequently omitted from dramas, and that in order to better understand these passions their development must also be represented. Hutcheson

[336] Baillie, "Count Basil," 137.
[337] Baillie, "Count Basil," 176.
[338] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 63-4.
[339] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 39.

argues that the passions are caused by apprehending things which can be morally judged as good or evil. Baillie, whilst not necessarily disputing their origin, claims that the passions are best defined when seen in their growth and opposition with each other, rather than through events or objects. Hutcheson's notion of the passions has a specifically moral focus; his belief that they are spurred by an individual experiencing objects or events which are considered either good or evil places the defining emphasis on the moral, however, it alludes to the sensory experience of the individual. The physical apprehension of the objects or events that cause passions or affections in an individual is a key aspect of both the philosophy of these terms and the drama of Joanna Baillie. She writes in the 'Introductory Discourse' that she wishes to create moral theatre. When explaining why, in *The Tryal,* she has "made the strong moral principle triumph over love",[340] Baillie writes: "let it be remembered, that without this the whole moral tendency of a play, which must end happily, would have been destroyed."[341] This statement explains how Baillie was adhering to dramatic principles whilst introducing her desire to create a didactic message and 'realistic' characters. Throughout her *Plays on the Passions,* Baillie is found using both the embodied physicality of her characterisations and her appeals to philosophical moral didacticism to evoke sympathetic curiosity in the reader-spectator. Daniel Bergen writes that Joanna Baillie "understands the complicated cognitive relationship between the body and brain, as emotion becomes feeling – it is the conscious identification of an emotion-as-feeling that either diminishes or perpetuates an emotion's overall impact."[342] Key to Baillie's moral literary dramaturgy is embodiment as she charts the passions as physically felt and enacted as part of her study of human nature and the dramatic presentation of the individual, and socially performing, self. In both plays Baillie's concurrent and effective use of both form and content to twin the external and internal experiences of her characters and those observing them, is central to her literary dramaturgy and her examination of the self. Baillie herself typifies many of the claims I make throughout this thesis regarding the allocation of the medium of theatre or popular writing, and tropes of identity, to female authors who were nonetheless contributing to much broader discussions of human nature and selfhood.

Baillie, unlike her male family members, was not able to study anatomy. Instead she

[340] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 63.
[341] Baillie, "Introductory Discourse," 63.
[342] Daniel Bergen, "Reimagining the Romantic Imagination: Embodied, Proto-Cognitive Psychologies in Joanna Baillie's Introductory Discourse and Orra," *Literature Compass* 11 (2014), 201. https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12118.

created plays with a dramatic ideology that it is through observation of others and the harnessing of the universal trend towards sympathetic curiosity that eighteenth-century drama could speak about and to human nature. Her literary dramaturgy, I have argued, demonstrates a focus on human nature through the figure of the passionate self, and this reading is informed by applying the medical and philosophical theories surrounding the effects of the passions on social behaviour and expression to her play texts. Baillie is perhaps the most direct of my selected playwrights in her written explanations of her broader intention for her dramas. Similar to More's religious aims at instruction, Baillie's writing is positioned as a social exercise; Baillie explores the self based on evidence and observation, and this also relates to Inchbald and Griffith's social commentary on the topics of class, national identity, and gender. All these women were offering ideas of self that were part of an investigative, questioning, written process of discovering, analysing, and even attempting to shape the self in society. In the following chapters I continue my examination of female British playwrights' work using my critical framework and demonstrate that it is not only Baillie with her connections to the world of medicine, and her overt statements about her dramatic intent and moral philosophy, whose work benefits from this type of reading. While Baillie has served as a valuable entry point to the critical readings I produce in this thesis, the framework of reading medical and philosophical theory alongside these dramas continues to yield results when reading other female dramatists' plays, even when they move away from Baillie's passionate self and her focus on the internal reality of the self towards the externally perceived self. This will be the main focus of the next chapter where I analyse Elizabeth Griffith's perceived self, as seen in character's external presentation and social reception, in *A Wife in the Right* (1772) and *The Times* (1780).

Chapter 3:
Elizabeth Griffith and the Perceived Self

National identity was a source of anxiety throughout the eighteenth century; a period marked by war, imperialism, and increased global trade. Elizabeth Griffith's dramatic writing engages with the broader topics of national and class identity as part of a fundamental examination of humanity and the perceived self in society. This chapter analyses Elizabeth Griffith's literary dramaturgy and the concepts of self and self-regulation through the exploration of national and class identity in her plays. Griffith's dramatic writing offers instruction on how to maintain an ontologically recognisable self that fits into specific social settings, for example this is seen in her presentation of the nabob and the other characters' disapproval of his clothing and attitudes. The nabob (discussed fully below) in Griffith's play goes on a journey from expressly defying British dress (by wearing loose Indian clothing) and customs, to being socially redeemed through his actions which are claimed, at the end of the play, to be "true English staple."[343] Griffith, therefore, explores how clothing and the expression of feeling and the passions, and the interplay of internal and external characterisation contribute to the social legibility of the performing self; the perception of the self is a central theme in *A Wife in the Right* (1772) and *The Times* (1780). I argue that in these plays it is possible to read a warning against the disguised and 'wrongly' perceived self through Griffith's use of symbolic clothing, the trope of the masquerade, and her emphasis on the 'town' context in which her characters perform. Instead of accurately identifying the identity and intentions of other characters, Griffith represents several of her characters misinterpreting their peers and this stems a manipulated relationship between outward appearance and internal character, which both drives her plots and comprises a dramaturgical presentation of the perceived self in these plays. In *A Wife in the Right* Griffith employs clothing as a symbol of national identity and through the figure of the nabob demonstrates the potential gap between external appearance and internal character.

Griffith's drama applies a moral dimension to the legible, and correctly perceived, self. Just as Elaine McGirr identifies in character sketches of the period, the dramatic writing of Griffith uses characters that teach "readers how to decode potentially

[343] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 88.

deceptive signs and therefore to read moral character properly."[344] This didactic element is also modelled in Griffith's plays as the characters associated with forms of virtue, including military masculinity or a femininity that is associated with marrying for love, are endowed with the ability to see through the masks of the deceitful characters. For example, as examined later in this chapter, Mrs Bromley, one half of the couple that deceive and manipulate the Woodleys for money in *The Times*, is described by the virtuous character Louisa, as wearing a gauze mask. Mrs Bromley is excited about the masquerade and uses the event to encourage Mrs Woodley to spend lavishly on clothing and jewellery. In *The Times* Griffith alludes to the masquerade ball, by including plot points tied to masquerade clothing and dialogue discussing the event, but she concludes the action before the masquerade takes place. The masquerade theme in *The Times* serves to highlight the difference between the explicitly disguised character and the subtle deceit of characters, namely the Bromleys, who can correctly perform their rank in society without the 'gentle' qualities that this status should also include. The juxtaposition of the virtuous characters' positive individual and social performances with the self-interested self-expression of the Bromleys in *The Times* further indicates to the reader the instructive anxiety concerned with the social behaviour of the individual, and the perception of this behaviour, in Griffith's drama. Griffith associates this anxiety with broader social concerns, in *A Wife in the Right* this is shown through the association of clothing with national identity through the character of the nabob Governor. I claim that Griffith's literary dramaturgy reinforces the value of the recognisable social performance of the self and asserts the possible threat of the incorrectly perceived self. The necessity for individuals to perform a legible selfhood that tied to their nationality and class was a way of reinforcing the power of those institutions.

In this chapter I identify where Griffith calls for self-command and balance in her dramas and where these overlap with medical and philosophical writing in this period on the same concerns. For example, John Brown and George Cheyne both argue for the social and individual value of moderation and self-regulation in their medical treatises. The threat of the imbalanced and indulgent self is also addressed in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophical twinning of the topics of luxury and effeminacy. Adam Smith makes clear the influence that wealthy men hold in society, and how this

[344] Elaine McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

can affect the passions of those around them. These thinkers all analyse the effects of wealth, status, and indulgence on the individual, with Smith and Rousseau's philosophy also demonstrating the threat that individual behaviour poses to others in social settings. For example, Brown's theories of balance are particularly relevant to a contextualised reading of the social calls for self-command and self-regulation in this period. This can be seen when the concept of balance is applied beyond the body to the discourses of place seen in Rousseau's dichotomy of city and country as sites of vice and virtue. Equally, George Cheyne's medical theorising on health regimens, including how the passions affect the corporeal body, works within the traditions of presenting the body as influenced by the feelings of the mind. In these plays, Griffith features the ideas of appropriate social behaviour and the interaction between the social actor and their observer, and I explore Griffith's use of clothing, appearance, and metaphoric sites of vice and virtue (the masquerade and the country house) as part of Griffith's presentation of the performing and perceived self in society.

Nabobs and National Identity in *A Wife in the Right*

A Wife in the Right is a prose comedic drama in five acts. Griffith uses the comedic genre to address wider social concerns about political corruption in Britain in the eighteenth century. A prominent character in this play is Governor Ned Anderson: a man who has recently returned to Britain from India, having made his fortune there, and who is now attempting to buy a seat in British Parliament. The play also features the married couple, Lord and Lady Seaton, and follows the love affair that Lord Seaton attempts to initiate with their friend, Charlotte Melville. Charlotte, who rejects these advances, is reunited at the end of the play with her true love interest, Colonel Ramsay. Ned is a nabob, and this is highlighted to the audience when Griffith describes him wearing loose Indian clothing and declaring a preference for the imperial Indian lifestyle, including eating curry and wearing clothing without buttons. Ramsay, also returning from overseas at the start of the play, serves as a foil to the Governor's effeminacy and confused national identity. Griffith's presentation of Ned's appearance and dialogue, especially in contrast with other characters, raises a key question of the importance of clothing and its ties to national identity in this play.

Ned is referred to by one of the servant characters, Lucy, as "a great rich Nabob".[345] The nabob was an East India Company employee, usually depicted as having returned

[345] Elizabeth Griffith, *A Wife in the Right* (London: E. & C. Dilly, J. Robson, and J. Walter, 1772), 34.

to England after making their fortune in India. The English East India Company, founded in 1600 by a royal charter, "not only proved to be the greatest of the joint-stock companies engaged in foreign trade but also a valuable instrument in the creation of English colonial and Imperial systems."[346] The nabob, as a figure associated with the imperial systems of the East India Company, has been referred to by critics as representing a cultural hybridity between East and West. Yoti Pandey Sharma explains how nabobs on the one hand "adopted local habits such as Mughal-style clothing, smoking the *hookah* [hubble-bubble], eating *paan* [betel leaf], and indulging in Mughal leisure pursuits. On the other, they remained Europeans, retaining the cultural mores of their own countries."[347] Unlike the civil servants who may have settled in India more permanently, the nabob character commonly represented in literature of this period was, as Renu Juneja writes, "a species of merchants and adventurers who have come to India solely to acquire wealth and who aim to return home as soon as they have acquired enough of it."[348] The nabob was a cultural oddity, representing different political and national influences at play, and by the 1770s they were received in Britain with caution. The term nabob, however, has a more prestigious root than its widespread use as a derogatory term in the latter half of the eighteenth century would indicate. Tillman Nechtman, explains that "[l]iterally, nabob was an Anglicized transliteration of the term nawab, the title given to aristocratic regional leaders within the Mughal empire in South Asia."[349] Despite the roots of the term, "[t]he notion that nabobs were a corrupting influence wherever they reared their heads took hold of the popular imagination in the 1770s."[350] Griffith, in this play, addresses the late eighteenth-century concern surrounding the East India Company's exportation of both goods and culture, and the impact of this on Britain. Yet, Griffith also demonstrates a degree of subtlety in her criticisms; her characterisation of Ned is not a mere caricature despite the socio-political climate of the 1770s, and I analyse how Griffith uses the appearance and attitude of Ned to explore the performance and perception of selfhood,

---

[346] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640* (London: Routledge, 1965), 3.
[347] Yoti Pandey Sharma, "Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Colonial India," *International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* 31, no. 1 (2019): 10, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26952997.
[348] Renu Juneja, "The Native and the Nabob: Representations of the Indian Experience in Eighteenth-Century English Literature," *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 27, no. 1 (1992): 184, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/002198949202700116.
[349] Tillman Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11.
[350] Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips, ""Our Execrable Banditti": Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 16, no. 3 (1984): 234, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4048755.

particularly as clothing can be used to, correctly or falsely, represent social standing, nationality, and character.

The 1772 preface to *A Wife in the Right* clarifies Griffith's intentions for the character of Governor Ned Anderson and how these were not met by the drunk actor playing him, Mr Shuter. Griffith explains how Shuter, "made the Governor appear in a light which the author never intended; that of a mean, ridiculous buffoon."[351] Despite the reactionary response to nabobs in the later eighteenth century as potential threats to the social and political order through their wealth and ability to buy seats in parliament, Griffith's intention was clearly not to use Ned as a solely comic character. Instead, while contributing to the play's comedic moments, Ned also represents Griffith's engagement with eighteenth-century anxieties surrounding national identity. Ned's comic elements play to 'type': Lawson and Phillips note how: "[t]he unscrupulous East Indian [Nabob] with an insatiable lust for riches became a familiar and popular figure on the London stage."[352] The nabob figure in British culture of the 1770s was considered a threat due, in part, to their political ambitions. Nabobs "purchased country estates, solicited peerages and advantageous marriages, and sought seats in parliament."[353] The number of nabobs taking parliamentary seats in this period did in fact rise: "[t]here were twelve in 1761, nineteen in 1768, twenty-two in 1774 and twenty-seven in 1780." [354] However, there was never a real threat of a nabob uprising that would challenge the status quo of British politics, as "at no stage was their behavior that of a unified and coherent lobby."[355] Therefore, although nabobs were present and active in this period, the literary and cultural responses to this group represented an anxiety that did not necessarily match the realities of the nabob's political or social power. Ned, in *A Wife in the Right*, is alone onstage when he explains that "I must e'en be content to purchase a seat, on the best terms I can."[356] This demonstrates both that Ned is actively trying to purchase a seat and that he is willing to pay a lot; although he wants to find the 'best terms', this subjective limit is open to change. Ned's wealth and political ambition are therefore highlighted to the audience at the start of the play, alongside his appearance and attitudes towards British and Indian clothing and customs. By the end of the play the comedic order is restored

[351] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right* (preface), 3.
[352] Lawson and Phillips, ""Our Execrable Banditti"," 229.
[353] Lawson and Phillips, ""Our Execrable Banditti"," 227.
[354] Lawson and Phillips, ""Our Execrable Banditti"," 228.
[355] Lawson and Phillips, ""Our Execrable Banditti"," 228.
[356] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 14.

with the audience being offered the happy resolution of the protagonists' romantic relationships through marriage, and the defusing of Ned's political threat when he does not purchase a parliamentary seat. Although the play ends with a comedic resolution, Griffith, throughout the play, explores the boundaries of disguise and revelation of character through Ned's clothing and dialogue, and presents the nabob character in a complex light.

The social concern surrounding the cultural exchange between Britain and India, and the regulation of social performance and perception is signified through the nabob character and their navigation of two cultural identities. Adam Smith's interest in spectatorship and spectacle provides a useful lens through which to consider theatre in the eighteenth century and his philosophy demonstrates a similar interest in social behaviour and perception. Particularly relevant to the figure of the nabob in Griffith's play and the context of increasing dissatisfaction and distrust of some elements of the British Empire by the British public by the end of the eighteenth century,[357] Smith was also openly critical of the East India Company in his *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Siraj Ahmed explains Smith's personal and philosophical position on the East India Company, and the works of Empire more broadly:

> In *The Wealth of Nations* – itself an attack on the very economic system that gave rise to merchant companies, written during the first decade of British rule in India – Adam Smith described how the East India Company's agents profiteered on grain during a famine that was thought to have killed more than one-third of Bengal's native population of twenty million people in 1770-71 and also suggested that they were unqualified for public office.[358]

Smith's explicit criticism of the East India Company's actions is evident in his writing from 1776, however, in his earlier work, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith does not address imperialism with the same directness. Nonetheless, I argue that in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Smith does address the fundamental issues that can be identified in the responses to nabobs and empire in the 1770s in his presentation of social order and behaviour. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Smith asserts that there is a direct relationship between wealth, status, and the passions and he argues that the

[357] See for example: Betsy Bolton, "Farce, Romance, Empire: Elizabeth Inchbald And Colonial Discourse," *Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation* 39, no. 1 (1998): 22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41467682.
[358] Siraj Ahmed, "The Theater of the Civilized Self: Edmund Burke and the East India Trials," *Representations* 78, no. 1 (2002): 31. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2002.78.1.28.

passions can be used as tools to influence public opinion. For example, in the chapter "Of the origin of ambition, and of the distinction of ranks" Smith argues that "[t]he rich man glories in his riches, because he feels that they naturally draw upon him the attention of the world, and that mankind are disposed to go along with him in all those agreeable emotions with which the advantages of his situation so readily inspire him."[359] The potential for rich men to influence the emotional states of those in their company is made explicit by Smith when he claims that in a gathering "it is upon him [the rich man] that their passions seem all to wait with expectation, in order to receive that movement and direction which he shall impress upon them."[360] The passions, therefore, are acknowledged by Smith as socially felt, easily transmittable via sympathy, and particularly powerfully wielded by the upper ranks of British society. By combining the topics of wealth, social standing, and passionate feeling Smith presents a picture of the power that those within the higher ranks of British society could wield. This provides context to the social threat of characters, like the nabob, who might use their wealth and passions to politically influence others. This threat is something Griffith explores in *A Wife in the Right,* and, without correlation, for both Smith and Griffith the social performance and perception of selfhood is shown as key to maintaining an established social order.

Griffith employs the nabob to explore the influence that wealthy individuals could wield, and the potential social disruption that someone with wealth and ideas that differed from the established order could pose. Articulating the idea that wealthy people could influence others, Smith claims that "[u]pon this disposition of mankind, to go along with all the passions of the rich and the powerful, is founded the distinction of ranks, and the order of society."[361] In this model, if the individuals reaching the higher ranks of society are those who, like the nabob, have gained status quickly and through foreign money, the order of society and the established social dynamic may be threatened. The failure of the nabob to inspire public approbation and supplication can be read as tied to their social performances which did not meet the national and cultural expectations of the British public that Smith describes. Smith queries the measures and actions young noblemen are taught to support their social position and answers that "[a]s all his words, as all his motions are attended to, he learns an habitual regard to every circumstance of ordinary behaviour, and studies to perform all those

[359] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 110.
[360] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 112.
[361] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 114.

small duties with the most exact propriety."[362] Therefore, if British gentlemen were accustomed to performing the social actions necessary to inspire loyalty and maintain a social order, the hybrid mannerisms of the nabob both failed to meet these customs and highlighted a possible instability to this social order. Referring to his future role in parliament Ned poses the question: "[w]hat is wealth without honours, to a person of my consequence, d'ye see?"[363] Ned is alone onstage at this point, making the audience the only recipient of this sentiment. Griffith's deliberate positioning of this rhetorical question illustrates to the audience how Ned believes that wealth should bestow him with honours and that his status as a Governor twinned with his imperial money should interact to leave him with wealth, honours, and consequence. Griffith's presentation of Ned's attitude adheres to the thinking in Smith's social philosophy: "[t]o be observed, to be attended to, to be taken notice of with sympathy, complacency and approbation, are all the advantages which we can propose to derive from it [wealth]."[364] Smith argues that emulation and ambition come not from a desire for material ease or comfort but from vanity. Griffith's dramatic portrayal of the nabob indicates a similar attitude to Smith when he describes ambition, and the social power of the wealthy. These topics are of particular importance when reading the perceived self in Griffith's work; Ned, by achieving social power and standing from East India Company money, is perceived as a nabob, and therefore as a potential threat to British politics and society.

Throughout *A Wife in the Right* Ned expresses his loyalty and personal identification with imperial India in two important ways: his clothing, and his speech. The other characters mark these external signs of otherness as nabobery and, therefore, negative. Griffith is explicit in her signalling of Ned's 'otherness' when he enters "*in a loose Indian habit.*"[365] She describes Ned's clothing in a stage direction, which is not the case for any other character in the play, and therefore Griffith emphasises Ned's clothing as key to his character and the later dialogue surrounding his appearance. Robert S. DuPlessis explains that "[c]lothing is materially and metaphorically multivalent",[366] clarifying that clothing "can denote an individual's personal style or participation in a group's fashion, declare autonomy or exhibit conformity or

[362] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 117.
[363] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 14.
[364] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 109-110.
[365] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 11.
[366] Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650 -1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 4.

subordination, reveal aspiration for economic and cultural capital or attainment of wealth and status."[367] Ned's clothing serves as several of these displays, as his garb can be read as adherence to one nation's fashions and not another's, while still indicating a wealth and status that were clearly legible to the other characters in the play. As explored in the previous chapter, eighteenth-century fashion was a tool for social expression and perception, with clothing holding many connotations for wearer and observer. In Baillie's dramas the virtuous characters are consistent with their dress, rather than succumbing to fickle fashions, while dressing appropriately for their rank. Griffith dresses Ned in Indian clothing to signify his nabobery to her other characters and the audience, yet Ned's character is not restricted to the potentially amoral status that his clothing initially signifies to the audience. The eighteenth-century nabob figure in literature tapped into an existing social preoccupation with clothing and luxury culture, specifically the prescription of different social performances of wealth and status to different groups. A primary example of this explicit desire to regulate social performances of wealth and status was the sumptuary laws. Up to the end of the eighteenth century "sumptuary laws (from the Latin word *sumptus* meaning expense) sought to regulate social difference in many parts of the world and imposed policies about who could spend how much on what types of dress and accessories."[368] This control over specific visual depictions of character and class tied into ongoing social anxiety across the centuries about the legibility and authenticity of the social actor. The eighteenth-century nabob not only represented a wealthy figure, but also a mixture of cultural influences (British, Indian, and the liminal imperial combination of both), as well as a hint of the disruptive social order that was based on appearance, wealth, and personality, as opposed to inherent class status and adherence to societal norms. In her deployment of the nabob, Griffith engages in this discourse, as well as in the theatre-specific history of costume as a visual language for the audience.

Chloe Wigston Smith explains how in this period "men and women often agreed that dress could be read and telltale traits such as gender, status, and taste could be telegraphed through a person's choice of wig, buckles, stockings, and sword."[369] This

[367] DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic*, 4.
[368] Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack, eds., *The Right to Dress Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective c. 1200-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1.
[369] Chloe Wigston Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6.

reading process took place on and offstage, and "[t]heatrical costumes, for instance, relied on shorthand in order to register a character's status, nationality, or fashionability from the first appearance onstage."[370] By wearing Indian clothing, Ned challenges the ways in which clothing 'signifies' national belonging and class status. Adam Smith explains how fashion was spread through those with class and influence, and how "[t]he graceful, the easy and commanding manners of the great, joined to the usual richness and magnificence of their dress, give a grace to the very form which they happen to bestow upon it."[371] Smith outlines the reciprocal benefit of the wearer's rank lending status to the clothing, and the clothing reinforcing the wearer's status; Griffith's nabob possesses wealth and status, and therefore there is a risk of his rank lending his Indian clothing status in British society. The 'threat' of Governor Ned's choice of clothes is made manifest in the rank and value that he bestows on them as a public figure. Jennie Batchelor identifies how "many eighteenth-century commentators argued that dress constituted a form of language through which meaning was generated by the wearer and read by the observer."[372] In *A Wife in the Right* Ned's clothing, and other characters' reading of it as something oppositional to British norms, can therefore be contextualised in relation to the social importance of the legibility of dress and its value as a signifier of character in this period.

The resistance of the other characters to Ned's clothing choices is shown when Colonel Ramsay and Lord Seaton use appeals to social norms and gender politics to encourage the Governor to change his clothing. Ramsay announces that "the hour of dressing draws nigh, and as the Governor seems to have a good deal to do, in that way, I think it but fair to allow him leisure for it."[373] These lines show that Ned's clothing is immediately marked by his peers as inappropriate, and his current appearance departs from the polite norms of British dressing. Suited for the very different and much warmer climate of India, Ned's loose-fitting garments align with medical advice directed at Englishmen earlier in the eighteenth-century. In George Cheyne's *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724), he informs the reader that "*much* and *heavy* Cloaths, *attract* and *draw* too much by *Perspiration.*"[374] Therefore, Cheyne recommends that "those who are *sober*, or who would render themselves *hardy*, ought to accustom

[370] Wigston Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes,* 6.
[371] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 373.
[372] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 9.
[373] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 12-13.
[374] George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724), 195.

themselves to as few Cloaths, both in *Summer* and *Winter,* as is possible."[375] The looseness of the Governor's Indian clothing is suited to a warmer climate, but also to the advice for creating a healthy and hardy Englishman that Cheyne indicated in 1724. In, and by, the 1770s, however, the cultural and national significance of looser clothing far outweighed the possible medical benefits espoused by physicians earlier in the century, and Ned's appearance is communicated as 'inappropriate' through the dialogue in this scene. Ned's dissociation from British norms is further compounded when he responds to Ramsay by exclaiming: "[d]ress! – What silly fops you Europeans are! – Why can't a man sit down and eat his victuals, in a comfortable easy habit."[376] The fop accusation that Ned levels against Seaton and Ramsay refers to their attitudes and clothing. Unlike the loose Indian clothing Ned is wearing, European fashions trended towards tighter and more tailored clothing and the Italian macaroni or French fop were recognisable through their fashion. Francis Grose's 1788 dictionary of the vulgar tongue defines macaronis (with a variant spelling) as follows: "MACCARONI. An Italian paste made of flour and eggs. Also, a fop: which name arose from a club, called the Maccaroni Club, instituted by some of the most dressy travelled gentlemen about town, who led the fashions."[377] Peter McNeil explains how "[m]any macaroni men wore the tightly cut suit or *habit à la française* that derived from French court society, which also became the transnational and up-to- date fashion for many European men at this time."[378] Therefore Ned is blurring the British identities of Seaton and Ramsay with the European fashion of the controversial fop figure and, through the linguistic choice of "you Europeans" Ned also separates his East India Company identity from his own European-ness. Ned's perception of his self and character, therefore, is communicated to the audience through clothing and language.

Equally, the fact that Ned refers to the others in this scene as fops demonstrates his own recognition of the power of clothing in creating social distinctions of character and class. He is equating wearing stiffer clothing and more layers of clothing with the excess and laughability of the fop character and is shown to be negatively characterising 'Europeans' in the same way that he is being characterised as a nabob. Griffith is here exposing the

[375] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 195.
[376] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.
[377] Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London: S. Hooper, 1788), 310-11.
[378] Peter McNeil, *Pretty Gentlemen Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 14.

way that clothing can be interpreted by the respective characters in the scene and therefore underscoring the social power of clothing in the performance of the social self. Both class and nationality are tied to appearance in the dialogue between Ned, Seaton, and Ramsay. Not only does Ned identify with a different national custom, but his display of clothing and behaviour no longer adheres to the gendered and classed social norms of British dressing and socialising. Lord Seaton tries to convince Ned to change his clothes using an appeal to gender, working on the basis of clothing reflecting the codes of one's social status as a Gentleman or Lady. Seaton tells Ned: "[w]hy really, Governor, tho' your apparel may be perfectly convenient, to yourself, I should think it rather too easy and familiar a garb, for the company of ladies."[379] The concept of men, as well as women, having to be 'uneasy' for the sake of social propriety, and the idea that clothing can restrain one both physically and metaphorically, here adds to Griffith's deployment of costume to comment on the creation and presentation of the social self. Griffith makes this commentary explicit in Lord Seaton's reflective line: "[w]e are all too much bound up in forms and fashions, I confess, Governor."[380] Seaton makes this admission in an attempt to convince the Governor of the reasonability of their request that he changes, however, it also reads as part of what I understand to be Griffith's moderating presentation of the nabob. As established earlier, Griffith does not present the caricature of the nabob in this play, instead using Ned to comic effect but also as a point of reflection and discussion of the role of clothing in the social performance of class and nationality

The Governor is not swayed by Seaton and Ramsay's appeals to social norms, however, stating: "[c]onfound the fashion, I say; but if we must adopt the customs of other countries, why not chuse the best?"[381] This claim demonstrates Ned's belief that India, or at least Indian customs, are the best of the 'other' countries. This attitude makes sense for the nabob character and highlights the possible transgression of this alignment with a country that was not currently or historically an ally or influence in Britain. Ned continues: "[r]ather than ape your *Mounseers* and *Maccaroni's,* why not follow the manners of the East?"[382] In these lines and as seen above, Ned levels accusations of European 'otherness' at Seaton and Ramsay by highlighting the influence of Italian and French fashion on the British public. Ned's act of European

[379] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.
[380] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.
[381] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.
[382] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.

comparison also demonstrates his perception of British identity as something that is not singular, but rather influenced by other countries, and as potentially difficult to distinguish from those influences. The act of emulation or 'aping' that Ned identifies is not one that he denounces, however, and instead he is asking why one cultural influence is considered better than another. By placing the nabob character and their adoption of Indian fashions in context with other common fashions of this period, Griffith explores the logic behind Ned's nabobery. However, Griffith does not leave the dialogue there, and includes a rebuff to ensure that the nabob is not presented as completely naturalised, and in the following line explores how clothing was related not only to nationality and class but also gender. Seaton responds: "I think we seem rather too much inclined to relish the eastern luxury and effeminacy, already, Sir."[383] Griffith, through this dialogue presents the relative cultural disruption of the effeminising French and Italian sentimental fashions as lessened when matched with the "luxury and effeminacy" of Eastern fashions. The close association of gender performance with class and nationality is established in these lines, and the social concern about these elements of identity being readily legible is present in Griffith's drama and her use of the nabob.

In this scene, Griffith raises the stakes of the dialogue by calling on the national and cultural "threats" of luxury culture and gender identity that the nabob embodied. The association of national identity with either the virtues of society or the vices of luxury and effeminacy is explicitly seen in Rousseau's dedication at the start of *Discourse Upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality among Mankind* (1761). Contrasting Genevan citizens with people elsewhere in the world, Rousseau writes, "[l]et Pretenders to good Taste admire in other Places the Grandeur of their Palaces, the Beauty of their Equipages, the Sumptuousness of their Furniture, the Pomp of their Spectacles, all their Refinements of Luxury and Effeminacy."[384] Rousseau, through the phrasing "Luxury and Effeminacy," contributes to the period's association of luxurious items and a lavish lifestyle with effeminacy; the cultural importation of goods or fashions and the desire to perform or display these forms of luxury were associated with the perceived corruption of masculinity in the eighteenth century. Lord Seaton's association of luxury with effeminacy in the play can be read in line with Tita

[383] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 13.

[384] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse Upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1761), xliii.

Chico's observation that "[c]onsumerism made the concept of fashion available to a greater range of people, and this availability had a particular parallel to eighteenth-century notions of femininity."[385] However, it was not just the threats of luxury and effeminacy that the nabob embodied, Griffith also addresses the political dimension of Ned's nabob role. While throughout the play Ned attempts to secure a parliamentary seat, his explanation to Lord Seaton of his intentions draws on the concepts of custom and fashion. Ned states, "as soon as ever I get into parliament, I will endeavour to have an act passed, that curry and pellow shall be the common food, and that there shan't be a button worn in all England."[386] Marcia Pointon charts the history of portraiture and clothing in the eighteenth century and, specifically referring to *A Wife in the Right*, states that "[t]he Governor's fantastical plan to outlaw buttons would never have succeeded. The eighteenth century was the great age of buttons as a major fashion accessory."[387] Despite the lack of any realistic possibility, the Governor's plan and dialogue serve as reminders of the potential widespread and quotidian threat to British culture that the nabob individual could pose. By choosing a potentially humorous and small item, like the button, Griffith's commentary remains congruous with the comedic genre of the play; however, the ubiquitous nature of the button signals the visual, political, and wider-spread social effects of his proposed cultural transference.

Griffith would have perhaps been unable to, and does not go so far as to, socially rehabilitate the figure of the nabob fully by removing the nabob's associations with a political and social threat to British order. However, in *A Wife in the Right*, Governor Anderson's verbal defence of his choice of clothing, which is marked as nationally other to the Western audience, is both comedic and more complex than might be expected from the figure of the nabob in the literature of this time. Griffith gives the Governor lines that both indicate his role as a potential political threat—"as soon as ever I get into parliament"[388]—and refer to reason and play off other British cultural clashes—"[r]ather than ape your *Mounseers* and *Maccaroni's*."[389] Ned uses a relational argument to defend his adoption of Indian clothing and diet. There was a wider discourse in defence of, and in contrast to, other national fashions and ways of wearing clothing that took place throughout the eighteenth century. Theorists and

[385] Tita Chico, *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 38.
[386] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 13.
[387] Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2013), 155.
[388] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 13.
[389] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 13.

physicians used the international exchange of ideas and the adoption or rejection of different styles to strengthen their own claims. For example, Cheyne compares the German proverb "[t]hat *wise Men* ought to put on their *Winter* Cloaths *early* in *Autumn*, and put them off *late* in the *Spring*,"[390] with his theory that it is better to wear breathable clothing as "a great Heap of *Cloaths*, only *condenses* our own *excrementitious Atmosphere* about us, and stops the kindly *Influence* of this beneficial *Element.*"[391] Cheyne's argument that letting the air reach the body is better than being smothered in clothing is furthered by his claim that "[i]t is *inward Heat* only, which destroys us."[392] This process of reasoning, carefully positioned in opposition to apparently popular German medical theory, is also seen in Griffith's nabob character and the defence of his nationally ambiguous external presentation.

Ned's defence of his choice of clothing continues when he claims his preference for comfort and ease over "being cased up in a strait waistcoat, like a mad-man, d'ye see?"[393] Here used in company, Ned's rhetorical "do you see?" becomes a call for Seaton and Ramsay to understand the logic of his clothing choices, and therefore by calling attention to the reasoning behind Ned's choices Griffith slightly softens the impact of Ned's nationally dysphoric clothing in this scene. At the conclusion of the fifth act Griffith also restores the standing of the Governor when Ned decides to pay off a debt that he has inherited through Mrs. Frankly's scheming. This causes Colonel Ramsay to announce "[s]ir – I find you have brought over not only the wealth, but the humanity of the East Indians, along with you."[394] Despite the initial response of Ramsay and Lord Seaton to Ned's clothing and preference for Indian customs, Griffith acknowledges a positive element to his nabobery. Lord Seaton agrees with Ramsay, stating "[h]is tastes and manners may be foreign, perhaps, Colonel, but his good-nature and generosity are true English staple."[395] Griffith therefore claims the positive qualities of the Governor's character as English, whilst making an allowance for his wealth and how he gained it. Seaton and Ramsay, at the end of the play, claim an ability to see through the disguise of the Governor; his clothing, tastes, and manners can no longer hide his English, good, qualities from their view.

[390] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 195.
[391] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 197-98.
[392] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 198.
[393] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 13.
[394] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 88.
[395] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 88.

Compared with other stage presentations of the nabob in the eighteenth century, [396] Griffith's nabob poses a threat by asking questions and declaring preferences, both of which are overruled by either the other characters' appeals to the logic of the period or by their scale. For example, as Pointon explains, the Governor could never have outlawed all the buttons in England. Griffith's comic figure poses a social challenge but is mediated and ultimately redefined by his association with both Indian humanity and "true" English good nature and generosity. I argue that Griffith's drama reinforces the social concept that individuals needed to perform their selfhood in ways that were recognisable to others in their social context. The necessity for individuals to achieve legible selfhood tied to their nationality and class was a way of reinforcing the power of those institutions and claiming that they were real and consistent. In *A Wife in the Right* Griffith calls for regulated performances of self that adhere to British social norms, in part through the plot point of the Governor's failed attempts to buy a seat in parliament, and in part through his clothing which becomes less of a transgression as his role as a national and political threat unravels. Nationality, as a topic here raised by the influence of the East India Company on Britain, was tied to discussions of class, specifically through luxury culture and, equally threatening to eighteenth-century social norms, gender. Class, gender, and nationality were all understood as defining characteristics that could, and should, be accurately performed and perceived in social settings. The concept of disguising or misrepresenting these characteristics was treated with caution and presented as a potential threat to the social order. Griffith's drama, through her creation and depiction of the nabob character of Ned, walks the line between clear moralising against agents of social confusion like the nationally 'disguised' nabob, and a deeper sentiment regarding the characterisation of the individual through actions and intent. The nabob, in her play, is made palatable to an eighteenth-century London audience by the end of the play through a description of his fundamental Englishness. Whilst the figure of the nabob represented a complex social and national identity, the issue of national identity was also tied to militarism in this period, and in turn the military figure was bestowed with a social status of masculinity, potential virtue, and, in Griffith's dramas, the quality of self-command.

[396] See, for example Samuel Foote's *The Nabob* (1772) and Susan Lamb's reading of the play as Foote condemning imperialism as a threat to British social norms and the eponymous nabob character as a character that "plays havoc with the traditional social ordering of the British gentry". Susan Lamb, "The Popular Theater of Samuel Foote and British National Identity," *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 2 (1996): 251.

Military Masculinity and Self-Command

Colonel Ramsay is described at the start of *A Wife in the Right* as "just arrived from abroad."[397] However, unlike the nabob Governor, Ramsay's return does not feature any displacement; his clothing and his behaviour do not raise any questions of his national identity for the audience or for the other characters. The essential difference that is highlighted between the Governor and the Colonel is Ramsay's military role. By differentiating Ramsay and Ned, Griffith situates Ramsay in contrast to the implied effeminacy and corruption of the nabob figure. I claim that Griffith examines the topic of the self and the perceived self in society by creating characters who demonstrate self-command and placing these in contrast with characters who do not.

Ramsay has been away from Charlotte Melville for two years, and Lord Seaton remarks: "[t]wo years constancy to an absent lover, Charles! How can you be so unconscionable to expect it?"[398] Ramsay's choice to dedicate himself to Charlotte is something he articulates: "I have better purposes for my love and youth, than to sacrifice them on Circe's altar."[399] This statement informs the audience of Ramsay's character; his steadfast role as a lover. Yet, Lord Seaton responds by calling the Colonel's attitude towards romance "an antique moral",[400] and claiming that he must have picked up this attitude from "some very unmodern tour."[401] This distances Ramsay's virtue from the contemporary British attitudes of gentlemen like Seaton. Griffith, through this temporal reference is able to criticise the social and sexual attitudes of certain men in the later eighteenth century, whilst simultaneously proffering an alternative through the Colonel's characterisation. Again, this is similar to Griffith's presentation of Colonel Mountfort in *The Times*. Mountfort is shown to be unlike his male friends for whom the trend of excessive spending has become standard and is depicted as financially secure. In *The Times* the Colonel reasons with Mr Woodley to sell his horses to pay off some of his debts; he enters the scene appealing to reason and moderation. In both *The Times* and *A Wife in the Right* Griffith presents Colonels as loyal and willing to forego temporary pleasures despite their male peers' societal expectation of indulgence, all of which demonstrates a quality of self-command. The primary form of self-command that Colonel Ramsay

[397] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 5.
[398] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 9.
[399] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 10.
[400] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 10.
[401] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 10.

and Colonel Mountfort share in these plays is that of fiscal responsibility. In *The Times* Mountfort shows distaste and disappointment at Woodley's gambling and tells Sir William "I am no gambler, Sir."[402] In *A Wife in the Right* Ramsay, when asked by Ned for news from Madras or Bombay on the stock market, explains that "I am utterly unacquainted with the business of the Alley, Sir."[403] These characters, it is implied, earn their money from a military salary and do not risk it through investments or games. Bringing together self-command with emotional balance, Adam Smith describes the ideal state of the gentleman, asking "[w]hat can be added to the happiness of the man who is in health, who is out of debt, and has a clear conscience?"[404] Smith places financial stability as key to happiness, alongside health and a moral clarity; Griffith's choice to present her military characters as financially responsible indicates the moral positioning of these characters in her dramas.

By exhibiting reason and virtue, the Colonels in both plays regulate or control their passions. I analyse the self-command of these characters, as faithful partners and as men resisting the social corruption of their peers, by considering Smith's theories on self-command. Smith argues that self- command, as a form of delayed gratification, is easily accepted by an audience: "[w]hen we act in this manner the sentiments which influence our conduct seem exactly to coincide with those of the spectator. The spectator does not feel the sollicitations of our present appetites."[405] Smith argues that because the spectator is not moved by the same desires, the choice of self-restraint seems rational to them. The theatrical medium allows Griffith to present the virtue of self-command and the ability to resist the social temptations of moral corruption in a way that, according to Smith, is easily accepted by an audience. Griffith's positive presentation of self-command, specifically as a virtue demonstrated by the military characters, serves as a capitulation to the popular eighteenth-century preoccupation with militarism. Linda Colley, in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, argues that British identity was "an invention formed above all by war."[406] Julia Banister writes that, in Britain, "by the end of the century, the nation wholeheartedly embraced its military men as heroes."[407] In *The Times* and *A Wife in the Right* alike, Griffith's most

[402] Elizabeth Griffith, *The Times* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1780), 49.
[403] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 11.
[404] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 97.
[405] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 361.
[406] Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation*, 5.
[407] Julia Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture, 1689-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 12.

overt presentations of virtuous masculinity are associated with militarism. These military selves act as foils to the polite cultural dilution of masculinity that was tied to luxury culture and empire in this century. Self- command, as a form of personal regulation that could counter the negative social effects of luxury culture, was also key to medical theories of the eighteenth century. For example, in Brown and Cheyne's writing eating and drinking are subject to a series of instructions for controlled consumption to maintain health.

In Griffith's plays Colonel Ramsay and Mr Belford are respectively shown not drinking alcohol. Mr Belford, a character in *The Times,* is depicted only drinking water whilst at the dining table with Sir William. Sir William, by his own admission is "no drinking man myself",[408] and yet is confused by Belford's choice of water, claiming "[i]t keeps the spirits too low."[409] Belford counters by stating that "if water does not raise, it never depresses the spirits. Can you say as much for your generous wine?"[410] George Cheyne was an advocate for drinking water writing that "*Water* is the most natural and wholesome of all *Drinks,* quickens the Appetite, and strengthens the *Digestion* most."[411] Cheyne does allow a place for wine in his healthy regimen by stating that "[t]he best *strong Liquour* for *weak* and *studious* People is *Wine.*"[412] However, he warns against the use of spirits by stating that the frequent use of them "is so far from curing *Low-spiritedness,* that it increases it, and brings on more *fatal* Disorders."[413] John Brown, in *The Elements of Medicine* (1788), makes a case for the proper use of wine and spirits as part of his system of excitability.[414] He explains how the stimulus causing, or about to cause, an imbalance in excitability and therefore illness, should be replaced and "a debilitating power should be applied, as in giving

[408] Griffith, *The Times,* 33.
[409] Griffith, *The Times,* 33.
[410] Griffith, *The Times,* 33.
[411] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 74.
[412] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 75.
[413] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 75.
[414] Brown gives the anecdotal story of a man on a deadline to exhibit the proper order and use of stimuli in a footnote – he writes: "A gentleman, engaged in a literary composition, which required an uninterrupted exertion of his mental faculties for more than forty hours, was enabled to go through it with alacrity, by supporting himself in this manner. After dining well and setting to business, he took a glass of wine every hour. Ten hours after he ate something nourishing, but sparing in quantity, and for some hours kept himself up with punch not too strong. And, when he found himself at last like to be overcome by an inclination to sleep, he changed all his stimuli for an opiate; and finished his business in forty hours. What he had wrote was now to be put to the press. He had next to watch and correct the proofs, which cost him between four and five hours further continuance of vigilance and activity. To effect this he took a glass with the Master Printer, while his men were going on with their part of the work. The succession of stimuli in this case was first food, next the stimulus of intellectual function, then wine, then the food varied, then punch, then opium, then punch and conversation." – John Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol 1. (London: J. Johnson, 1788), 20-21.

over drinking wine at the end of an entertainment, and substituting water in its place."[415] Beyond referring to the effects of alcohol on the body and the mood, Griffith also draws a social and moral line in relation to drinking in *A Wife in the Right*. Colonel Ramsay tells Lord Seaton "I don't choose to drink any more,"[416] to which Seaton asks if he is staying sober to seduce a rich dowager. Ramsay instead explains that "[w]hy even that, my Lord, though by no means my choice, I should prefer to the unmanly practice of stupefying my senses and inflaming my blood with wine."[417] Griffith, through the character of Ramsay, asserts that drunkenness and virtuous masculinity do not align.

The self-command of the Colonels is not the only signifier of virtue that Griffith uses to associate these military characters with positive masculinity. In *A Wife in the Right* Griffith matches Colonel Ramsay's virtuous qualities with the virtuous qualities of his love interest, Charlotte Melville. Ramsay tells Lord Seaton that "I have been acquainted with Miss Melville, even from her infancy, and never knew any person more intirely [sic] governed by sense, prudence, and proper affections."[418] Possessing sense and prudence indicates an ability to regulate one's passions and therefore one's social expression of feeling and passion. Smith viewed the quality of prudence as formed of "superior reason and understanding"[419] that allowed one to determine the consequences of their actions. He defined self-command as the quality "by which we are enabled to abstain from present pleasure or to endure present pain."[420] Smith explains that within the combination of reason and self- command "consists the virtue of prudence, of all the virtues that which is most useful to the individual."[421] Reason, self-command, prudence, all represent a solution to the sway of the passions and are shown, in both Griffith's dramaturgy and Smith's philosophy, as virtuous qualities. Furthermore, the fact that Griffith presents Charlotte as a character possessing prudence, and Ramsay as a character able to identify and mirror this positive quality, tells the audience or reader that these characters are intended for one another.

These characters are, unlike the antagonists or flawed characters in Griffith's texts,

[415] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol. 1., 23.
[416] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 38.
[417] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 38.
[418] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 7.
[419] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 360.
[420] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 360.
[421] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 360.

lacking a physical or metaphorical disguise; their sincere and virtuous characterisation is noted and matched by one another. Through the individually described choices of her military characters, namely abstaining from gambling and drinking, and the relationship between virtuous characters seen in *A Wife in the Right*, Griffith's Colonels represent a virtuous military masculinity. Griffith's assertion of the moral value of self-command and restraint through these characters is a sentiment found in the medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing of the eighteenth century and functions as part of the evident exploration of the self and the self in society present in Griffith's plays. In the following section, I consider the regulation, or lack thereof, of the passions in *A Wife in the Right* and *The Times* and how their physical and external expression is presented.

Feeling and Expressing the Passions in *A Wife in the Right* and *The Times*

Griffith's presentation of the performance of self focuses on artificial presentation through dress, for example the use of Governor Anderson's Indian habit, but also features 'revelatory' somatic expression. In *A Wife in the Right* Lady Seaton's serving woman, Mrs Markam is a key vessel for this vein of Griffith's commentary. This character's name indicates her powers of observation ('mark them'), and the play opens with Markam announcing that she has seen Lord Seaton deliver Charlotte a *billet doux*. While Lady Seaton does not wish to believe these rumours about the character of her newlywed husband, or her friend Charlotte, Mrs Markam is insistent and recounts her experience of a visible physical response to further her cause. Explaining how "[t]hese very eyes saw her receive a letter from him,"[422] Markam places value in empirical knowledge and stresses the validity of her claims through the fact that she was actively perceiving these events. Markam makes a triumphant point about Charlotte's response to the letter: "[s]he had no need to blush, then, if she was innocent."[423] The blush was an important sentimental expression in the eighteenth century, and there was a widespread acceptance of the association of physical and emotional feeling that the blush emblematised in the medical writing of this period. Such accounts can be seen in the work of Cheyne who clarifies the role of the emotions and the mind in the process of blushing: "[a] quick surprizing Pain of Mind acts upon the *Heart,* because the Motion of the Heart is altogether *involuntary*: So that a sudden

[422] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 3.
[423] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 3.

Constriction takes place there immediately to increase the *Pulse*."[424] The moderation of both physical and mental feeling and the somatic demonstration of this feeling is part of a broader eighteenth-century social model. Avoiding the experience of boisterous passions was reported as beneficial to the individual's health and it was also considered beneficial for the social order to avoid expressing these passions. However, it was equally beneficial to the social order to be able to categorise and 'read' the internal character through an individual's external presentation. Physical expression, such as the blush, was known to be involuntary and therefore was understood as a way to cut through the performative disguise of some social behaviour. Yet the perception of the blush did not always equate to an accurate reading of character, and Griffith demonstrates how context can affect the perceived self in this play.

Adam Smith contextualises blushing as an at times responsive act, explaining how "[w]e blush for the impudence and rudeness of another, though he himself appears to have no sense for the impropriety of his own behaviour; because we cannot help feeling with what confusion we ourselves should be covered."[425] However, Markam does not accept any sympathetic reasoning for Charlotte's blushing believing it to be sign of Charlotte's complicity in the affair. At the end of the play Griffith reveals that Charlotte was never romantically involved with Lord Seaton, and that while he did attempt to initiate an affair through the letter, Charlotte blushed from shock and distress rather than shame. Markam, however, does not know this and is intent on recounting to Lady Seaton what she perceived about Charlotte's character through her short observation. Convinced of the legibility of physical response, Markam uses an anecdote of her previous success to establish precedence. She tells Lady Seaton that "[i]t was by Dolly Sly, the housemaid's blushing, that I found out the affair between her and George the groom, last summer."[426] Markam also expresses the validity of her reading of the situation by claiming that: "I never was deceived in looks, in my life."[427] Lady Seaton is not initially convinced, telling Markam to "[d]rop your absurd comparisons."[428] Perhaps it is the insult of having her affairs likened to those of the servant classes that renders Markam's talk 'absurd' for Lady Seaton. This absurdity may also be heightened by the fact that Markam is a comedic character and a servant;

[424] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 154.
[425] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 9.
[426] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 3.
[427] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 3.
[428] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 3.

her role in the play is to elevate the stakes and further the plot while asserting her opinions freely. Griffith includes sentimental signs of the passions as part of her exploration of the social performance of the self in this scene, and in doing so points to the role of physical expression in the process of perceiving the self, correctly or falsely.

Lady Seaton decides that Charlotte must be guiltless because of her own emotional response to the accusation; Seaton explains that "my heart by sympathy assures me of her innocence."[429] Lady Seaton's perception of the characters of both her friend and her husband is put to the test through Markam's claims. The social expectation to adhere to a model of both female friendship and marital obedience tests Seaton's character and her role in her social group. The heart as the seat of feeling, distinct from the rational mind, finds frequent reference in discourses of Sensibility. In Cheyne's writing, the heart also brings together physical and emotional experience. Thus, Seaton's recourse to her 'heart's assurance' centres the passions as a proper motivation for her character. However, the fact that her heart assures her of Charlotte's innocence 'by sympathy' complicates this seemingly simple emotional response. Adam Smith's model of sympathetic feeling makes clear that sympathy is a limited experience, as, when sympathising with another person, one can only use the imagination to "form any conception of what are his sensations. Neither can that faculty help us to this any other way, than by representing to us what would be our own if we were in his case."[430] The idea of sympathy, fundamentally, being a self-reflective or even self-centred feeling builds on Griffith's individual characterisation; Lady Seaton is not able to excuse either her husband or her friend using any first-hand evidence, but she can use an emotional statement to claim her disbelief at Charlotte's guilt.

Griffith continues to explore the power of physical appearance to demonstrate internal experience and the influence of external appearance on the perception of self in social contexts in this play. Lady Seaton demonstrates concern about her husband and, hearing of his return, asks Markam "how does he look, pray?"[431] This line shows the simple association of appearance with mental and physical state, perhaps assuming that if Lord Seaton were experiencing extreme passions that his appearance

[429] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 5.
[430] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 2.
[431] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right,* 5.

would reveal this emotional turmoil to the spectator. However, Markam responds in a cavalier tone "[l]ook! Ma'am- Why just as he used to do, to be sure."[432] Clarifying that Lord Seaton has only been away ten days, Markam continues "[t]hough truly your Ladyship has moped yourself pale again, in that time."[433] Cheyne explains the connection between emotional responses and physical appearance, specifically explaining pale countenance as caused by "the Effects of *Fear* and *Anger*, which make us change Colour, and look *red* or *pale*, as the Blood is accelerated or retarded in its Course."[434] The idea of a passionate state of mind affecting the blood- flow and, therefore, the individual's appearance adheres to the theory of balanced states of excitability that John Brown also proposes. Brown's system explains that the cause of either a weak or a very quick pulse "is the same deficiency of nourishment, as well as of all the stimuli, such as that of strong drink, that of mental or corporeal exercise, and an under-proportion of blood."[435] Brown accounts for the physical in combination with the mental effects of the passions and, like other physicians in this period, states that they all need regulating to remain healthy. Griffith's inclusion of bodily indicators of the characters' mental and emotional states, however, does not end with blushing and paleness. Griffith writes specific body language into Lord and Lady Seaton's exchange that is demonstrative of their characters and the conflict central to their part of the plot. Lady Seaton offers her husband an affectionate greeting whilst "*[a]dvancing towards him",*[436] whereas Lord Seaton distances himself verbally and "*[b]ows gravely.*"[437] Their lack of physical greeting and enforced separation, due to Lord Seaton's actions, indicates the emotional distance between them. The body here serves once again as an indicator of a revealed self, a truth simultaneously below and above the disguises of clothing, language, and social performance. Griffith in her literary dramaturgy uses embodied movements and expressions of feeling to present her characters, and to contribute to a discussion about the legibility of self, and the performance of selfhood in social settings.

The Country House and the Masquerade in *The Times*

Different social performances are necessitated by different social settings and Griffith explores the impact of setting on social performance and perception in *The Times*. *The*

[432] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 5.
[433] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 5.
[434] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 155.
[435] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol. 1., 164.
[436] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 6.
[437] Griffith, *A Wife in the Right*, 6.

Times, a five-act prose comedy, considers place-bound identities tied to the country house and the town house. The play centres on the Woodleys, a married couple who are guilty of excessive spending. They are led astray by their morally corrupt 'friends' the Bromleys. Mrs. Bromley encourages Lady Mary Woodley's desire for luxurious clothes and jewellery, while Mr Bromley encourages Mr Woodley's gambling. The play begins with Mr Woodley musing that: "I cannot charge either my wife or myself with any particular extravagance. We do but live like other people of our rank."[438] This opening statement marks these characters as types, rather than individual targets of social commentary, and expands Griffith's observations on consumerism as seen in an entire rank of British society. The Bromleys offer credit as part of a longer-term plan to ruin the Woodleys and extort financial gain by sending over bailiffs. The Woodleys are in serious financial trouble, and Sir William, their rich uncle, is unwilling to help until they reform their actions and attitudes. Sir William offers the view that Mr Woodley's "repentance may merit my bounty; but my liberality shall not prevent his reformation."[439] This line can be read as a social model that Griffith is advocating for, one that she presents as potentially successful as the play concludes with the Woodleys choosing to modify their behaviour. Louisa, Mr Woodley's sister, is told by Sir William that she is to marry Mr Belford, a much older man. However, Louisa intends to marry Colonel Mountfort, and, as virtuous characters, they achieve a happy ending at the conclusion of the play with Sir William permitting their union. The fifth and final act sees the Bromleys revealed as schemers, and the Woodleys brought closer together through renouncing their excesses in favour of a modest life in their country house. The masquerade is an event that does not actually take place in the play, and the country house is referred to yet remains unstaged by the final act. The play concludes with Sir William financially assisting the Woodleys.

In *The Times* the masquerade and the country house emblematise distinct poles of society: the former representing vice and disguise, the latter natural virtue and seclusion. As Amy S. Wyngaard explains, this dichotomy was not restricted to this period, as since: "classical times, European authors and artists have developed similar metaphorical images of urban and rural existence: the country is portrayed as a place of tranquillity, morality, and edifying labor, and the city is seen as fostering indolence,

[438] Griffith, *The Times,* 7.
[439] Griffith, *The Times,* 26.

corruption, and vice."[440] Griffith's characters in *The Times* attempt to navigate between these poles, striving for an idealised balance of civilised and natural virtue. An explicit example of the eighteenth-century association of city life with dissimulation and disguise was the cultural treatment of the masquerade. Terry Castle explains how the later eighteenth-century view of the masquerade was that of "a foolish, irrational, and corrupt activity perpetrated by irresponsible people of fashion."[441] *The Times* was published in 1780, a period which saw the masquerade decline in popularity, which suggests that the anticipated occurrence of the masquerade in the play is part of an anti-masquerade rhetoric. Castle explains how "like anti- theatrical writing, anti-masquerade discourse often focused on dissimulation, finding it in the explicit sign of a society shot through with illusion and deception."[442] Nonetheless, even in the later eighteenth century, the masquerade was a socially significant event, attended by upper-class people of fashion. As both physical and metaphorical settings these spaces represent areas in which the customary social expectations aligned with the urban middle classes could be subverted and analysed. Griffith, using these settings, interrogates anxieties about the influence of social spaces on behaviour and the connection between social performance and the perceived character.

Through references in the dialogue, if not always in the staging, Griffith furnishes her drama with conceptual spaces that represent the city state of late eighteenth-century London and the vices commonly associated with these spaces. One example of this in *The Times* is the reference to Christie's Auction House,[443] where, as Lady Mary Woodley explains, "[t]here are an abundance of fine things, and, of course, fine people, to be found there. I delight in an Auction, one meets with so many things there, one never thought one wanted before."[444] Griffith's word order demonstrates Mary's ideological placement of possessions above people by listing "fine things" first. Equally, Griffith's inclusion of parenthetical commas to house the phrase "of

[440] Amy S. Wyngaard, *From Savage to Citizen: The Invention of the Peasant in the French Enlightenment* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 111.
[441] Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 2.
[442] Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 79.
[443] The famous auction house was founded in London in 1766 by James Christie and is still open (https://www.christies.com/about-us/welcome-to-christies). For a critical overview of the cultural importance and the performative aspects of auction procedure at Christie's, see Cynthia Wall's "The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, 1 (1997): 1-25, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053642.
[444] Griffith, *The Times*, 12-13.

course" further separates the "fine things" from the "fine people". The phrase "meets with so many things" also suggests the replacement of social interaction between people with, instead, the interaction between consumer and object. Griffith is criticising the social practice of excessive consumerism in this play by showing the financial and personal damages that can be caused by buying things that "one never thought one wanted before". These lines suggest a concern with the state of contemporary social interaction as driven by luxury culture and deceitful performance. Considered as indulgence and excessive, luxury was widely condemned in literature, philosophy, and medical writing of this period. For example, Cheyne expressed a confusion as to how luxury and excess could be promoted about attention to things like diet, air quality, and exercise: "'tis a Wonder to me, that here in *England*, where *Luxury* and all the Arts of *living well*, are cultivated even to a *Vice*, the Choice of Air should be so little considered."[445] Equally, Brown explored the threat of luxury culture on the health of the individual, explaining how people "who have been formerly addicted to luxury"[446] were likely to suffer from "gout, apoplexy, epilepsy, palsy, asthma and hysteria."[447] In addition to the explicitly medical understandings of luxury, the metaphor of luxury as a disease was employed in literature and philosophy of this period. Rousseau explains that "[l]uxury is a Remedy much worse than the Disease which it pretends to cure; or rather is in itself the worst of all Diseases, both in great and small States."[448] Luxury, much like the passions, was therefore categorised as a social threat, and through the use of medical metaphor was associated with the possibility of wide-spread contagion in this period. Just as Hume marked the passions as socially contagious, an affinity for luxury culture was described by Rousseau as disease-like; the pathologising of social behaviour appears common in the work of eighteenth-century philosophers. The medical metaphor or medicalised language works to bridge the gap between internal and external feeling and action, and Griffith's dramatic presentation of luxury in *The Times* marries the internal, potentially contagious aspects of this social behaviour, with the external legibility of character.

The Bromleys are the most overtly deceptive characters in this play as their social behaviour is motivated by financial gain. When they no longer stand to benefit from

[445] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 6.
[446] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol. 1., 245.
[447] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol. 1., 245.
[448] Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origins and Foundations of Inequality,* 213.

the Woodleys, the Bromleys' social behaviour changes. This shift, from disguise to revelation, is specifically related to the masquerade. The fact that at the end of the play Mrs. Bromley dismisses Mary saying: "we shall have time enough to talk over those same important matters, you know, at the Masquerade",[449] shows the thematic importance of this event. The masquerade is not just a narrative device to accentuate Mary's financial decisions, but it continues to loom over the characters as the play concludes. Mrs Bromley is particularly invested in the masquerade, an interest that identifies this character with disguise and deception. Mary, when confronted with Mrs Bromley's rudeness, turns to her sister-in-law, Louisa and asks: "[w]as there ever so sudden and extraordinary a change in any human creature!"[450] Louisa responds "'[t]is rather a discovery, than a metamorphose, my dear Lady Mary! I have long seen through Mrs. Bromley's mask— 'twas only made of gauze."[451] By revealing the explicit metaphor of the disguise with which Mrs. Bromley conceals her inner character, Griffith's commentary on social behaviour and the cultural phenomenon of the masquerade is made personal. Mrs Bromley's character is perceived by Lady Mary in the exact manner that Mrs Bromley intends; her control over how she is perceived serves as a warning against the manipulation of external signs of character that Griffith is concerned with in this drama. However, Griffith asserts that virtuous characters can see through this manipulation, and accurately perceive the selfhood of manipulative characters. The mask, as metaphor, is condemned and cautioned against in both Rousseau's philosophy and Griffith's dramatic presentation of social dissimulation in *The Times.* Rousseau reflects on the performance of the social self, considering: "how have our subtle refinements and pernicious taste reduced the art of pleasing to a mere system; it reigns in our whole behaviour."[452] Rousseau asserts the role of the social body as a signifier of, and a veil covering, one's true character. He writes: "suspicions, doubts, fears, insensibility, reserve, and hatred, nay treason too will lurk beneath this vile perfidious mask of politeness."[453] By making clear that he is proscribing the acts of performed behaviour, Rousseau is placing the focus on social performance - specifically deceitful, inauthentic performances.

Rousseau's indictment of the social shift away from the primitive natural state to the

[449] Griffith, *The Times,* 64.
[450] Griffith, *The Times,* 67.
[451] Griffith, *The Times,* 67.
[452] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse of J. J. Rousseau, which obtained the prize of the Academy of Dijon* (London: W. Richardson, 1779), 48.
[453] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse,* 50.

'civilised self' demonstrates a social anxiety surrounding the effects of this consumer culture on the individual. He writes that: "the Savage lives within himself, whereas the Citizen, constantly beside himself, knows only how to live in the Opinion of others."[454] Rousseau is here criticising the social practice of appealing to the judgement of one's peers for an affirmation of one's character. Appealing to the opinion of others can be understood as a determining factor for the fashion and clothing of the middle and upper classes in Griffith's play, and the inclusion of the masquerade further extends her commentary on this performative intent in clothing oneself. Lady Mary's costume choices indicate her hopes to present a socially approbated form of self at the masquerade. She initially intends to go to the masquerade dressed as a Sultana; however, she has sent her earrings to be embellished (not realising Mr Woodley has sold them to Mr Bromley). Mrs Bromley encourages Mary to hire some jewellery, but Mary balks at the price, saying: "[a] hundred guineas! What a sum for one night's vanity! No—I'll go as a Shepherdess."[455] This line is key to Griffith's defence of her protagonists. Mary has a definition of excess, it just happens to be inconsistent with her financial reality; she has already spent too much, but she is not completely without fiscal propriety. Therefore, Griffith presents a self who is influenced by luxury and social trends, but who is not so corrupted by these things as to be beyond the sympathy of the audience and without hope of redemption as Griffith presents it; namely fiscal moderation aligned with the country rather than the city. Griffith, in creating the Woodley characters with the potential for growth and change, is exploring the social performance of the self and the impacts of different social settings on the performance of that same self.

Mrs Bromley's response to the Shepherdess suggestion, however, appeals broadly to both Mary's sex and class to dictate her performative social behaviour. Bromley states: "[t]hat would be a disguise, indeed, in these days of martial ardour, when our whole sex have exchanged their old fashioned simplicity of dress and manners, for the military air."[456] This line comments on the cultural shift from the popularity of pastoral simplicity to a more militaristic fashion. Just as the change in fashion reflects a change in social attitudes, Griffith presents the instability of appearance, especially clothing, through the unseen masquerade. The masquerade serves as a reminder throughout the play that external appearances are not always indicative of character, but Griffith also

[454] Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origins and Foundations of Inequality*, 180.
[455] Griffith, *The Times*, 23.
[456] Griffith, *The Times*, 23.

uses dialogue to extend this metaphor beyond the visual. When Mrs Bromley sees Mary's masquerade dress, she comments on how beautiful it is, saying: "[y]ou'll look a Goddess, and you'll move a Queen!"[457] Melinda Finberg explains that this line is a mis-quotation of Pope's translation of *The Iliad,* the proper line reading: "[s]he moves a goddess, and she looks a queen."[458] Finberg notes how Mrs Bromley's "butchery of Pope's poetry suggests she is only a pretender to knowledge and culture."[459] Griffith's hints to the audience that the Bromleys are not what they appear, and that their disguises are not complete, extend to their performance of cultural knowledge. There is a discordance between the Bromleys' appearance as people of a certain rank, an appearance that implies the correct knowledge and feeling, and their internal reality as deceitful and greedy. Griffith uses this contrast to make a clear statement about the social value of legible behaviour as part of her discussion of the social self.

Griffith is critical in the presentation of the social performances of many of her characters, most overtly the deceitful behaviour of the Bromleys, and the Woodleys' adherence to a culture of luxury. Yet there is a balance to Griffith's criticism, as she also creates virtuous characters in the form of Louisa, Colonel Mountfort, and Mr Belford. Two key attributes unite these different characters: their ability to see the Bromleys' true character and their belief that the Woodleys should leave the temptations of the city for the country. All three characters explain that they 'know' the Bromleys: Louisa states that "Mrs Bromley's character is quite clear to me,"[460] and the Colonel tells Mr Woodley: "I am persuaded, Woodley, that fellow [Mr Bromley] is a knave."[461] These revelations and acknowledgements of character culminate in the final act when Mr Belford, talking about Mr Bromley, outright states that "I know that fellow to be a consummate knave."[462] Whilst Griffith engages with the idea of virtuous persons being able to spot dissembling social behaviour, there is a corresponding assertion of these characters' virtue through their positive view of the countryside. Mr Belford tells Mr Woodley that "if Lady Mary had spent more of her time in Dorsetshire, and less at Spa, Paris, and other places of dissipation and extravagance,

[457] Griffith, *The Times,* 22.
[458] Alexander Pope, *The Iliad of Homer* (Edinburgh: J. Robertson, 1773), Book III, p. 55, line 208.
[459] Melinda C. Finberg, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Women Dramatists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 338.
[460] Griffith, *The Times,* 13.
[461] Griffith, *The Times,* 43.
[462] Griffith, *The Times,* 67.

she would have been more entitled to Sir William's esteem."[463] Louisa is thrilled to tell Sir William the news that Mary "has, unsolicited by any one, resolved to give up all the gaiety and dissipation of this town, and remain in Dorsetshire till my brother's affairs are intirely [sic] retrieved."[464] The Colonel does not directly appeal to the Woodleys to move away from the town, but shares in their resolve to leave stating: "Sir William can have no objection to my being cantoned in the neighbourhood of Woodley Park, I presume?"[465] These three characters either tell the Woodleys to leave or are delighted by their resolution to do so. Griffith presents characters that are able to stay in the city without being corrupted, but distinguishes these characters by their ability to socially perceive others who may threaten their lack of corruption, while the sites of the city and the town are explored in *The Times* it is the performance of the social self and the capacity to make sense of the characters of others' through their social performances that Griffith truly explores in this play.

Mary's initial conceptualisation of their country house is simply as a place to express her status, as she explains "I own, I should delight vastly to astonish our neighbours in Dorsetshire – if we ever go there."[466] As late as the fourth act, Mary is denouncing the country house, telling Mrs Bromley: "I vow I won't go into the country- 'tis quite *mauvais ton* – except you'll come with us; and then we'll fly about to all the bathing-places, and give a masquerade at one of them."[467] Mary can only conceive of spending time in the country if she brings the luxurious excesses, the antagonist characters, and the very epitome of disguise and deceit (the masquerade) from the city with her. Yet in the final act Mary tells Mr Woodley: "[w]ith pleasure I'll renounce all the fantastic gaieties of life, and find true happiness in your society."[468] Griffith presents Mary as both turning away from false performances inspired by the city-setting and its inhabitants, and turning towards a positive, loving interaction with her husband. Despite Mary's characterisation of the country house before her and her husband's attitude change, by the end of the play the country is aligned with good marital dynamics, virtuous financial decision-making, and legible selfhood. The Woodleys decide to "go into Dorsetshire, immediately. Let us discharge half our servants, and

[463] Griffith, *The Times*, 20.
[464] Griffith, *The Times*, 62.
[465] Griffith, *The Times*, 66.
[466] Griffith, *The Times*, 13.
[467] Griffith, *The Times*, 45.
[468] Griffith, *The Times*, 58.

become patterns of oeconomy [sic] and conjugal happiness."[469] This claim adheres to the traditional and neoclassical vision of the countryside as a site of natural seclusion and virtue, and Griffith applies this trope to depict characters that are affected by their environments and the social attitudes of the period.

James Evans explores the ideas of 'Urban versus Rural' by examining William Cowper's claim that "God made the country, and man made the town."[470] Evans explains how, "[f]rom this view point, the city epitomized vice, especially luxury, while the country represented traditional virtues as well as a well-defined social order."[471] The Woodleys, by exiting the site of vice and luxury, are morally and financially reformed. Their decision is met by Sir William telling them: "the merit of your voluntary retirement into the country, is not lost upon me, I make you a present of this house, for your winter residence."[472] This ending can be read as Griffith providing a social resolution to the eighteenth-century desire for a middle ground between the site of the corrupting city, and the natural virtue, yet relative solitude, of the countryside. Griffith's call for balance between states and places is a social theory that was not restricted to an individual field of thought or writing in this period. John Brown's medical system claimed that "all life consists in stimulus, and both the over-abundance and deficiency of it is productive of diseases."[473] Cheyne also calls for a moderation between states, arguing that "to forbear or give over a just, charitable, or even generous Office of Life, from a too scrupulous Regard to Health, is unworthy of a *Man.*"[474] He continues by claiming that "on the other Hand, to cut off our Days by *Intemperance, Indiscretion,* and guilty *Passions*, to live miserably for the sake of gratifying a *sweet Tooth*, or a brutal *Itch*",[475] is equally as unworthy a choice. Brown and Cheyne's ideas that imbalanced stimuli and an incorrect attitude towards health affect the physical and mental health of an individual coincided with eighteenth-century social instruction that called for a balance between politeness and authenticity, and appearance and being. Griffith's conclusion in *The Times* sees the Woodleys offered the town house in London for the winter; they are allowed to mediate the seclusion of the country-house with limited exposure to the city. There is a social theory of balance at work in Griffith's resolution

[469] Griffith, *The Times*, 58-59.
[470] William Cowper, *The Task A Poem in Six Books* (New York: William Durell, 1796), Book 1, 32.
[471] James Evans, "Urban versus Rural," *The Encyclopedia of British Literature 1660-1789*, published online 6 May 2015, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118607268.wbebl323.
[472] Griffith, *The Times*, 72.
[473] Brown, *The Elements of Medicine* vol. 1., 33.
[474] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 4.
[475] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 4.

to the discrepancy of internal and external self as symbolised through these sites.

Griffith's investigation of selfhood, limited as it may be by the context of production and desire for commercial success, shows a belief in a more ideal state, a possibility of balance and regulation, a social purpose to the performance even of frivolity. She tempers her moral in her presentation of city and country by allowing the country house to be absconded from, at least for some of the year, and by showing that the people who bring vice to either site, through the example of the Bromleys, are moveable objects, and therefore corruption is not always site-specific. The individual becomes responsible for their reaction to trends and temptations in Griffith's drama. This exploration of the individual character and social performance as something necessarily legible is central to both Griffith's dramaturgy and this chapter. Griffith's plays reveal her sustained interest in the implications of the legible or illegible self; the idea that the performance of sociality can be weighed and valued in association with the themes of national and class identity is seen in Griffith's drama. I argue that her writing explores the topics of sociality, public performance, and legibility as part of a more fundamental exploration of the philosophy of self that corresponds with the discourses seen in, for example, Smith, Rousseau, Cheyne, and Brown's writing. *The Times* and *A Wife in the Right* feature Griffith's call for balance; balance between states found through the regulation or self-command of the passions, the denial of luxury, and the matching up of appearance and character, and place and virtue. This same desire for balance is evident in the philosophies of Smith and medical theories of Brown, in particular.

I have highlighted the presence of the social instruction of self-command advocated for by Griffith in these plays by considering *some* of the prevalent themes in these play texts: the importance of place, either England or India, or Town versus Country, London versus Dorsetshire, and the importance of appearance as seen in the use of masquerades and Indian garb and buttons. Griffith's use of both the dramatic medium and express moments of physicality allow for a reading of these texts that focusses on the somatic symbolism in her dramaturgy. In approaching two of Griffith's texts thematically using close reading and critical analysis through the application of philosophical and medical theory, I have here begun to present a contextualised and in-depth view of Griffith's literary dramaturgy. This chapter has explored Griffith's commentary on social issues of the period as a central part of her exploration of the

topic of the self in her dramas. The social issues present in Griffith's plays include the overwhelming concerns surrounding legibility of character as manifested in theatrical tropes of masquerade, disguise, and costume and clothing. Similar to Elizabeth Griffith, Elizabeth Inchbald's dramas explore some of the same domestic concerns. Inchbald, however, in her literary dramaturgy presents a further, more acerbic, commentary on marriage and demonstrates an understanding of self that partially questions the social constraints of gender. The following chapter features some thematic plot points and characters that demonstrate the recurring or enduring nature of these topical anxieties around national and class identity in the late eighteenth century. Inchbald's plays also feature the military man, the nabob, and the surrounding conversations about nationality, class, and social performance. Inchbald's focus, however, is much more centred on the idea of gender and the impacts of marriage on both men and women. The thematic comparisons that can be drawn between Griffith's and Inchbald's plays only strengthen the core idea that they, as female dramatists in the late eighteenth century, were using these tools of expression, these dramatic set pieces, and topical characters, to participate in a more fundamental conversation about self and social performance.

Chapter 4:
Elizabeth Inchbald and the Gendered Self

Elizabeth Inchbald's dramatic writing demonstrates a fascination with gender as a cultural and social performance. In this chapter I argue that Inchbald employs the themes of gender, gender confusion, and the mismatch of perception and reality to demonstrate that gender was not a stable or consistently legible social performance. In *The Widow's Vow* (1786) and *Wives as they Were, Maids as they Are* (1797) Inchbald presents marriage and gender in a critical light while navigating the formal and popular limitations of dramatic writing in this period. Inchbald's tone and focus differ from Griffith's, and the plays examined in this chapter feature both the comparable themes of national identity and military masculinity, for example, but with a more express investigation of the gendered self. Inchbald's contributions to the period's ongoing, interdisciplinary, intellectual discourse on the self can be seen in her careful commentary on, and condemnation of, the state of marriage as relates to the social treatment of people. I claim that Inchbald uses the themes identified here to explore and bring gender to the forefront of her involvement in the period's social discourses of self and social performance.

In both plays, Inchbald broadly depicts the nearly unbridgeable gulf between the expectations placed on women and the real conditions of their lives and experiences. In *Wives as they Were,* Inchbald uses the characters of Sir William and his daughter to express a certain social view of female nature. Sir William tells his friend, "[w]hat I see so near perfection as woman, I want to see perfect. *We,* Mr Norberry, can never be perfect: but surely women, women, might easily be made angels!"[476] Whilst highlighting the social, male, expectations of near divinity from women, Inchbald also acknowledges the behavioural impediments women face before they can reach this potential deified status. Mr Norberry responds by calmly noting that "if they were [angels], we should soon be glad to make them into women again."[477] Here a male character, written by a woman, recognises the masculine capacity and choice to corrupt, sexualise, or generally ground women from an elevated 'angel' to a regular woman. Throughout her dramas Inchbald uses male and female characters in her commentary on the social dynamics of gender performance. *Wives as they Were* is a

[476] Elizabeth Inchbald, *Wives as they Were and Maids as They Are* (Dublin: P. Wogan, 1797), 2.
[477] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 2.

comedy, however, the genre of the piece does not necessarily dictate the tone or subtext of the dialogue. While Norberry's lines may be dismissed as comedic repartee between the characters, his role within the play as a moderate and more modern character, in contrast to Lord Priory, supports a reading of this line as a sincere reflection on the behaviour of men towards women rather than as a joke. In this play, Inchbald negotiates the challenging landscape of gendered expectations for women in the late eighteenth century, in which they were expected to be both preternaturally 'angelic', but also permanently vulnerable to ruin. As Norberry evinces, men were in control of both states. In both *Wives as they Were* and *The Widow's Vow* Inchbald's characterisation of male and female selves work in tandem to provide her critical commentary on gender and the social aspect of its performance, and the state of marriage as related to gender and performance.

Gender and sex in the eighteenth century were terms loaded with the previous centuries' connotations and informed by shifting perceptions of appropriate social behaviour, as seen through the prescription of certain behaviours to different sexes. Katherine M. Quinsey claims that "Restoration drama is overwhelmingly concerned with questions of gender identity, sexuality, and women's oppression, to a degree and a depth not seen in a comparably popular form of entertainment before or since."[478] However, the eighteenth-century theatre was equally used as a space to explore and challenge these themes, and Inchbald's literary dramaturgy demonstrates a clear engagement with these questions. The popular shift from humoral to mechanistic understandings of disease and anatomy helped to create and reinforce the idea that men and women were entirely different beings and therefore shaped the social understandings of sex and gender in the eighteenth century. As Thomas Lacquer explains, by the late eighteenth century, "an anatomy and physiology of incommensurability replaced a metaphysics of hierarchy in the representation of woman in relation to man."[479] This separation of male and female, informed and upheld by an increasing anatomical investigation of the biological sexes, was represented in the binary gendered expectations of individual social behaviour.

In Inchbald's writing, anxieties about gender are visible in her representation and

[478] Katherine M. Quinsey, ed. *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 1.
[479] Thomas Lacquer, *Making Sex Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 6.

negotiation of military masculinity, the passions, marriage, and the metaphor of imperialism. An undercurrent to these themes is the treatment of female oppression and the gendered self. In this chapter I read Inchbald's depiction of the gendered self as a performing self as informed by Judith Butler's claim that gender can be understood as a "ritual social drama."[480] Butler's concept bears a significant resemblance to early seventeenth and eighteenth-century theories of social performance. For example, Butler explains that, similar to "other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated*",[481] and this idea can be placed side-by- side with David Hume's statement that "all reasoning concerning matters of fact arises only from custom, and custom can only be the effect of repeated perceptions."[482] While the eighteenth century saw shifts in perceptions of the individual self, the idea of custom, repetition, and context affecting the self was both espoused as logical, and served as an unsettling reminder that selfhood was not necessarily stable but was instead determined by ongoing performance(s).

In this chapter I use the theories of George Cheyne, Bernard Mandeville, David Hume, and Adam Smith. Cheyne and Mandeville were both writing earlier in the century, and by applying their work to a reading of Inchbald's plays from 1786 and 1797 I consider the persistence of certain concepts of self and gender across the century. In his *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, Vulgarly call'd the Hypo in Men and Vapours in Women* (1711) Mandeville discusses the differences between women and men and their medical needs. Mandeville argues that women, compared to men, are "more capable of both Pleasure and of Pain, tho' endued with less constancy of bearing the excess of either."[483] Similarly, Cheyne, in *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (1724), explains the differences in female and male constitutions. Cheyne sets out the popular eighteenth-century definition of women as different in their physical composition: "*Nature* has formed the Generality of the Sex, of a *soft, slender,* and *delicate Make.*"[484] Elaine McGirr notes that, prior to the eighteenth century with the Galenic and humoral models of medical understanding "[i]n literature from scientific treatises to theatrical burlesque, women were represented as inferior or imperfect

[480] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Oxon: Routledge, 1990), 191.
[481] Butler, *Gender Trouble,* 191.
[482] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (London: Thomas Longman, 1740), Vol 1, 346.
[483] Bernard Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, Vulgarly call'd the Hypo in Men and Vapours in Women* (Little Old Baily: Dryden Leach, 1711), 174.
[484] George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724), 190.

men."[485] However, as established, throughout the eighteenth century with developing theories of sex, gender, and sexuality, there was an attitude that "women were not 'lesser men' but a separate sex, man's binary opposite."[486] Both physically and mentally, women were increasingly marked as 'other' in this period, for example as Maureen Harkin identifies in Adam Smith's philosophy: "Smith continues to refer to women's ethical practice as a special and often aberrant case, characterizing female sympathy as a constitutively different and generally simpler response to events than its male counterpart."[487] In turn, Adela Pinch explains that David Hume understood gender roles, and women's social function to be such that "women's talents and sensibilities were crucial to the refinement of English society."[488] Hume's theories, therefore, adhered to models of female difference while giving this difference a social role and a value that held implications for the gendered performance of self. Throughout this chapter I examine how Inchbald presents gender as a social performance, a performance that can be understood as identified and categorised throughout the philosophical and medical theories of Mandeville, Cheyne, Smith, and Hume, and how she employs the themes of militarism, passions, marriage, and nationality to highlight the gendered experience of women in the late eighteenth century as part of her discourse on self.

Military Masculinity in *The Widow's Vow*

Referring to *The Widow's Vow* (1786), Inchbald claimed that she was "indebted for the Plot of her Piece, and for the Plot only, to *L'Heureuse Erreur*, a French Comedy of one Act, by M. Patrat."[489] Whilst her text is a translation, Inchbald's comments emphasise her own original work. Translation was an important source of income for Inchbald (and for many female writers of the period), and Ben Robertson writes that "Inchbald's adaptations – for she was to do several others – were not mere slavish translations of French or German sources. She adapted them freely."[490] Inchbald's rendering of the

[485] Elaine McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 12.
[486] McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters*, 12.
[487] Maureen Harkin, "Adam Smith on Women," in *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith*, eds. Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, Craig Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 514.
[488] Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 53.
[489] Inchbald, *Wives as They Were*, 2.
[490] Ben P. Robertson, *Elizabeth Inchbald's Reputation: A Publishing and Reception History* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 63. (Also, Lisa A. Freeman, at the R/18 collective's online roundtable on Elizabeth Inchbald (2nd August 2021), explained that Inchbald's attitude towards adaptation shows an emphasis on presenting dramas that speak to the context of production, rather than faithful word-for-word

gendered self in this play may have been informed by the original text, but her play also demonstrates her desire to express certain ideas about gender by negotiating the dominant concepts of gendered identity in the period. Despite the genre of this text, I argue that this play can be read as more than farce; the scrutiny and mocking that Inchbald applies to the tropes of the gendered and legible self in this play combine to make this scene part of her broader contribution to a discourse on self and social performances of gender.

Inchbald's *The Widow's Vow* uses the loose conceit central to Patrat's version but expands upon it and resets the action in a Spanish village.[491] The farcical form combined with a foreign setting allows for her presentation of extreme, near-caricatured characters driven by simple desires or comically severe moral standards. The play features the Countess as the eponymous widow, also notable for her youth. The Countess has vowed not to entertain any male company, excepting her uncle and her male servants, though she requires these servants to "keep out of her sight as much as possible."[492] The Countess's neighbour, Isabella, is aware of this vow but schemes to get her brother, the Marquis, an audience with the Countess. Isabella sends her servant to inform the Countess that Isabella will be dressing as her brother, the Marquis, in order to gain entrance to the house and ultimately humiliate the Countess for breaking her vow. The Countess, having been informed of this plan, therefore allows the real Marquis to enter the house as she believes that he is Isabella in disguise. Isabella's plan works so that the Marquis is allowed intimate access to the Countess, with neither the Countess nor the Marquis aware of her lies. This set up, where the Countess believes that the Marquis is a woman in disguise, allows Inchbald to comedically explore the relationship between gender, performance, and expectation. In this play Inchbald examines both masculinity and femininity as performances that largely rely on social perception.

Late eighteenth-century masculinity was informed by the social expectations of military masculinity, the figure of the honourable fighting man, and the class-driven

---

type translations).

[491] In Patrat's play the characters are slightly different with the important differences that the Countess and the Marquis also have names, the Countess is Comtesse Delfort, and the Marquis is Marquis Delval. The Don Antonio character in Inchbald's play is, in Patrat's text, Monsieur Luville and his relationship to the Countess is that of brother and not uncle. The broad plot also differs in ending, with Luville marrying Sophie, the sister of the Marquis (Isabella in Inchbald's version) as well as the Comtesse and the Marquis marrying.

[492] Elizabeth Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow* (Dublin: Byrne, Porter, and Jones, 1786), 12.

trend of politeness. Pulling at the threads of militarism, uniform, and fashion, Inchbald unravels the idea that militarism and masculinity are mutually reinforcing concepts. Immediately identifiable through their uniforms, the 'military man' was increasingly both ubiquitous and fashionable by the mid-century. The familiarity of military dress – and by extension the pervasiveness of military culture, is evident in a new set of sumptuary laws that pertained to officers: "by 1747, English officers were prohibited from wearing civilian dress in camp and garrison, whether they were on duty or not."[493] This legal imperative to visually maintain the identity of the military man can be considered reactive to the shifting fashions and attitudes that were perceived threats to the social order of the mid-to-late eighteenth century. Although military uniforms were easily legible signifiers of character, status, and nationality, they did not always serve as stable or reliable signs. Even in terms of the perceived merit that a higher rank might indicate, the military could deceive. Long- standing (and not uncontroversial) practices of buying and selling commissions began in the "thirteenth century, peak[ed] in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and die[d] out in the nineteenth century."[494] Some critics disagree with the historical record, in which it is "common to find the purchase system blamed for the excesses, foibles, and disasters of military history and seldom given any credit for victories."[495] For example, the commission system, according to H.C.B. Rogers, "worked much better than might be expected because it was generally the keen and ambitious officers who saved money to enable them to get on in their chosen career."[496] However, this system was not without its objectors, including "George I [who] disliked it intensely as detrimental to efficiency, and he tried unsuccessfully to abolish it."[497] The social identity of the officer did not, therefore, necessarily coincide with either actual military capability and bravery or with hereditary social standing.

Military rank was open to purchase, and it was not just gentlemen with family wealth who were able to buy these ranks. These realities posed a threat to the social order that held the officer to the standards of the gentleman and reinforced a corresponding legibility between clothing and character. Together with concerns about clothing,

[493] Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage & the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 92.
[494] Douglas W. Allen, "Compatible Incentives and the Purchase of Military Commissions," *The Journal of Legal Studies*, 27, no. 1 (1998): 48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/468013.
[495] Allen, "Compatible Incentives and the Purchase of Military Commissions," 46. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/468013.
[496] H.C.B. Rogers, *The British Army of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxon: Routledge, 1977), 58.
[497] Rogers, *The British Army of the Eighteenth Century*, 53.

masquerade, and disguise, the military uniform was laden with significance for social behaviour and the performance of identity. Linda Colley charts the shift from "peacock male to sombre man of action",[498] in eighteenth-century British fashion: "[a]s early as the 1780s, even peers of the realm were regularly to be seen attending the House of Lords in a costume that evoked a plain, quasi-military masculinity."[499] The adoption of military fashions was not limited to one social realm: "[w]orn on private as well as on public occasions, in the street or in the ballroom quite as much as on the parade ground or the field of battle."[500] The widespread nature of this social turn to military trends in clothing and public performances of self was met with concerns in this period surrounding the possibility of appearance and rank being disparate. This anxiety relating to the embodied performance of military masculinity is specifically seen in Inchbald's rendering of a scene of gender confusion in *The Widow's Vow.*

Inchbald foregrounds the socially performed and perceived aspect of masculinity in *The Widow's Vow* when the Marquis enters the Countess' house. In this scene Inchbald explores military masculinity by depicting clothing and uniform as unreliable social symbols of gender, specifically when met with the social construct of effeminacy. The Countess receives the Marquis into her home, believing that he is his sister, Isabella, in disguise. This plot point depends on the Marquis being plausibly confused with a woman. The Marquis, by his sister's description, is "a little too attentive to dress and etiquette, a circumstance which, with his youthful appearance, favours our design he [the Marquis] is one of the most amiable young men in the world."[501] Isabella identifies the Marquis' vanity as a signal of effeminacy, associating him with the figure of the macaroni. His character, as described by Isabella, is ambiguous enough to make her ploy at least theatrically believable. Inchbald layers dramatic irony to create a scene of gender confusion following the Marquis's entry into the Countess' house. The main instigator of this confusion is Don Antonio. Inchbald's work differs from Patrat's in her use of Don Antonio's character, who is the Countess' uncle, and his reception of the Marquis.[502] In Inchbald's play, Don

[498] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 187.
[499] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 187.
[500] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 186.
[501] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 19.
[502] In Patrat's text, the equivalent character is the Countess' brother, Luville, and he does not engage with the Marquis, instead he primarily leaves them alone. He also, later in the play, teases the Marquis about his youth, for example by asking him if he has done his homework. J. Patrat, *L'Heureuse Erreur* (Paris: Chez Brunet, 1783), 52.

Antonio first meets the Marquis *without* hearing the rumour that he is Isabella in disguise. Antonio, therefore, forms an initial opinion of the Marquis as a man, exclaiming "I don't think I ever saw a handsomer man."[503] However, after conversing with the Countess, who believes that the Marquis is Isabella in disguise, Antonio's opinion changes. Through the characters of the Marquis and Don Antonio, the play emphasises the extent to which gender depends on external perception and interpretation, rather than a fixed or innate quality. Through farce, Inchbald adopts the rough plot and generic conventions of her source material, but makes significant changes, for example in her use of Don Antonio, to create a text with more complexity and a clear discussion of the social performance of selfhood. While the play's genre informs the action, the comedic nature of the misunderstandings in this scene do not exclude them from adding critical relevance to a reading of Inchbald's discussion of the social performance of gender.

When the Countess explains her belief that the Marquis is in fact a woman in disguise and responds to Antonio with "*[m]an!* – Ha, ha, ha, I dare say he looks a little awkward?",[504] Antonio swiftly adapts his reports of the appearance and action of this "handsome man". Antonio retells the story, saying "[n]ow I think of it again, she *was* devilish awkward – and I believe wore her sword on the wrong side."[505] At this point Inchbald's discussion of gender and militarism merge, as she highlights the role of perception in the performance of military masculinity. Antonio in this line switches pronouns and focusses on the wearing of the sword, which serves as a possible phallic symbol and establishes Inchbald's association of masculinity with militarism through this double entendre. Antonio commits to his new perception of the Marquis by recounting his movements, claiming that the Marquis struck "me to be a woman the moment I laid my eyes on her – for she came up to me slipping and sliding, and tossing her head, just as the fine ladies do. (*Mimicks*)."[506] Antonio's mimicry of what he considers inherently feminine behaviours is not based on the Marquis' social performance, rather on the idea of feminine behaviour more broadly, and therefore Antonio's actions become either farcical or subversive. The farcical element of Antonio's mimicry is hinged on the fact that he is now effeminising himself based on a series of misinterpretations of character, and the subversive element centres on the fact

[503] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 26.
[504] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 26.
[505] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 27.
[506] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 28.

that Antionio therefore highlights how temporary and adoptable gendered behaviours can be, rather than innate or lasting.

Antonio, having been informed by the Countess that the Marquis is Isabella in disguise, asks probing questions of the Marquis, such as: "[d]o you think you should stand your ground in a battle. (*Laughing to himself.*)"[507] The joke that Antonio understands himself to be making is based on the association of masculinity with physicality and conflict. Antonio and the Countess understand this joke, but the Marquis takes this as an insult on what he perceives to be his clear performance of masculinity. Through Antonio and the Countess's perception of the Marquis as a woman, the Marquis' status as a military man is negated by their characterisation of his gender. Effeminacy was considered a social threat in Britain in the eighteenth century as the concept expressed the idea that 'strong' masculinity could be corrupted or replaced by 'weak' femininity. The social anxiety around the national characterisation of masculinity related to the concern around British military power and the maintenance of the empire. As Julia Banister argues, the desire to "embody the militia reveals the mid-century's enthusiasm for embodying a notion of masculinity that could combat the ever-present threat of national decline via the slippery slope of 'politeness' into the abject abyss of effeminacy."[508] This was both an international and a domestic concern, as on a national level "[w]hat seems to have been at stake was the need for society to shore up an aristocratic, patriarchal system facing challenge from all quarters by drawing ever sharper lines between men and women."[509] While Inchbald's adaptation of Patrat's farce is not set in Britain, and remains deeply farcical, her choice to translate and rework this play to highlight the social performance of gender evidently taps into an eighteenth-century national concern with sex and gender. Furthermore, the eighteenth-century social reinforcement of the defining differences between men and women was being enacted across many discourses and mediums including medical and philosophical writing.

There was an emphasis in seventeenth and eighteenth-century popular thought on the separate qualities of men and women as, respectively, strength and beauty. Bernard Mandeville, for example, claimed that for men "[w]e are of a stronger, but they

[507] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow*, 35.
[508] Julia Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture 1689-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 5.
[509] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London: Routledge, 1999), 146.

[women] of a more Elegant composure, and Beauty is their attribute as Strength is ours."[510] The social emphasis on appearance and beauty as related to gender were complicated further by theories like Hume's surrounding the role of beauty as a social construct. Hume argued that "from considering that beauty, like wit, cannot be defin'd, but is discern'd only by a taste or sensation, we may conclude, that beauty is nothing but a form, which produces pleasure."[511] Hume's account of beauty refers to beauty in the broadest sense, not just in reference to the appearance of the individual, however, he explains that beauty or deformity is closely related to self, which he considers "the object of both these passions. No wonder, then, our own beauty becomes an object of pride, and deformity of humility."[512] The perceptive element of social performance is highlighted in Hume's philosophy as the process is defined in relation to the individual performing, in this case representing an idea of beauty, and the observer witnessing this. In *The Widow's Vow,* Inchbald's characterisation of the Marquis' vanity suggests that he cares about his appearance more than his strength, which, using Mandeville's definition of gendered difference, stands in defiance of normative masculinity, and is used in the play as a justification for the ease with which the other characters perceive his gender. Furthermore, the way that Antonio's attitude changes towards the Marquis, and his memory and report of the Marquis' action and appearance, is demonstrative of the susceptibility of these concepts to outside influence. Inchbald presents the observer (Antonio and the Countess) with the power to determine the performer's gender (the Marquis) via their perception of several elements of context and performance.

Inchbald demonstrates the lack of clarity or stability present in the process of performing and perceiving the gendered self when Antonio continues to make pointed remarks about the juxtaposition of the Marquis' 'military masculinity' and his 'effeminate' self. Antonio believes that he is making jokes directed to the awareness of all in the room; jokes based on the assumption of gender as a stable category. Antonio informs the Marquis that "I can't help laughing to think what a pretty soldier you would make – You look vastly like a soldier to be sure. – Ha, ha, ha."[513] The fact that the Marquis' "look[s] vastly like a soldier" relates to his physical figure and his military dress, including the sword. Antonio, having referred to the Marquis as a "pretty soldier" informs him that he should "like to command a whole regiment of you

[510] Mandevillle, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, 174.
[511] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* Vol 2, 43.
[512] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* Vol 2, 41-42.
[513] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow*, 35.

– and I would go upon some new atchievements [sic]."[514] He continues with his fantasy female militia, explaining:

> say the enemy were Hottentots, I would undertake to poison them all by the scent of perfumes from my army – or in case of a repulse, would engage at any time to raise a mist, and escape pursuit, only by commanding every man to shake his head, and discharge the powder.[515]

Through the vivid sensory imagery of perfume and hair powder, Inchbald uses the props and performances of femininity to explore several things at once, including the performance of military masculinity against which Antonio's description of effeminacy is placed, and the importance of clothing and perception in the social reading of the individual. Although on an initial reading the perfumed and wigged female army that Antonio describes seem to be physically embodying 'feminine' fashions, it is also possible to attribute these fashions to eighteenth-century men. The wig in eighteenth-century Britain, as I analysed in Baillie's *The Tryal*, was an accessory that could accentuate or diminish a man's status and held connotations about the wealth and character of the wearer. Furthermore, perfumes were worn by men in this century albeit with a differing focus from fashion to health. While, as William Tullet explores in *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense* (2019), smell and physical health were less closely associated by the eighteenth century, there was a history of belief in the correspondence of smell and health or disease and men and women alike were concerned about how they smelled. By the end of the eighteenth-century the macaroni was a figure likely to wear perfume, and so the social meaning of men wearing perfume became increasingly contentious for some.[516] Antonio does not refer to essentialised characteristics, rather to fashions and appearances that were feminised but not only performed by women, as wearing wigs, wig powder, and perfume were all performed by men and women in the eighteenth century. Antonio's joke, therefore, further expands Inchbald's exploration of the importance of context and perception in the construction and performance of gender. The gendered self in Inchbald's dramas is something open to debate and exploration, and her use military themes, for example the uniform and sword, demonstrate an examination of both femininity *and*

[514] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 36.
[515] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 36.
[516] William Tullet, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 196.

masculinity. Using the example of the military man who is rendered a woman simply through his vanity and the Countess and Don Antonio's belief that he is Isabella in disguise, Inchbald uses the extreme ends of the farce genre to thoroughly explore the gendered self.

Passions in *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as they Were*

Inchbald does not restrict her dramatic exploration of gender to the external fashions and performances of, for example, the military man or the gentlewoman. In both plays, Inchbald considers the social performance of gender as seen through the passions. The passions held certain similarities to Inchbald's presentation of gender as they were both physically, verbally, and socially enacted and subject to the perceptive response of the observer. Inchbald depicts the regulation of passions as positive, and the failure to do so as a sign of a moral lassitude or insufficient adherence to virtuous action, and the moral dimension of the passions (also a key concern in Baillie's dramas, for example) was a social topic addressed in medicine and philosophy. The concept of restraining the passions with reason was increasingly aligned with ideas of healthiness and happiness in the eighteenth century. Cheyne, for example, insists that the passions "have a greater Influence on *Health* and *Long Life*, than most People are aware of."[517] The connection between the passions and bodily health also extends into discussions of virtue and 'moral health'. Mandeville, in *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), subverts the idea of self-restraint equating to a public act of virtue, instead he famously argued that private vice could operate for the public benefit by representing the operations of a burgeoning capitalist system in his poem *The Grumbling Hive* (1705). Mandeville explains how leaders have historically endeavoured "to make the People they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his Appetites, and much better to mind the Publick than what seem'd his private Interest."[518] Mandeville's social theorising explained how individual indulgences drive industry, and can raise the reputation and power of a state. Despite his controversial opining on the distance between self-control and social morality, Mandeville's ideas were a powerful influence on theories of self-governance over the passions. Mandeville's "abstract moral arguments about the primary sources of virtue and justice, rather than the criticism of

[517] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 144.
[518] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (London: J. Roberts, 1714), 24.

any particular persons, groups or institutions, inspired the intensely hostile reactions of so many of his immediate contemporaries."[519] The backlash did not do anything to fundamentally remove Mandeville's arguments from public discussion, in fact quite the opposite, by the end of the century there was still a notable call for the individual to regulate their passions in a performance of controlled public selfhood, a performance that was cautiously deemed virtuous. This is seen in dramas like those written by Inchbald, Baillie, Griffith, and More where each playwright respectively uses the passions as a tool for social instruction presenting examples of both self-restrained and virtuous characters, and indulgent, overly passionate, villains or heroes brought to ruin. The passions were a topic of social consideration as they placed external appearance and internal character either at odds or as corresponding parts, therefore the passions, just like gender, could be socially performed and read. I posit that Inchbald's examination of the gendered self in these plays is informed by the moral and social importance of the passions.

For example, at the start of *The Widow's Vow* Inchbald reinforces the Countess' virtue through her ability to regulate her passions. Jerome, a male servant, informs Flora, a new serving maid, of her mistress's vow and character. Jerome states that "[s]he is the best tempered creature – and were it not for her aversion to us men, she would not have a fault."[520] The Countess' regulated passions are highlighted here, and her only fault, in the eyes of a male character, is her lack of interest in men. Flora enquires as to the cause of the Countess' vow, and Jerome responds: "I'll tell you, Flora, if it won't make you melancholy."[521] Flora, however, responds with the claim that "I like a melancholy story – I like dearly to cry, when it is not on my own account."[522] The fact that Flora likes to cry when it is not for herself indicates that Inchbald is here satirising sensible feeling and the performance of sympathy. Flora positions the act of hearing this sad story as something of personal benefit to herself; she will enjoy crying over it. By not regulating her own passions, Flora is positioned as less morally robust than the Countess and is revealed to be willing to indulge the emotional and physical experience of crying over someone else's story. Inchbald, in

[519] E.J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21.
[520] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow*, 10. (In *L'Heureuse Erreur* the line is "Elle est bonne… bonne par excellence; & sans son aversion pour tous les hommes, ce seroit une femme absolument parfait" Patrat, *L'Heureuse Erreur,* 3).
[521] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 10.
[522] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow,* 10.

these lines, employs eighteenth-century theories of sympathy, especially as seen in Hume and Smith's notably theatrical depiction of sympathetic observation. Smith describes the sympathetic process by offering the caveat that the individual's imaginative capacity can never substitute empirical experience. Therefore, a reason for feeling pleasure or relief at another's distress can also be read as a by-product of the imaginative restrictions on one's sympathetic feeling: "[t]hough our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers."[523] Despite addressing the obstacles to sympathetic feeling, fundamentally Smith's concept of sympathy dwells on the idea that, despite imaginative restraints, witnessing another's pain causes the spectator pain. Whereas Hume's sympathetic theory allows for the concept of relational feeling that Flora expresses in this play. In Book Two of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* he states that observing another's "pleasure naturally gives us pleasure, and therefore produces pain when compar'd with our own. His pain, consider'd in itself, is painful to us, but augments the idea of our happiness, and gives us pleasure."[524] Smith and Hume's relative ideas about sympathy and passionate response centre on the relationship between observer and observed, and I argue that Inchbald draws on the process of observation and expectation to explore gender in these plays.

Wives as they Were is a play in which Inchbald loosely addresses the theme of empire and expressly considers male tyranny in marriage. Sir William, the returning nabob, does not reveal that he is the father of Maria, the female protagonist, until late in the play, having been absent for long enough that she does not recognise him on his return. William is distressed by the behaviour of his daughter, namely her gambling and her disdain for him, but decides not to address these concerns, instead choosing to return to India. Before he can leave, however, Maria is arrested by her creditors. William pays the bail and, after seeing her loyal response to a father she barely knows, eventually reveals to her that he is her father. The play also focusses on the marital dynamic between Lord and Lady Priory, and Mr Bronzely's attempts to seduce, and sexually harass, Lady Priory. Lady Priory is a victim of her husband, but remains calm in the face of Bronzely's harassment, explaining her loyalty to Lord Priory. Despite Bronzely kidnapping her, her loyalty to a tyrannical husband is 'rewarded' and she returns unscathed, however, this element of the plot demonstrates the limited choices

[523] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 2.
[524] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol 2, 176.

that women are presented with regarding their relationships with men. Inchbald ends the play with a conversation about marriage and the ominous final line: "[a] maid of the present day shall become a wife like those --- of former times."[525] While ostensibly distinguishing 'the present day' from 'former times' based on the treatment of women, Inchbald also suggests that the modern liberties that 'maids' may have experienced, even in a limited form, will inevitably be ceded to the former model of complete subjugation via marriage. The idea that women will become wives, just as generations of women have before them, is presented as a traumatic legacy within the context of Inchbald's presentation of marriage in this play. Gender, and the passionate expression of self are explored in *Wives as they Were* and this is explicitly seen in the treatment of the father- daughter relationship of Maria and William, and the married relationship between Lord and Lady Priory.

Maria's financial troubles in this play evoke passionate displays of feeling from Maria and those close to her. In line with the sentimental modes of expression made popular in literature of the mid-century Inchbald's characters are frequently in tears. Maria's financial excess leads to an excess of passionate response veering into the tropes of sensible somatic expression. Gillian Skinner argues that: "sensibility manifests itself again and again economically and in situations of financial delicacy and exigency."[526] Skinner's observation holds true for Inchbald's drama and this relationship between sentimental expression and money is particularly evident in a scene where Maria is chased by her creditor and hides in Sir William's apartments. Maria appeals to her father stating "I have but one friend --- but one relation in the world --- and he is far away. [*weeps.*] *[Sir* William *wipes his eyes.*"[527] Both characters are shown as passionate and sentimental in this scene, and William must remind himself, after having sent his daughter to jail, that "this is justice --- this is doing my duty --- this is strength of mind --- this is fortitude — – fortitude. [*He walks proudly, then throws his head into his handkerchief, going off.*"[528] William applies a moral code to his actions, and experiences a passionate and emotional response stemming from the guilt that he feels. The correspondence between moral and somatic feeling is outlined in Cheyne's

[525] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 64.
[526] Gillian Skinner, *Sensibility and Economics in the Novel, 1740-1800 The Price of a Tear* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 1999), 1.
[527] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 46. Also in this scene William reads out the writ and refers to Miss Dorrillon as "Elizabeth Dorrillon" (45) but in the first scene Norberry refers to her as Maria (1). (The printed text lacks the closing bracket, so I have quoted it as such here).
[528] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 46. (Again, the printed text lacks the closing bracket, so I have quoted it as such here).

medical writing from earlier in the century when he explains that although the physical symptoms caused by passions can be treated, "*preventing* or *calming* the Passions themselves, is the Business, not of Physick, but of *Virtue* and *Religion*."[529] William's physical actions in this scene are motivated by the passions of love and guilt, and Inchbald explores the idea that virtue can combat the effects of the passions through William's appeals to morality. However, William's tears evidence the emotional complexity of his position where his duties as a public citizen sit at odds with his obligations as a father in a manner reminiscent of Mandeville's claims about public virtue and private vice. These expressions of feeling are not only tied to health and virtue, but also to the gendered performance of social selfhood.

The eighteenth-century 'father' was frequently used by authors and dramatists, including Inchbald, in their writing as an emblem of paternalism and domestic patriarchal power. The tenderness that sentimentality made popular did not necessarily stand in contradiction with the traditional power of the father. As can be seen in the example of Maria, "[p]aternal tenderness as duty and consolation prize creates in the daughter a double bind of gratitude and humiliation."[530] While it has been critically acknowledged that the influence of sentimentalism in this period affected paternal expressions of power, the ability to ensure further familial duty "helps to explain why the ideal of paternal tenderness was readily adopted, since it threatened neither social nor gender relations."[531] Inchbald's depictions of William's passions, and his emotional connection to his daughter, do not match his treatment of her. His character seems caught between the traditional expressions of distant paternal power and the sentimental, weeping, tenderness that was at once fashionable and satirised in this period. Inchbald also explores the gendered role of the daughter, and the value of devotion to a parental figure, in this play. Despite William's distance and deceit, in a scene where he comes to pay Maria's bail, he is moved to tears by her devotion to a father she has never really known. Maria claims "I shall be happy in this prison, indeed I shall, so I can but give a momentary relief to my dear, dear father",[532] at which point "*Sir* William *takes out his handkerchief.*"[533] This scene features the most blunt

[529] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life*, 171.
[530] Caroline Gonda, "Sarah Scott and "The Sweet Excess of Paternal Love"," *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900* 32, no. 3 (1992): 513. https://doi.org/10.2307/450919.
[531] Joanne Bailey, "Paternal power: the pleasures and perils of 'indulgent' fathering in Britain in the long eighteenth century," *The History of the Family* 17, no. 3 (2012): 327. https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2012.658262.
[532] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 57.
[533] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 57.

demonstrations of sentimental affect: William weeps at the loyalty that Maria demonstrates, and Maria faints on hearing that he is her father.

Cheyne's medical theory explains the causes of fainting, blushing, and extreme sentimental expression as a process in which the passions affect the nerves and the animal functions of a person. He writes "[t]he *acute Passions,* whether *pleasurable* or *painful,* have much the same *Effect,* and work much after the same *Manner* as *Acute Diseases* do."[534] Equating passions with diseases is evident in Hume's philosophy wherein he argues that "[b]odily pains and pleasures are the source of many passions, both when felt and consider'd by the mind; but arise originally in the soul, or in the body, whichever you please to call it."[535] Hume places mind and body in correspondence and situates the passions as separate from bodily pain and pleasure, but with an understanding that they work in conjunction; the body could cause passions, and passions could cause bodily responses. Inchbald codes the gendered relationship between father and daughter as both constructive and destructive in this scene; she depicts the distressing bodily effects of the passions through the characters weeping and Maria fainting, but she also includes the reuniting effects of the passions of love and tenderness. It is when William, for the first time in the play, acknowledges Maria in front of her and addresses her as "[m]y daughter! my child!",[536] that she revives. Maria exhibits proper filial duty despite the neglect she has experienced from her father, and the restorative effects of tenderness and acknowledgment. Inchbald may criticise the absentee nabob father figure in this play, but she nonetheless demonstrates the positive effects of filial duty and paternal tenderness for both parties as part of the resolution of the drama. Through the passions, as sentimentally enacted and presented as one part of a social performance of gender, Inchbald explores the gendered power dynamic between father and daughter.

Inchbald's exploration of paternalism, patriarchy, and passions is also seen in her characterisation of Lord and Lady Priory. Inchbald associates marriage with harmful male behaviour and passions and explores this through homosocial conversation surrounding Lord Priory's temper. When Sir William, and in extension the audience, first meets Lord Priory, his temper and his treatment of his wife are foregrounded. In

[534] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 153.
[535] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* Vol 2, 3.
[536] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 58.

this scene "Mr Norberry insistently questions Lord Priory on his severity, whereas Sir William expresses enthusiasm for such strict regulation. The audience, therefore, is witness to a debate which lays out positions for and against domestic tyranny."[537] Priory tells Norberry "[s]o I am still – apt to be hasty and passionate - but that is rather of advantage to me as a husband – it causes me to be obeyed without hesitation – no liberty for contention, tears, or repining."[538] His indulgence in the passions of anger and hastiness both broadly restrain Lady Priory by keeping her fearful in her role as wife but also physically restrain her as Lord Priory's passions prevent even her tears. Through these characters, Inchbald comments on gendered social behaviour and customs both in terms of marital dynamics and in terms of gendered passionate expression. Lord Priory further acknowledges that "I am passionate – I am precipitate – I have no command over my temper. – However, if a man cannot govern himself, yet he will never make any very despicable figure, as long as he knows how to govern his wife."[539] The social attitude about gendered passions that Inchbald highlights here is that men and husbands, regardless of how irrational and passionate they may be, are treated with more leniency than women who are passionate; that husbands ought to 'govern' their wives and by extension the passionate expressions of their wives. Hume's influential *Treatise of Human Nature* also prioritises male expression, he writes: "the husband first engages our attention; and whether we consider him directly, or reach him by passing thro' related objects, the thought both rests upon him with greater satisfaction, and arrives at him with greater facility than his consort."[540] Both Hume and Inchbald address the social responsibility and visibility of the husband character in marriage and in society. Where Hume is content to dismiss wives as a lesser object of attention, Inchbald pursues their experiences and emotional lives. What Inchbald highlights, through her treatment of the gendered passions, is the judgement of the wife and *her* behaviour, even when understood through the lens of male superiority and control.

Marriage in *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as they Were*

Marriage is both an explicitly treated plot point in these plays, and a thematic

[537] Daniel O'Quinn, "Scissors and Needles: Inchbald's "Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are" and the Governance of Sexual Exchange," *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 2 (May, 1999): 113. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068646.
[538] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4-5.
[539] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 42.
[540] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* Vol 2, 59.

undercurrent throughout Inchbald's dramaturgy. Names and titles are key to the foregrounding of marriage and the married, gendered, selves of the women in these plays. In the titles of *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as they Were, Maids as they Are* the female characters seem semiotically primed to be protagonists, yet they are primarily and overwhelmingly defined by their relationships to men, sex and gender, and marriage. Carole Pateman, in *The Sexual Contract*, asserts that the history of the social contract "is treated as an account of the creation of the public sphere of civil freedom. The other, private, sphere is not seen as politically relevant. Marriage and the marriage contract are, therefore, also deemed politically irrelevant."[541] More recent scholarship has placed significant emphasis on Habermas' definitions of public and private spheres, and there have been many studies on marriage in this period, however, Pateman's claim about how the social contract was originally presented and analysed remains an influential account. Although historically discussions of the social contract are filled with male voices and male-dominated ideologies of public behaviour, the theatre, and female playwrights, served to contribute their responses to these ideas and their own theories of sociality. According to Anne K. Mellor, female playwrights were often expressly political in their use of "their dramatic writings to challenge a dominant patriarchy by providing counter-examples of "a new woman," a rational, compassionate, merciful, tolerant, and peace-loving woman better equipped to rule the nation than the men currently in power."[542] The benevolent and patient wife was one figure that eighteenth-century female playwrights could employ to further the cause of the 'new woman'. Specifically, in Inchbald's case her "only solution to the agonies of marital incompatibility, mutual distrust, betrayal, and patriarchal tyranny is an ineffective placebo: a call for tolerance and forgiveness within marriage which only her female characters seem able to answer."[543] While *The Widow's Vow*, a short farce, ends with the comedic trope of marriage, *Wives as they Were* features an established marriage that Inchbald presents as merciless on the part of the husband. The centrality of marriage plots to theatre of this period serves to also highlight the fact that marital dynamics and the respective definitions of men and women as husbands and wives were tied to the broader definitions of gender and citizenship in this period as an overarching concern in the theatre.

[541] Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 3.
[542] Anne K. Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation Women's Political Writing in England, 1780-1830* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 39.
[543] Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*, 68.

The figure of the independent man was, according to Matthew McCormack, key to an eighteenth-century shared public conception of British citizenship. McCormack notes that whilst eighteenth-century ideas of independence could be read as representing selfish individualism, at the time "[t]he idealised figure of the 'independent man' was instead long held up as the epitome of manliness, citizenship, and national character."[544] This male independence, however, stood in direct social and legal contrast with female dependence. Dependence was not only assumed, but legally reinforced in this period, as can be seen from the legal term for a married woman: *feme covert*. 'Coverture', which described a woman's status at law once married, stemmed from "the common law idea that during marriage a husband's authority and legal identity covered his wife's."[545] Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), explains that "[i]n the civil law the husband and wife are considered as two distinct persons."[546] Whereas common law "in general considers man and wife as one person, yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered; as inferior to him, and acting by his compulsion."[547] Although Blackstone explains how English law could offer women protection in marriage by asserting the culpability of husbands for their wives' actions, it was not the case that the common or civil laws of eighteenth-century England were generous to women. In *Wives as they Were,* Inchbald represents and indicts the legal non-status of wives and the unity of the married couple. Mr Bronzely, having attempted to secure a meeting with Lady Priory alone, is shocked to find Lord Priory also in attendance. He has told Lady Priory that he will tell her a secret and states "[y]ou promised no one should know it but yourself",[548] to which she replies, talking about Lord Priory, "[h]e is *myself.*"[549] Lord Priory asks "[h]ow, Mr. Bronzely, did you suppose she and I were two?",[550] and acknowledges that this attitude was not necessarily fashionable in this period, by further asking "[d]id you suppose, Sir, we lived like persons of fashion of the modern time? Did you imagine that a woman of her character could have a wish, a desire, even a thought, a secret from her husband?"[551] Inchbald takes this common law to its full

[544] Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 1.
[545] Tim Stretton and Krista J. Kesserling, eds. *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2013), 4.
[546] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England Book the First* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765), 432.
[547] Blackstone, *Commentaries Book 1*, 432.
[548] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 40.
[549] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 40.
[550] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 40.
[551] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 40.

interpretation, helping to satirise the figure of Lord Priory, but also creating a troubling spectacle, certainly for a modern audience, of the potential social and legal dominance of a husband in this period.

Lady Priory demonstrates no uncertainty about her position as a woman and as a wife, claiming that as a woman "I was born to be the slave of some of you – I make the choice to obey my husband."[552] While Lady Priory is depicted as making choices, she is not a liberated character. Inchbald highlights the limitations of the choices available to women, and the irony of being able to choose marital subjugation as a preferential state to the lack of protection that unmarried women faced in society. Furthermore, the phrasing and understanding of the wife as a slave was not restricted to the later eighteenth century, the same idea is also seen in earlier writing, for example in Mandeville's *The Virgin Unmask'd* (1709). This text features Mandeville's dialogues about love, marriage, and morals. In *The Virgin Unmask'd* the unmarried Lucinda tells her niece that she dislikes men because: "[t]hey have Enslaved our Sex: In Paradice, Man and Woman were upon an even foot; see what they have made of us since: is not every Woman that is Married, a Slave to her Husband."[553] While Mandeville uses the dialogue format to investigate this opinion and later mitigate against the starkness of its phrasing, the observation of female dependence and oppression was made by male as well as female authors. Discourses on the wife's disadvantage in marriage were current in both early and later eighteenth-century texts including Inchbald's dramas. Inchbald, in *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as they Were*, presents both the 'enslaved' figure of the wife and the comparative freedom of the widow to consider the gendered experience of women in their social relationships to men.

As a fundamentally gendered expression, a widow's vow demonstrates how, respective to unmarried women or wives, the widow, especially the wealthy widow, had greater opportunity to self-define and chose her actions in a period that commonly defined women as enslaved by men. As Lila Geller explains, the Renaissance saw a "response to issues of both remarriage and the validity of vows [that] had been complicated by polemical religious controversy."[554] The widow's vow only held an

[552] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 40.
[553] Bernard Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd*: *Or, Female Dialogues Betwixt and Elderly Maiden Lady, and her Niece, on several Diverting Discourses on Love, Marriage, Memoirs, and Morals &c. of the Times* (London: J. Morphew, 1709), 127.
[554] Geller, "Widows' Vows," 287.

important place in the plot when the woman had money or property, and these things had generally been bestowed upon the woman by her husband: "[t]he vow of the propertied widow to remain unmarried is an expression of power, but whose?"[555] In *The Widow's Vow,* the Countess experiences a transition from freedom to coverture by the end of the play, and she does this through a second vow: the marriage vow. Women's relationship to vows and oaths was vexed in this period: "[w]omen, excluded from most of the public functions that evoked oaths from men, had few arenas in which their strong words had consequence. One was the large class of marriage vows."[556] Whilst the legally binding vow of the marriage oath was distinct from the trope of the widow's vow, the social weight that these respective vows held and their influence on the public view of women in their roles as wives or widows was used in the theatre to create dramatic conflict. In *The Widow's Vow* Inchbald's widow and her vow sit within a history of dramaturgical renderings of marriage and its social implications.

Inchbald, however, does not make her widow's vow a symbol of female liberty. The play's commentary on the role of women in marriage instead culminates in a depiction of how easily female autonomy could be overruled by men. *The Widow's Vow* ends with Antonio stating that "there is but *one* vow a woman is authorized to take",[557] efficiently removing the authority of the widow's vow trope in this play, and instead referring his niece, and by proxy the wider female audience, to the marriage vow, "[a] vow to LOVE, HONOUR, and OBEY."[558] Paula R. Backscheider argues that Inchbald's use of marriage for the resolution of several of her plays "is in harmony with the dominant temper of the time, but also troubling because of the nature of her heroines and the inclusion of blunt, diagnostic lines."[559] Mellor also takes issue with the use of the comedic generic trope of marriage at the end of Inchbald's plays, noting that "Inchbald's portraits of marital reconciliation and enduring domestic affection- painted as they are against the backdrop of tyrannical or philandering husbands, or rigorous and unrelenting fathers- may be profoundly ironic."[560] The blunt lines that

[555] Geller, "Widows' Vows," 287.
[556] Lila Geller, "Widows' Vows and "More Dissemblers Besides Women"," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991): 289. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24322101.
[557] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow*, 46.
[558] Inchbald, *The Widow's Vow*, 46.
[559] Paula R. Backscheider, "Retrieving Elizabeth Inchbald," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre 1737-1832,* eds. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 615.
[560] Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*, 66.

Backscheider refers to include Inchbald's reminder that "[a] maid of the present day shall become a wife like those --- of former times."[561] Inchbald ends her play with reference to the inescapable cycle of male dominance and female dependence enforced through marriage demonstrating the troubling or ironic image that Backscheider and Mellor identify, and presenting an indictment of a social institution while working within the boundaries of the comedic genre. Inchbald's prominent featuring of the marriage contract, through the title, action, and specifically these explicit last lines of the play, serves as a pointed placement of the married dimension of social identity into the period's public discussion of self and gendered social behaviour.

"Inchbald's domestic comedies focus on domestic tyranny, specifically the plight of the *married* woman"[562] and her plays demonstrate an interest in the state of marriage for both husbands and wives. In *Wives as they Were,* Inchbald offers the audience a truly unsettling image of male power in marriage, through the character of Lord Priory. At the start of the play, the Priorys are invited to stay at Mr Norberry's house due to the damp in their own house. Lord Priory tells Norberry that he does not wish to stay at a married man's house "because I am married myself: and having always treated my wife according to the ancient mode of treating wives, I would rather she should never be an eye-witness to the modern household management."[563] Priory's objection to 'modern' household management is that it stands in contrast with his version of classical modes of marital behaviour, which, in Priory's view, include preventing his wife from having guests or attending events; not permitting her to smile at other men or dance with them; and dictating her daily routine (retiring at ten at night and rising at five in the morning) - if she oversleeps Priory locks her in the room alone all day.[564] Priory's behaviour as a husband is notably similar to Mandeville's depiction of paternal behaviour in *The Virgin Unmask'd* when he writes: "he lock'd her up, and treated her with so much rigour for several Months, that at last she fell Sick ; and when nobody expected she would live, the Father, repenting of his Severity, only shew'd abundance of Sorrow."[565] This figure of the tyrannical father is mirrored in Inchbald's depiction of the impassioned husband character (Priory admits his passion of anger to his peers), tying together the varied but enduring public tropes of male aggression and

[561] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 64.
[562] Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation,* 64.
[563] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 4.
[564] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 5-6.
[565] Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd*, 40.

dominance seen in the behaviour of husbands and fathers towards their wives and daughters in the eighteenth century. Whilst Inchbald's writing condemns the tyranny of either father or husband, she takes her criticism further by developing the broader debate between classical and 'modern' models of marriage in this play.

When Sir William observes that "[t]he ancients, I believe, were very affectionate to their wives",[566] Priory retorts: "[a]nd they had reason to be so: for their wives obeyed them. The ancients seldom gave them the liberty to do wrong: but modern wives do as they like."[567] Inchbald's use of the ancient versus modern discourse regarding marital dynamics serves to satirise the behaviour of Lord Priory, and men like him, by placing this example into a larger discourse focussing on neoclassical and 'modern' ideas. Debates between "the ancients and the moderns, the *querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, over which sort of knowledge was superior – traditional or discovered" animated discussions throughout the eighteenth century.[568] As Tita Chico argues, these debates "reveal that positive attitudes towards modernity emerged fitfully and unevenly, in no small part because modernity demanded a reconsideration and redefinition of authority and evidence."[569] The influence of classical models of knowledge, as well as the styling of ancient philosophy and drama, was especially seen in the popular medical writing of the eighteenth century. The classical was not always accepted, sometimes standing as a point of contention against which physicians could further expound their medical discoveries, but it was nonetheless an enduring point of reference for a variety of thinkers in this field. Mandeville makes clear his classical influences in his *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions,* explaining that he has "done the same as *Seneca* did in his *Octavia,* and brought my self upon the Stage."[570] Mandeville is referring to the fact that he has actively written himself into his medical text as a character, a text that takes the form of dialogues between physician and patients, in order to foreground his own knowledge. Inchbald, referring to a popular trend of (neo)classicism in *Wives as they Were*, places the 'comedic' example of male and female marital interactions into the ancient versus modern debate, a debate that began to fundamentally question epistemological systems and beliefs relating to gender, power, and social behaviour.

[566] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[567] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[568] Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 6.
[569] Chico, *The Experimental Imagination*, 6.
[570] Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions,* xi.

Hearing Priory describe his treatment of his wife, Sir William asks "[d]oes not this draw upon you the character of an unkind husband?"[571] To which Priory responds: "[t]hat I am proud of. Did you never observe, that seldom a breach of fidelity in a wife is exposed where the unfortunate husband is not said to be "the best creature in the world!"[572] Throughout the play, Priory prioritises his power over his wife above the public perception of his behaviour, acknowledging his passionate anger, temper, and 'unkind' character without embarrassment. The power that Priory holds is, to some extent, determined by Lady Priory and the issue of fidelity highlights the potential for Lady Priory to affect the status of Lord Priory. His emphasis on controlling his wife is underpinned by what that dominance does for his character, social standing, and his performance of the gendered role of husband. Potential infidelity is a concern for Priory, and any men similar to this character, as this act represents a direct threat to his social performance of the role of husband. Priory's attitude towards, and emphasis on, the issue of fidelity echoes the philosophical thought of the period. In the third volume of *A Treatise of Human Nature,* Hume includes a section "Of chastity and modesty*",* notably in Part II "Of justice and injustice". The concern displayed in this text is for the injustice experienced by men in marriage– specifically in relation to a wife's (extra)marital affairs. Hume argues that men can only be expected to care about their children and do the necessary labour to provide for them if they can be sure that they are their 'own', therefore, female chastity serves an important social function. According to Hume female chastity must be reinforced through shame and praise of respective behaviours; he writes: "to impose a due restraint on the female sex, we must attach a peculiar degree of shame to their infidelity, above what arises merely from its injustice, and must bestow proportionable praises on their chastity."[573] Hume appeals to the use of severe treatment of women in response to infidelity, and Inchbald addresses the idea of this extreme shame or discipline. When Mr Norberry, on hearing of Priory's marital ideology, asks "[b]ut I hope you equally disapprove of every severity."[574] Priory responds "[*rapidly*.] What do you mean by severity?",[575] and Norberry states: "[y]ou know you used to be rather violent in your temper."[576] Priory, after his wary initial response, again counters with a justification of his behaviour by

[571] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[572] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[573] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol 3, 196.
[574] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[575] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.
[576] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 4.

explaining that his temper leaves him in a position of not only dominance but contentedness. Inchbald, therefore, depicts both the observable effects of this gendered behaviour for those witnessing and experiencing Priory's temper, and the male perspective that argues for the value of this behaviour. The benefit that Priory experiences from being a severe husband, namely Lady Priory's loyalty and submission, is here outlined by Inchbald to demonstrate the gendered inequality behind the idea that male comfort and happiness was socially valued above female liberty in this period.

Lord Priory has taught Lady Priory "to pay respect to her husband in every shape and every form."[577] Lady Priory's defence of her own position comes in response to male and female characters questioning her treatment. When she is introduced to Maria and Lady Mary Raffle, the three discuss the fact that Lady Priory was awoken at six that morning. Lady Mary asks, "[i]t is not light till eight; and what good, now, could you possibly be doing for two hours by candle-light?"[578] Lady Priory, on finding out that Mary went to bed at three in the morning asks what Mary was doing all night by candlelight. When Lady Mary claims that she was doing 'good', Lady Priory expresses concern that her behaviours might do a great deal "of harm to your health, your spirits, and the tranquillity of your mind."[579] The association of sleep and rest at appropriate hours with heath is explicitly expressed in Cheyne's medical writing when he explains that "*Watching* by Night and *Sleeping* by Day, is of the most pernicious Consequence to *Health* and *Long Life.*"[580] It is notable that Inchbald here gives Lady Priory the rhetoric and thinking of male dominated philosophy and medical theory in this period. By defending her imposed restraints in this way, Lady Priory is shown as a wife not only suffering from her husband's actions and attitudes, but from her own adherence to, and acceptance of, these rules, however, Lady Priory does not have many options in the face of her husband's behaviour. The extent of the damage that male 'tyranny' in marriage could inflict was explored in medical writing of the eighteenth century. For example, Cheyne argues that women are often subject to male "Tyranny",[581] and "the *Wildnesses* and *Caprices* of debauched Husbands; by all which they often ruin their

[577] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 6.
[578] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 16.
[579] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 16.
[580] Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life,* 87.
[581] George Cheyne, *The natural method of curing the diseases of the body and the disorders of the mind depending on the body in three parts* (London: George Strahan, 1742), 281.

Constitutions, and shorten the *Duration* of their Lives."[582] Debauched husbands are blamed for female ill-health by Cheyne. Whilst 'debauchery' often refers to sexual and moral freedoms that are socially condemned, it also speaks to the act of indulgence. The eighteenth-century understanding of male indulgence and debauchery is present in Hume's philosophy when he uses the term to explain that men, "however debauch'd, cannot chuse but be shock'd with any instance of lewdness or impudence in women."[583] For Hume, this circumstance arises from the different educations of men and women.

Writing later in the century, Mary Wollstonecraft's discussion of the education and treatment of young women bears relevance to Hume's, earlier, writing on fidelity. Wollstonecraft explains in *Thoughts on Educating Daughters* (1787) that female education was largely neglected, and women frequently married at a young age, before they could expand their horizons and develop their critical faculties. Speaking of the 'wife', Wollstonecraft writes: "[h]er sphere of action is not large, and if she is not taught to look into her own heart, how trivial are her occupations and pursuits!"[584] The triviality that Wollstonecraft identifies here is also referred to by Hume when he claims that men, however debauched themselves, are shocked by a woman's capacity to act in 'debauched', inventive, and unfaithful ways.[585] Wollstonecraft and Hume highlight the social perspective on women as trivial respectively due to their lack of education or the social understanding of their sexuality and behaviour as limiting their capacity to deceive. Smith's association of chastity and justice echoes Hume's when he argues that whilst not all breaches of chastity qualify as a violation "of the rules of justice",[586] generally these breaches are "violations of a pretty plain rule, and, at least in one of the sexes, tend to bring ignominy upon the person who has been guilty of them."[587] However, Inchbald's presentation of marital and gendered inequality is not restricted to the concerns of chastity and fidelity. Further extending her discussion of the social interrelations between men and women, Inchbald touches on the theme of empire to subtly examine and draw parallels between imperial behaviour and domestic tyranny, addressing the masculine imperial tyranny of the military and mercantile

[582] Cheyne, *The natural method*, 282.
[583] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol 3, 198.
[584] Mary Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughter: with Reflections on Female Conduct, in The more important Duties of Life* (London: J. Johnson, 1787), 100.
[585] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol 3, 198.
[586] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 540.
[587] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 540.

explorer and how colonial impulse ties to patriarchal control over women.

The Imperial Metaphor in *Wives as they Were*

Similar to Elizabeth Griffith's treatment of the nabob and the imperial cultural exchange of the late 1700s, Inchbald's plays address broader social concerns surrounding empire and identity. Just as gender is presented in these plays as a performative act subject to perception and upheld through the social institution of marriage, national identity is presented as something signified and interpreted. Inchbald, like many other playwrights of this period, addresses the threat of the material exchange of both goods and culture between England and the colonies and the gendered dimension of this threat. This is specifically seen in *Wives as they Were* through the indictment of Maria's desire for the security of her nabob father's wealth (partly to pay off her gambling debts). In *Wives as they Were* Lady Priory's complex character, praised by male characters for her behaviour in the face of her husband's tyranny but also depicted as a victim, is praised for her personal and national signifiers of self. In a discussion with Lord Priory, Sir William declares that he has "long conceived indulgence to be the bane of female happiness."[588] Lord Priory whole-heartedly agrees and makes the case that fashion in both clothing and action still leaves the spirit wanting. Inchbald here nods to the eighteenth-century belief that women were "of less stern moral fiber, and therefore more susceptible to the blandishments of luxury: Cheyne wrote Richardson most women "would rather renounce Life than Luxury"."[589] The same association of women with foreign and imported luxury goods, commonly seen across the eighteenth century, is presented in Mandeville's *Fable* when he writes of the collapse of the system within the metaphorical hive and explains how "[t]he haughty *Chloe*, to live Great,/ Had made her Husband rob the State:/ But now she sells her Furniture,/ Which th' *Indies* had been ransak'd for."[590] In *Wives as they Were*. Lord Priory describes his wife in contrast to the period's popular model of a woman being swayed and motivated by thoughts of luxury and fashion. He warns Norberry and William not to expect "a fine lady with high feathers; and the *et cetera* of an Eastern concubine; you will see a modest plain Englishwoman, with a cap on her head, a handkerchief on her neck, and

[588] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were*, 5.
[589] Guerrini, "The Hungry Soul", 285.
[590] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 23.

a gown of our own manufacture."[591] Lady Priory's virtues are asserted through a contrast with foreign clothing and exported fashions, and her plain dress is markedly British. While Lady Priory's dress functions as a linear link between female appearance, national identity, and virtue, Inchbald also critiques the relationship between gender and nationhood in more complex ways in this play. This section explores how in Inchbald's writing the social and personal subservience of women is tied to the metaphor of empire and the dominance of one culture over another using the master/subject relationship of husband and wife and the expositional establishment of the nabob character of Sir William at the beginning *Wives as they Were*.

As critics have noted, Inchbald creates an association between empire and marital tyranny in her dramatic writing to highlight the domestic social realities of women.[592] Issues of nationhood are implicitly raised in *Wives as they Were* through Sir William's return to England from India. Betsy Bolton notes how Inchbald's tendency to "use India simply as an explanation for familial absence in these later dramas matches England's growing apathy toward India in the wake of the Hastings trial (1788-94)."[593] The Hastings trial, where Warren Hastings was impeached for his misconduct in Calcutta, marked a shifting point from one vision of imperial expansion to a less enthusiastic pursuit of colonialism.[594] Beyond the reflection of the waning public enthusiasm for empire and its emblems, Inchbald's depiction of the absent father returning speaks to the eighteenth-century dynamics of power and duty between father and daughter. At the start of the play, William petulantly states that he would leave the country, and the continent, again were it not for Maria's likeness to her dead mother: "[i]f she were not so like her mother, I could leave her without a pang – cast her off, and think no more of her. – But that shape! that face! those speaking looks!"[595] Although the references to William's nabob status pervade these early lines of exposition, the play quickly moves onto to the sexual and familial dynamics at the centre of Inchbald's plot.

---

[591] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 6.
[592] See Betsy Bolton "Farce, Romance, Empire: Elizabeth Inchbald And Colonial Discourse," *Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation* 39, no. 1 (1998): 7, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41467682.
and Daniel O'Quinn "Scissors and Needles: Inchbald's "Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are" and the Governance of Sexual Exchange," *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 2 (May, 1999): 113. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068646.
[593] Bolton, "Farce, Romance, Empire: Elizabeth Inchbald And Colonial Discourse," 22.
[594] See, for example, Mithi Mukherjee "Justice, War, and the Imperium: India and Britain in Edmund Burke's Prosecutorial Speeches in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings," *Law and History Review* 23, no. 3 (August 2010). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0738248000000584.
[595] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 3.

Wives as they Were, answers the generic expectations of a comedy insofar as the play ends with Maria being given permission to marry her love interest, George Evelyn. Daniel O'Quinn argues that:

> Inchbald stages a mutual renunciation by father and future husband of Lord Priory's domestic tyranny. This is also a lesson in national character because Sir William is repeatedly associated with India. It is as though his time in the colonies has impaired his judgement with regard to human contracts, and the play itself acts as a form of naturalization for appropriate parental care.[596]

While Inchbald ends her play with a marriage, one that will transform Maria as a maid of the present day to a wife like those of former times, the severity of this sentencing is somewhat mediated by the renouncement of Lord Priory's behaviour. Nonetheless, Inchbald satirises and critically explores the marital dynamics, socio-political and sexual definitions of women and female behaviour throughout these plays – expectations that were policed ultimately by patriarchal legal systems. The master/servant dynamic between husband and wife is made explicit when Lord Priory refers to his wife as better than a male servant, asking "[d]o you think I could suffer a clumsy man to tie on my neckcloth, or comb out my hair, when the soft, delicate, and tender hands of my wife are at my command?"[597] Lord Priory's regular appeal to ancient marital traditions in *Wives as they Were* demonstrates Inchbald's critique of the domestic and personal role of women, specifically married women, as subservient to men. The classical modes of marriage that Inchbald refers to and that were discussed in eighteenth-century writing, for example in Adam Smith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence,* often left the wife subjugated; "by these ancient marriages which were performed either by *conferreatio* or *coemptio,* the wife became entirely the slave of the husband."[598] Mellor argues that within "Inchbald's plays is the argument that Britain is not the land of liberty it claims to be, that its wives are prisoners, its subjects the victims of an oppressive class system that sends many honest workers to debtors'

[596] O'Quinn, "Scissors and Needles," 124.
[597] Inchbald, *Wives as they Were,* 7.
[598] Chris Nyland, "Adam Smith, Stage Theory, and the Status of Women," in *The Status of Women in Classical Economic Thought,* eds. Robert William Dimand and Chris Nyland (Massachusetts, Edward Elgar Publishing Inc., 2003), 95.

prison."[599] As Mellor explains Inchbald's writing exposes the fact that British culture was not fair or liberating for women, but Inchbald also demonstrates that turning to classical models of cultural custom will only increase this inequality. Through her dramatic critique of contemporary and neoclassical cultural attitudes towards women, Inchbald also undermines the perceived national superiority of the British empire and draws parallels in her political commentary on both.

Cleverly tying together the issues of financial status with gender and nationality, Inchbald makes a plot point of the fact that Maria needs money, and her father is able to assist her with the money that he has made abroad. Inchbald clarifies that Maria is generous, giving out her money because she knows how happy it makes her to receive money herself. Maria's generosity, therefore, is complicated by her emotional gain, and possible self-indulgence, as well as the later ramifications of her financial decisions. Her behaviour is, whilst perhaps virtuous on an individual level, socially negative as she requires financial assistance from her father, whose money, in turn, comes from an imperial source. The implications of this generosity are also gendered, as Smith's philosophy specifically tied generosity to masculinity: "[h]umanity is the virtue of a woman, generosity of a man. The fair sex, who have commonly much more tenderness than ours, have seldom so much generosity."[600] David Hume, however, did not present generosity as a fundamental male quality, instead arguing that "[m]en being naturally selfish, or endow'd only with a confin'd generosity, they are not easily induc'd to perform any action for the interest of strangers, except with a view to some reciprocal advantage."[601] This more pessimistic understanding of human motivation, and specifically male behaviour, espoused in Hume's writing can be read in Inchbald's drama with William's unwillingness to give his daughter financial support until she changes her behaviour to meet his standards. O'Quinn explains that "Maria's losses at gambling act as an allegory of her situation, for as long as she has to gamble in the market, she will become obliged to her creditors, both in money and in love."[602] However, it is at the end of the play when she receives the financial benefits of her father's imperial money-making, that the association of sexual, financial, and national propriety and performance are most clearly connected. The nabob figure, in popular and reactive dramatic writing of this period, frequently brought home the imperial

[599] Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*, 68.
[600] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 364.
[601] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* vol 3, 107.
[602] O'Quinn, "Scissors and Needles," 120.

spirit of the coloniser, and Inchbald ties this invasive and corrupting male influence to the figure of the tyrannical patriarch and husband in her plays.

Inchbald's literary dramaturgy has been termed both 'radical' and 'Orientalist'.[603] Her writing was commercially successful and there were aspects of self-censorship, financial and practical concerns, and political caution that can be identified in her life and as impacting her work. Nonetheless, *The Widow's Vow* and *Wives as they Were, Maids as they Are* both demonstrate Inchbald's capacity to create timely social commentary while still working in the confines of a medium and a period that were, at the very least, unfriendly for women. Inchbald, primarily through her implicit and explicit treatment of the theme of marriage, presents characters in these dramas that perform varied selfhoods, all of which regularly demonstrate the underlying impact of gender on social relationships. Inchbald's dramatic writing of the self serves to present self-fashioning and character as formed from somewhere or something deeper than gender. Her plays argue that society, specifically social constructs like marital roles and gender roles, can limit the authentic performance, or reading, of the self in society. In her drama militarism is tied to masculinity, yet in turn Inchbald in *The Widow's Vow* unpicks the idea of the soldier as inherently male when she places emphasis on the importance of the observer in reading gender. Antonio's changing perceptions of the Marquis clearly show the relevance of report, context, and belief to the social performance of gender. Even the obvious indicators of militarism, the uniform and the sword, are subverted in Inchbald's scene revealing how clothing and appearance alone are inadequate when defining the individual self. Inchbald takes on institutions in her literary dramaturgy, with the military and the concept of marriage falling prey to her questioning. The popular philosophical and sociological trend of individualism is represented in Inchbald's characterisations, and through this individual focus the groupings of sex, gender, nationality, and class are put under trial.

In this chapter I have argued that Inchbald, in *Wives as they Were* and *The Widow's Vow* repeatedly emphasises the role of gender in social performance, particularly through her depiction of the performances of military and married selfhood. Inchbald, in these plays, makes use of gender to explore the fundamental core of selfhood, and the layered social concepts of behaviour and individuality which must be negotiated

[603] Mita Choudhury, "Gazing at His Seraglio: Late Eighteenth-Century Women Playwrights as Orientalists," *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 4 (1995): 492. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3208988.

when socially acting. Her concerns about what it means to be a person, including what it means to be a good person, are particularly seen in relation to the social states of marriage, widowhood, and class that are treated in these dramas, as well as the ideas of masculinity and femininity. Inchbald's use of some of the same themes and topical anxieties, for example national identity and empire, the role of trade in society, and the performed self in the domestic setting, relate to Elizabeth Griffith's dramaturgy as seen in the previous chapter. Inchbald's work differs from Griffith's in its possible directness, partly offered in this reading because of the treatment of the play text as text. Elizabeth Griffith also examines marriage and gender in her plays *A Wife in the Right* and *The Times* offering different examples of the potential problems with marriage, either due to the actions of the married couple themselves or external influences like the behaviour of the Bromleys. Griffith's work, however, does not offer the same critical focus on gender and marriage found in Inchbald's dramas. This central theme of gender in Inchbald's writing is supported by a range of characters and plot elements including the figure of the military man and the nabob, and the related discussions of national and classed identity that these characters invite. Griffith's dramas share these same themes, as seen in the prominence of the nabob or the virtuously presented military figures in *A Wife in the Right.* The common focus on topical themes of national identity and the moral potential of military men situates these playwright's works in line with other late eighteenth-century discourses on the self. The medical and philosophical writing of Cheyne and Smith, for example, explores the ideas of gendered social performances, empirically displayed passions, and the social impacts of performed feeling. National identity, in Inchbald and Griffith's dramas, is treated like class or gender, as something performed and enacted through clothing and speech, and therefore subject to interpretation and adoption by different characters. Both dramatists, alongside the discourses on self found in prominent medical and philosophical writing of the eighteenth century, explore the socially performed self and the limitations or possibilities that different social performances afford different characters within their socio-political contexts.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I have presented Griffith and Inchbald's ideas of self, and the most prominent ideas of selfhood found in the selected plays, namely the perceived and the gendered self. Their writing shows a concern with legibility and social performance, and the varied elements that form these social interactions. In the following chapter I continue to consider the social performance of self as found in the

plays presented here, however, the focus shifts from the external and perhaps superficial performances of self to the more philosophical, didactic, and introspective ideas of selfhood that are fundamental to Hannah More's writing and this also relates to Baillie's dramas in Chapter 2. Each playwright selected for this study presents their own aims and approaches to drama in their writing; More and Baillie have been the subject of critical study including analysis of their intentions as authors. Unlike Inchbald's focus on morality as linked to the treatment of women in marriage, Hannah More focusses on domestic virtue and presents a complex, frankly contradictory, idea of the role of women in society. More's desire to disseminate social and religious instruction has been well noted, and Joanna Baillie's 'Introductory Discourse' makes very clear her position as a playwright interested in the nuances of individual feeling and how this affects social action. The following chapter examines More's presentation of the self, including the enduring tropes of the military man and the passions. Hannah More's drama explores the self with an intent to instruct her audience on how to perform a better self and how to embody virtue and piety. Her drama, therefore, offers similarities to the commentary found in Griffith and Inchbald's drama, but represents far less of their popular dramatic technique, and instead ruminates on the idea of selfhood for her more philosophical and evangelical social ends.

Chapter 5:
Hannah More and the Virtuous Self

Through overt didacticism and careful mediation between form and content, Hannah More embeds critical elements of her pedagogical and philosophical tenets into her writing. This chapter focuses on two of her plays *The Search After Happiness* (1773) and *The Fatal Falsehood* (1779), and I argue that More goes beyond an adherence to generic theatrical trends when depicting the internal and external experience of her characters, and that this characterisation relates to eighteenth-century sentimentality. I make a case in this chapter for close reading More's dramas, and for placing her work in conversation with the sentimental literary tradition, as well as the medical and philosophical writing of Richard Mead, William Buchan, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Adam Smith, to contextualise her literary dramaturgy. The medical and philosophical preoccupations seen in Mead, Buchan, Rousseau, and Smith's writing also fit into the period's sentimental focus on how the internal character could and should be externally expressed. By placing More's work into this discourse, this chapter not only offers much needed critical engagement with More's dramas, but also provides a reading of her complex relationship with sentimentality and virtue. The virtue that More advocates for in these plays is multifaceted; virtue is shown in these dramas as something somatically felt and expressed, and politely yet authentically performed whilst being informed by religious faith. More's discussion of the self is therefore contextualised by the prominent trends in literature, for example the shifting ideas around sentimentality by the late eighteenth century, and the personal belief system that she upheld. Despite her very personalised aims for her writing, and the overarching concern with how to be virtuous and how to perform virtue in society seen in her work, More's dramatic writing tackles the core idea of the self in society.

In *The Search After Happiness* and *The Fatal Falsehood* Hannah More explores the relationship between piety and virtue, happiness, and social understanding. More champions the self that performs piously and in socially acceptable ways in these dramas, and she uses the plays as a space for imparting her didactic instruction on what to do, and what to avoid, as a social performer. In each play More makes use of the theatrical medium to signal how the physical and external presentation of character relates to the internal experience of the self. In *The Search After Happiness,* she uses the speech of the characters to recount their physical actions and to express their

experience of self and emotion as something embodied. In *The Fatal Falsehood* More depicts characters as either capable or incapable of deceit, and their social actions as influenced by this ability; the confusion around the character of her antagonist, Bertrand, leads to fatal consequences. The tragic ending of *The Fatal Falsehood* demonstrates how More makes use of her didactic theatricality to express a social theory that advocates for piety, virtue, and a legible self seen through both action and speech. For More, the legible self is one that can be accurately perceived by observers, and that performs 'authentically' as driven by pious virtue. In analysing these plays I identify, and focus on, the themes of piety, sentiment and sensibility, the passions, pastoral virtue, and military masculinity. By drawing on the context of the sentimental trend, as well as select medical and philosophical writing, in this chapter I analyse how More presents and advocates for the performance of happiness, authenticity, and virtue in her literary dramaturgy.

I place More's symbolic use of the body in a sentimental context and read this symbolism in line with Adam Smith's philosophy because, as Markman Ellis notes "Smith phrases his theory of mutual sympathy in a broadly sentimental mode: pity and compassion are legible in emotions such as tears."[604] In relating the search for happiness, and the causes of unhappiness to unrest, and ill-health, More presents an empirical view of the mind and body as associated, and the need for strength in both as key to happiness. The impact of embodied, and observable, physical expressions of feeling is considered in Smith's philosophy, particularly when he writes: "[t]he compassion of the spectator must arise altogether from the consideration of what he himself would feel if he was reduced to the same unhappy situation."[605] More's literary dramaturgy employs elements of the theatrical sentimental trend of expressing feeling physically and presenting the impact of this on the observer, however, her work holds a complex relationship with this trend that I analyse later in this chapter. I also draw on Rousseau's philosophy surrounding place and primitivism. While Rousseau argues for the virtue of the primitive self, More places the civilised self in the natural world (as created by a Christian God), and claims that solitude and pious gratitude for this space will help shape the virtuous and happy self. Equally, More shares a similar instructive purpose for her literary dramaturgy as in Mead and Buchan's writing. Buchan encouraged preventative action and attempted to bring medical knowledge

[604] Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14.
[605] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), 8.

into the domestic setting, and Mead aimed to instruct both through his creation of a regimen, and his analysis of the failures of other physicians. While Mead and Buchan offer information on how to maintain a healthy body and lifestyle, More's emphasis is on the spiritual health of her audience. More calls for performances of the virtuous self in these two dramas, and in this chapter, I read her instruction towards virtue as linked to physicality and health alongside the sentimental tradition, the theory of sympathetic observation in Smith's philosophy, Rousseau's claims about the primitive self, and the instructive medical writing of Mead and Buchan. This chapter evaluates More's presentation of the virtuous self as something that is taught by pious, maternal, teachers, and that is socially enacted without dissimulation. More's focus on virtue is a central aspect of the didactic intent to shape the self and social behaviour of her audience, and in turn contribute to the period's discourses of self. The pious and authentically performed enactment of virtue is positively represented in *The Search After Happiness,* and these values are reinforced through the cautionary example of *The Fatal Falsehood*.

Didacticism and Piety in More's Dramas

*The Search After Happines*s is a didactic closet drama featuring an all-female cast of characters, written in 1762 and published in 1773.[606] The play follows 'Four Young Ladies of Distinction', Euphelia, Cleora, Pastorella, and Laurinda, as they enter a pastoral grove in search of happiness. They seek out a group of women living in the virtuous solitude of the grove: Urania, described as 'an ancient Shepherdess'; her two daughters Sylvia and Eliza; and their companion, Florella, 'a Young Shepherdess'. In individual monologues, the 'Four Young Ladies of Distinction' explain their previous experiences and what has led them away from the city and into the pastoral, idyllic setting of the play. More's choice of the shepherdess profession for Urania and Florella ties in her use of the pastoral form with her view of the importance of religious guidance in female education; the metaphor of the shepherd as a religious guide holds relevance to both the form and the content of this didactic pastoral drama. Throughout this drama, from the symbolism of the shepherdess figures to the songs sung by the women in the grove that expressly link happiness to piety, More

[606] Although it was originally written in 1762, in this chapter I use the second edition of *The Search After Happiness* published in 1773 because, as Patricia Demers writes, "it was this second edition that went through six successive but unchanged editions, with Bristol and London publishers, until 1785". Patricia Demers, *The World of Hannah More* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 27.

represents virtuous piety as central to the personal and social development of young ladies.

More's dramatic writing, particularly *The Search After Happiness*, offers educational precepts addressed at young women as part of a broader moral instruction for female social behaviour. More aimed her all-female cast of characters towards her intended audience: "[t]his little poem was composed several years ago (the Author's age eighteen) and recited at that Time, and since, by a party of young Ladies, for which purpose it was originally written."[607] More's primary characters in this play are four women already convinced of the faults in their society, company, and own behaviour, and are shown actively seeking religious guidance. As Patricia Demers notes, *The Search After Happiness* is "a didactic piece using converts rather than genuine searchers, that nevertheless succeeds in conveying the process of learning."[608] The differentiation between converts and genuine searchers is seen in More's choice to present these characters as already committed to reformation, they are not searching for happiness everywhere, but instead they have already understood that piety and simplicity will fulfil their needs. By presenting these characters' reformation in this way, the audience is led to a view of More's moral as inevitable and rational; the characters want to change via the religious maternal guidance of Urania and therefore when their desire is met the audience is also relieved. Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* notes the sympathetic experience of an audience watching characters they are invested in: "[o]ur joy for the deliverance of those heroes of tragedy or romance who interest us, is as sincere as our grief for their distress, and our fellow-feeling with their misery is not more real than that with their happiness."[609] Smith's philosophy accounts for the emotional experiences that literature and drama were capable of producing, and More's use of drama for educational means also recognises this capacity. The educational bent of both tone and form in this play text can be read as deliberate aspects of a literary dramaturgy that offers modes of appropriate social behaviour and performances of self, and More positions piety as a central part of this behaviour.

The Fatal Falsehood (1779) is a five-act prose tragedy that primarily explores male relationships. The characters include Bertrand, the antagonist and dissembler, and

[607] Hannah More, *The Search After Happiness* (Bristol: S. Farley, 1773), v.
[608] Patricia Demers, *The World of Hannah More* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 27.
[609] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 5.

Orlando, a flawed protagonist led to disaster through passion and Bertrand's deceit. Rivers, another central male character, returns at the beginning of the play victorious from battle to marry his beloved, Julia. There is a central struggle between Bertrand, who relentlessly pursues his own interests through deceit, and the virtuous characters, all of whom are connected through either romantic or familial ties. The play ends in tragedy, as although Bertrand's scheme fails, he, Orlando, and Emmelina (Rivers' sister) all die. In *The Search After Happiness* More offers a presentation of virtuous behaviour as inextricably linked to piety and religious education. However, in *The Fatal Falsehood* the religious aspect of More's virtuous characters is less foregrounded in favour of more (meta)theatrical expressions of conflict, feeling, and social behaviour. Much like Elizabeth Griffith's exploration of the perceived self, More's drama demonstrates a concern with legibility of character. In *The Fatal Falsehood,* Emmelina explains that "my poor unpractis'd heart, is so unknowing of dissimulation, so little skill'd to seem the thing it is not, that if my lips are still, my looks betray me."[610] The direct disavowal of disguise and social dissimulation is evident in the depicted performances of physicality, appearance, and interior experience in both *The Search After Happiness* and *The Fatal Falsehood*.

As seen from her use of self-reflective speeches and somatic situating of dissatisfaction, in *The Search After Happiness* More's instruction for the construction and performance of a pious and appropriate female self centres on the internal experience of her protagonists. Each woman has already tried unsuccessfully to find happiness through physical and mental adherence to social norms. In *The Fatal Falsehood,* More not only embraces theatricality and the performative tropes of the medium, but she also continues with her emphasis on internal and individual feeling as a mode of conveying her concept of the virtuous self. More employs dramatic irony in *The Fatal Falsehood* to signal her social instruction to her audience. Bertrand explains his antagonistic character and his intentions in the opening monologue of the play: "[w]hat fools are serious melancholy villains! I play a surer game, and screen my heart with easy looks, and undesigning smiles."[611] The use of theatrical monologues and asides allows More to establish dramatic irony in the characterisation of Bertrand. He states clearly to the audience that he is a villain, though not a serious or melancholy one, and that he is actively using dissimulation and deceit to influence the opinions and

[610] Hannah More, *The Fatal Falsehood* (London: T. Cadell, 1779), 8.
[611] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 1.

actions of others. It is through a misplaced belief in the honesty of Bertrand and a vulnerability to excessive passion that Orlando is led away from virtue and, therefore, a happy ending. However, the other characters are also vulnerable to this deceit, and the physical expression of feeling, in a sentimental tradition, is prominent in *The Fatal Falsehood* as part of More's construction of virtue and villainy. Across these two dramas More offers instruction to her audience through constructed male and female characters whose success or failures are tied to virtue, piety, and sociality.

Sensibility, Sentiment, and Passions

In her plays, Hannah More defines moral virtue in relation to internal and somatic feeling, at least as the catalyst for social action. Medical and philosophical theories of self in this period corresponded with the literary trend that More's writing exemplifies of examining and proscribing social action and external expressions of feeling. Sentiment in the eighteenth century was a term commonly linked to the sentimental novel. The genre became popular in the eighteenth century, and sentimental novels served a purpose of "speaking a common language and style, as machines explicitly and self-consciously manufactured to feel with."[612] The writing of this period responded in different ways to the fashionable sentimental trend. The wariness associated with sentimentality came from a suspicion as to the authenticity of the performing individual's feelings. However, the rise of sentimentality and sensibility came in part from the acknowledged effectiveness of somatic expressions of feeling and thought. In contrast with sentimental writing of the period, More presented a careful negotiation of somatic and verbal expressions in her instructional dramas used to tell her audience how to properly perform virtue.

Sentimentality referred to both a feeling and a mode of expression; as John Mullan writes "[i]n novels, the articulacy of sentiment is produced via a special kind of inward attention: a concern with feeling as articulated by the body."[613] Sentimentality was a form of expression that was increasingly presented as excessive or presenting a social threat by authors and theorists by the end of the century. This warning against the sentimental threat can be read in the theories of More's sympathetic reasoning and

[612] Albert J. Rivero, *The Sentimental Novel in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 3.
[613] John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability The Language of Feeling the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 16.

Adam Smith's philosophy. Sensibility, in comparison, was associated with the capacity to feel sympathetically without necessarily expressing these feelings in the manner of sentimental displays. Adam Smith portrays the feeling self as something bodily, mentally, and socially enacted. He uses the concept of sympathy to delineate a process of imaginative transference, in which a spectator gradually comes to realise the impact of another's passions by considering how they would affect that spectator's own mind and body. He writes that when observing another person and their passions: "[b]y the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body."[614] In Smith's theories of sympathy, it is through subjective reasoning that an individual's social actions are judged, and, therefore, it is with an awareness of this perception and its limitations that Smith claims the social actor should regulate their behaviour. Sentimentality, as an expressive trend, was also informed by the idea of how behaviours would be judged and received by observers, but this very awareness was what led critics like More to consider sentimentality as an encouragement of inauthentic social behaviour.

The passions, and their physical impact, are presented by More in *The Search After Happiness* as potentially destructive, in the same way that William Buchan represents the association of mental and physical health when he writes: "[t]he passions have great influence both in the cause and cure of diseases."[615] When the young women in *The Search After Happiness* explain to Urania that they have come in pursuit of happiness, she is curious as to what has impeded their search thus far. Urania explains that "each beauteous fair/ Her ruling passion must with truth declare."[616] More's description of the afflictions of the women as passions and not vices, makes these characters more sympathetic to an audience, and reinforces the didactic intention of the drama. Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* explains the feelings of sympathy and empathy with others when met with their passions: "[w]hatever is the passion which arises from any object in the person principally concerned, an analogous emotion springs up, at the thought of his situation, in the breast of every attentive spectator."[617] Smith's theory also states that the passions must be proportionate in order to elicit a

[614] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 2.
[615] William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine, or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines* (London: W. Strahan, 1772), 139.
[616] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 14.
[617] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 4.

sympathetic response, too extreme in one way or another and the spectator is repulsed. Adela Pinch explains how in the eighteenth century there was a view that, "[d]esire, feeling, and emotion are variants of pleasure and pain, which are states of understanding. This movement brings feeling closer to epistemological matters: empiricism allows emotion to be a way of knowing."[618] The philosophical, and seemingly popular, eighteenth-century concept of emotional expression as an empirical conduit for shared feeling and understanding can be read in More's dramas as a key part of her moral instruction and broader literary dramaturgy. In *The Search After Happiness* and *The Fatal Falsehood* Hannah More engages with, and at times struggles against, the popular trends of sentimental and sensible writing, and makes use of the passions to offer a warning against ill-health either in mind or body. These two dramas depict sociality and somatic expressions of selfhood as part of More's analytical construction of characters that represent both the positives and negatives of the socially performing self.

In *The Fatal Falsehood* More uses Bertrand to establish the social threat of dissimulation and calculated performance. Bertrand refers to himself as 'honest' in the opening lines of the play: "I am the careless Bertrand, the honest, undesigning, plain, blunt man."[619] The audience is made aware of the efficacy of Bertrand's proclaimed performance of self as several other characters expressly refer to him as 'honest'. Guildford greets him "[h]onest Bertrand!",[620] Emmelina describes Bertrand as "talkative but harmless, rude but honest",[621] and Rivers also outright refers to him as "[h]onest Bertrand."[622] Bertrand, in his opening lines, expresses a personal understanding of how his deceit works: "[t]he follies I avow cloke those I hide, for who will search where nothing seems conceal'd?"[623] The use of the words 'cloke' and 'conceal'd' position the behavioural aspects of self that Bertrand is discussing in a visible and theatrical realm of costume and appearance. David Gauthier writes that "[s]ocial beings, according to Rousseau, exist only in their appearance – they have no identity beyond their being-for-others."[624] More's characterisation, specifically of

[618] Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 18-19.
[619] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 1-2.
[620] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 2.
[621] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 8.
[622] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 19.
[623] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 2.
[624] David Gauthier, *Rousseau: The Sentiment of Existence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 153.

Bertrand, suggests a separation of the socially performed self, the self for others, and the true motivations and feelings of the character. However, the virtuous selves in the play are verbally and visibly demonstrative of their feeling and their desire not to conceal their true character. More aligns virtue with an explicit social performance of feeling, something mentally experienced and somatically expressed, and frequently depicts her female characters as showing this feeling in a way that fits the sentimental traditions of eighteenth-century literature.

For example, blushing is frequently referred to in *The Fatal Falsehood*.[625] The importance of sentimental expressions of feeling, such as the blush, in More's text can be understood by considering the debates surrounding the sincerity of sentimentality. This concern about sincerity was tied into the socio-cultural shifts in understandings of 'proper' behaviour and the performative dimension of these physiological reactions. More establishes physicality in *The Fatal Falsehood* as a tool for the audience to understand the true nature of her characters. As Emmelina states, she is unable to dissimulate and therefore the audience or reader has a context for considering her blushes, or fainting in Act 3, as revelatory of her genuine feeling and responses to the action of the scene. However, More positions Bertrand as a meta-theatrical audience member and provider of exposition as he is able to read these performative expressions and manipulate the other characters based on what he has learned. Bertrand hints to Emmelina that Orlando has 'confessed' his feelings for her, yet when Emmelina asks what was confessed Bertrand brushes her off with the line: "[t]hat you are wondrous fair: nay, nothing farther."[626] Bertrand uses this ploy to mark Emmelina's reaction, verbalising: "[h]ow disappointment fires her angry cheek! Yourself have told the rest, your looks avow it, your eyes are honest, nor conceal the secret."[627] Emmelina explains that she is not concealing anything, using an appeal to her virtue, and self-describing as virtuous in the process: "[c]onceal! Virtue has nothing to conceal."[628] More establishes in this exchange that somatic expression, in this case blushing, can communicate feeling accurately to an observer. Furthermore, More uses the blush to state a relationship between external expression and virtue; virtuous characters, like Emmelina, may authentically emote via sentimental expressions, but non-virtuous characters, like Bertrand, may read, use, and manipulate these performances of feeling.

[625] See pages: 2, 7, 8, 10, 23, 25, 26, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 52, 69, 74.
[626] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 7.
[627] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 7.
[628] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 7.

As Elaine McGirr explains "[t]he eighteenth-century 'character,' with its insistence that external description could delineate the inner man, was used to bridge the two meanings of 'character' and try to blur the boundaries between physical and moral qualities."[629] There are numerous examples of More's employment of external descriptions, and expressions, of character and feeling in *The Fatal Falsehood* that blur these boundaries, and relate to a constructed self in part defined by virtue and its legibility. Equally, in *The Search After Happiness* Urania, at the end of the play, describes the virtuous character of Florella by explaining that "what she dares to *be*, she dares *appear*;/ Unlectur'd in dissimulation's school,/ To smile by precept and to blush by rule."[630] More is clear in her association of virtue and authenticity, by describing Florella as untaught in what More perceives as sentimental trends of expression. The sentimental somatic examples of the smile and the blush here demonstrate that More considers this form of expression to be socially taught. The disapproval of performative social expressions that More shows in her dramas can also be seen in the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his discourse on the morality of the arts, Rousseau argues that "[b]efore art had fashioned our behaviour, and taught our passions to speak a language foreign to the heart, our manners were rustic, but sincere and natural; and the difference of behaviour proclaimed, at first sight, the difference of character."[631] Whilst More uses an appeal to rustic simplicity in *The Search After Happiness*, her commentary on inauthentic social behaviour is not limited to her pastoral drama. I argue that More, in these texts, is wary and disapproving of falsified performances of feeling, she calls for a simplified and balanced expression that could evoke true sympathy and is informed by sympathetic feelings towards others.

Defining and understanding sentimentality is particularly complicated by the contradictions found in different critical summaries of sentimental and sensible trends. Although sentimentality came with a fear of deliberate, or taught, physical deception, there was also a simultaneous social belief in the veracity of the somatic expression of feeling, the blush for example. Julia Fawcett describes the problem of "the literalness of a sentimentalized body whose every movement is interpreted not as deliberate

[629] Elaine M. McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[630] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 36.
[631] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse of J. J. Rousseau, which obtained the prize of the Academy of Dijon* (London: W. Richardson, 1779), 47.

action but as inevitable reaction, not as an expression but as a symptom."[632] The medical phrasing Fawcett employs here speaks to the non-linear relationship between the growth of the sentimental social and literary tradition and the medical writing surrounding the physical expressions of passions in this period. Richard Mead explains the correlation between mental and somatic experience, stating that "joy, grief, hope, fear, desire, anger, even against our will, act upon, and cause alterations in the body, by raising commotions in the blood and humours."[633] The phrasing "even against our will" adds to the sentimental idea of the accuracy and un-bidden aspect of physical expression. In *The Fatal Falsehood* More uses the idea of blushing, along with trembling, crying, and fainting, as signifiers of a character's true feeling, yet still as a social performance that is susceptible to different interpretations. Unlike Bertrand, Rivers interprets the behaviour and expression of Orlando incorrectly. Rivers tells Emmelina that Orlando's "starts of passion, this unquiet temper betray how much he loves thee."[634] Whereas the audience is aware that Orlando's behaviour is motivated by a passionate love for Julia and a sense of guilt for his treatment of Emmelina, and, importantly, feelings of guilt and shame towards Rivers for betraying his sister and loving Julia. Rivers' incorrect reading of Orlando's somatic expression demonstrates More's distinction between virtuous, openly legible behaviour, and the negative social performance of her flawed characters. More includes a critique of sentimentality through this theatrical misinterpretation of feeling by demonstrating how sentimental somatic expressions can be misinterpreted, and how these sentimental tropes can not only be innocently misread, but they can also be deliberately socially manipulated. Bertrand exploits the socially established coding of the physical sentimental expression of those around him to convince Orlando that Julia has feelings for him. By telling Orlando: "[h]er radiant eyes are quench'd in floods of tears, for you they fall; her blushes have confess'd it",[635] Bertrand compounds the expression of emotion through crying, and the informative blush to create an empirically convincing narrative of Julia's feelings. Yet More's dramaturgy also deals in, and relies on, verbal communications of character that associate social performance with action and speech, and that depict the construction of character as a shared social experience.

[632] Julia H. Fawcett, *Spectacular Disappearances Celebrity and Privacy, 1696-1801* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 154.
[633] Richard Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions* (Dublin: W. Smith, 1751), 54.
[634] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 27.
[635] More, *The Fatal Falsehood*, 42.

The importance of dialogue directly conveying the moral and the root of each character in More's dramas is particularly evident in *The Search After Happiness* when the young ladies answer Urania's questions. Through their responses More expressly clarifies which passions will lead young women away from virtue and happiness. More tells her audience how Euphelia suffers from "[t]he scorpion Envy",[636] and Cleora from "[t]he thirst of Fame."[637] Pastorella represents the double misfortune of having "[n]o prudent parent",[638] and being "[l]eft to myself to cultivate my mind,/ Pernicious *novels* their soft entrance find."[639] Pastorella's lack of education in the domestic sphere led to her reading novels and living in a world of imagination, More condemns both of these as actions not aligned with virtue and happiness. Pastorella's lack of a proper parental model is pointedly included by More as she presents pious virtue as linked to maternal teaching in *The Search After Happiness.* The four young ladies' search after happiness, and the lessons that they learn throughout the course of the drama, are led in large part by Urania. Urania serves as a pious figurehead of feminine virtue, and this character directs her teachings at the four young ladies, and by extension, the intended audience of the drama.

Urania is explicitly established as a source of virtuous learning from an early point in the drama when Cleora explains "[w]e seek URANIA, her whose virtues fire/Our virgin hearts to *be* what we *admire.*"[640] Urania, in turn, presents herself to the audience as a mother by addressing her daughters as "[y]e tender objects of maternal love."[641] The importance of parenting, specifically the maternal role, is both seen in this text, and in the medical writing of the period. More's coordination of the pastoral mode with her messages about female virtue and maternal teaching, parallels the medical writing of this period. William Buchan, making claims about the role of women as mothers, argues that maternal teaching is fundamental to the growth of the child. He writes of maternal duty: "[i]t is their province, not only to form the body, but also to give the mind its most early bias."[642] Buchan also compares human parenting to that of the natural world, claiming that animals make fewer mistakes that humans: "brutes, guided by instinct, never err in this respect; while man, trusting solely to art is

[636] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.
[637] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 18.
[638] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 18.
[639] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 18.
[640] More, *The Search After Happiness*, 5.
[641] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 10.
[642] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine,* 5.

seldom right."[643] Much like Rousseau's presentation of the natural world as frequently superior to human 'civilisation', Buchan's medical writing argues for the value of turning to nature for guidance. More, placing her action in the pastoral setting, aligns her views of virtue and positive social action with the natural world and, specifically, the romanticised pastoral setting that ignores the realities of rural life.

Claims about the role of the parent and the relationship between the natural world and parenting were not limited to just Buchan's writing; the parental role in shaping the child was frequently mentioned in other medical writing, including in Mead's *Medical Precepts.* Mead writes that just as luxury and excess ought to be avoided "[n]or is nature to be deemed an unjust step-mother, but a most provident and beneficent parent."[644] Buchan agrees that there is much to be learnt from nature, so much so that "[d]id mankind live as nature directs, almost every mother would be in condition to give suck",[645] rather than relying on nursemaids. Buchan goes further, however, by relating the conditions of nature to the personal and social growth of the individual. He argues that "[n]ature has left so much in the power of parents, that children are, in a great measure, what they please to make them."[646] More, in her creation of Pastorella's character, provides a warning against parental neglect and lack of prudence, therefore acknowledging the same power of the parent to shape the child that Buchan notes. The last of the women to tell her passion, Laurinda explains that "[f]rom *ignorance* my chief misfortunes flow,/ I never wish'd to learn, or car'd to know."[647] More extends this to the point that a lack of desire to learn, and succumbing to fashions has left Laurinda "stain'd,/ 'Till nothing of my genuine self remain'd."[648] Romance novels, a lack of education, an 'unfeminine' desire for acceptance into the male world of science, especially for the sake of fame, these are all things that More claims will lead the self away from a happy life and towards corruption and folly. More's moralising about parental influence and the role of the natural world in finding virtuous happiness links to the medical writing of this period, and to her creation of characters that articulate her social theories. This theorising is also more expressly sentimental in tone when linked to physicality, which More does by using specific language in the young ladies' lines.

[643] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine,* 2.
[644] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions*, 214.
[645] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine,* 3.
[646] Buchan. *Domestic Medicine*, 7.
[647] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 20.
[648] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 21.

Beyond the outright statements of these characters' 'ruling passions', More also physicalises their experiences. Euphelia describes her passion using an animal metaphor: "[t]he scorpion Envy goaded still my breast."[649] More, by giving this more abstract sensation a concrete form whilst also situating the pain Euphelia feels in her chest, is here creating a broadly physicalised report of this emotional state. More goes on to specify the negative somatic and emotional outcomes of excessive passions. Euphelia describes how the sight of another attractive woman, a potential rival, "robb'd my soul of rest."[650] This phrase is repeated in Cleora's lengthy speech. The monologue ends with Cleora claiming that "[t]he thirst of Fame my bosom robb'd of rest."[651] Cleora's use of this phrase perhaps demonstrates More's belief that the effects of these women's non-pious lifestyles is universal. Cleora's couplet continues: "[t]he thirst of Fame my bosom robb'd of rest,/ And envious Spleen became its constant guest."[652] Cleora's complaint of the physical ailment of excessive spleen is both a physical and emotional statement. Patricia Meyer Spacks explains how the eighteenth-century definition of spleen "enlarged to take in emotions as well as their physical source. By the early eighteenth century, "the spleen" referred especially to melancholia and gloom."[653] Spacks states that spleen also referred to "a range of feelings lacking, from the point of view of observers, adequate cause."[654] Spleen, therefore, serves as both a somatic term to express mental experience, and as something that can be read in light of Smith's claims about the inadequacy of certain expressions of feeling in eliciting a sympathetic response. The combination of medical and philosophical thought in the term spleen is exploited by More as she attributes this problem of spleen to Cleora, and by having her verbally identify this problem, More expressly combines her characters' mental and physical experiences.

Although More likens the women's experiences to bodily pain or unrest, they do not complain of a wound or a specific example of losing sleep. This is of importance to the dramatic form and the philosophical positioning of the sympathetic self in this play. Smith writes that classical models, such as Ancient Greek theatrical traditions, ineffectively appealed to bodily pain: "[i]t is not the sore foot, but the solitude, of

[649] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.
[650] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.
[651] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 18.
[652] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 18.
[653] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 23.
[654] Spacks, *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 23.

Philoctetes which affects us, and diffuses over that charming tragedy, that romantic wildness, which is so agreeable to the imagination."[655] Smith continues by more explicitly stating that "[t]hese attempts to excite compassion by the representation of bodily pain, may be regarded as among the greatest breaches of decorum of which the Greek theatre has set the example."[656] Equally, this attitude regarding the efficacy of physical expressions of feeling as attempts to create sympathetic response in the audience can be extended to the idea of both mental and physical feeling. There is a valid argument for the broadly unifying nature of appeals to physicality as every person is in possession of a body, and despite the huge variety body types and abilities possible there is a narrative of what the (often normative) human body can do that is publicly taught. However, feeling, that more nebulous and simultaneous internal and external expression, is more vulnerable to individual experience and incredibly specific nuances. The subjective nature of the passions is noted in the philosophy of Smith and in the medical writing of Mead. Smith explains that emotional transference and sympathetic understanding is not a default; it "does not hold universally or with regard to every passion. There are some passions of which the expressions excite no sort of sympathy."[657] Mead appears to separately continue this thought by discussing how "the passions do not act with equal force on all individuals; their effect varies according to the diversity of constitutions both of mind and body."[658] The unity of these women's experiences in *The Search After Happiness* can therefore be seen as More utilising the pastoral form, and the tropes of somatic expression in sentimental literature to simplify the nuances of her characters' experience.

More's monologues continue with Pastorella discussing her mental experience of an altered perception of her reality. Pastorella describes herself as "a victim to imagination's sway, / Which stole my health, and rest, and peace away."[659] Laurinda's speech rounds off the quartet's declarations of their distress. Her speech is less direct in the physical description of her experience, instead More writes: "[d]isgusted, restless, every plan amiss/ I come with these in search of Happiness."[660] Laurinda's disgust can be seen as a bodily response to her experience of self, and her restlessness adheres to the model More has established with the other women, all of whom lack

[655] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 59.
[656] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 59-60.
[657] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 6.
[658] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 128.
[659] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 19.
[660] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 21.

pious education as a means of achieving a happy and virtuous life. More is clearly linking mental unrest and emotional disturbance with un-healthiness, therefore, the idea that virtuous, pious living will bring her characters both mental and physical comfort is a logical conclusion and moral of the drama. The association of mental and physical symptoms and expressions of feeling is also clear in the philosophy and the medical writing of this period. Mead explains that "we can easily perceive the effects of the commotions of the mind on our corporeal frame."[661] The relevance of this perception of the reciprocal duality of mind and body, can be understood in relation to the religious aspect of both More's work, and the period's conception of the individual self. More, in both *The Fatal Falsehood* and *The Search After Happiness,* engages with the idea of the soul and the Cartesian depiction of the dualism of mental and corporeal feeling. This is seen in explicit references to the soul in *The Fatal Falsehood* and in the sentimentally informed rhetoric of physicality in *The Search After Happiness*. Ann Thomson explains how "[t]he soul was part of the common ground between medicine and religion, and with changes in natural philosophy and religious doctrine came changes in how these two domains saw this 'central issue'."[662] The belief in the relationship between mind and body was therefore linked to the soul, wherever it may be seated in or around those two sites, and the issue of its possible materiality. More's pious doctrine is not overtly engaging in this debate; however, she is making statements about the associative pain of the souled self as a physical being when it is found acting against the principles of a virtuous religious society. The possible readings of More's works as appealing to philosophical and theological theories of self and self-expression as both a physical and mental experience, demonstrate the depth and nuance in even More's apparently simple texts like *The Search After Happiness.*

The responses from Urania, Sylvia, Eliza, and Florella to the four speeches given by the young ladies provide the didactic resolution that More is offering in this play. Euphelia's speech describes the importance she places on external appearance, talking of possible rivals she explains how "[p]erhaps her gay attire exceeded mine---/ When she was *finer* how could I be *fine*?"[663] Urania's daughter, Sylvia, responds to this with the statement: "[d]o you believe it possible that *dress*/ Can lessen, or advance your

[661] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 128.
[662] Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 16.
[663] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.

Happiness."[664] Dress is emphasised through the use of italics, and More, with this emphasis, is establishing an incredulity in the line. Rousseau, expressing a frustration with the social shift away from transparency toward artifice, claims that "[d]ress is an alien from virtue, which is the strength and vigour of the soul."[665] Just as Rousseau describes a time before 'civilised' social norms that was free from the ornaments and actions that distance humans from their natural virtue, More shows her virtuous characters as confused by the social codes of corrupt city living. Sylvia, as a daughter of nature, and a pious example of pastoral living outside of the city cannot understand the mentality of placing one's hopes of happiness on appearance. However, the four women are frequently referred to as beautiful or fair, and Sylvia's response begins with the line "[p]ardon my interruption, beauteous maid!"[666] Urania's response on first seeing the ladies is to call them "beauteous damsels."[667] More is establishing an idea through this repetition that the four young ladies in search of happiness are afforded their beauty perhaps not from outward appearance, but instead from what Urania calls their "attractive mien,/ So sweetly blended, ev'ry grace is seen";[668] their character, and their rejection of the vices of the city have perhaps afforded them this specific beauty. This association between external appearance and internal virtue shows that More's creation of character and plot teaches her audience to value virtue as a path towards beauty.

The confusion that the women of the grove show towards the four young ladies' previous experiences is also seen when Pastorella declares that her unhappiness stems from novels and imagination and this is met with Eliza asking: "[i]s this the world of which we want a sight?/ And these the beings who are call'd polite?"[669] Sylvia, in response is shown praying to be kept "[f]ar from such baneful pleasures."[670] These lines can be read in light of Smith's claim that :

> Those who have been educated in what is really good company, not in what is commonly called such, who have been accustomed to see nothing in the persons whom they esteemed and lived with, but justice, modesty, humanity, and good order; are more shocked with whatever seems to be inconsistent

[664] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.
[665] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse*, 46-7.
[666] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 15.
[667] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 13.
[668] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 12.
[669] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 20.
[670] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 20.

with the rules which those virtues prescribe.[671]

The idea that Eliza and Sylvia are shocked by what they hear because they have been raised in the natural seclusion and simplicity of the grove, adheres to both Smith's presentation of virtuous education, and More's concept of 'proper' female education. Cleora and Laurinda do not receive immediate reactions after declaring their ruling passions. However, Urania responds to each of the four young ladies at the end of the drama. To Cleora, she states that "[s]cience for *female* minds was never made."[672] More is careful not to indict all female learning, under the provision that it be feminine enough, and Urania tells Cleora: "*[w]oman* shines but in her proper sphere."[673] Urania's response to Laurinda, however, neatly summarises the position that More seems to be taking in this pastoral drama, whilst: "Laurinda's dark, untutor'd mind may shew/ What ills from want of Education flow",[674] More offers the hopeful statement that "*[r]eligion's* sacred treasures lie/ Inviting, open, plain to ev'ry eye,/ For ev'ry age, for ev'ry genius fit."[675] Not just religion, but religious education is key to More's construction of the virtuous self. The lay-popularity of the theatre was a vehicle for the wide-spread dissemination of religious ideology that More believed was central to the proper performance of feeling and self in society. More, across her various forms of writing positions virtue as something taught, and specifically best taught through religion and adherence to a social order. The performance of feeling, as something linked to the sentimental literary tradition through the combination of external expression and internal experience, becomes a moral issue in More's dramas, as she links virtue to a moderated social performance, one informed by religious and maternal teaching. In *The Search After Happiness* and *The Fatal Falsehood* More's didacticism is deployed to warn her audiences against social transgression, to assert the personal and social value of religious devotion, and to differentiate between honour and virtue, and her literary dramaturgy, including her use of form, works to convey her moralising on the topic of the virtuous self.

Pastoral Virtue in *The Search After Happiness*

In *The Search After Happiness* More utilises a pastoral setting as a space of

[671] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 304.
[672] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 34.
[673] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 34.
[674] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 31.
[675] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 31.

metaphoric virtue, a space that can be entered and used for personal and social education, and that is eventually left by the characters to enact the virtuous education they have received when they return to the city. In this section I analyse More's depiction of an idyllic setting alongside Rousseau's dichotomous presentation of the virtuous natural world and the corrupting civilised city. While Rousseau argues for the virtue of the primitive self, More places the civilised self in the natural world (as created by a Christian God), and claims that solitude and pious gratitude for this space will help shape the virtuous and happy self. In this play More utilises the dramatic form, and yet rejects the need for drama; *The Search After Happiness* is not centred on action, rather on self-reflective speeches. Her emphasis on dialogue and didacticism rather than spectacle can be attributed to the pastoral form. From a nineteenth-century perspective, the pastoral was understood in relation to its classical roots, and was considered unusual for eighteenth-century plays, as Homer Smith wrote in 1897, "in England, after maintaining an unequal struggle with the virile romantic drama, it [the pastoral] was finally laughed out of existence by the burlesques of the eighteenth century."[676] Homer Smith also argued that "it was well-nigh impossible for a pastoral dramatist to construct either vivid character or an interesting plot, because of the traditional limitations of his theme."[677] However, the pastoral was a much more common poetic form in the eighteenth century. The pastoral and even mock-pastoral forms were being employed in popular novels and poetry of this period.[678] More was using a familiar and even popular literary trend, whilst also applying dramaturgy to the text to further express her moral for her audience.

More, in *The Search After Happiness*, uses the form and the content of the drama to express her negotiation of the pastoral and the social worlds in which her characters are performing. The drama begins with a verbose description of the setting by the fittingly named Pastorella:

> How the description with the scene
> agrees! Here lowly thickets, there
> aspiring trees,
> The hazle copse excluding noon-day's
> beam, The tufted arbor, the pellucid

[676] Homer Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," *PMLA* 12, no. 3 (1897): 358, https://www.jstor.org/stable/456249.
[677] Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," 366.
[678] For example, Thomas Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1751) and Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall* (1762).

stream,
The blooming sweet-briar and the hawthorn
shade, The springing cowslips and the
daisied mead,
The wild luxuriance of the full blown fields,
Which Spring prepares, and laughing Summer yields.[679]

The language and form in this passage correspond; the language describes confined space, the 'copse' and the 'arbor', as well as the openness of the 'full blown fields', and this can be read as an acknowledgement by More of her simultaneous use of the confined, tight, couplet form and the broadness seen in the content and theme of this drama. Beyond this, however, More's population of the scene with natural beauty serves as a way of distancing the two worlds of city and grove. For example, when Euphelia describes her experiences growing up in a court she describes her time spent "[i]n drawing-rooms my dull, pale vigils spent,/ With ardor fought, but found no: *there* Content;/ The Syren mock'd me with delusive charms,/ I grasp'd – the shadow fled my eager arms."[680] Her time spent, in dull pale vigils, suggests a lack of sunlight and stimulation which stands in contrast to the sensory offerings of the pastoral world, and the flowers, light, and luxuriance of the fields. More's adaptation of the classical stylings of the pastoral can be seen in her choice to place her drama in a more recognisably British setting, with the inclusion of hazels, hawthorns, cowslips, and daisies, and this signifies her interest in the threats to virtue found in Britain. Her use of an, albeit idyllic, English countryside setting is one way of emphasising the relevance of her moral to the drama's intended recipients. The use of a familiar format and landscape inform a reading of her desire for effective educational moralising through this text. This resituating of the action, and adaptive use of form for didactic purposes, demonstrates More's ability to draw on classical and popular neo-classical literary and cultural trends.

This simultaneous adoption and adaption of classical themes was also present in mid eighteenth-century medical writing. For example, the prevalent influence of classical thought can be seen in Richard Mead's writing. Mead draws on the medical, and encyclopaedic, writing of Aulus Cornelius Celsus, which he justifies in the preface of the *Precepts* by writing: "[f]or what author could I choose to follow rather than him, who selected the best of the writing of the *Greek* physicians and surgeons, and

[679] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 2.
[680] More, *The Search After Happiness,* 14.

rendered the whole into the most pure and elegant *Latin*?"[681] Mead also argues in the *Precepts* that the general uniformity of the seasons in Greece and Asia meant that "it was easy for men of sagacity to observe the changes of the weather."[682] It is this predictability of the climate that Mead uses to further claim that "on a long use of this method of observation was built the art of prognostic in diseases; wherein *Hippocrates* the father of physic first excelled."[683] Mead traces prognosis from its Greek roots and refers to Hippocrates to give weight to his claims about this method of observation. Furthermore, Mead places Greek and Asian cultures and climates in contrast with the British climate and medical history. In Mead and More's respective works there is an acknowledgement of classical influences, and an examination of the impacts of setting, climate, and culture on the health of the individual. This healthiness is framed as impacted by setting, by Mead with a claim about the weather and its influence on medical process, and by More with the idea that the social setting of the city has negatively impacted her protagonists. Euphelia's recounting of dull vigils spent in her room demonstrates a physical and social ill-health as caused by behaviour and setting. More, much like Mead in his warning against diseases and the influence of the British climate on their progress, demonstrates the problems she perceived at large within British culture, and social behaviour, through setting and dialogue, alongside her adaption of the pastoral form.

Paul Goring, discussing the rise of neoclassical poetics in the eighteenth century, notes how: "[p]opular classical models included the pastoral and the related eclogue, with their idealizations of rural life."[684] Homer Smith explains that an "[i]dealized portrayal of rural life results when a writer strives to leave out of his descriptions all that is rude, gross or commonplace."[685] Although the four young women are not shepherdesses and do not hail from the grove, and therefore are not the traditional labouring characters that would be romanticised in the pastoral, More is arguably diminishing aspects of their individuality by coalescing their experiences. The depiction of the agricultural labourer as romanticised was an enduring trope that carried from the Georgic to the Pastoral and was not limited to drama or poetry. For example, this romanticising can be seen in Mead's *Precepts* he depicts the life of the peasant labourer in which "a

[681] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions*, vii.
[682] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions*, 33.
[683] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions*, 33.
[684] Paul Goring, *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (London: Continuum, 2008), 71.
[685] Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," 356.

flock of healthy children fill the cottage; the sons grow robust, and execute the father's task, making his hoary locks sit comfortable on him."[686] Mead also claims that luxurious living affects mind and body, meaning that the "faculties of the soul are clogged, and the passions set all on fire; whereas on the contrary the slender and homely diet of the poor and laborious neither oppresses the strength of body, nor supplies the vices with fuel."[687] Similarly, Rousseau explains how "it is under the coarse garb of the labourer, and not the tinsel frippery of the courtier, that strength and vigour of constitution is to be found."[688] Rousseau and Mead both present the labourer as strong, healthy, and free from the oppression of luxury and excessive passions. The eighteenth-century pastoral, therefore, represented an influential literary style that reflected an attitude of idealised primitivism and natural virtue, this same idea of virtue as signified by mental strength and good health was also found in popular medical and philosophical writing of this period. This virtue is represented as a learned behaviour, and therefore as something that necessitated a teacher. More uses femininity and piety to educate her intended audience in *The Search After Happiness.*

The Search After Happiness is written in iambic pentameter, using rhyming couplets. More's use of the Augustan couplet, a closed couplet that serves as a complete sentence or thought, holds certain connotations within this play. The Augustan couplet was used by poets from this period in their exploration of humanity and their version of the heroic couplet "consciously inaugurated by Waller and steadily improved on by Dryden (at his best) and by Pope, became the most precise metre ever used in English verse."[689] More's use of this form serves two purposes. The Augustan, or heroic, couplet is a succinct and rhythmic form that serves More's didactic purposes by giving her work clarity and by efficiently communicating her messaging within an intellectual and poetic tradition. The use of this form also aligns her writing with the poetic work of Pope and Dryden, allowing More to claim an authority gained from literary proximity and a demonstrated ability to wield the same poetic form for her own purposes. More's use of the heroic couplet in the context of those who used this form before her establishes her as an author able to present as an authority on feeling and moralising about sentimentality and virtue as part of a discussion of self and sociality.

[686] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 212.
[687] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 213.
[688] Rousseau, *The Celebrated Discourse,* 46.
[689] Geoffrey Tillotson, *Augustan Studies* 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 12.

Russell Fraser in his article "What is Augustan Poetry?" explains how those who dislike "Augustan poetry say it is too intellectual, while people who like it are inclined to praise its mental toughness. These positions are of course the same, discriminated only by an estimate of value."[690] The rigour associated with this genre therefore adds additional educational value to More's drama, offering the young ladies it was written for an insight into intellectual and moral poetics. Richard Bradford writes of the Augustan Couplet and how it was an objective form, responsive to broader social issues. According to Bradford, the restriction of the "interference of the poet or the text in 'the world at large' is perhaps a means of imparting to the functional role of poetry the much broader eighteenth-century ideals and imperatives of 'order' in politics, society, architecture and philosophic thought."[691] This poetic possibility can be read in line with what Demers terms More's meliorism,[692] a belief in the value of intervention in the 'natural' process of individual growth; the Augustan couplet here serves the melioristic ideology of More's dramaturgy, and serves as a tool for More's educational commentary on the self. Whilst the text can serve to engage in the formative progression of the intended audience, it too is fundamentally limited to a socially determined role in the, in this case poetic, social order. The women in More's play are depicted as rejecting the negative aspects of social performativity to turn back to their pre-determined role in a social order based on the moral value of piety. More is therefore commenting on individual social behaviour as well as the broader impacts of sociality on the performing self.

More's use of the pastoral, and specifically the character of Urania, in this text serves to unify the natural world with religious virtue. Urania's first speech in the play serves to highlight this association when she tells her daughters to "[b]ehold the Sun, all-glorious mount the skies!/ Say, can you see this animating sight,/ Without a fervent, pious, calm delight?"[693] More gives the sun, a bright natural spectacle, the ability to inspire pious, but calm, delight. Instead of encouraging a passionate and imbalanced response, as the word fervent might indicate, the delight of the natural world is described as pious and calm. The religious aspect of this response serves to indicate the social virtue that More is calling for in her drama. To both witness the natural

[690] Russell Fraser, "What is Augustan Poetry?," *The Sewanee Review* 98, no. 4 (1990): 620, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27546275.
[691] Richard Bradford, *A Linguistic History of English Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1993), 75.
[692] Demers, *The World of Hannah More*, 14.
[693] More, *The Search After Happiness*, 10.

world and respond to it properly are part of her lesson. Throughout this play the pastoral mode, specifically the depiction of the natural world, links More's didactic drama to the moral philosophy of Rousseau and his favourable presentation of the 'primitive self' in his *Discourse on Inequality* (1755). Rousseau writes that: "every Improvement made by the human Species serves only to remove it still further from its primitive Condition."[694] This indictment of the dissociation of the civilised city from natural virtue is something which both he and More share, and something that More explores in her use of the pastoral mode in *The Search After Happiness.*

However, the play concludes with Urania's responses to the young ladies, during which she directly states the importance of proper education, saying: "[k]now then, that life's chief happiness and woe,/ From good or evil Education flow."[695] More's drama situates the natural world as a site of virtue, but still makes a clear case for the civilising value of more formal education. Education was one of More's central concerns and the moral and social education of her audience was key to her presentation of characters that depicted both 'good' and 'bad' social behaviours. In *The Search After Happiness* the pastoral mode demonstrates More's neoclassical stylings, and she uses this form to create a drama that calls for a virtuous internalised balance between feeling and reason, and an external balance between the corruption of the city and the virtue of the pastoral countryside. Rousseau claims that people might have avoided the ills of civilisation "by adhering to the simple, uniform and solitary Way of Life prescribed to us by Nature."[696] This sentiment is echoed in More's drama through the inclusion of songs dedicated to the principles of solitude and simplicity. Her drama pitches the city and its associated social corruption against the, in her opinion, God-given beauty of the pastoral setting. However, More's solution is not for her characters to remain in the remote grove, but to take the learnings found in that space back into the city. In *The Search After Happiness* More's concern is with the proper education of young women, in *The Fatal Falsehood*, however, she examines masculine morality through her use of the themes of honour, virtue, and militarism.

Honour, Virtue, and Military Masculinity in *The Fatal Falsehood*

[694] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse Upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1761), xlvii.
[695] More, *The Search After Happiness*, 29.
[696] Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality*, 27.

More in *The Fatal Falsehood* instructs the audience on how to socially perform in a way that matches internal feeling with outward expression and, through this lens, how to understand the difference between honour and virtue. Unlike *The Search After Happiness*, this play features an exploration of the masculine relationship to virtue in society. More uses the themes of honour, virtue, and military masculinity to examine the gendered performances of self, and in her use of these themes she instructs her audience towards virtue and its proper social expression. The masculine dimension of More's *The Fatal Falsehood* differs from *The Search After Happiness* not only because More introduces male characters, but also because she has the male antagonist and corrupted male protagonist debate the central conflict between honour and virtue in this play. This situates her discussion of virtue in a more masculine sphere, and whilst her female characters, Emmelina and Julia, are representative of feminine domestic virtuousness, the tragic elements of the play hinge on the male relationships at the centre of the text.

The eighteenth-century concept of female virtue as linked to domesticity was articulated by theorists, authors, and religious figures. For example, Reverend John Brown in his sermon, *On the female Character and Education* (1765), espoused his belief that "the Female Frame of *Person* and *Mind* tends chiefly to fit and qualify the Sex for domestic Life only."[697] He further argued that "from this Frame of Person and Mind, conducted by a suitable Education, the Female Virtues prescribed by Christianity do naturally arise."[698] Reverend Brown placed women inescapably in the domestic sphere, however, he also attributed a significance to the woman in this space by arguing for the moral value of the properly educated Christian mother, wife, and daughter. Dana Harrington writes: "[t]he model of virtue that Brown describes here was relatively new in the eighteenth century, though by the end of the century the view of the domestic woman as the moral nexus of society would go virtually unquestioned."[699] These ideas are familiar, partly because they are also clearly present in *The Search After Happiness* and the medical writing of William Buchan. In *The Fatal Falsehood*, however, More not only introduces male characters, but she also has the male antagonist and male protagonist debate the central idea of male honour and

[697] John Brown, *On the Female Character and Education: A Sermon Preached on Thursday the 16th of May, 1765, at The Anniversary Meeting of The Guardian of the Asylum for Deserted Female Orphans* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1765), 6.
[698] Brown, *On the Female Character and Education,* 6.
[699] Dana Harrington, "Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 33-34. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3886041.

how male characters can present virtue, or it's specific lack, in this text.

There is a posed conflict between honour and virtue that is established by Bertrand when he tells Orlando: "I grant that honour's something, manly honour, I'd fight, I'd burn, I'd bleed, I'd die for honour, but what's this virtue?"[700] These lines serve to associate Bertrand with a masculine, performative, honour which stands in opposition to the more subtle virtue, and to associate honour with physicality. This latter association is seen in these bodily word choices which represent Bertrand's understanding of the expression of honour being linked to a physical test, something he can bodily manifest through fighting, burning, bleeding, or even dying. Orlando responds to Bertrand's question with a description of virtue that makes clear the metaphysical and pious aspect of More's definition: "'[t]is heaven's own energy, th' aetherial flame which animates cold beauty into spirit."[701] This description also features burning, and the physical animation of abstract beauty into social and internal beauty through divinity. More establishes the importance of heavenly influence, and a greater purpose, beyond vanity or a gendered social performance of honour, to situate honour and virtue, and her antagonist and protagonist, at fundamental odds. The presentation of virtue as inherently associated with religious belief is a commonality between these play texts. Whilst *The Search After Happiness* differs from *The Fatal Falsehood* in its intended audience and format, both texts demonstrate More's moral literary dramaturgy as centred on the behaviour and performances of self in society and an overwhelming concern with virtue.

Dana Harrington explains that "[t]he eighteenth century inherited from its classical and humanist predecessors a concept of virtue defined in terms of public service to the state."[702] This classical model of civic humanist virtue was part of a gendered discussion of social behaviour due to the fact that, as Harrington notes, it "carried with it strong military and masculine connotations."[703] Classical influences can be frequently identified in medical, philosophical, and literary texts from the eighteenth century, as seen, for example, in Mead's use of Celsus, and More's turn to the neoclassical pastoral in *The Search After Happiness*. However, in *The Fatal*

[700] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 24.
[701] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 24.
[702] Dana Harrington, "Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 34. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3886041.
[703] Harrington, "Gender, Commerce, and Transformations of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 34.

Falsehood More's emphasis on virtue, particularly the masculine duties of the military characters, is where the eighteenth-century classical civic model of virtue that Harrington identifies comes into play. The social value of the military as a space for an expression of 'masculine' violence, and as a space that placed an honourable label on violent expression is relevant to reading More's presentation of the gendered dynamic in her texts. In *The Fatal Falsehood* Bertrand overtly links masculine honour to violence and embodiment. Robert Shoemaker discusses the downward trend in recorded instances of public violence in this period. Shoemaker explains that "a dramatic decline in homicides in eighteenth-century London, part of this much longer trend, was caused by the formulation of new understandings of masculinity in the context of the changing socio- cultural significance of honour in urban society."[704] The role of the eighteenth-century military in the period's construction of ideas of masculinity, honour, and virtue is therefore inherently linked to a gendered ideology which I claim is present throughout More's writing.

Early in the period, "dramatists used the character of the army officer to criticise other men they considered effeminate, such as the fop, or unpatriotic, such as the hector."[705] As noted in Chapter 3, Griffith also employs this trope of contrasting military male characters with their 'effeminate' counterparts, with a focus on national identity. In More's drama, however, this use of the military figure is made more complex by the fact that Orlando, the Italian Count, was also a military man. Orlando explains why he left Italy: "[d]irected hither by the noble Rivers, to ease his father's fears, who thought he fell in that engagement where we both were wounded."[706] Although both men were wounded, More establishes the difference in their masculine virtue, by continuing the lines: "[h]is was a glorious wound, gained in the cause of gen'rous friendship, for an hostile spear aim'd at my breast, Rivers in his receiv'd, sav'd my devoted life, and won my soul."[707] More is not only making clear that her tragic protagonist also fought in the military, but that Rivers was the better friend and therefore more virtuous character for facing a physical threat for Orlando. More, in these lines, also establishes the relevance of the soul to Rivers' and Orlando's relationship. More's connection,

[704] Robert Shoemaker, "Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London," *Social History* 26, no. 2 (2001): 190. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4286764.
[705] Owen Brittan, "Subjective Experience and Military Masculinity at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1714," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (2017): 273. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1754-0208.12462.
[706] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 12.
[707] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 12.

and yet division, of these characters demonstrates a theatrical embodiment of the conflict between virtuous selfhood and a virtuous self led astray by misguided ideas of honour, masculinity, and overwhelming passions.

The complex issue of categorising the soul in the eighteenth century was repeatedly represented in the philosophy of the period, for example in Rousseau's claims about the state of the soul in relation to the state of society. Rousseau argues that that the soul "has in a manner lost so much of its original Appearance as to be scarce distinguishable."[708] He continues that upon witnessing the soul one only sees "instead of that heavenly and majestic Simplicity which its Author had impressed upon it, but the shocking Contrast of Passion that thinks it reasons, and a delirious Understanding."[709] Rousseau, therefore, depicts the soul, as found in the socially performing individual, as something vulnerable to socio-cultural change, and particularly swayed by passion. The socially enacted self is also critiqued in Smith's theories of sympathy. Whilst Rousseau states a near-unrecognisable shift in the souled social self, Smith states the complication of perception in one's vision of the self. Smith states that when judging the experience of others, one judges "of your ear by my ear, of your reason by my reason, of your resentment by my resentment, of your love by my love. I neither have, nor can have, any other way of judging about them."[710] The lens of personal perception that Smith offers, however, is negated somewhat in this play by More's positioning of Rivers and Orlando as sharing 'one mind'. Emmelina states that "one mind informs them both, each is the very soul that warms the other, and both are wretched, or are bless'd together."[711] The reciprocal and symbiotic relationship of Orlando and Rivers seems to be accepted by the other characters, including Orlando in his lines about Rivers taking a spear for him, and yet this relationship causes conflict and disaster for the pair.

Emmelina, following the revelation that Orlando loves Julia, rationalises to her brother Rivers that: "[y]our souls were fram'd so very much alike, he could not chuse but love whom Rivers lov'd."[712] The idea of Orlando and Rivers sharing such a bond is equally expressed by Rivers when he meets with Orlando and uses the possessive claim: "[m]y

[708] Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality,* xlvi.
[709] Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality,* xlvi.
[710] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* 29.
[711] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 6.
[712] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 61.

other self! my own Orlando!"[713] Whilst these lines show Rivers and Orlando as intimate friends, there is still an acknowledgement of their distinctions – Rivers' other self is therefore not a part of his own self, and his own Orlando is separate from him both physically and in his actions. When Emmelina turns to Rivers with her doubts about Orlando's loyalty, Rivers states that "[h]is gallant soul is all made up of virtues, and I would rather doubt myself than him."[714] While it is possible to dismiss these lines as More simply attempting to create dramatic tragic dialogue, I argue that these continuous references to self and soul serve a purpose in this play. Throughout this play More presents virtue as something that is situated in the soul, unlike honour which is a social performance. It is through succumbing to his passions and losing his reason that Orlando's virtue is tarred. Bertrand tells Orlando that Julia loves him and Orlando, already in a heightened emotional state, claims "[m]y soul is up in arms, my reason's lost, and love and rage, and jealousy and honour, pull my divided heart, and tear my soul."[715] The repeated references to souls in *The Fatal Falsehood* place More's writing in a complex history of philosophical and religious struggles to claim and define the inner processes of the individual and how these relate to spirituality. Publicly contested in many seventeenth-century texts, the public concept of the soul was informed by church and state powers uneasily adopting the theory of Cartesian dualism. As Ann Thompson writes "[t]he defenders of Christianity had to steer a careful course between Hobbesian mechanism, which seemed to deny the existence of incorporeal substance, and a conception of self-moving matter which dispensed with the need for a God."[716] She argues that "[t]he solution provided by Cartesianism, despite its dangers, was therefore attractive. By positing the separate nature of the two substances it seemed to guarantee the natural immortality of the soul."[717] The medical writing of the mid eighteenth century, dealing with the materiality of the body, also found space to acknowledge the immaterial, and the religiously formed understandings of the body and soul.

Richard Mead in the *Precepts* presents the body "as a hydraulic machine contrived with the most exquisite art",[718] and nods to a God as the engineer of the machine when he

[713] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 32.
[714] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 25.
[715] More, *The Fatal Falsehood,* 44.
[716] Thomson, *Bodies of Thought*, 49.
[717] Thomson, *Bodies of Thought*, 49.
[718] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions,* 2.

states that "the almighty Creator has formed two sorts of fibres."[719] Similarly William Buchan, discussing the negative effects of the passions on the mental and physical health of an individual, places religion in conversation with health in his writing. He outright argues for the soothing effect of religious faith, stating that "[n]othing can be better calculated than the *Christian Religion*, to raise and support the mind of its votaries under every affliction that can befal them."[720] Buchan continues by arguing for the role of virtue in religious teachings: "[i]t teaches them that the sufferings of this life are preparatory to the happiness of the next; and that all who persist in a course of virtue shall at last arrive at complete felicity."[721] Hannah More's religious didactic message in *The Fatal Falsehood*, therefore, ties into a history of previous and contemporary opinions on virtue, soul, and piety. While More ties virtue to piety, and the soul, it is also clearly something to be demonstrated and performed at the risk of being lost or unnoticed. Despite calling for the physical and social performances of virtue in her play texts, her work has a troubled relationship with sentimental trends from the eighteenth century. More cannot easily be categorised due to the contextual complexities of her hypocritical views on class, female education, and her interpersonal histories with other literary and political figures in this period. However, her work is well positioned within the wider social discourses of this period and her dramas particularly deserve greater attention, specifically for the ways in which More writes about the social self.

Reading More's role as educational playwright considering the philosophy and medical theory of the period, allows for an understanding of how her idea of a happy and virtuous self aligns with these philosophies and theories. Equally, in applying a close reading to her drama, particularly the characterisation of these selves, I claim that one can better understand More's self-bestowed role as moral educator of the individual. My claim that More creates accessible moralising through her dramaturgy can be seen in *The Search After Happiness* in her choice of the English countryside rather than a classical pastoral setting, while still using of the pastoral form. More's linguistic choices to include physical metaphors, and associate mental and physical feeling all contribute to her cohesive educational dramaturgy in *The Search After Happiness.* In *The Fatal Falsehood* More continues to discuss virtue but situates her argument in a very different arena. The inclusion, and prominence of male characters alongside the more theatrical elements of the play's structure and plot create a separate

[719] Mead, *Medical Precepts and Cautions*, 2.
[720] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 149.
[721] Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, 149.

realm for the discussion of the virtuous self. Nonetheless, More's work uses the somatic expressions of feeling to offer legible meta-text for the audience or reader. I claim that Smithean sympathetic reasoning is present in both plays and their treatment of the characters' interactions, for example the use of the physical to understand another's feelings, and the relevance of personal perception to the interpretation of these expressions.

The association of virtue with piety, with heaven expressly, is central to More's religious literary dramaturgy. In *The Search After Happiness* this is an unquestioned premise of the play. In *The Fatal Falsehood,* a text intended for a broader theatre-going public rather than written for young ladies to perform at school, More inserts dialogue that expresses the association of virtue and the soul and warns against performative dissimulation. More's literary dramaturgy is deserving of greater study due to her complex and, at times self- contradictory, engagement with social issues and direct instructive intent. Her presentation of the virtuous self relies on religious faith and the balanced performance of virtue without straying into performative inauthenticity and this in turn can be read considering the eighteenth-century sentimental discourse on social performances of passion and self. Although a belief in divinity and the power of the Christian God is clear in More's writing, she is also clear about ascribing culpability to the individual. These dramas depict young women, or tragic characters, making choices, and More argues that these characters should choose to follow the teachings of the church and share these pious ideas through speech and action. She also asserts her own validity as teacher and vocal advocate for her moral ideas on the topic of self and sociality.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that, and explored how, female playwrights, women who are often left out of a cultural narrative of the formation of the 'modern self', were responding to and (re)creating ideas of social selfhood and the individual self in a similar manner to eighteenth-century physicians and philosophers. By highlighting the distinct tropes of perceived, virtuous, gendered, and passionate selfhood in Griffith, More, Inchbald, and Baillie's dramas this study has asserted that these women's creation of characters served as part of a broader social discourse of self and social behaviour that was ongoing in the eighteenth century across the fields of literature, medicine, and philosophy. Playwrights, just like diverse authors, physicians, and philosophers of the 1700s were able and perhaps drawn to investigate the core questions arising from the period's specific blend of cultural and social concerns. This thesis has analysed how female British playwrights approached the epistemological questions of how one would know and recognise that self in the eighteenth century, and how their presentations of the self corresponded with or departed from ideas of selfhood and sociality demonstrated in eighteenth-century medical and philosophical texts. I have placed female writing, specifically writing for a medium that was consumed as entertainment, alongside male writing in the realms of philosophy and physical health – framed as more 'educated' and 'intellectual', and operationally more male-dominated, fields. I have used this partly new historicist methodology to argue that reading these texts and theories together presents a clearer picture of the non-linear relationship between the definitions and boundaries set on the idea of the self and social behaviour across these three fields. In analysing these plays I have demonstrated that the self and ideas of social behaviour and performance were central to the writing of dramatists, philosophers, and physicians in the eighteenth century, and that close readings of these plays illuminate how these women were engaging in public discourse on the self.

This is only one step on a longer journey of bringing critical focus to the literary aspect of these dramatic works, to the dramaturgy of the eighteenth century broadly, and to the ways in which female playwrights participated in cultural discourse of selfhood and social behaviour. The value of this project can be found in my contributions to the various fields of study on the topics of eighteenth-century literature and drama, female playwrights, and philosophical and physical

understandings of the individual self in this period. The case studies used in this thesis demonstrate the individual tones and messages that each playwright brought to their writing, however, there are recurring themes throughout the plays that contribute to the fundamental discourse on self and sociality that unites their writings. As established early in this thesis, the passions were used in medical, philosophical, and dramatic writing throughout the eighteenth century to discuss feeling, behaviour, and mentality. Each case study, therefore, has to some degree dealt with the presentation and treatment of the passions in Griffith, Inchbald, More, and Baillie's plays.

In articulating and analysing the dominant types and tropes of selfhood and sociality present in the selected dramas of each playwright, this thesis has established a strong base from which to conduct a contextualised close reading of the plays included in this study. Although I argue that my framework can be applied in close reading and further analysing a variety of dramas using different philosophical and medical texts, it should be acknowledged that the texts analysed throughout this thesis required careful balancing and selection. Working at the intersection of several fields I cannot claim expertise in philosophical or medical fields for example, however, my fundamental methodology of close reading meant that I was able to provide readings of these texts in contextualised and considered ways. The distinct type of medical discourses that I have used to analyse the range of themes present in these play texts required deliberate filtering to find. There are many medical texts from this period that feature little to no rumination on the impact of various social practices or experiences on health. In short, some eighteenth-century medical texts read much more like contemporary writing on disease and ill-health, whereas the selections I have made for this thesis, and for the demonstration of this analytical framework, border the medical-philosophical divide and present a more direct address of opinion toward the reader.

I have purposefully explored the contrast between male intellectual voices in the fields of medicine and philosophy and female literary and dramaturgical voices in the field of theatre history and play writing. While a close reading of play texts by male dramatists of this period using medical and philosophical writing would still hold fascinating results, it would not speak to the proliferation and non-linear exchange between the worlds of science and intellect, and entertainment and literature, in the same way that this study has demonstrated. Noting the use of pathology, philosophy,

and theory in the dramas of male playwrights does not show the same results as noting these themes in female playwrights' works, as women were less encouraged and often less able to engage with these male-dominated fields through traditional education. The evidence in women's dramas that these ideas were either reaching female playwrights or simultaneously occupying their thoughts and writing indicates the non-linear relationship between formalised and male-dominated written theories of self, and popular dramatic conceptualising done by women at the same time. Building on this study there is significant room for an analysis of female voices in the fields of medical and philosophical writing, and a comparative discussion of how women were contributing to these fields alongside the dramas of female playwrights.

This thesis, while concerned with the theatre, is not a piece of scholarship on theatrical history, and therefore there is also significant space for further studies that apply my comparative framework of close reading alongside more direct contexts and theory on theatre history. In my literary reading, I avoid value judgements on the plays' either original or enduring successes or failures. This approach allows a reading that moves beyond any of the theatrical, literary, or general 'problems' with the texts, and focusses instead on the value of the texts as insights into female voices in this period, and how these dramatists were contributing to the social understanding of the self. The multi-disciplinary nature of the preceding chapters operates considering both the focus of this study, namely the literary and dramaturgical aspects of these playwright's texts, and the contextual milieu in which these women were writing. This period saw an increase in exchange, both of knowledge and material culture, and the growing globalisation of experience in eighteenth-century London was reflected in the literary and dramatic productions of its playwrights. Furthermore, the experience of being a woman in this time and place was also undergoing rapid change, and Griffith, More, Inchbald, and Baillie are just a small sample of the women whose literary dramaturgies demonstrated the responsive and reflective dimension of their writing to these experiential changes. Analysing the dramatic writing of these women alongside the common and enduring theories of self, nationhood, gender, passions, virtue, and health found in medical and philosophical writing of this period is an avenue of study that will continue to bear fruit given the attention that this thesis has begun to channel in this direction. It is valuable in our ongoing analysis of the literary and dramaturgical aspects of (specifically eighteenth-century) theatre to place these depictions of self and sociality in the context of other prominent cultural conversations surrounding how the

self can, should, and does perform.

Bibliography

Ahmed, Siraj. “The Theater of the Civilized Self: Edmund Burke and the East India Trials.” *Representations* 78, no. 1 (2002): 28-55. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2002.78.1.28.

Albuquerque, Joy, Deshauer, Dorian, and Paul Grof. “Descartes’ passions of the soul – seeds of psychiatry?.” *Journal of Affective Disorders* 76 (2003): 285-291. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-0327(02)00104-0.

Allard, James Robert. *Romanticism, Medicine, and the Poet’s Body*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007.

Allen, Douglas W. “Compatible Incentives and the Purchase of Military Commissions.” The Journal of Legal Studies, 27, no. 1 (1998): 45-66. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/468013.

Anderson, Emily Hodgson. *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction.* Oxon: Routledge, 2009.

Anderson, Misty G. *Female Playwrights and Eighteenth-Century Comedy: Negotiating Marriage on the London Stage.* New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Backscheider, Paula R. “Retrieving Elizabeth Inchbald,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre 1737-1832*, edited by Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor, 601-620. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Bailey, Joanne. “Paternal power: the pleasures and perils of ‘indulgent’ fathering in Britain in the long eighteenth century.” *The History of the Family* 17, no. 3 (2012): 326-342. https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2012.658262.

Baillie, Joanna. *A Series of Plays: in Which it is Attempted to Delineate The Stronger Passions of the Mind.* London: T. Cadell Jr. and W. Davies, 1798.

Baillie, Joanna. “Introductory Discourse.” In *A Series of Plays: in Which it is Attempted to Delineate The Stronger Passions of the Mind,* 1-72. London: T. Cadell Jr. and W. Davies, 1798.

Baillie, Matthew. *The Morbid Anatomy of Some of the Most Important Parts of the Human Body.* London: J. Johnson, and G. Nicol, 1793.

Banister, Julia. *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture, 1689-1815.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Barker-Benfield, G.J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Barnouw, Jeffrey. "Passions as "Confused" Perception or Thought in Descartes, Malebranche, and Hutcheson." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 3 (1992): 397-424. https://doi.org/10.2307/2709884.

Batchelor, Jennie. *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Bergen, Daniel. "Reimagining the Romantic Imagination: Embodied, Proto-Cognitive Psychologies in Joanna Baillie's *Introductory Discourse* and *Orra*." *Literature Compass,* 11 (2014), 190-205. https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12118.

Blackstone, William. *Commentaries on the Laws of England Book the First*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765.

Bolton, Betsy. "Farce, Romance, Empire: Elizabeth Inchbald And Colonial Discourse." *Eighteenth Century Theory and Interpretation* 39, no. 1 (1998): 3-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41467682.

Bradford, Richard. *A Linguistic History of English Poetry.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Brewer, William D. "Joanna Baillie and Lord Byron," *Keats-Shelley Journal* 44, (1995): 166. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30212998.

Brittan, Owen. "Subjective Experience and Military Masculinity at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1714." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (2017): 273-290. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1754-0208.12462.

Brown, John (D.D.). *On the Female Character and Education: A Sermon Preached on Thursday the 16th of May, 1765, at The Anniversary Meeting of The Guardian of the Asylum for Deserted Female Orphans.* London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1765.

Brown, John. *The Elements of Medicine; or, a Translation of the Elementa Medicinæ Brunonis.*

London: J. Johnson, 1788.

Buchan, William. *Domestic Medicine or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines.* London: W. Strahan, 1772.

Burroughs, Catherine B. ""A Reasonable Woman's Desire": The Private Theatrical and Joanna Baillie's The Tryal." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* 38, no. 3/4 (1996), 265-284. http://www.jstor.com/stable/40755103.

Burroughs, Catherine B. *Closet Stages Joanna Baillie and the Theater Theory of British Romantic Women Writers.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Burroughs, Catherine B. "The Erotics of Home: Staging Sexual Fantasy in British Women's Drama." In *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama – History, Agency, and Performativity,* ed. by Lilla Maria Crisafulli, and Keir Elam, 103-122. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010.

Burroughs, Catherine, ed. *Women in British Romantic Theatre: Drama, Performance, and Society, 1790-1840.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Burwick, Frederick. "Joanna Baillie, Matthew Baillie, and the pathology of the passions." In *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist,* edited by Thomas C. Crochunis, 48-68. London: Routledge, 2004.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Oxon: Routledge, 1990.

Caballero, M. Soledad, and Aimee Knupsky. ""Some Powerful Rankling Passion": An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Emotion Regulation Strategies in Joanna Baillie's Passions Plays." *Poetics Today* 40:3 (September 2019): 475-498. DOI10.1215/03335372-7558094.

Campbell, Lily B. "The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century." *PMLA* 32, no. 2 (1917): 163-200. https://www.jstor.org/stable/457045.

Canfield, J. Douglas, and Deborah C. Payne, eds. *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater.* Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Carney, Sean. "The Passion of Joanna Baillie: Playwright as Martyr." *Theatre Journal,* 52, 2 (2000): 227-252. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068778.

Castle, Terry. *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640.* London: Routledge, 1965.

Cheyne, George. *An Essay of Health and Long Life.* London: George Strahan, 1724.

Cheyne, George. *The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind Depending on the Body.* London: George Strahan, 1742.

Chico, Tita. *Designing Women: The Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005.

Chico, Tita. *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018.

Choudhury, Mita. "Gazing at His Seraglio: Late Eighteenth-Century Women Playwrights as Orientalists." *Theatre Journal* 47, no. 4 (1995): 481-502. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3208988.

Clare, David, Fiona McDonagh, and Justine Nakase, eds. *The Golden Thread Irisih Women Playwrights, 1716-2016 Volume 1 (1716-1992).* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021.

Codr, Dwight. ""Her failing voice endeavoured, in vain, to articulate": Sense and Disability in the Novels of Elizabeth Inchbald." *Philological Quarterly* 87, no. 3/4 (Summer 2008): 359-388. https://hallam.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/her- failing-voice-endeavoured-vain-articulate/docview/211149251/se-2?accountid=13827.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837,* 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Colón, Christine A. *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2009.

Cowper, William. *The Task A Poem in Six Books*. New York: William Durell, 1796.

Cox, Jeffrey N. “Staging Baillie.” In *Joanna Baillie, Romantic Dramatist*, edited by Thomas Crochunis, 146-167. London: Routledge, 2004.

Crisafulli, Lilla Maria and Keir Elam. *Women’s Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity*. Oxon: Routledge, 2016.

Crochunis, Thomas C. ed. *Joanna Baillie Romantic Dramatist*. London: Routledge, 2004.

Crochunis, Thomas. ““Literary Homosociality and the Political Science of the Actor's Closet.” *Victorian Studies*, 49 (2007): 258-267. https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.1353%2Fvic.20 07.0093.

Crochunis, Thomas C., and Michael E. Sinatra, eds. *The Routledge Anthology of British Women Playwrights, 1777-1843*. Oxon: Routledge, 2019.

Day, Carolyn A. “Dying to be Beautiful: Fragile Fashionistas and Consumptive Dress in England, 1780-1820.” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 4 (2017): 603-620. https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12512.

Defoe, Daniel. *The True-Born Englishman. A Satyr*. London: 1700. (Note that in this edition available via Historical Texts Database (https://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=eebo-ocm11987849e&terms=Daniel%20Defoe%20true%20born&offset=30) the front page does not list a publisher or bookseller but does list publication date as MDCC.)

Demers, Patricia. *The World of Hannah More*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

Descartes, René. *The Passions of the Soule In three Books. The first, Treating of the Passions in Generall, and occasionally of the whole nature of man. The second, Of the Number, and order of the Passions, and the explication of the six Primitive ones. The third, Of Particular Passions.* London: J. Martin & J. Ridley, 1650.

Donkin, Ellen. *Getting into the Act Women Playwrights in London 1776-1829*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Duckling, Louise. “Coming Out of the Closet and Competing with John Anybody: The Bold World of Joanna Baillie.” In *British Women and the Intellectual World in the Long Eighteenth Century*, edited by Teresa Barnard, 143-156. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

DuPlessis, Robert S. *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650 -1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Dwyer, Karen. "Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* and the Spectacle of Medical Science." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 29 (2000): 23-46. https://doi.org/10.1353/sec.2010.0244.

Eger, Elizabeth. *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Eger, Elizabeth. 'Elizabeth Griffith'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11596.

Ellis, Markman. *The Politics of Sensibility Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Engel, Laura and Elaine M. McGirr, eds. *Stage Mothers: Women, Work, and the Theater, 1660-1830.* Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2014.

Ennis, Daniel J. and E. Joe Johnson, eds. *The World of Elizabeth Inchbald Essays on Literature, Culture, and Theatre in the Long Eighteenth Century.* Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2022.

Evans, James. "Urban versus Rural." *The Encyclopedia of British Literature 1660-1789.* Online: 6 May 2015, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118607268.wbebl323.

Fawcett, Julia H. *Spectacular Disappearances Celebrity and Privacy, 1696-1801*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016.

Festa, Lynn. "Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 47-90. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/184260.

Finberg, Melinda C., ed. *Eighteenth-Century Women Dramatists.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Foote, Samuel. *Treatise on the Passions So far as they regard the Stage; With a critical Enquiry into the Theatrical Merit of Mr. G – K, Mr. Q – N, and Mr. B – Y. The first considered in the*

Part of Lear, the two last opposed in Othello. London: C. Corbet, 1747.

Fraser, Russell. "What is Augustan Poetry?" *The Sewanee Review* 98, no. 4 (1990): 620-645. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27546275.

Garrick, David. *An Essay on Acting In which will be consider'd The Mimical Behaviour of a Certain fashionable faulty Actor and the Laudableness of such unmannerly, as well as inhumane Proceeding. To which will be added, A short Criticism on His acting Macbeth.* London: W. Bickerton, 1744.

Gauthier, David. *Rousseau: The Sentiment of Existence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Geller, Lila. "Widows' Vows and "More Dissemblers Besides Women"." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991): 287-308. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24322101.

Gilliland, Thomas. *The Dramatic Mirror: Containing the History of the Stage, from the earliest period to the present time; including a biographical and critical account of all the Dramatic Writers from 1660; and also of the most Distinguished Performers, from the days of Shakespeare to 1807: And a History of the Country Theatres, in England, Ireland, and Scotland* Volume 1. London: C. Chapple, 1808.

Gobert, R. Darren. *The Mind-Body Stage Passion and Interaction in the Cartesian Theater*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Gonda, Caroline. "Sarah Scott and "The Sweet Excess of Paternal Love"." Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900 32, no. 3 (1992): 511-535. https://doi.org/10.2307/450919.

Goring, Paul. *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*. London: Continuum, 2008.

Gottlieb, Anthony. *The Dream of Enlightenment The Rise of Modern Philosophy.* St Ives: Penguin Books, 2016.

Griffith, Elizabeth and Richard Griffith. *A Series of Genuine Letters Between Henry and Frances.* London: W. Johnson, 1757.

Griffith, Elizabeth. *A Wife in the Right.* London: E. & C. Dilly, J. Robson, and J. Walter, 1772.

Griffith, Elizabeth. *The Times.* Dublin: The Company of Booksellers (R. Marchbank), 1780.

Griffiths, Ralph, ed. "Art. 19. *The Platonic Wife, a Comedy*." *The Monthly Review,* 42, (February 1765): 155-155. https://search.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/docview/4754543/B36FD08ABFEB49E9PQ/3?accountid=13827.

Grose, Francis. *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue.* London: S. Hooper, 1788.

Guerrini, Anita. *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Guerrini, Anita. "The Hungry Soul: George Cheyne and the Construction of Femininity." Eighteenth-Century Studies 32, no. 3 (1999): 279-291. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053907.

Harkin, Maureen. "Adam Smith on Women." In *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith,* edited by Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, Craig Smith, 501-522. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Harrington, Dana. "Gender, Commerce, and the Transformation of Virtue in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 33-52. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3886041.

Hewitt, Regina. "Joanna Baillie's Stardom: Social Claims, Literary Objects, and Scholarly Lenses." *Literature Compass,* 1 (2004): 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00085.x.

Hill, John. *The Actor Or, A Treatise on the Art of Playing.* London: R. Griffiths, 1755.

Hultquist, Aleksondra. "Introductory Essay: Emotion, Affect, and the Eighteenth Century." *The Eighteenth Century* 58, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 273-280. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/671641.

Hume, David. *A Treatise of Human Nature.* Volumes I-III. London: Thomas Longman, 1740.

Hundert, Edward. "Performing the Passions in Commercial Society Bernard Mandeville and the Theatricality of Eighteenth-Century Thought." In *Refiguring Revolutions Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution,* edited by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, 141-172. London: University of California Press, 1998.

Hundert, E.J. *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hunter, William. *Two Introductory Lectures, Delivered by Dr. William Hunter, to his last course of Anatomical Lectures, at his Theatre in Windmill-Street: As they were left corrected for the Press by* himself. London: J. Johnson, 1784.

Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. *Marriage & The British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hutcheson, Francis. *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections with Illustrations on the Moral Sense*. London: S. Powell, 1728.

Hutcheson, Francis. *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue in Two Treatises.* London: John Darby, 1725.

Inchbald, Elizabeth. *The Widow's Vow.* Dublin: Byrne, Porter, and Jones, 1786.

Inchbald, Elizabeth. *Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are.* Dublin: P. Wogan, 1797.

Jewson, N. D. "Medical Knowledge and the Patronage System in 18th Century England." *Sociology* 8, no. 3 (September 1974): 369-385. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F003803857400800302.

Johnson, Samuel. *A Dictionary of the English Language.* Dublin: W.G. Jones, 1768.

Jones, Chris. *Radical Sensibility Literature and ideas in the 1790s.* Oxon: Routledge, 1993.

Jones, M. G. *Hannah More.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Jones, Roger. "Richard Mead, Thomas Guy, the South Sea Bubble and the founding of Guy's Hospital." *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 103, no. 3 (March 2010).

Judson, Barbara. ""Sympathetic Curiosity": The Theater of Joanna Baillie." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 49-70. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20455261.

Juneja, Renu. "The Native and the Nabob: Representations of the Indian Experience in

Eighteenth-Century English Literature." *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 27, no. 1 (1992): 183-198. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/002198949202700116.

Kavanagh, Declan. *Effeminate Years: Literature, Politics, and Aesthetics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2017.

Kingsley Kent, Susan. *Gender and power in Britain, 1640-1990*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Kramer, Kaley. "Rethinking Surrender: Elizabeth Inchbald and the "Catholic Novel"." In *British Women and the Intellectual World in the Long Eighteenth Century,* edited by Teresa Barnard, 87-107. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.

Lecaldano, Eugenio. "The Passions, Character, and the Self in Hume." *Hume Studies* 28, no 2 (2002): 175-193. https://doi.org/10.1353/hms.2002.a385862.

Lamb, Susan. "The Popular Theater of Samuel Foote and British National Identity." *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 2, (1996): 245-265. https://doi.org/10.1353/cdr.1996.0000.

Langford, Paul. *A Polite and Commercial People England 1727-1783*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greek to Freud.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Lawson, Philip, and Jim Phillips. ""Our Execrable Banditti": Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 16, no. 3 (1984): 225-241. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4048755.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding.* Volume 1. London: Basset, 1690.

Lott, Anna. "Sexual Politics in Elizabeth Inchbald." *Studies in English Literature, 1500- 1900.* 34, no. 3 (Summer, 1994): 635-648. https://www.jstor.org/stable/450886.

Macdonald, Fiona. "Medicine." In *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland: Volume 2 Enlightenment and Expansion 1707-1800,* edited by Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall, 494-502. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Mandeville, Bernard. *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions, Vulgarly call'd the Hypo in Men and Vapours in Women*. Little Old Baily: Dryden Leach, 1711.

Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits.* London: J. Roberts, 1714.

Mandeville, Bernard. *The Virgin Unmask'd: Or, Female Dialogues Betwixt and Elderly Maiden Lady, and her Niece, on several Diverting Discourses on Love, Marriage, Memoirs, and Morals &c. of the Times.* London: J. Morphew, 1709.

Marsden, Jean I. *Theatres of Feeling: Affect, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century Stage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

McCormack, Matthew. *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

McCormack, Matthew. *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

McGillivray, Glen. *Actors, Audiences, and Emotions in the Eighteenth Century.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.

McGirr, Elaine M. *Eighteenth-Century Characters A Guide to the Literature of the Age*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

McKeever, Gerard Lee. *Dialectics of Improvement: Scottish Romanticism, 1786-1831*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.

McMaster, Juliet. *Reading the Body in the Eighteenth-Century Novel.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

McMillan, Dorothy. "'Dr' Baillie." In *1798: The Year of the Lyrical Ballads*, edited by Richard Cronin, 68-92. Hampshire: Palgrave Publishers Ltd., 1998.

McNeil, Peter. *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.

McNeil, Peter. Ed. *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Age of Enlightenment.* New

York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.

Mead, Richard. *Medical Precepts and Cautions*. Translated by Thomas Stack. Dublin: W. Smith, 1751.

Meaney, Gerardine, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan. *Reading the Irish Woman: Studies in Cultural Encounter and Exchange, 1714-1960*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

Mellor, Anne K. "Joanna Baillie and the Counter-Public Sphere." *Studies in Romanticism*, 33, no. 4 (1994): 559-567. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25601086.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A09b14f3ae3140cd9ac7823e2f80ed20a.

Mellor, Anne K., *Mothers of the Nation Women's Political Writing in England, 1780- 1830.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Monsam, Angela. "A Vivisecting Dramatist: The Anatomy of Theater in Joanna Baillie's "Introductory Discourse" and *De Monfort*." *European Romantic Review* 28, no. 6 (2017): 751-772. https://doi.org/10.1080/10509585.2017.1388798.

More, Hannah. *Sacred Dramas: Chiefly Intended For Young Persons: The Subjects Taken From The Bible. To Which Is Added Sensibility, A Poem.* London: T. Cadell, 1782.

More, Hannah. *The Fatal Falsehood.* London: T. Cadell, 1779.

More, Hannah. *The Search After Happiness.* Bristol: S. Farley, 1773.

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

Nechtman, Tillman W. *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Nussbaum, Felicity. *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Nussbaum, Felicity. *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Nyland, Chris “Adam Smith, Stage Theory, and the Status of Women.” In *The Status of Women in Classical Economic Thought,* edited by Robert William Dimand and Chris Nyland, 86-107. Massachusetts, Edward Elgar Publishing Inc., 2003.

O’Quinn, Daniel. “Scissors and Needles: Inchbald’s “Wives as They Were, Maids as They Are” and the Governance of Sexual Exchange.” *Theatre Journal* 51, no. 2 (May, 1999): 105-125. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25068646.

O’Quinn, Daniel. *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London, 1770-1800.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988. Patrat, J. *L’Heureuse Erreur.* Paris: Chez Brunet, 1783.

Pinch, Adela. *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Pointon, Marcia. *Portrayal and the Search for Identity.* London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2013.

Pope, Alexander. *The Iliad of Homer*. Edinburgh: J. Robertson, 1773.

Porter, Roy. *Flesh in the Age of Reason How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls.* London: Penguin, 2003.

Porter, Roy, ed. *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Purton, Valerie. *Dickens and the Sentimental Tradition: Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Lamb.* London: Anthem Press, 2012.

Quinsey, Katherine M. ed. *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

Radcliffe, Elizabeth. *Hume, Passion, and Action.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Richardson, Alan. “A neural theatre: Joanna Baille's “Plays on the Passions.” In *Joanna Baillie Romantic Dramatist,* edited by Thomas Crochunis, 130-145. London: Routledge, 2004.

Riello, Giorgio and Ulinka Rublack, eds. *The Right to Dress Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective c. 1200-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Risse, Guenter B. *New Medical Challenges During the Scottish Enlightenment*. New York: Editions Rodopi, 2005.

Ritchie, Fiona. *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Ritchie, Leslie. *David Garrick and the Mediation of Celebrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Rivero, Albert, J. *The Sentimental Novel in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Roach, R. Joseph. *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985.

Robertson, Ben P. *Elizabeth Inchbald's Reputation: A Publishing and Reception History*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013.

Rogers, H.C.B. *The British Army in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxon: Routledge, 1977.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *A Discourse upon Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind.* London: R & J. Dodsley, 1761.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Celebrated Discourse of J.J. Rousseau, which obtained the prize of the Academy of Dijon, Anno Dom. 1750, Upon the Following Question, Proposed by the same Academy, "Has the re-establishment of the arts and of the sciences contributed to the improvement of morals?" Translated into English, And addressed to the Members of the Royal Society.* London: W. Richardson, 1779.

Schmitter, Amy M. "Passions, Affections, Sentiments: Taxonomy and Terminology." In *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by James A. Harris, 197-225. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sharma, Yoti Pandey. "Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Colonial India." *International*

Association for the Study of Traditional Environments 31, 1 (2019): 7-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26952997.

Sharpe, Kevin and Steven N. Zwicker, eds. *Refiguring Revolutions Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution.* London: University of California Press, 1998.

Shoemaker, Robert. "Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London." *Social History* 26, no. 2 (2001): 190-208. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4286764.

Shuttleton, David E. and John A. Dussinger, eds. *The Cambridge Edition of The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson: Correspondence with George Cheyne and Thomas Edwards.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Simmel, Georg. "Fashion." *International Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (October 1904): 130-155.

Skedd, S. J. 'Hannah More'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19179.

Skinner, Gillian. *Sensibility and Economics in the Novel, 1740-1800 The Price of a Tear*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 1999.

Slagle, Judith Bailey. *Joanna Baillie, A Literary Life*. London: Associated University Presses, 2002.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.* London: A. Millar, 1759.

Smith, Homer. "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama." *Modern Language Association* 12, no. 3(1897): 355-460. https://www.jstor.org/stable/456249.

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry*. Chichester: Wiley- Blackwell, 2009.

Spencer, Jane. 'Inchbald [née Simpson], Elizabeth.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14374.

Stobart, Jon, ed. *Travel and the British Country House: Cultures, Critiques and Consumption in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Stott, Anne. *Hannah More The First Victorian.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Stott, Anne. "Patriotism and Providence: The Politics of Hannah More." In *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860,* edited by Kathryn Gleadle and S. Richardson, 39-55. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Straub, Kristina, and Misty G. Anderson, and Daniel O'Quinn, eds. *The Routledge Anthology of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Drama.* Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Stretton, Tim and Krista J. Kesserling, eds. *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World.* Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2013.

Tillotson, Geoffrey. *Augustan Studies* 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Thomson, Ann. *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, And the Soul in the Early Enlightenment.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Taylor, Jacqueline. "The Idea of a Science of Human Nature." In *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century,* edited by James A. Harris, 65-83. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Tullet, William. *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Vaughan, Walter. *An Essay Philosophical and Medical Concerning Modern Clothing.* W. Gillman: London, 1792.

Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Wall, Cynthia. "The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantling." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, 1 (1997): 1-25. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053642.

Wigston Smith, Chloe. *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, empire and gender in the eighteenth century.*

London: Routledge, 2003.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Thoughts on the Education of Daughter: with Reflections on Female Conduct, in The more important Duties of Life.* London: J. Johnson, 1787.

Wyngaard, Amy S. *From Savage to Citizen: The Invention of the Peasant in the French Enlightenment.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004.

Zuckerman, Arnold. "Plague and Contagionism in Eighteenth-Century England: The Role of Richard Mead." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 78, no. 2 (Summer 2004).