4-7-2017

Traveling Women and Consuming Place in Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters and Journals

Cassie Patricia Childs
University of South Florida, cassiechilds@mail.usf.edu

Traveling Women and Consuming Place in Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters and Journals

by

Cassie Patricia Childs

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
with a concentration in Literature
Department of English
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Laura Runge, Ph.D.
Pat Rogers, Ph.D.
Andrew Berish, Ph.D.
Mona Narain, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
March 28, 2017

Keywords: eighteenth-century travel writing, food history, human geography, Delarivier Manley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Janet Schaw, Frances Burney

Dedication

I dedicate this to Jordan, my person and fellow traveler in life. To Everett, to inspire you to read and to feed a desire to travel. And to Grandma Doreen, from your “little scholar.”

Acknowledgments

I first must thank Laura Runge, my director and mentor, for her guidance and feedback during this dissertation process. I am thankful for her encouragement and confidence in me and this project, which enabled me to complete this journey. I am also incredibly thankful for her advice that extended beyond the dissertation into the realms of teaching, family, and marriage. I am incredibly appreciative of my committee members, Pat Rogers, Mona Narain, and Andrew Berish, for their feedback and kind words on my ideas for this project. Each of them played a significant part in guiding this dissertation and helped to shape the direction of the project. I am also deeply grateful for Marty Gould's generosity as he saw early iterations of my project description and helped me to hone and clarify ideas. I am thankful for his time and willingness to help, especially as he was not a member of my committee. I also thank Regina Hewitt and Diane Price Herndl for their thoughtful and generous feedback in the early stages of the dissertation.

I would also like to thank the various organizations, conferences, and fellow conference attendees who, perhaps without even recognizing it, shaped this dissertation. Thank you to The Aphra Behn Society, the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and Chawton House Library for allowing me to present at their conferences, which offered me the opportunity to receive feedback from scholars who would not ordinarily have heard my dissertation work. I am thinking particularly of questions and conversations with Nush Powell, Kathy King, Devoney Looser, Sharon Harrow, JoEllen DeLucia, and Norbert Schürer. I am especially grateful to The Aphra Behn Society, whose members have always been a source of encouragement and friendship, and with whom I am now proud to be colleagues. Karen Gevirtz, Jennifer Golightly,

Aleksondra Hultquist, thank you for your mentorship and sage wisdom when I most needed words from strong women, scholars, and mothers. I am profoundly grateful for Kirsten Saxton, my mentor and advisor from Mills College, as over the years she more than generously offered her time, advice, friendship, and feedback on the professional and personal aspects of life. Kirsten, I am indebted to you and hope to continue the good work you have modeled for me. Thank you to my eighteenth-century friends, Sarah Rae, Megan Peiser, and Leah Orr who continuously supported me with kind words and late-night cocktails.

Thank you to the New York Public Library rare book librarians for showing me manuscripts in the archives that became integral to my dissertation project. I am honored to have been awarded the 2017 ASECS Women's Caucus Catherine Macaulay Prize for best graduate student paper for a selection of chapter three on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. I am eternally thankful to the University of South Florida Graduate School for generously awarding me the Dissertation Completion Fellowship, which provided me a full year to write, think, and research in a way that I had never anticipated.

I would also like to thank the faculty and staff of the English Department who have helped me in so many different ways during my seven years at USF. I am also grateful to my fellow graduate students, who are more family than friends. I particularly owe many thanks to Marisa Iglesias, Ellie Browning, Jeff Spicer, and Brianna Jerman who have been with me during both the ordinary and critical moments of the doctoral program.

Though they appear last in this list, my most heartfelt thanks go to my family. To Jordan, for his loyalty, kindness, and untiring support. His belief in me helped me to push through the toughest moments of this dissertation project. To Everett, who, though not always traditionally helpful, was my source of joy through the last two and half years. To my family and friends in

California, Washington, Texas, Hawaii, and beyond, I thank you for all of your love and support. I am grateful for knowing you all believed in me and my goals. Finally, I would like to thank my Florida family, Allison Wise and Jessica Cook. Allison, your friendship has developed into one of my most cherished and our little family constantly lifts my spirits. And to Jessica, my bosom friend, whose support, guidance, feedback, and constant love is the most unexpected and most delightful outcome of this graduate degree. I am forever grateful to have traveled 3,000 miles to form our bosom friendship.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Traveling Women and Consuming Place in Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters and Journals considers how various women-authored travel narratives of the long eighteenth century employ food in the construction of place and identity. Chronologically charting the letters and journals of Delarivier Manley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Janet Schaw, and Frances Burney, I argue that the "critical food moments" described in their letters and journals demonstrate material, cultural, and social implications about consumption. My interdisciplinary project is located at the intersection of three seemingly divergent topics: food studies, human geography, and women-authored travel narratives. Approaching "place" as a way of being-in-the-world, my project traces the connection between verbal constructions of place and issues of identity, national and gender, across the eighteenth century. Looking at what I term "critical food moments" during travel allows us particular insight into how food simultaneously serves a literal (intended for consumption) and a figurative (used as a literary topic and device) function, and how tropes of food—such as digestion—function as lexicons which offer women writers opportunities to better understand and criticize the nation and their own identities within the nation. I argue that food-centered moments allow us to better understand the lived experiences of women traveling in the eighteenth century, to analyze how material and sensory conditions influenced and shaped women's understandings of themselves and their positions (places) in the world. Taken together, these four women authors represent a wide-range of perspectives from various social and economic backgrounds, and yet, what they have in common is crucial: a connection with the food, communities, and places they travel.

Chapter One:

Introduction

In *Letters Written by Mrs Manley* (1696), Delarivier Manley shares a basin of heart cherries with a fellow woman traveler, prompting a moment of commensality. In an initial reading of this moment I wondered about the significance of the cherries themselves: were cherries in season? did they connate a sense of hospitality? were they a popular fruit? Digging in the archives at the New York Public Library, I hoped to unearth answers to these questions that would inform and change the scope of my project. In the Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, I perused volumes of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archival materials primarily from the NYPL's Whitney Cookery Collection, whose holdings contain fifteen English manuscripts related to cookery and medicinal recipes and remedies. The aim had been to find a recipe that included cherries or a description of their popularity in the eighteenth century, but the discovery was much more illuminating. From Mary Davies (1684) and Lady Anne Morton's recipes "to dry Cheries," "to preserve Cheries," and "Marmollatt off Cheries," to Elizabeth Blackwell's illustrated plates on "Red Winter Cherries" (Plate 161), "Red Cherry" (Plate 449), and "The Black Cherry" (Plate 425) from *A Curious Herbal* (published between 1737 and 1739) to John Parkinson's section titled "Cerafus, The Cherry tree" (570-575) in *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris (*reprinted from the 1629 edition. 1904.) an intersection of food history and women's literary history emerged. What became visible was a material and cultural history that connected cherries to women-authored medicinal handbooks, recipes books, and botanical guides to women-authored travel narratives—a spatial and thematic network between women, food, and

archival materials. The moment itself was collaborative and tied to place: librarian and cultural historian; library archives and researcher. In a private moment of commensality between researcher and the archives, I was figuratively fed by the oft-celebrated *aha* moment, feasting on the cherry material that, for this project, connected the lived experiences of eighteenth-century women travelers, women-authored cookery manuscripts, and contemporary botanical and medicinal guides. I had anticipated finding a single cherry recipe or one historical reference to note in the Manley chapter and instead I discovered these archival materials represented a banquet themselves. The cherry, a single food item, showed up in a wide range of texts used for a variety of purposes by a wide spectrum of women, connecting eighteenth-century women in different places and resulting in a shared cultural history centered on food. What appeared before me was a representation not only of food history, but also a material representation of the way food and writer and text interconnect.

This dissertation on the travel letters and journals from Delarivier Manley, Janet Schaw, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Frances Burney relies heavily on the connections begun at the NYPL. These various women-authored texts, from travelogues to recipe books, represent the changing tastes of Great Britain for travel, food, and texts over the long eighteenth century. This project considers how various women-authored travel narratives of the long eighteenth century employ food in the construction of place and identity. Chronologically charting the letters and journals of women travelers from the period, I argue that the "critical food moments" described in their letters and journals demonstrate material, cultural, and social implications about consumption. My interdisciplinary project is located at the intersection of three seemingly divergent topics: food studies, human geography, and women-authored travel narratives. Approaching "place" as a way of being-in-the-world, my project traces the connection between

verbal constructions of place and issues of identity, national and gender, across the eighteenth century.

Looking at what I term "critical food moments" during travel allows us particular insight into how food simultaneously serves a literal (intended for consumption) and a figurative (used as a literary topic and device) function, and how tropes of food—such as digestion—function as lexicons which offer women writers opportunities to better understand and criticize the nation and their own identities within the nation. Food, as Amy Trubek asserts, is "capable of evoking pleasurable and meaningful moments" (15), and as Sarah Moss puts simply, "People must eat, and eating – both what is eaten and how it is eaten – can always be interpreted" (47). Similarly, I argue that food-centered moments allow us to better understand the lived experiences of women traveling in the eighteenth century, to analyze how material and sensory conditions influenced and shaped women's understandings of themselves and their positions (places) in the world.

The women authors in this project are worth attention because their travel journals and letters explicitly engage with food, eating, and notions of place. While two of the authors, Montagu and Burney, have received much critical attention, scholarship repeatedly focuses on Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* and Burney's mastectomy in France, ignoring the vast array of their accounts. The other two authors, Manley and Schaw, have received little scholarly reception for their letter writing and deserve recovery. Taken together, these four women authors represent a wide-range of perspectives from various social and economic backgrounds, and yet, what they have in common is crucial: a connection with the food, communities, and places they travel. Each woman author provides a unique case study for the ways in which early modern women travel writers negotiate food in temporary and transitory spaces—whether that is Manley

eating cherries in the southwest of England, Montagu making butter in Italy, Schaw tasting fresh turtle in Antigua, or Burney referencing medicinal recipes in France.

Recent trends in eighteenth-century scholarship show critics paying close attention to the intersections between gender, place, and materiality. For instance, the new collection, *Gender and Space in British Literature, 1660-1820* (2014), from Mona Narain and Karen Gevirtz offers fresh approaches to examining novels, poetry, and letters that explore the narrative representations of space and gender in the long eighteenth century. Scholarly interest in the materiality of lived experience and of British culture appears in calls for papers, conference panels, and recent monographs. Forthcoming from *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* is a special issue titled "Material Fictions," which invites scholars to explore material cultures of the long eighteenth century and the fictions crafted in and through material entities. In the last two years, the annual conference for the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies has had numerous panels that approach gender, travel, and material studies, including "Material Culture, Then and Now," "Gendered Materialities," "Compassing the Mind in Travel Literature," "Transnational Feminisms in the Eighteenth Century," "Women in Motion: The Figure of the Female Traveler in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture," and "Food and Gender: Feeding the Eighteenth Century," to name only a handful of relevant panel titles. Recent monographs from Emily Friedman, Neil Guthrie, and Cynthia Wall examine the intersections of literature, material objects, space, and British culture to reshape our understanding of the literary texts themselves.[1] Each of these panels and studies indicates a growing interest in the material

[1] Emily C. Friedman, *Reading Smell in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Bucknell, 2016); Cynthia S. Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 2014); Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites*. (Cambridge, 2013).

experience and culture of the eighteenth century, and many engage in the interdisciplinary work that this project employs. Studies of gender and travel and material culture have expanded our understanding of how travel impacted British culture socially, politically, and globally, and there is no better moment than now to begin to discover the interplay between women-authored travel narratives, material history, and place theory.

Women travelers remain a relatively understudied area in eighteenth-century scholarship, despite the fact that many women travelers wrote publically-circulated letters and journals that defined English identities as they distributed knowledge about the world. In the travel narratives, women document extensively what they eat, where they dine, who they dine with, and the conditions of their dining experience. The women write about, comment on, and even produce, grow, and cook the food they consume. Their narratives provide geographical, ecological, and phenomenological excursions and meditations on place. Non-fiction travel narratives particularly allow for this type of exploration because the mode of travel writing includes recording and witnessing. Non-fiction prose represents some of women's most "intellectually vigorous" writing in the eighteenth century (Staves 2), and demonstrates women's place in the popular travel writing genre. The travel narrative is an example of the desire for expanded geographical knowledge taking place in the eighteenth century. As Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers suggest, geography in the Restoration and eighteenth century was largely seen in "its literal sense as 'earth writing'"—"geographical inquiries into the extent and nature of the globe" (14). An analysis of the journals and letters of these four eighteenth-century women travelers as examples of "earth writing" reveals issues central to the shaping of local and cosmopolitan senses of place and self. While the women's narratives provide geographical and cultural knowledge amidst a

demand for maps, travel accounts, images and descriptions of other places, I emphasize the ways in which this demand is met through intersections of consumption, identity, and place.

In the eighteenth century, audiences not only widely read non-fiction travel accounts for pleasure, they also read the narratives as a way to educate themselves about the ever-expanding world beyond England. In discussing the genre of travel writing, scholars tend to focus on form and conventions, as Charles L. Batten Jr., Clare Brant, Amanda Gilroy, and Barbara Korte deftly demonstrate. Travel accounts are governed by the "writer's actions and descriptions" (Batten 4), and "such personal information simply orders the descriptions, interjects entertainment, and establishes the traveler's character as an accurate, truthful, and perceptive observer" (Batten 116). Epistolary travel writing, Brant attests, moves "readers easily between realms of myth, lands of fable and real countries; letters in personae fused and confused national identities" (213). She argues that letters present a space in which writers could play with, and renegotiate, their identities. Scholarship from Elizabeth A. Bohls and Jane Robinson pays particular attention to the position of women travelers employing the travel writing genre, and their collections, *Travel Writing 1700-1830*, Wayward *Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* and *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers*, respectively, paved the way for scholars to consider "who counts as a traveler, or a travel writer" (Bohls xvi), and to reconsider a more inclusive group of travel writers that includes various genders, social positions, and travel destinations. Vital monographs from critics like Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon, Katherine Turner, Rachel Yaël Schlick, Elizabeth Bohls, and Mary Louise Pratt begin to unpack the complex dynamics between gender and travel and travel and imperialism in the long eighteenth century. Their texts demonstrate the centrality of travel as it shapes Britain's own sense of national identity, and the

politics of gender, identity, and travel that informed women's relationships to the public, private, and global spheres.

My dissertation examines selected women's travel narratives specifically in order to understand how consumption, in England and beyond, is tied to the production, regulation, and representation of foods, bodies, and (inter-)national cultures. In connecting what we eat and the ways in which we eat to cultural and individual identities, I follow recent work in food studies that emphasizes the "importance of thinking about food from a cultural and historical perspective" (Trubek 5), because "[t]astes are not simply a reflection of our identity but work to construct our cultural identity: we may be what we eat, but what we eat also produces who we are" (Ashley 59). The emerging field of food studies considers not only the study of food itself, but more importantly the relationships between food and human experience. Critical to women's travel narratives, and food studies in general, are such food habits as "how we produce, procure, prepare, and consume food" (Miller and Deutsch 7). A narrative research project, such as this, in particular investigates human experience through stories about food and eating, critical components to the development of an individual's social, personal, and cosmopolitan identity. Food studies thus provides a compelling vocabulary to examine women and consumption, consumption and food practices, food practices and community, and community and national identity.

Food and place often intersect for human geographers and anthropologists, as David Bell and Gill Valentine assert, "food has long ceased to be merely about sustenance and nutrition. It is packed with social, cultural, and symbolic meanings. Every mouthful, every meal, can tell us something about ourselves, and about our place in the world" (3). Food and eating are crucial ways of imagining the spaces we occupy, as well as a way of imagining communities, both local

and "other." Combining the lenses of food studies and human geography allows modern-day critics to investigate and interpret the lived conditions of women in the eighteenth century, as expressed in women-authored travel letters and journals. By exploring the connections between the body and consumption, consumption and place, and place and identity within these texts, we can understand the role of production and consumption in the British woman's understanding of her own place within a wider world. In the process, we gain an understanding of current food-inflected identities and cultural practices, such as eating locally, which has its roots in the eighteenth century, as my project demonstrates.

Much of the available scholarship on food studies in the eighteenth century focuses on recording and detailing the types of foods being eaten and food history itself. Critics pay attention to what people were eating, what food was available, the development of cook books and receipts, and how service and dining were enacted.[2] This type of scholarship, while valuable, can ignore the aesthetic value, pleasure, and ability of food to shape individuals, communities, and places. Exceptions to this include Timothy Morton and Denise Gigante's valuable texts on

[2] For examples, see Anna Selby's chapter "The Eighteenth Century: Meat, Game and Poultry; Soups and Broths; Fruits and Vegetables; Tureens and Raised Pies; Suet; Fish; Eighteenth Century Cookbook" in *Food Through the Ages: From Stuffed Dormice to Pineapple Hedgehogs* (Havertown: Remember When, 2009); Jean Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2007); Marc Jacons and Peter Scholliers, eds., *Eating Out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining, and Snacks Since the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford; NewYork: Berg, 2003); Kristin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999); Annie Gray, "'A Moveable Feast': Negotiating Gender at the Middle-Class Tea-Table in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England" in *Food and Drink in Archaeology 2* (Totnes, England: Prospect, 2009); Carolyn Steel, "Feeding the Wen: An Alimental Portrait of Eighteenth-Century London" in *Imagining the City, Volume 2: The Politics of Urban Space* (Oxford, England: Peter Lang, 2006); David S. Shields, "The World I Ate: The Prophets of Global Consumption Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25.2 (2001); and, Anita Guerrini, "A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23.2 (1999).

For examples focusing on fictional works, see Lisa Wood, "'Wholesome Nutriment' for the Rising Generation: Food, Nationalism, and Didactic Fiction at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 21.4 (2009); and, Nicholas D. Smith, "'The Muses O'lio': Satire, Food, and Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16.3 (2004).

food and the Romantic era, which approach literature from the Romantic period in new food-focused ways in order to demonstrate that "food and eating was not simply an empirical reality in the Romantic period, but a mixture of ideas, practices, figures, debates, and philosophical speculations" (Morton xv). Gigante suggests, the gustatory aspect of taste exemplifies what "writers in this history discover is the creative power of taste as a trope for aesthetic judgment and its essential role in generating our very sense of self" (2), revealing "the complex relations between aesthetic taste and the more substantial phenomena of appetite" (3). In addition to approaching this dissertation in a similar way as Morton and Gigante, I am indebted to Sarah Moss, who has already begun the work of analyzing the connections between literature and food history in fiction from Frances Burney, Mary Wollstonecraft, Maria Edgeworth, and Susan Ferrier. Her analysis of "how food works in writing, in the challenges and complexities of the relationships between food and text" (7) begins to unpack the complex interplay between gender, food, and literature that this dissertation too seeks to engage.

Simply put, place is defined as "a meaningful location," a site with unique material features that differentiate it from other locations (Cresswell 7). Tim Cresswell explains, "Place is not just a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world" (11). More significant, place is a "way of being-in-the-world" (20). An emphasis on place demonstrates the value of the *locations* the women traveled to, the *materials* (especially food) that they encountered and consumed, and the *experiences* they created as a way to understand the world. I examine place from a feminist perspective, applying Doreen Massey's argument that geography plays a critical part in the construction of gender and gender relations (2). Massey argues that geography matters because it is a "significant element in the production and reproduction of both imaginative geographies and uneven development," as well as a determinant for the construction of culturally

specific ideas about gender (2). In creating a feminist history for women's travel narratives, the intersections between geography, place and gender must be acknowledged.

Specifically, these intersections will be examined by closely reading the critical food moments in the women's journals and diaries. Human geography articulates a connection between geography, eating, and the body. Gill Valentine, for instance, declares, "There is no space without the body" (49). Specifically, the body attempts to negotiate space through the every day practice of eating—"Eating is one of the ways that spatiality of our bodies is brought into being" (49). The act of eating allows us to imagine ourselves as both a space itself and a position in space (49). Women's relationships and experiences with food and eating provide the best evidence for this duality. The narratives' details about food and dining experiences reveal how the women imagined their social positions and their bodies in relation to others. The constant regulation of women's bodies, whether at home or abroad, remains a relevant issue in our own current day. The women's journals and letters continually highlight what human geographers communicate: consumption is a regulated performance.

This project includes the journals and letters of four women travelers: Delarivier Manley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Janet Schaw, and Frances Burney. The chapters are organized chronologically—following the dates in which the authors were traveling and writing—in order to create a feminist literary history of women's non-fiction travel writing in the long eighteenth century. I follow Susan Staves' method, that by examining women from the historical contexts in which they were writing, we can emphasize both how they are influenced by their own social and cultural environment and how they are responding to and engaging with contemporary issues (10). This is particularly relevant to mapping the women traveler's engagement with place and consumption, and the choices they made in writing about their travels. Each chapter examines

the interplay between travel, food, and place, locating the moment, or moments, at which these three elements intersect and influence the individual author's identity. As the chapters will demonstrate, for Manley the intersection occurs between travel in England, quintessential British foods, and mobility; in Montagu's letters, the connection arises between travel in Italy, gardening, cooking, and old age; for Schaw, the interplay happens between traveling to the West Indies, tasting local foods, and changing British tastes; and, in Burney's letters, the juncture materializes in travel to France, food metaphors, and transience. It is the very moment at which these threads meet that each chapter explores and unpacks.

The first chapter explores expressions of Englishness and mobility in Delarivier Manley's *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter* (1694-1696). The chapter examines Manley's interactions with food—whether she chooses to eat or not—and her propensity toward a "London way of living." The stages of her journey focus more on Manley's commensality with her fellow travelers than the geographical locations she visits, revealing Manley's construction of a travel community is dependent on where the travelers she meets originate—she is drawn to those who are traveling to or away from London. This first chapter explores Manley's identities as a woman, burgeoning author, and exile as she develops a sense of place while being constantly on the move. Drawing on the historical context of the home tour, theories of displacement, and quintessential British foods, Manley's letters reveal that travel is almost always more about where the person is traveling away from, rather than where they are headed. These letters act as a starting point in the literary history I investigate, positioning her as a pioneer in the community of women travel writers in the long eighteenth century.

The second chapter maps the parallels between gardening, cooking, and writing in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's late letters from Italy (1739-1761) to investigate the way age

influences Montagu's authorial identity. This chapter closely reads Montagu's letters written on her garden in Brescia and the moments she discusses making complex British dishes to share with her Italian neighbors, which reveal Montagu's hybrid identity as a woman traveler, British cook, and ageing author. Gardening and cooking become ways for Montagu to establish fame at a time in her life when she no longer produces writing. Montagu's time in France, and letters from later in her life, are often ignored by scholars and this chapter aims to shed light on an under-discussed aspect of her work. This chapter examines the phenomenological experience of place and travel, not just the human experience, but rather the intersections between geography, food production, and being in-place.

The third chapter investigates material food moments in Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality* (1774-1776) to illuminate the ways in which *terroir* (the taste of place) influences the taste of food consumed in Antigua. I trace Schaw's focus on the concerns for where her food was grown and the impact place, geographically and phenomenologically, have on food and consumption. Schaw demonstrates thoughtful connections with the food she eats, not only through writing retroactively about what she consumes, but more importantly, by exposing the actual path that food takes before arriving at the table. Her letters illustrate that Schaw eats with an eye to recording and remembering the food she consumes. Unlike the other women in this study, Schaw discusses the more material aspects of food, especially the origins of and processes for making dishes. A five-course meal grounds this chapter, exposing the connections between gustatory pleasure and excess. Ultimately, Schaw provides a unique perspective on food and consumption in the eighteenth century by anticipating our own current cultural movement to consume food that is local, seasonal, and fresh. Moreover, the focus on the material food and the

production and consumptive practices reveal the often dangerous link between eating practices and women's bodies.

Chapter four charts the language of food and metaphors from Frances Burney's letters from France (1802-1812) to highlight her relationship to place and the metaphorical home-space she creates on the page. Different from the first three women in this study, Burney turns her attention to the language of food rather than the material aspects of food. She rarely identifies moments in which she herself eats, and when she does discuss eating food it is usually a reference to her son or her husband's eating habits. Her travel letters become less about France itself and more about the way Burney seeks to establish her place, her home, while in exile in France. Burney is the most transient author in this study, as she is without a permanent physical space or country to call home; she uses food as a way to create a metaphorical domestic space for her and her family. This chapter makes the most explicit connection between gender and food, focusing primarily on the complex relationship women, mothers particularly, have with feeding and eating.

Just as the NYPL archive moment revealed a network amongst manuscripts, food, and women authors, this dissertation will expose unexpected networks amongst the four chapters and the four women authors. Some of the links between the women are biographical similarities, like Manley, Montagu, and Burney all being referred to as in "exile" from their homes or Montagu and Burney being mothers and traveling at an older age. Often, the connections are more phenomenological, as with Manley, Montagu, and Burney having "tenuous" identities: Manley possibly pregnant and in a bigamous relationship; Montagu married to Edward Wortley, but madly in love with the young Francesco Algarotti; and, Burney, a political prisoner in France at a time of war. Across each chapter a theme of "mobility" unfolds itself—from Manley who is the

most mobile traveler as she crosses England in a stage-coach to Montagu whose mobility is limited because she is often unable or unwilling to leave Italy to Schaw who travels away from Scotland and experiences changing tastes to Burney whose transience marks her time in France as unstable. Mobility is a central feature of the eighteenth century as Roy Porter characterizes, Georgians were "mobile, valuing the freedom money gave for activity, and enjoying being out of doors and on the move. 'Home sweet home' is basically a nineteenth-century sentiment" (225). This sense of mobility is reflected in the changing political and food landscape as well. Great Britain is quite literally expanding by acquiring new colonial places and figuratively expanding by acquiring new tastes from places outside of England. Changing tastes are not only reflected in the cultural milieu through the travel narratives themselves but also in the recipe books from the period. As an example, the chapter on Schaw will demonstrate how a taste for the West Indies green sea turtle changed cookery books from being inspired by the West Indian dish to replicating the dish for consumption in England.

In traveling and in writing about their travels, the women in this study participate in the process of *place making*, they assign meaning to locations. This project demonstrates how, with this agency, the women impart meaning onto geographical locations that many of their readers will not have visited and may never travel to, thus fashioning their own personal perceptions and desires onto the place. Specifically, place making occurs in the spaces the journals and letters dedicate to food and food practices. Food moments may be overlooked as too "ordinary" because eating is a daily necessity for everyone. Yet, inherent in the act of traveling is experiencing new food in foreign places. During travel, food moments become more than everyday occurrences and in fact represent a reciprocal relationship between travel and traveler: food consumption, delight in food, preparing and sharing food are not incompatible with travel, but rather are

integral aspects of the place making process, changing both the place itself and the traveler's own identity in that place. I argue the women travelers in this study are not merely interested in the consumption of food, especially since Burney, for example, rarely eats, but rather that food moments stress the women's views on "good" food practices. As Ashley asserts, good food practices "no longer simply [refer] to nutritional value, but [carry] with it moral and aesthetic values" (62). Tastes for food become intrinsically connected to a sense of "legitimate" ways of production and consumption. Food and food practices become bound up with social and cultural identities, especially when a person is traveling away from or out of their own home.

The women's journals are fraught with tension about the regulation of their bodies amidst a desire for consumption. The women's narratives, particularly Manley, Schaw, and Burney, can be read as an indication of the pressures they feel between openly expressing desire for food and the social restrictions imposed upon women to regulate and discipline their bodily desires. While the women often demonstrate an appetite for food and writing about their consumption of that food, their attention to how much they could/should write about it reveals a close connection between consumption and the discipline of the ideal feminine body. Manley and Schaw especially note how they, and many of the women they meet while traveling, manage the quantity and quality of food they eat, thus diminishing the pleasure afforded to eating experiences. Their actions demonstrate a regulation of the body while also exposing a sense of pleasure in the act of tasting and writing about food and consumption. Women have a complex relationship with food and this relationship is determined by the place in which women live or visit. The women's impressions are laid bare in their published journals and available for public consumption, which then shapes current impressions of the geographical locations they visit and the communities who lived in the eighteenth century.

Each of the four women's letters allows us to glimpse the tension between lived experiences and crafting experiences through writing. I closely read the ways in which these four women's letters and journals reflect their professional authorial identities. Manley, Montagu, and Burney are well-known women-authors who, amongst them, completed numerous plays, secret histories, poems, and novels. I contend Manley may have used her early letters as fodder for her later scandal fictions. Most of the letters include short travel tales told by fellow travelers; these stories interrupt Manley's own narrative and contain possible allusions and references to her later, more popular secret and political histories. Montagu, while living in Italy, no longer wrote poetry, though she was still a celebrated poet at the time. Her failing eyesight and frequent illnesses that led to bedrest prohibited Montagu from generating new poetry, and yet her letters reveal Montagu's continued desire for fame, one that she displaces from poetry to gardening and cooking. During her exile in France, Burney completed the manuscript for *The Wanderer*, her last novel. Burney is perhaps better known to current scholars as a novelist, but her letters and journals are what sustained her position in literary history in the Victorian period. The same conscientious and critical eye Burney uses in her novels appears in her letters, suggesting Burney always wrote with an eye toward a larger, more public audience. Though Schaw is the least recovered author in this study, her letters also reflect an authorial stance that label her as a historian. Her letters are candid and detailed accounts of traveling to the West Indies and South Carolina at times of colonial expansion and revolution. These women are equally travelers and authors, and their letters offer a glimpse into not only their experiences during travel, but also into the construction and development of their authorial identities, whether it is Manley the aspiring female playwright or Montagu the ageing poet or Burney the popular novelist.

Overall, this study aims to place women in a new and developing literary history with food and place at the center. This project demonstrates that women's connections to food are much more complex than simply thinking of women's bodies as fat or thin, young or old, and beautiful or ugly, and that women's relationship to food is not singularly about feeding others or cooking in the kitchen. Rather, food and consumption shape identities, both personal and national, signify tastes, individually and culturally, and provide insights into lived experiences. Food language, food practices, and food tastes give us a way of knowing women's own language and their voices, and it allows scholars of the eighteenth century to reconsider the landscape of women's writing as culturally and historically relevant. Travel narratives are already part of a rich history of eighteenth-century scholarship, and food and place are emerging fields of study for many critics, but when taken together they offer a fuller, more interconnected, understanding not only of Manley, Montagu, Schaw, and Burney's travel experiences, but also of the way food, food tastes, food practices and gendered interactions with food influenced Great Britain's own network of women authors, recipe books, and travel narratives. Ultimately, the letters and women authors in this work reflect a shared experience of food and place written on the page for our consumption, a literary and historical feast for our pleasure.

Chapter One:

Delarivier Manley on a Pilgrimage: Going Out of Place in *Letters by Mrs Manley*

In June 1694 Delarivier Manley traveled around the southwest of England. She was about twenty-four, recently separated from her unfaithful (and likely bigamous) husband, possibly pregnant, and apparently needing to get away from a difficult situation in London. From this trip she composed a series of eight letters to "J.H." that recount her observations and, sometimes critical, commentary of the people, food, and places she encounters. Initially published without her permission as *Letters by Mrs Manley*, the letters, by her request, were reissued by Edmund Curll after her death in 1725 as *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter. Describing the Humours on the Road, with the Characters and Adventures of the Company*.[3] Manley frames her travel letters as an exile narrative, claiming that she has quit London, "the World," for "*ever*" (2).[4] The reasons for Manley's self-imposed exile from London remain unclear, though Rachel Carnell surmises Manley retreats from London because she may have needed money, had debt to pay, or been pregnant (Carnell 83). Carnell speculates convincingly that Manley's time away from London "may in fact have been a sabbatical dedicated to becoming a writer" (87). In this sense, Manley's travel narrative can be seen as a precursor to her later social and political fictions. Her

[3] She journeyed away from London to Exeter by way of Egham, Hartley Row, Sutton, Salisbury, and Bridport. In *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*, Rachel Carnell surmises the travel and composition dates of Manley's letters were "ostensibly written in June 1694, during the week of the journey. There is then a gap in the sequence, followed by one letter dated 15 March 1695, in which Manley refers to her eventual return to London." Carnell, *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 87.

[4] Carnell argues Manley's letters are a "narrative of political exile" and she cites as evidence Manley's use of George Granville's 1688 poem which describes his own political exile (84, 85).

travel tales tell a story about the complexity of Manley's relationship to place as she feels she can neither remain in, nor stay away from, London.

The eight letters consist of personal anecdotes interspersed with stories told by fellow travelers, and exhibit a nuance and creativity not typically seen in popular eighteenth-century travel narratives. Whereas most travel narratives catalogue such aspects of travel as weather, location, and architecture, Manley practically dismisses these aspects of travel writing. For instance, she amusingly writes, "I need say nothing to you about Salisbury Cathedral … You have either seen, or may see it; and so I will spare my Architecture" (21). Instead, Manley constructs her travel letters around the community of people that she engages with, her impressions of those "characters," and their interactions with one another. Often, the letters center on the moments in which she dines with her fellow travelers. As she struggles to find her place within the travel community, Manley typically uses food and dining as the site for self-exploration, for reconsidering her own relationship to London during her self-exile. While her geographical and psychological movement away from London leads to a sense of solitude "much more pleasing than [she] fancied it" (42), she ultimately reveals a dual impulse to run away from and return to the London social scene.

From her first letter, Manley expresses distress and resistance to leaving London. She writes: "The Resolutions I have taken of quitting *London* (which is as much to say, the World) for ever, starts back, and asks my gayer Part if it has well weighed the Sense of *Ever*?" (2). Such concerns about her status in the "World" evoke Manley's engagement with place. Simply put, place is defined as "a meaningful location," a site with unique material features that differentiate it from other locations (7). Tim Cresswell explains, "Place is not just a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world" (11). More significantly, place is a "way of being-in-the-world"

(20). This is the phenomenological aspect of place, or what John Agnew means by a "sense of place": humans must have a relationship to place that involves a "subjective and emotional attachment" (7). We invest meaning in locations, helping to shape a place's identity even as the places we occupy help shape our conception of ourselves. Travel in general allows for the exploration of this reciprocal relationship because it often instigates dynamism to one's sense of being in the world, which offers travelers opportunities to question and to celebrate their self- and national-identities. Home travel in particular draws on this dynamism, especially the national trend of British home tours during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The points at which Manley narrates food moments reveal how eating and digestion are linked to discussions of place, both socially and physically. For example, Manley closes Letter II with a seemingly innocuous observation on her dinner: "The Trouts are just brought upon the Table, *which are the only good Thing here*; they look inviting, and will not stay for cooling Compliments" (emphasis added 20). Manley comments on the food itself and her pleasure at finally receiving something other than beef. Her criticisms of the trout indirectly reference her feelings about the people in the stage coach with her. Her writing about the trout reflects the way in which Manley's taste echoes her experiences of the people and places around her. Manley's food commentary forges a connection between food and place: her interactions with food and eating influence her experience of travel and new places in England. The trout example is not a singular moment—her letters frequently describe critical food moments that highlight her social interactions and a particular sense of her domestic travel journey.

In this chapter, I argue that Manley's travel writing makes visible an explicit connection between the home tour, food, and place. Manley engages in the act of "place making" as she records her journey by textually constructing the stages of her travel and the characters she

meets, investing each with her meaning and influencing the way we understand travel, and more particularly the material conditions of women's travel, in the long eighteenth century. Looking at critical food moments during home travel allows us a particular insight into how food offers opportunities to better understand and criticize the nation and Manley's own identity within the nation. Manley's letters provide a case study for how the English woman travel writer negotiates food in a temporary and transitory space—she is always mobile, continually in motion in the stage coach. The critical food moments reveal her progression from being out of place to being part of a travel community, whose identity coheres as it moves in the mobile space of the stage coach and whose identities are configured relationally to the absent place of London. Manley's letters demonstrate that "place" for her is always about London and her connection to that location. Looking at Manley's eating habits—the material on which she feeds both textually and literally—and her food choices reveals that Manley always seeks to embody a London way of living, a place that remains home despite, and indeed because of, her travel away from it.

Manley on a Home Tour

Manley's participation in a tour of England reflects a larger historical and cultural trend connected to travel and food in the long eighteenth century. Following the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688, England felt an intensified sense of patriotism, expressed by a new national feeling of pride and a desire to take stock of what England had to offer. Pride in Britishness "arose out of a popular conviction that the British were a fit and healthy race, enjoying unmatched standard of living, honest, plain-speaking and, in the end, invincible" (O'Gorman 5). Travel writing and tours of Britain became an important way for Britons to explore "the present state of the nation, in particular its social and economic aspects" (Korte 70). Home tours initially

gained popularity in the sixteenth century because improved roads and cartography made travel easier and safer; but, as Esther Moir explains, "the motive force was pride in the greatness of Tudor England, and a curiosity both in the historic roots of that greatness and its contemporary manifestations" (xiii-xiv). The need to explore England for renewed national pride heightened in the eighteenth century, offering women travelers in particular the opportunity to act as tourists of their nation. They participated in "Home tourism": "localized itineraries that indicate a desire to discover closer at hand what is unfamiliar, yet at the same time to harmonize, homogenize, and extend the purview of home" (Colbert 1). Such travel was available to, and mostly taken-up by, members of nobility and gentry who often traveled as "an individualist," "[t]raveling alone, or at most accompanied by a servant" (Moir 3-4). Through travel writing, home travelers exhibit both a sense of pride for and criticism of England. Zoë Kinsley explains that the home tour was "proffered as a 'cure,' as restorative," but more importantly was "presented as contributing to a sense of patriotic pride, one constructed 'in our minds' to form an imagined state of nationhood and community" (1). A central feature of the home tour is a "dual impulse, to affirm one's feeling of national identity on the one hand, and to unfasten one's relationship to it on the other" (Kinsley 3). This "dual impulse" represents a traveler's desire to "get away" from home, even if temporarily (3). Manley's writings of her home tour present a similar motivation to explore and criticize home, to feel a sense of pride for and to identify her place in England.

The home tour's rise in popularity occurs when England still largely relied on its own agriculture for food. Most people ate food that was locally grown and sourced, a way of living and eating reflected in Manley's writing. Frank O'Gorman historicizes locality in the late seventeenth century: "It was local families, local custom, local institutions and local boundaries that maintained the framework in which people lived their lives. Eighty-five per cent of the

inhabitants of England lived either in villages or in small market towns. Over 90 per cent of them were employed in agriculture or in associated trades and crafts" (2). At the same time Britons lived and ate locally, the country saw an increase in conversations about food and eating. Historian Joan Thirsk explains that between 1660 and 1700 "food settled into yet more fresh grooves; most surprisingly of all, it took up an accepted place in the fashionable conversation of scientists and intellectuals" (127). Food and drink became a popular conversation: "Opinion and enthusiasm for fresh food experiences fed on the opportunities that burgeoned in London because of widening internal and foreign trade" (127). Though, outside of London, farming still remained an "optimistic enterprise" (128). Food conversations mimicked the expanding and changing food landscape. The discussion of food shifted from farming practices to the quality and taste of food, "thereby elevating what might have been regarded as the humble practicalities of the kitchen to an equally high place in the world of intellectual endeavor and debate" (128). The popularity of the home tour coupled with increasing conversations about food and cooking reveal new insights into England as a place. Since the home tour acted as a source of building national confidence and celebrating their homeland, it is fitting that a home traveler like Manley pays close attention to food and eating, material and sensory elements that humans cannot live without and that define England's culture and landscape.

Manley as a Pilgrim

Manley's tension over whether or not she can live in permanent exile from London exposes her way of being as tenuous. Though a story of exile or banishment is perhaps more titillating, and fits with Manley's scandalous reputation, I view Manley's journey as a *pilgrimage*. While Manley's journey may begin as an exile, it develops into a pilgrimage from

the city to the country. Scholars often refer to Manley's southwest journey as an exile or her being ostracized from London. For instance, María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia writes, "[t]he correspondence tells of a journey that seems to be made by someone who is being ostracized, albeit indirectly, through being abandoned, and as a result of that, she should be exiled in a supposedly voluntary way" (287). Manley's banishment from London is, as Lorenzo-Modia suggests, voluntary, and no biographical support exists that offers an explanation of her journey as anything other than her choice. For instance, Carnell concedes that Manley "goes into self-imposed exile but never suggests that she is leaving because anyone misled or mistreated her" (108). Additionally, Carnell provides an extended explanation of Manley's retreat to the country, reading it from a narrative point of view, proposing that it is "not surprising, given Manley's upbringing and the tropes of her father's narratives of exile, that she should instinctively frame her first published account of herself and a description of her own time outside London as a narrative of political exile" (84-85).[5] Exile refers to an "enforced removal from one's native land" ("Exile, *n.*"). Yet, Manley never leaves her native land, and in fact, experiences more of her homeland as she travels from London to Exeter.

Manley's retreat from London though ostensibly intentional, remains complex, exposing a tension that exists for the home tour traveler between simultaneously wanting to be in and run away from home. Her letters make known Manley's exploration to find her "place" and "way of being" in England. From her first letter, Manley expresses distress and resistance to leaving London. Her hesitant state of mind makes sense given what we know about Manley's biography.

[5] María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia also provides an extended analysis of Manley's letter writing techniques and the ways in which her letters fit in the proceeding Spanish and French epistolary tradition in "'I look'd through false Glasses': letters versus fiction in Delarivier Manley's *Letters*." Re-*Shaping the Genres: Restoration Women Writers.* Ed. Zenón Luis-Martínez and Jorge Figueroa-Dorrego. Peter Lang, 2003. Print. 279-299.

As Carnell surmises, Manley could have made the journey for a variety of reasons: she may have been making a similar move as her father by seeking patronage while in exile (85); she may have left London with the intent of becoming a writer (87); or, she may have been seeking financial protection for her return to London, possibly through a scandalous relationship with Sir Thomas Skipwith (89).[6] Manley's financial position and reputation were at risk, and her exile from London was motivated by reputation and money, not by a desire to leave London the place. Her return to London is confirmed with the productions of her first two plays, *The Lost Lover; or The Jealous Husband: A Comedy* and *The Royal Mischief: A Tragedy,* produced in March 1696 and May 1696 respectively, signifying that she always planned to return to London.

Yi-Fu Tuan theorizes that humans have "developed various devices that are in fact different ways of going temporarily 'out of place'" (5). Specifically, as in the case with Manley, people "move, for a brief time, out of their seemingly immutable social place" (5) in order to become a pilgrim, "a sojourner, a traveler, a bird of passage" (6). Manley's pilgrimage, though not religious, is a spiritual and sensual journey. She temporarily leaves London, breaking her routine to become out of place geographically and socially. Her preoccupation with London, her attempt to continue to live as if she is in London, and correspondence back to London all indicate that this journey to Exeter is not a permanent move away from the metropolis, but rather a brief instance for Manley to go out of place. Thus, in this chapter, I view the home tour as a modernized pilgrimage that is national, social, and spiritual. Instead of journeying to a religious site, a pilgrim like Manley journeys to better know her home. She goes out of place in a sense, but still within the comfort of her own nation. Importantly, the occasions when her placelessness

[6] For an extensive examination of Manley's biography, including possible patronage, her political and social relationships, and the publication history of her travel letters, see chapter 4, "A 'Female Wit': 1694-6" in Carnell's *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2008. Pages 83-112.

and her connection of her own self-hood as London-specific (versus a more general British self-hood) become most obvious in moments that Manley writes explicitly about food and eating. These critical food moments build upon one another, at first revealing stages of going out of place and then demonstrating Manley's attempt to become integrated into a community.

Manley on Digestion and Appetite

Manley details several provocative critical food moments that illustrate the ways in which her pilgrimage is coordinated by eating and social interactions. In her first letter she promises her correspondent: "You asked, and I eagerly engaged (because you desired me) to give an Account of myself and Travels, every Stage" (3). In response to this request she accounts little for the places themselves and focuses instead on the people she meets. Notably, she tends to organize her letter writing around a dining schedule. For instance, she seems spurred to write because she feels satiated: when discussing the landlord and his wife at Hartley Row, she writes that "[t]hey have a tollerable Cook; and I was glad to find something I could eat at Three-a-Clock, for we came in here at Two, and I can give you a little better Account of my Fellow-Travellers" (6). She can author her account because her stomach is full. And, as in letter six, she explains "But to tell you something of our last Night's Entertainment: Whilst Supper was getting ready the Gentleman I told you of, at *Beaux's* Intreaty, gave us an Account of what Affairs were carrying him to *London*" (34). Here, she notes that waiting for food offered a moment of "Entertainment." In each case, food—specifically the consumption or preparation of—allows Manley to gain knowledge of others and reflect upon her experiences. These two brief examples demonstrate Manley's propensity to shape the "Stage[s]" of her journey on the moments during which food is present.

In an early critical food moment—a moment of food rejection—Manley characterizes her travel community by comparing her companions to a piece of mutton. At the end of Letter I, though she claims to "not had time to observe [her] wretched Fellow-Travellers" (4), she actually takes full advantage of the dining moment to provide commentary on the food and people around her:

> They most unmercifully set us to Dinner at Ten-a-Clock, upon a great Leg of *Mutton*. It is the Custom of these Dining Stages, to prepare one Day *Beef*, and another our *present Fare*; it is ready against the Coach comes: And tho' you should have a perfect Antipathy, there is no Remedy but Fasting . . . . I have left the Limb of the *Sheep* to the Mercy of my Companions, (whose Stomach are, thus early, prepared for any Digestion). (4)

Manley begins by rejecting the time of the meal. They are to eat at the "unmerciful" hour of ten-o-clock. At the end of the seventeenth century breakfast was taken around 6 or 7 o'clock. Typically, this meal "consisted of cold meats, fish, cheese and ale or beer" (Drummond 106). Dinner was the main meal of the day and "was usually about midday, although towards the end of the [seventeenth] century there was a tendency to dine later among the class that had taken to the new custom of drinking tea, coffee and chocolate" (Drummond 106). Coming from the sociable London scene, Manley would have been familiar with the more fashionable times of eating and may have embraced taking "a light breakfast of coffee or chocolate and rolls" later in the morning, around 9 or 10 o'clock, thus pushing dinner to later in the day (106). The time of the meal is important to Manley because it reflects a particular social standing, and in this instance, the inappropriate time and food choice mischaracterizes the social position Manley would like to hold publically. Added to this, we know that Manley was in great financial debt, which already put pressure on her social standing. Carnell argues Manley "was not averse to

accepting gifts or meals from various admirers, which could indicate that her maintenance at this time might not have been entirely secure" and that her cousin-husband John Manley may have paid her a "regular maintenance" (91). At this moment, Manley prioritizes fashionable dining times over a desire to eat in order to affirm the public persona she hopes to maintain.

In addition to presenting the meal at an unsuitable time of day, Manley condemns the choice of mutton as well, which historically represented and appeared in lower-class diets or as a healing remedy for the sick. J.C. Drummond lists mutton as a common choice of food at dinner: "Typical dishes were a 'hot shoulder of mutton,' a 'good pie baked of a leg of mutton,' a 'cold chine of beef,' a 'good dish of roasted chickens', eaten with bread, cheese, ale or wine" (Drummond 106). Mutton's common presence at dinner reflects its historical significance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Joan Thirsk characterizes mutton as the "commonest meat in the English diet" and its "plentiful supply "a visible fact of life" (240). Despite its ubiquitous presence mutton was less desirable than beef, which was "put at the head of the list for giving strength" compared to mutton which "was regarded as best for the sick and the old" (237). Unlike mutton, beef was also associated with luxury: "Given the trend of agrarian changes overall, more mutton than beef was produced and eaten through the sixteenth and up to the mid-seventeenth century, while beef remained the supreme meat for high occasions" (237). Thus, Manley's remark that mutton is served for dinner on the one hand illustrates the routineness of the meal and on the other hand reinforces that it is less desirable than a meat like beef.

Additionally, mutton suet frequently appears in cookery and medicinal receipt books from the eighteenth century. For instance, in the Duchess of Portland's (1715-1785) *Receipts Relating to Physick and Surgery* (1750), she lists mutton suet in the following medical remedies: "The Sear Cloth good for any green wound or to eat dead Flesh, to be apply'd warm. It is also

good to make a Tent to Draw a Sore Breast" (60); "For an Old Rotten Sore also to heal a sore Brest when it is Broken" (60-61); "For A Sore Breast" (78); and, "A Nourishing Cooling Broth" (78). Mutton, easily digestible in suet form, acts as a food source for the ill. Manley's comment on the mutton puts down the food itself, but more significantly characterizes her dining companions as common and illustrates Manley's preoccupation with her social and public standing, her place in England. The language used to describe food sets a class precedent: as Michel de Certeau explains, "the lower class has 'vulgar' tastes, while the bourgeois have 'distinguished' tastes" (182-83). Manley's refusal of the meal thus becomes a way to discuss hierarchies and social standings.

Her rejection of the mutton also draws attention to her stomach and her physical reaction to the food. If she was indeed pregnant, as Carnell alludes, Manley could have viewed the mutton as unappetizing. Or, her stomach may have been too unsettled for such a meal. Manley traveled by stage-coach, a "heavy, lumbering" mode of transportation (Bayne-Powell 10). Late in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries coaches "were entirely devoid of springs" and "lumbered along at four miles an hour or even less" (11). The coaches were built to hold up to four passengers inside with up to six more on top (11-12). Rosamond Bayne-Powell stresses the harsh quality of stage-coach travel: the old coaches "had no springs, and what the jolting over those bad roads must have been we cannot conceive. People complained about them, delicate women would not travel in them, the poet Cowper, a timid man, begs for his friends' prayers as he is about to take a journey" (13-14). Under such conditions, especially on bad roads, travel was bound to be uncomfortable and perhaps sickening, to the point that someone may not want to eat a "great leg of mutton" and would rather "fast." Her stomach, like her state of mind, seems unsettled. Being that this first letter is only "Sixteen miles from" London (1), Manley continues

to embody London time, and acts according to London etiquette. In contrast, her companions have no trouble stomaching the meal. Because human geographers explain that food and eating are crucial ways of imagining the spaces we occupy, as well as a way of imagining communities, both local and "other," Manley's rejection of the mutton positions her as out of place, separate from, her traveling companions.

Manley's choice to simultaneously refrain from food and dine with a community flouts eighteenth-century conventions. In the eighteenth century there existed a "social imperative for commensality" (Gigante 5). By turning down the mutton, Manley denies humans' compulsory attitude to dine socially. While Manley takes time to critique her companions' stomachs, abstaining from eating even more so highlights her own appetite and digestion. To eat the mutton would be to join the community, but instead this moment of food rejection displaces Manley from her current travel companions. Phenomenologically, Manley has yet to leave London behind. Earlier, Manley questions whether she can leave London "for ever," and this critical food moment is an indication that she resists leaving her place of origin. Ultimately, refusing the mutton allows Manley to preserve, early in her travels, a sense of self, a physical and mental state of mind that embodies her London way of being.

Manley on Food Thoughts and Pleasure

A second critical food moment—a moment of reciprocity—represents the next stage of Manley's journey. It occurs when Manley again chooses to *not* eat, but instead feeds on what is pleasing for her mind. The food moment centers on the use of a food metaphor, "feast of the mind." The phrase echoes the current day idiom "food for thought," which replaces the idea of appetite and digestion from an eating practice to something worth mulling over in the mind. The

metaphor reveals an explicit connection between the senses and the mind, and illustrates a parallel between the pleasures of storytelling and food and eating.

This food moment begins not with food itself, but with a series of misunderstandings that build to a food metaphor. Manley's second letter focuses almost entirely on the character of the Fop and his own travel journey away from London. She writes a lampoon of a baronet's son, one whom she insists "*likes* me; and would have me do the *same* by him" (6). She refers to him not by name, but rather as "my Fop" (7), never revealing his identity. The Fop—appropriately named from his foolish and excessive interest in clothing, as well as his poor attempt at wit—humorously misunderstands and misperceives Manley's interest in him. Manley inserts the Fop's own travel tale into her work, foregrounding his story with an enlightening account between her and her fellow passengers. The Fop begins:

> *I beg your Ladyship's Opinion, if I am not the most unfortunate Man breathing: I'll tell you a most mortifying Adventure----- Nay, you must bear me----- I vow, this Indifferency does not look natural to you; your eyes promise us much more Fire.* I'll shut 'em, thought I, for ever, rather than such a Fop shall find any thing to like them for-----*What! no Answers, Madam,* (said he) *I perceive your Attention by your Silence. 'Gad, I love a Person of your Breeding, that know themselves better than to interrupt a good Story. Perhaps Madam is not well with her Journey*, answered Mrs. Mayoress *of* Totness----- *Alas! I wonder Riding in the Coach should not have got you a better Stomach----- Poor Gentlewoman, she has scarce eat any thing. I'll recompence that by a Feast of the Mind*, answered my Fop. (7)

This exchange characterizes the makeup of Manley's travel community, illuminating Manley's perceptions of her companions as well as the other passengers' sense of Manley. She conveys a

tension between herself and the Fop when she interrupts his speech with her own thoughts, visually representing the comical interplay between them. The Fop's inclination toward excess stands out. Moreover, he is unable to accurately read the people around him, believing for instance, that Manley's look of indifference is unnatural, though from her aside she insists she would rather shut her eyes "for ever" than have the Fop "find anything to like." The Fop (mis)reads Manley's silence as an invitation to continue with his "good" story, considering her silence not a result of dissatisfaction at hearing the tale, but rather her "Breeding" and apt ability to perceive a situation. Interestingly, his inability to read precisely the people and reactions around him aligns him with Manley as being out of place in this travel community. Just as Manley initially refuses to engage in communal dining, the Fop also evades seeing and understanding his travel companions. Their misguided interaction informs how travel creates and enables a temporal space composed of out-of-place travelers.

Mrs Mayoress of Totness, the other passenger mentioned in this letter, supports the argument that they are each out of place when she also misperceives Manley's disinterest in the Fop's story. Just as the Fop alleges to perfectly "perceive" Manley's reactions, Mrs Mayoress also claims to understand why Manley does not want to hear the Fop's story. While the Fop interprets Manley's silence as an invitation to go on telling his adventure, the woman interprets Manley's silence as a reaction to not feeling "well" on the journey. She makes a direct comment about Manley's eating habits, pointing out that she has hardly eaten. The attention to Manley's health and lack of eating reveals two things: first, others observe that Manley does not partake in the communal necessity of eating, and second, they tie Manley's character to her "Stomach" and digestion. This perception of Manley's appetite is an interesting parallel to Manley's earlier observations of her companions' unfashionable appetite and digestion habits—the Mayoress

judges Manley's sociability because she avoids food, while Manley censures the others' social positions for eating mutton at dinner. Her companion assumes Manley's lack of appetite reflects her being unwell, though we know from the previous critical food moment—her choice to not eat the mutton at an improper time of day—that she makes a thoughtful decision to remain out of place from her fellow travelers. On the other hand, Mrs Mayoress might also be aware that Manley is not physically handling this journey very well: she can sense that Manley declines food because the journey is difficult for her body. Yet again, the second critical food moment demonstrates the ways in which food and eating become ways to think about self-identity and place-identity, and in this instance, the food moment also deepens the connection between food and the mind.

The food metaphor, attributed by the Fop, introduces an analogy between food and eating and language feeding the mind. The Fop provides a solution to Manley's not having eaten when he tells Manley he will "*recompence that by a Feast of the Mind*" (7). The expression "Feast of the Mind" initially recalls a pivotal moment in Book IX of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in which Adam resists Eve's suggestion to labor separately. Adam uses metaphors of food to persuade Eve that working apart may lead to temptation: "Refreshment, whether food, or talk between, / *Food of the mind*, or this sweet intercourse / Of looks and smiles" (emphasis added, lines 237-239). Adam uses the metaphor "Food of the Mind" to argue that "Refreshment" can be either "food" or "talk." Interestingly, the phrase invokes the now common idiom "food for thought," an expression that means something is worth thinking and pondering about seriously. In both cases, feeding the mind becomes equally important, or of greater import, to feeding the body. The Fop presumes he can "recompence" Manley's appetite, believing his storytelling will make up for or "take the place of" literal sustenance ("Recompense"). Not only will he compensate for her lack

of appetite, he will more notably provide a "Feast." Typically, we consider a feast "an unusually abundant and delicious meal; something delicious to feed upon" ("Feast, *n.*"). However, when the transitive and intransitive verb forms are considered, the Fop's phrase becomes more telling. When used as an intransitive verb, to feast means "to *make or partake* of a feast, fare sumptuously, regale *oneself*" and to "give *oneself* to pleasure; to enjoy *oneself*" (emphasis added, "Feast, *v.*"). As a transitive verb, feast means to "to *provide* a feast for, regale" and "to entertain hospitably and sumptuously" (emphasis added, "Feast, *v.*"). The reflexive quality of feast—either to please *oneself* or to entertain *someone else*—mirrors the positions Manley and the Fop inhabit in this scene. For instance, the Fop provides a feast for Manley, presumably giving her the sustenance she needs, and making her the receiver, or the guest at his feast (the listener of his story). At the same time, because Manley chooses to stay and listen, she also regales herself, finding pleasure by feeding upon, listening to, and later writing about the Fop's story. Ultimately, the Fop succeeds in feeding Manley's mind, perhaps an unexpected outcome from a fop, but also appropriate given Manley's appetite for stories and writing. The Fop knows he will "delight" Manley and he recognizes that she is "disposed," or willing, to be entertained (8). Their reflexive relationship and the language used to describe food and the mind arouse a connection between food and thought and food and pleasure, notably the first instance of pleasure for Manley on this journey.

The language of eating and metaphors of food and thought indicate that food itself is a source of physical pleasure, and, for Manley, language about food also pleases the mind. John S. Allen suggests that we eat with our minds as much as our stomachs: humans "use our brains to 'think' food' (3), and "eating is much more than ingestion and digestion. It involves decision making and choice" (5). Food thoughts hold meaning beyond the physical food itself, including

the ways in which thinking about food and food language induce pleasure. Denise Gigante reasons that "taste involves pleasure, and pleasure is its own way of knowing" (2). Taste (food and eating) is bound up in thinking and knowing, which is connected to pleasure. Manley enacts this complex relationship between food and thought, and food and pleasure, through writing letters. By writing about the people and spaces she encounters, she engages in place-attachment activities: she attempts to connect to place, to create a bond with the people and spaces around her, through retroactively writing about the characters and their conversations and stories. In doing so, she uses the Fop's story in particular as a way of seeing, knowing, and understanding the world around her. Pointedly, as the Fop suggests, she derives pleasure from his story: he feeds her mind.

The Fop's feast for Manley includes a beautiful and virtuous woman, a love triangle, and a scandalous affair. He refers to his tale as a "Regalio," again evoking a parallel between consuming a lavish meal and taking in an entertaining story. His story begins three months earlier, in Oxford, where the Fop visits his father's estate. In Oxford he fell "downright in love" with a lady (8). He desired to marry her and conjured a plan to visit her with his friend Mr. Slye, "a Gentleman of the Town, who had a Wife" (8). Mr. Slye is meant to propose marriage between the Fop and the lady, but, the Fop relates, "as soon as he saw her, if I was her first *Oxford*-Victim, he was certainly the second" (9). Mr. Slye schemes also to talk with the lady, and the three agree to meet as a group to avoid suspicions. Over time both men court the lady, but the public believes a marriage between the Fop and the lady is eminent. Unfortunately, though the Fop desires to propose to her, he suspects that he is only "of Use in her Affair with Slye" (12). Out of curiosity, and to possibly declare his love to the lady, the Fop sneaks into her bed chamber one evening. As he hides in her chamber, to his "Surprize," he witnesses the lady's

maid usher in Slye "who flew to her Arms, sighed, kissed, and died there" (14). The Fop interrupts the affair, calling Slye a "Traytor" and a cheat. The climax of the story presents the Fop inviting a duel with Slye—they both place their hands on their swords. However, the duel is promptly interrupted by the naked "Amorous-Fair" who throws herself between the men (14), conjuring them to stop lest she be "lost for ever" (14). The Fop complains about his fortune, admitting he has been the "instrument of my own Ruin" (14). The lady responds that though she appreciates the Fop securing her public reputation, she thought the Fop was only pretending to love her, an act of gallantry "common to all Gentlemen" (15). Appalled by her feigned innocence, the Fop declares he will leave Oxford the next morning "for fear I should not conceal my Resentments, and so injure your Ladyship irreparably" (16). Manley breaks her silence, and ends the Fop's story, with laughter: "I could not hold laughing heartily" (16). Ultimately, she finds his story compelling and pleasurable, a feast she cannot resist.

This critical food moment—a "Regalio" from the Fop—occurs not as Manley physically eats with her traveling companions (because she does not consume literal food), but rather as she digests the Fop's story and then amuses her correspondent with her retelling. The pleasure involved with food and eating parallels the act of storytelling in this critical food moment. To her correspondent she confesses, "I could not forbear, late as it was, sending you an Account: If you laugh in your Turn, I am paid for my Pains, as well as the Squire" (17). Through her letter writing she pays forward (recompenses) a "feast of the mind" for her reader, which both gives her pleasure and, she hopes, provides pleasure to her reader. Just as the Fop hopes to regale Manley with a feast, she wishes the same for J.H.—to provide a story (a feast) for their entertainment. Again, the reflexive quality of this feast is clear: she is both the giver and receiver of pleasure. Her desire to feed her reader is particularly compelling knowing the publication

history of the letters: initially addressed, and presumably meant solely for J.H., she later asks for Curll to publish the letters posthumously. The second publication assumes a much wider audience, one for whom she would also write secret histories and sex comedies. The reflexive quality of providing and receiving a "feast" grows in *abundance*, a central connotation of feasting. Manley's feast for the mind is indeed abundant; she has multiplied her feast to include the one she hears, the one she retells to J.H., and the one that is shared publically. De Certeau narrates, "I discovered bit by bit not the pleasure of eating good meals . . . but that of manipulating raw material, of organizing, combining, modifying, and inventing" (153). The pleasure, he continues, "seems close to the 'pleasure of the text,' why I twine such tight kinship ties between the writing of gestures and that of words, and if one is free to establish, as I do, a kind of reciprocity between their respective production" (153). Manley's letters regarding the Fop's story evoke a similar reciprocity between consuming a feast for the mind and the pleasure of eating a good meal; her actions mimic the same pleasure one receives from preparing, sharing, and consuming a good meal.

Most importantly, though, this critical food moment represents a moment of reciprocity. Her body may reject actual food, but her mind accepts being fed: in contrast to the mutton episode, she consumes the Fop's story in a communal environment, which sparks a sense of community with him. At the same time, she also multiplies her community by choosing to share the story with J.H., and later, other readers. Her reception of the feast demonstrates what occurs when food and the mind intersect. We can see this moment as an expression of "place attachment"—an emotional bond that forms between a person and their physical surroundings. Her engagement with the Fop's story signifies that by allowing herself to commune and digest with her companions, Manley is becoming more at ease in travel and the community with whom

she travels. Manley's moment of laughter that interrupts the Fop's story in particular highlights interaction with community: to laugh is to reciprocate. She "could not hold laughing"—she cannot contain herself! While she begins the Fop's story by refusing to reciprocate or react, the scene ends as she gives in to the pleasure of the Fop's story, and by extension, his companionship. For several letters Manley insists she does not want or need the physical sustenance food provides, nor the emotional or mental sustenance of her travel community. However, her laughter—and subsequent writing about the Fop and his story—indicate a sense of attachment to this comical moment. For Manley, place attachment is not necessarily about the physical location, especially because she is constantly mobile, but rather a connection to a sense of community during travel. The stage coach, with her fellow pilgrims, becomes her place. It is precisely the stage coach and its mobile environment that allow for her progression: "mobility is associated with development, personal growth, and cosmopolitan open-mindedness" (Manzo and Devine-Wright 97). This second critical food moment indicates that Manley is adjusting, though slowly, psychologically to travel and her time away from London. In other words, "the feast of the mind" mentally prepares Manley for the final leg of her journey.

Manley as Part of a Travel Community

The last critical food moment—a moment of communion—demonstrates a final step on Manley's journey and represents her fullest expression of becoming in place. She uses food as a form of seduction and source for companionship; she enacts place making, creating and managing a social space centered on communal eating. This place-making activity occurs in Letter IV when a new stage coach traveling from Exeter to London arrives at the inn where she is temporarily resting. Manley hopes to entertain herself with the "Design of engaging the People

in the *Exeter* Coach (if they seemed worth it) to live with Us for the time" (22). It is significant that her desire for community arises with people going *to* London. She uses the coach's arrival as an opportunity to "engage" with new travelers and as a chance to create a community, employing food and consumption to execute her "design."

Manley chooses the popular fruit, cherries, to initiate her plan to build a community. As we shall see, cherries in late seventeenth-century England carried specific status. In this case, they belong to the upper class. When the Exeter stage coach arrives at the inn she recounts, "I had a Basin of *fine Heart-Cherries* before me, just come from the Garden: I caused them to be brought after me into the Gallery, and *designed them as a Bait* to the Woman whom I was to begin the Acquaintance with" (emphasis added 24). Manley's choice of "bait" is purposeful and witty. In British culture cherries are considered as a special treat and described as "the rage in fashionable circles" (Thirsk 152). Thirsk explains: "Cherries were already *high fashion* . . . having been favoured by Henry VIII, and greedily devoured by James I" (emphasis added, 74). Cherry trees were often given as gifts, for example the mayor of London gifted cherries to Anne Boleyn. England imported a large amount of cherry trees from various countries, including Flanders, France, Morocco, Naples, Spain, and Hungary (Thirsk 74). In particular, the popularity of cherry trees from the Netherlands became a "craze," "arousing shrill protests from English gardeners selling their home-grown ones" and affording the gentry opportunities to eat "the best quality and the largest variety" of fresh cherries (298-299). Put simply, England had a "love affair with cherries" (99).

Cherries also have an abundant presence in herbal, botanical, and medicinal books in the early modern period. John Parkinson (1567-1650), a celebrated herbalist and botanist, includes almost forty different varieties of cherries in his monumental work *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus*

Terrestris (1629), which explains how to cultivate plants. Cherry trees, he notes, take up significant space: they grow "to be of a reasonable bigness and height, spreading great armes, and also small twiggy branches plentifully" (570). He references two varieties of "Hart Cherries," one small and one large, both "full above, and a little pointing downward, after the fashion of an heart, . . . visually painted, blackish when it is full ripe" (572). Both varieties "are of a firme substance, and reasonable sweete" (572). He adds that cherries are meant to "please the palate, and are eaten at all times, before and after meales" (575). Additionally, Elizabeth Blackwell (nee Blachrie) includes three types of cherries in *A Curious Herbal, Containing Five Hundred Cuts, of the most* useful *Plants, which are now used in the Practice of Physick* (published between 1737 and 1739). Blackwell achieved fame as a botanical illustrator, particularly as the artist and engraver for the 500 plates, meant for physicians as a reference to medicinal plants, in *A Curious Herbal*. One of her plates illustrates and describes the red cherry, which she characterizes as having "cooling" properties and as "gratefull to the Stomach, quenching Thirst and wheting the Apetite" (Plate 449). Beyond printed botanical guides, cherries appear frequently in household manuscripts for cookery and medical recipes. These manuscripts contain hundreds of recipes that focus on the cherry, especially recipes "To dry Cherries," "To preserve Cherries," and for a "Marmalot of Cherrys."[7] Individual books often contain multiple—some up to five or six—recipes for the same type of recipe, which indicates not only the popularity of the cherry, but also a sense of wanting to improve and update recipes using the

[7] I had the opportunity to view several manuscripts from The New York Public Library's Whitney Cookery Collection, which holds 17 manuscripts dating from the 15th century to the 19th century. The manuscripts contain medicinal recipes and remedies, as well as mixtures for cleaning solutions and household items. In particular, I viewed the cookery books written around the time that Manley traveled: Mary Davies, a collection of medical and cookery recipes dated 1684; Lady Anne Morton, *The Ladey Mortons Booke of Receipts, most of which shee hath experimented her selfe and are verey good* (1693); and, a "Collection of household recipes, miscellaneous entries, etc., in several hands" (entries dated 1660-1732).

fruit. Parkinson's and Blackwell's texts and the household manuscripts reveal that cherries and cherry trees were intimately connected to health and class.

Manley's specific choice of such a popular fruit as bait is cunning. To use something as bait means an "enticement, allurement, temptation" ("bait"). The food must offer these qualities in order for a person to desire it. On the one hand, cherries are a source of physical temptation for the stomach: they are sweet and quench thirst. They certainly would entice travelers who may be hungry and thirsty from hours of confined stage-coach travel. On the other hand, cherries symbolize wealth and fashion, making the bait suitable for a particular type of "prey." Manley coordinates a moment of communion around a food that holds specific health and wealth connotations. Appropriately, she gathers a community of fashionable people by hooking them with a fashionable fruit.

Part of Manley's design is to create the community she desires: she will manage the group in the same way one would manage a garden or a household. Manley introduces two women with whom she could begin a friendship: a pregnant traveler, described by Manley as a "Giant of a Woman. . . very fine, with a right Citt—Air," and Mrs. Stanhope, a "Gentlewoman" that had, according to Manley, "something that pleased me" (23). Manley writes:

> The first that appeared was the Wife, with a Rising Belly: This seemed a good Hint; I offered them to her, not knowing but she might long. The sight (I suppose,) did not displease her, for she readily accepted, and eat very greedily. The Gentile-looked Lady [Mrs. Stanhope] had much to do to be persuaded . . . . We grew perfectly acquainted, taking Travellers Liberty, and Supped together. (24)

The pregnant traveler "readily" accepts the cherries, eating them "greedily," illustrating a sense of desire and pleasure associated with the fruit. Though her physical want for food may have

biased her toward the cherries, the pregnant woman chooses to consume them with Manley. Unfortunately, their communion does not last long because, as Manley claims, the woman's husband was not only attracted to the cherries, but to Manley as well. The "fine" woman seems like a potential companion for Manley, not only because she and her husband are well-off and traveling back to their home in London, traits Manley appreciates, but also because if Manley was indeed pregnant, this seems like an opportune friendship. Instead, this missed opportunity leaves Manley as critical of the pregnant woman. Viewing this scene from a perspective on food and appetite, the pregnant woman's reaction to the cherries—to "eat very greedily"—does not fit appropriately with Manley's own sense of taste and community. The pregnant woman's excessive appetite (in Manley's opinion) becomes apparent when paired with the genteel woman Manley ultimately befriends. She offers the cherries to Mrs. Stanhope, and she notes that Mrs. Stanhope, unlike the voracious pregnant woman, "had much to do to be persuaded" to eat the cherries. The use of "persuaded" mirrors Manley's earlier hesitations to share food with the other travelers—in the mutton episode she rejects food because it is being offered at an inappropriate time of day. Manley also seems to want to disassociate herself with a "greedy" or voracious appetite, which is biographically significant because we understand Manley's public persona as scandalous, as associated with affairs and political, sexual deviance. So, while the pregnant woman's greedy appetite becomes a negative characterization, Mrs. Stanhope's discriminatory nature actually pleases Manley. Just as Manley does earlier, Mrs. Stanhope initially resists engaging with the travel community, but once she chooses to dine with Manley, their acquaintance grows to "taking Travellers Liberty." At the center of this sense of freedom stand the cherries. Manley and Mrs. Stanhope's interaction depicts a key component of developing a

social space: communal eating. This act of commensality makes visible the ways in which food and consumption may build community even in mobile and socially fluid spaces.

Manley's intimacy with Mrs. Stanhope illustrates that more than simply creating a general community Manley constructs a specific travel community, one that fits her taste. Her decision to include particular people highlights a problem with the idea of community, a concept human geographers struggle to define. For instance, David Bell and Gill Valentine contend that "we must always be mindful of the fact that communities are about exclusion as well as inclusion; and food is one way in which boundaries get drawn, and insiders and outsiders distinguished" (91). Therefore, the cherries used by Manley—a fashionable fresh fruit direct from the garden—become on the one hand a source of communal digestion, but on the other a source of exclusion. Only upper-class women are offered the bait, and only the single woman accepts the fruit. Thus, while Manley acts as a place maker, enacting the social construction of place, she also upholds a desired self-identity and place-identity, one that fashions her as socially superior.

The scene also presents the only instance in which we witness Manley eating food with her fellow travelers. Her choice to dine with Mrs. Stanhope seems to demonstrate Manley's effort to be in place—to be part of a community—during this journey, a shift from her initial position of being out of place. In fact, Manley and Mrs. Stanhope's conversation and shared food moment does highlight the way in which strangers who commune over food can develop a circumstantial relationship—a "Travellers Liberty," as Manley labels it. This sense of "liberty" and intimacy references qualities typically associated with travel: people develop quick friendships with other travelers because they have in common the sounds, smells, and sights of the place they are visiting. A location becomes significant to travelers because they share

conversations and food in that place, which gives it meaning. For Manley, her shared food moment invests meaning into this place, the space in which she shares the cherries with Mrs. Stanhope. Salisbury, where she writes from, is not meaningful to Manley because of the remarkable cathedral (recall that she writes, "I need say nothing to you of *Salisbury* Cathedral" [21]), but the location means something to her because they consume food together and talk openly with one another. Food consumption has this effect, the "power to create 'communities' beyond the local, beyond the effects of commensality" (Bell and Valentine 109). Sharing food "bind[s] people together in . . . 'communities of affiliation'" (109). Sharing the cherries with Mrs. Stanhope, engaging in a free conversation with her, and then retroactively writing about their shared moment illustrates how food and travel have opened Manley to being part of a community outside of London. However, notably, this community is composed entirely of travelers *returning to* London.

Reading the critical food moment as an invocation of community leads back to the concept of pilgrimage. The women's commensality highlights a key element of pilgrimage explained by Tuan: pilgrimages "enabled villagers and townsmen to detach themselves from the endless rounds of work and duty for the freedom of the road, and for the exhilaration of communing with strangers—brothers in spirit—at the center out there (Turner 1973)" (6). Manley's interaction with Mrs. Stanhope over the cherries evokes a similar communal way of being with strangers. The moment also indicates that Mrs. Stanhope too partakes in a pilgrimage (and by extension, each of the travelers Manley meets embark on individual pilgrimages). Significantly, though, the travelers that Manley engages—including the Fop and Mrs. Stanhope—are all returning to London, which emphasizes that Manley is always drawn to the city. Again, this journey for Manley is temporary. As part of going temporarily "out of place"

Manley encounters others who are doing the same, leading to a community built of out-of-place travelers—brothers and sisters in spirit. Each of them travels back to London where they began. Each traveler has his or her individual geographical journey, and though their shared moments may be brief, their communal digestion identifies the way in which shared consumption—even if temporary—helps people to bond and create community.

Manley in a London State of Mind

Ultimately, though Manley attempts to build community by sharing the cherries, she never fully engages with her fellow travelers, preferring her books and solitude over the company of others. Manley always desires to return to London; her travel away from there, though intentional, is temporary, which leaves Manley in a constant London "state of mind." She may frame her letters as an exile narrative, but it is clear from her early question of whether she can truly leave London "for ever," and her inclination to write about only those travelers returning to London, that she never intends to stay away permanently. As the critical food moments prove, Manley constantly embodies a London way of eating and dining, keeping the London dining schedule and sharing food with those who are returning to London (not traveling away from there, as she is). Manley's letters also reveal that she is always more attached to London as a place. As Carnell points out, Manley is always still in connection with London because her letters are being written to a friend there (87). In addition, almost every letter Manley composes references London in some way, whether by mentioning her fellow travelers returning to London or by referencing her melancholy at being so far away from the city. She even complains to J.H. that his news of London acts as a "curse" and she wishes he would refrain from providing any news until she returns "to (the World in) *London*" (30). Her attachment to

London becomes even clearer when we recall that Manley hardly describes the places she travels through on this stage-coach journey. She alludes to but never provides details of Salisbury Cathedral, and at least twice more chooses to evade descriptions of places: "We passed *Dorchester* and *Blandford* to Day, but I found nothing in either worth your Notice" (32); "The Cathedral here [in Exeter] is very fine; the Bishop's Seat in it surpasses *Salisbury*; though short in every thing else" (41). London sits as the underlining focal point of her letters.

Because Manley's letters begin and end with London, they indicate the journey is less about her destination and more about the origin of her travels. Letter I opens with Manley questioning her decision to quit London, describing the melancholy effects a sixteen-mile distance from London has had on her character. She similarly closes her letters with a final reference to London, lamenting:

> Write to me still, but nothing of News; I mean to hear none till I see *London* again; and when that will be, I have not the Pleasure so much as to imagine: It will be New (to lie forgotten, and forgetting, and as it were, be born with Understanding) to all the Vanities and Virtues (if any) of that *Hydra*. (46)

Though Manley does not know when she will return to London, the picture of London she offers leaves the reader wondering whether Manley truly desires to return to a place she describes with such paradox. Her reference to London as *Hydra* particularly stands out as inconsonant. Lorenzo-Modia proposes an unfavorable argument for Manley's Hydra reference:

> London is referred to as *Hydra* . . . , which is a very negative image, recalling as it does the Greek myth of the 'fabulous many-headed snake of the marshes of Lerna, whose heads grew again and as fast as they were cut off [although] said to have been at length killed by Hercules' (*OED*). This seems to reflect the initiatory journey which the writer

> of the epistles undergoes, viewing the place that she has abandoned in a worse light after her travel. (290-291)

The negative image of London as Hydra, as "worse" than when Manley began her journey, speaks to the tension Manley feels about London. Alternatively, the image of the Hydra may illuminate Manley's desire to retreat from and return to London. Specifically, London as an image of Hydra reflects the changing landscape of the city at the beginning of the eighteenth century—London itself was a Hydra, "destructive," "multifarious," and difficult to extirpate ("Hydra, *n.*"). By 1700, London was the largest city in Europe. Jerry White explains that "one in ten persons in England and Wales lived in London; and that perhaps one in six had lived in it at some time in their lives" (3). He describes London as a "monster city" (4), "sprawling, opaque and densely interwoven" (9); London's "sheer size exercised a gravitational pull on the nation, through wonderment and curiosity" (3). At the same time, a "ceaseless rebuilding and refashioning" (6) of London after the Great Fire in September 1666 made the city an eclectic mixture of new and old, a contrast that White points out reflects not only the physical state of London: "For this was a city (and an Age) of starving poverty as well as shining polish, a city of civility and a city of truculence, a city of decorum and a city of lewdness, a city of joy and a city of despair, a city of sentiment and a city of cruelty" (xx-xxi). London as a Hydra figuratively consumes people, and Manley's desire to escape its clutches is in keeping with the mythological reference. Furthermore, it is notable that the myth of Hydra emphasizes the capacity to regenerate, in the same way Manley herself seeks to constantly regenerate London and her association with it by seeking out travelers returning to London and (re)writing London in her travelogue. Rather than view Manley's reference to Hydra as merely negative then, we can consider the description as a reflection of her state of mind regarding London. Manley senses the

contradictions inherent in an evolving London, and she too vacillates between yearning for and feeling melancholy about the city. Even more important, Manley's conflicting feelings toward London are an attribution of place, a way of thinking about and being attached to "home."

The beginning of this chapter introduced the concept of the home tour, particularly the argument proffered by Zoë Kinsley that the home tour was presented as contributing to a sense of patriotism, as well as constructing an imagined sense of nationhood and community. Kinsley suggests that a central feature of the home tour is a "dual impulse, to affirm one's feeling of national identity on the one hand, and to unfasten one's relationship to it on the other" (3). Manley's journey to Exeter emulates this type of "dual impulse," especially when thinking about Manley's preoccupation with London. Specifically, I see a connection between the duality of London and Manley's perception of London as her "home." Relph discusses humans' need to "be attached to places" and to "have roots in a place" (38). Humans often become rooted at home: "Home in its profound form is an attachment to a particular setting, a particular environment. . . . It is the point of departure from which we orient ourselves and take possession of the world" (40). Relph's choice of words is emblematic of travel language as well, to depart and to orient ourselves. Manley uses London, her home, as a literal and figurative "point of departure" on her home tour of the southwest of England. However, as Manley demonstrates, home is not without stress. Relph explains that a tension exists between a person and place, home in particular, what he refers to as "the drudgery of place": "Drudgery is always a part of profound commitment to a place, and any commitment must also involve an acceptance of the restriction that place imposes and the miseries it may offer. Our experience of place, and especially of home, is a dialectical one—balancing a need to stay with a desire to escape" (42). This dialectical relationship with home is exactly what Manley exemplifies through her travel

writing and home travel experience. Manley's Hydra reference suggests that her attachment to home (London) is mixed, difficult to get rid of, and at times destructive—this is the nature of home and our relationship to home. Importantly, Manley's reflection and illumination of London happens as a direct result from her participation in a home tour, an exploration of her nation and her place in it.

Manley eventually does return to London and it marks the beginning of her successful career as a playwright and novelist. Despite not knowing when she would be able to return to London, it appears Manley arrived back shortly after she sent her final letter (Carnell 87). Noticeably, Manley does not compose a *return* travel account to London, though surely she must have traveled back, yet another reinforcement of this journey as a pilgrimage and temporary displacement. Additionally, Carnell's guess that Manley's time away from London "may in fact have been a sabbatical dedicated to becoming a writer" (87) seems accurate, especially given the quick productions of *The Lost Lover* (March 1696) and *The Royal Mischief* (May 1696). Manley's pilgrimage to Exeter highlights an understudied text by Manley and illuminates Manley's relationship to London. Her letters reveal that travel writing in particular offered Manley opportunities to explore characters and food moments outside the city of London. Despite covering little ground, under 200 miles, Manley is the most mobile traveler in this study, which allows us to consider the impact of stage-coach travel and being in constant motion. The critical food moments Manley records contribute to our understanding of the physical and mental rigors of stage-coach travel—from unpredictable dining times to conversations with annoying travel companions to communion over a sweet fruit. Overall, Manley's letters demonstrate that though she may have been in perpetual motion, her pilgrimage from London meant maintaining a constant connection to the metropolis. Manley always embodies London during her travels and

by wanting to only temporarily leave the city, foreshadows London as the cultural, social, and political center of England ("the World").

Chapter Two:

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters from North Italy: Living Locally in Montagu's Brescia Garden

In a January 5, 1748 letter from Brescia, Italy to her daughter Lady Bute, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu expresses her surprise at an unexpected visit of "30 Horse of Ladys and Gentlemen with their servants . . . . [whom] came with the Intent of staying with me at least a fortnight, thô I had never seen any of them before; but they were all Neighbours within ten mile round" (II: 393). Despite the unplanned guests, Montagu stresses she had no problems "entertaining" and feeding the crowd, explaining, "by good Luck [I] had a large Quantity of Game in the House, which with the help of my Poultry furnish'd out a plentifull Table." Montagu's ability to provide—upon a moment's notice—a feast for her neighbors from her personal garden initially seems like an trivial anecdote to share with her daughter, but in actuality it bridges three essential qualities that define Montagu's time in Italy: taking pleasure in gardening, sharing food with neighbors, and connecting more deeply to Italy as a place. Montagu initially began her journey to Italy in 1739, traveling through various cities in France and Italy. After visiting Florence, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Turin, and Geneva, Montagu stayed in Chambery for a winter, and then settled in Avignon for four years. In 1746, at around the age of 47, she moved to Brescia, where she made her home for ten years. In Brescia Montagu begins a frequent correspondence with her daughter the Countess of Bute. Robert Halsband paints these letters as Montagu's "most copious and felicitous correspondence" (II: x). They are also the letters in which she writes most regularly of gardening, food, and ageing.

The reasons for Montagu's travel to France and Italy vary. Perhaps the most titillating story involves her falling passionately in love with Francesco Algarotti, an Italian poet and scientist half her age. In a July 16, 1739 letter to Algarotti, Montagu declares that she is "leaving to seek" him: "I shall meet you in Venice. I had intended to meet you on the road, but I believe it is more discreet, and even more certain, to wait to see you at the end of my pilgrimage" (II: 507). Montagu's pilgrimage to meet Algarotti may read like a hopelessly love-sick Montagu chasing an unrequited love, but Isobel Grundy proposes several alternative motives for Montagu's journey to Europe: "Her closest friends were recently dead, her children under her displeasure, her husband ideologically remote, her reputation mangled by Pope, and her dislike of the English climate real. Her public story was that she was travelling for her health, though no serious illness is known" (391). As Grundy suggests, we must consider Montagu's motives for travel as far more varied then previously recognized in order to more accurately write her place in literary history. Montagu's inclination to travel was not new, but rather a preference she writes about from a young age. For instance, early in her relationship with Edward Montagu she informs her future husband, "Was I to follow entirely my own Inclinations it would be to travel, my first and cheifest wish" (I: 61). As Edward's wife she fulfilled her desire to travel when she accompanied him to Turkey after he was appointed the Turkish Ambassador.[8] While scholars have tended to focus on Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters,* yielding a large critical conversation about her time there, this chapter aims to draw attention to an understudied area of Montagu's travel letters, those from North Italy (1746 – 1756). Years after her time abroad with Edward, Montagu

[8] The last ten years of scholarship on Montagu's *Embassy Letters* largely fits into one of three trends: see Rae Ann Meriwether and Ros Ballaster for examinations of Montagu's political, social, and cultural commentary; for discussions on her "self-creation" as a woman writer and traveler see Donatella Abbate Badin and Allison Winch; and for the largest body of critical attention, on determining her position as an Orientalist writer, see Elizabeth Bohls, Adam Beach, John Beynon, Judith Still, Ahmed Al-Rawi, Arthur Weitzman, and Susanne Sholz.

abandoned London for Italy; Montagu insisted in a letter to Lady Promfret on May 9, 1739, that she traveled to Italy because Lady Promfret had "given me so great an inclination to see Italy once more" (II: 138). Montagu may initially have imagined Italy as a meeting place for her and Algarotti, but it is far more apt to consider Montagu's trip to the continent as fitting with her life-long desire to travel.

Similar to Delarivier Manley's pilgrimage in the first chapter, Montagu's travels are a form of self-imposed exile, displacing her from England and London court culture. And though Montagu refers to her travels as a "pilgrimage," Grundy iterates that the voyage seems less like a temporary pilgrimage and more of a permanent exile; she argues that Montagu's preparations for travel were "months of intense, undocumented activity. She was making ready for a journey which she intended to be for ever" (390). She was, Grundy claims, "transplanting her life . . . to a new home" (391). Significantly, Algarotti does not remain the reason for Montagu's stay in Italy. As Cynthia Lowenthal notes, "Two years after her departure . . . when she was forced to acknowledge that her hopes for a life with Algarotti were illusory, she did not return to England, where life held little promise of personal or intellectual pleasure; instead, she chose to spend the next twenty-two years in self-imposed exile on the Continent" (7). Giovanna Silvani also defines Montagu's journey in terms of Algarotti, suggesting her pursuit of him and her Italian journey in general act as "a voluntary exile but also a stubborn affirmation of autonomy and of an intolerance to submitting to any role imposed on women by the society of her times" (qtd. in Badin 97). Grundy too asserts Montagu "reproached [Algarotti] for causing her exile" (404), and yet her letters reflect, as this chapter explores, a sense of attachment to Italy. Montagu's self-imposed exile ultimately affords her the opportunity for independence and autonomy, and provides moments of solitude and reflection.

In this chapter, I argue that in her Italian letters Montagu constructs a hybrid identity as a woman traveler, British cook, and ageing author. Montagu travels to Italy as a tourist, but as she roots herself in Gottolengo, she becomes deeply attached to the place through the process of gardening and cooking. She transitions from "tourist" to "expatriate," adjusting to the countryside's daily rhythms through her gardening routine, which has her paying deeper attention to the land itself and to the effects of the seasons. At the same time, she realizes her identity is shifting from a famed London poet to an ageing woman living abroad alone. As she recognizes she no longer has the same cultural or social influence in London that she did when younger, she begins to see herself as having a new kind of influence on her Italian community. Gardening and cooking become Montagu's new way to establish fame. At the same time, she continues to write, documenting her garden and her food skills in letters to her daughter and memorializing her Italian life on the page. This chapter draws attention to Montagu's travel letters from North Italy (1746 – 1756) in order to make an explicit connection between four seemingly disparate topics: travel, the garden, local food, and old age. Significantly, this intersection occurs later in her life, when Montagu is more concerned with ageing and death, and during the final years of her life spent in Italy, before she dies of breast cancer in 1762. Montagu's desire to travel and her interest in gardens and food work together to deepen Montagu's embodiment of place, geographically and phenomenologically.

The chapter first explores Montagu's relationship to her garden in Gottolengo, in the Province of Brescia, as it becomes the focal point of her everyday routine and of several letters to Lady Bute. Montagu's chronicles of her Italian garden and her remarks on the management of her space expose a critical connection between place and identity: her daily habits in the garden influence her perception of Italy and her sense of self. Second, the analysis of several critical

food moments sheds light on Montagu's knowledge of eighteenth-century food trends, as she actively participates in growing and producing food in her garden that she then shares. In authoring letters to her daughter, Montagu is clearly thinking about her own legacy, enacting her desire to preserve her place in literary history as not only a successful letter-writer, but also a famed traveler, gardener, and cook. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the close relationship between food and travel(er), and food and writer: as Montagu authors her letters she writes herself into British and Italian literary and food history.

Montagu's progression from British tourist to an expatriate cultivating a connection with Italy uncovers the close relationship between identity and place. This chapter analyzes Montagu's letters from Italy from the perspective that place is a process and always being (re)constructed. Place is "an embodied relationship with the world. Places are constructed by doing things and in this sense are never 'finished' but are constantly being performed" (Cresswell 69). For Montagu, place is being constantly constructed through her daily performance in her garden as well as through a literal digestion of the place (food from her garden) she occupies. Her routine allows her to better "know a place and feel part of it" (Cresswell 64). A second analysis of the critical food moments in her letters illustrates the complex position Montagu holds as both putting down roots in Italy but also being a British foreigner. Lucy Lippard's concept of the "lure of the local" allows us to consider Montagu's hybrid position: "Each time we enter a new place, we become one of the ingredients of an existing hybridity, which is really what all 'local places' consist of" (6). Montagu brings British food trends and cooking to Italy, but she is also being shaped by Italy—its land, food, seasons, and people. As a result of travel, Montagu enacts change to her Italian garden and community, which imposes "a new set of meanings on the local landscapes and connect[s] it to the wider

world" (qtd. in Cresswell 73). This embodiment and construction of place by Montagu ultimately (re)defines Italy for her and the future readers of her letters.

On Eighteenth-Century Travel to Italy

Notably, a desire to travel, and specifically, a desire to travel to Italy, reflects a particularly aristocratic sense of self and participation in an eighteenth-century travel trend. Roy Porter characterizes Georgians as "mobile, valuing the freedom money gave for activity, and enjoying being out of doors and on the move. 'Home sweet home' is basically a nineteenth-century sentiment" (225). Jeremy Black reaffirms this sense of British mobility that burgeoned in the 1740s, attributing tourism to a "growth in British cultural self-confidence," an expanding economy, and rapid population growth (6). One way Georgians enacted this new sense of mobility was through participation in The Grand Tour, commonly thought of as an aristocratic adventure. In particular, grand tourists "flocked to France and Italy, high altars of European history, culture, and civility" (Porter 246). While there existed a "general fascination with Southern Europe," Italy "dominated the attention of those who travelled south beyond Paris. Travel to the Mediterranean meant travel to Italy" (Black 1, 9). Travel to Italy in particular was associated with a pattern of "elite cosmopolitan activity" and a new sense of travel "for pleasure" (Black 2), particularly from Britons. Experiencing Italy firsthand "became an essential prerequisite to any claim to be a citizen of the world" (Findlen, Roworth, and Sama 1-2). Britons specifically engaged in this sentiment and as a result "there was a peaceful British invasion of Italy" (Wilton and Bignamini 21).

Inevitably, travel to Italy also meant Britons would experience new foods and different tastes. Today we may think of Italy as a food destination, but most British travelers, Montagu

included, had likely never before encountered Italian cuisine. Black emphasizes that British travel diaries remark on Italian food as "a novelty for most travelers" (76). For instance, olive oil and garlic were "particularly different, and oil was greatly disliked" (76-7). Travelers missed their familiar food, though it was "possible to encounter some echoes of Britain" (80). The unfamiliar food makes sense given that most countries ate what was available to their region. Eighteenth-century Europe represented a variety of food based on geography, food distribution, and the seasons. In other words, travelers ate locally available fare and each destination offered a varied food experience with regional dishes. In Italy's rural areas, especially, tourists encountered "a shortage of food" and "[b]oth food regimes – rural areas and towns – were affected by seasonal variations, as well as by irregular harvest and weather conditions, and by events that affected communications, such as floods and the freezing waterways" (75-76). Living in the countryside for an extended period meant Montagu especially had to adjust to weather conditions and seasons, thus heightening her personal experience of what it meant to farm and eat locally.

Montagu is markedly different than many travelers of the period because of her interest in the countryside and the solitude it offered. Black observes, "There was no cult of the countryside: tourists travelled as rapidly as possible between major cities, and regarded mountains with horror, not joy" (3). While Montagu did not explicitly take part in her own Grand Tour, the patterns of a grand tourist make Montagu's trip that much more intriguing.[9] Montagu, unlike other British grand tourists, visited major cities but spent the majority of her time in the country. In fact, her time in Brescia amounts to half of her stay in Italy. Her preference for the

[9] Abbate Badin makes a similar claim, noting that none of Montagu's journey's to Italy "could be technically defined a Grand Tour. . . . Yet the bulk of her epistolary account of Italy amounts to one of the most accurate and diversified tours of Italy" (94).

countryside reflects an overall shift in Italy developing into a more agrarian society—"Italian cities were still lively places to live and visit, full of conversation and cosmopolitan civility, but the vast commercial enterprises and glittering court culture that had brought many of them to prominence . . . no longer were their defining features" (Findlen, Roworth, and Sama 9). Just as Montagu fled the London social scene, she moved away from "glittering" society in Italy and sought solitude in the country. As a result, Montagu develops a deeper connection to the land itself and what abundance it offered. If tourists in Italy are characterized as "the largest and most independent wandering 'academy" (Wilton and Bignamini 13), much of Montagu's education in this tourist community revolved around food and cooking. Under these circumstances, Montagu's lived experiences as a British-woman traveler in Northern Italy influence and affect her time abroad.

Montagu's Brescia Garden

On July 10, 1748 Montagu composes a lengthy letter to Lady Bute in which she details the specifics of her space and garden in Gottolengo. She writes from her residence in the province of Brescia, from a home she dubiously acquired under the guidance of Count Ugolino Palazzi, who escorted her through a war-ravaged Italy.[10] She had planned to leave Avignon, where she resided from May 1742 – August 1746, but with a bad inflammation of the eyes needed assistance to travel. She found an escape through Palazzi who was already traveling to see his mother in Brescia and had hoped to share the expenses of travel with Montagu. While she needed to flee Avignon, her intention had always been to travel to Venice, but illness and

[10] For a full account of Montagu's time in Brescia, see her fictionalized *Italian Memoir*, which was authored by Montagu in Italian between 1756 and 1758 to use as part of her suit against Palazzi.

"imprisonment" kept her in Brescia for 10 years.[11] There was a dark side to her years in Brescia which she presented as a fictional narrative in her *Italian Memoir.* Recovering from inflammation of the eyes and immobilized by malaria, two months of the beginning of Montagu's stay in Brescia were spent confined to bed. Grundy laments that it was this point in Montagu's story that her time in Brescia "becomes hazy and sometimes contradictory" (*Lady Mary* 480). Grundy states Montagu's "illness left her weak and depressed" (480), and ready to accept Palazzi's help to rent a country house. Despite not having officially decided to remain in Gottolengo, Montagu purchased, under Palazzi's guidance, a piece of land near the castle for 800 sequins. And so she "was *established* at Gottolengo" (emphasis added 481). In Gottolengo Montagu is more removed from England than ever before, and Grundy emphasizes that her "hold on the outside world was tenuous" (484). In such solitude, Montagu turns to one of the only spaces available to her: her garden.

Montagu writes of her garden to her daughter in several letters, but in the following correspondence provides the most detailed and extensive description, one that attempts to paint Lady Bute a sense of living and "being there." She begins, "I have been six weeks, and still am, at my Dairy House, which joins to my Garden. I beleive I have allready told you it is a long mile from the Castle, which is situate in the midst of a very large village" (II: 403). Geographically situated on a peninsula fifty feet above the River Oglio, Montagu settled in the Italian countryside, a "large village in the fertile Po Valley, still contained in a square shape by its crumbling medieval walls" (Grundy *Lady Mary* 481). For what was meant to be a temporary abode, Montagu almost immediately begins to set roots and make this space her home. She

[11] In the *Italian Memoir* Montagu concludes she "realised that I was a Prisoner" (98). She does not use the same language in her correspondence, though Isobel Grundy considers Montagu's language relevant in her reading of the Brescia period in Montagu's life (see pages 477-504 in *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*).

writes that she has "fitted up in this farm house a room for my selfe, that is to say, strewd the floor with Rushes, cover'd the chimney with moss and branches, and adorn'd the Room with Basons of earthern ware . . . fill'd with Flowers, and put in some straw chairs and a Couch Bed, which is my whole Furniture" (II: 403). Montagu's actions are an example of place-making activities, constructing the space into a meaningful location by adding pleasing elements to a once drab room. Her actions mimic a reciprocal relationship with place—adding to the house makes it more significant to Montagu and subsequently writing about it makes the place feel more like it belongs to her; but, at the same time, Montagu relies on what the location offers her (which branches, earthern ware, flowers, furniture she can acquire). By altering the place to be more aesthetically appealing, Montagu derives some pleasure and attachment to the place. As a result of these actions, she begins to transition into a resident of Gottolengo, not simply a visitor.

Reconstructing the house is an aesthetic expression of Montagu building attachment to place, but she also demonstrates a more nuanced attachment through an in-depth topographical description of the garden. To Lady Bute she insists, "This spot of Ground is So Beautiful I am afraid you will scarce credit the Description, which however, I can assure you shall be very litteral, without any embellishment from Imagination" (II: 403). Montagu does at first provide a "litteral" account of the garden by crafting a vivid description of the landscape. She notes her geographical location on a peninsula by the River Oglio and provides a figurative walking tour from "easy stairs cut in the Turf" to an "avenu two hundred yards" on the side of a "hundred acres woods" (II: 403). As she walks Lady Bute through the landscape garden she includes details about how she has transformed the space, from having "added 15 Bowers in different views" to having "made a camp Kitchin" (II: 403). As the tour guide she not only attempts to craft the space through writing, but also upholds a sense of authority on the layout of the land.

Her account accurately reflects the popular Italian landscape gardens in the eighteenth century. Specifically, her property replicates the most commonplace villas in the Po Valley, or the Veneto region, located on flat terrain, "generally located within a rectangular enclosed area, laid out symmetrically" (Visentini 96). The villas "were laid out according to a pattern" that "becomes part of the rhythmic division of the rural landscape of the Venetian *padanìa*, reinforcing rather than interrupting the reticulated pattern based on the Roman process of *centuriazione*" (Visentini 96). Even the dining space Montagu builds represents a trend in eighteenth-century Italian gardens. Montagu explains she has "made a dineing room of Verdue, capable of holding a Table of 20 Covers. The whole ground is 317 feet in length and 200 in Breadth" (II: 404). Part of the traditional pattern included the garden's "prominent role as the setting for banquets, concerts and various entertainments" (Visentini 97). Montagu's attention to such landscape and geographical details reveals the shear amount of knowledge she acquired and comprehended for Italian landscape gardening, as well as the care and attention she spent to accurately maintain the space itself. Importantly, such attunement to the landscape seems unlikely for a short-term visit, and more appropriate for a traveler who intends to stay and become acquainted with the space as a resident.

Montagu's comments about her garden model her engagement with place, as she develops more authority over the space through her letter writing. She claims, "My Garden was a plain vineyard when it came into my hands not two year ago, and it is with a small expence turn'd into a Garden that . . . I like better than that of Kensington" (II: 403). By labeling the place as "my" garden and declaring its beauty multiple times, Montagu demonstrates a personal attachment to the place. Montagu's comment simultaneously elevates her Italian garden above the famed Kensington gardens as it praises her own ability to reconstruct a "plain" space into

something spectacular. Lowenthal keenly reads this moment from Montagu's authorial position, closely reading her use of first-person possessive pronouns and verbs as indications of ownership and agency over the landscape, which Montagu thus transforms from "the natural . . . into the human, a habitable space" (201). I contend Montagu's remark is also evidence of a person's ability to transform and become attached to place even from the position of a tourist. While Lowenthal argues that Montagu's letter "serves to promote [Montagu's] role as the more-than-capable manager" (202), we can also read this moment as indicative of Montagu's deep desire to "show" and share the space with Lady Bute, a geographical implausibility. She admits, "I never saw a more agreeable rustic Garden, abounding with all sort of Fruit, and produces a variety of Wines. *I would send you a piece if* I did not fear the custom would make you pay too dear for it" (emphasis added II: 403). Montagu's wish to send something from the garden, whether fruit or wine, will always be conditional. Only through her imagination—through writing—can Montagu convey to her daughter the sensory experience of her garden. And yet, despite the limitations, sharing the place remains prevalent in Montagu's letters.

Montagu continues to acknowledge the restrictions of letter writing and recognizes that even an imaginary tour may not be enough. Under her guidance, in her hands, the garden flourishes. Part of this success has little to do with Montagu, and more to do with the landscape itself. The province of Brescia "was flourishing" (Grundy *Lady Mary* 479) and the Po Valley soil "was deep and sticky, excellent for farming" (485). However, Montagu still fashions herself as a proprietor and gardening professional. She concludes her "Description gives you but an imperfect Idea of my garden" (II: 404), though Lady Bute could, if she desired, map the space based on the geographical and topographical elements included. Lowenthal describes the letter as "a remarkable descriptive letter . . . . Suffused with sensory detail [that] only partially

emphasizes the sensual pleasures of her environment" (199). Montagu's description *is* "imperfect" because Lady Bute cannot be there herself, to physically experience the sensory elements. The garden description by Montagu thus acts almost as a lament, an homage, to her "greatest amusement" (II: 403), something Montagu wishes to share with her daughter, but can only do so through writing. She authors an account for her daughter—the only option available to her to convey her garden to someone hundreds of miles away.

Therefore, Montagu switches her approach to writing about the garden, instead focusing on how she embodies the space through habits and routines. She proposes, "Perhaps I shall succeed better in describing my manner of life, which is as regular as that of any Monastery" (II: 404):

> I generally rise at six, and as soon as I have breakfasted put my selfe at the head of my Weeder Women, and work with them till nine. I then inspect my Dairy and take a Turn amongst my Poultry, which is a very large enquiry. I have at present 200 chicken, besides Turkys, Geese, Ducks, and Peacocks. All things have hitherto prosper'd under my Care. . . . At 11 o'clock I retire to my Books. I dare not indulge my selfe in that pleasure above an hour. At 12 I constantly dine, and sleep after dinner till about 3. I then send for some of my old Priests and either play picquet or Whist till tis cool enough to go out. (II: 404)

Montagu delivers a timeline of her day, a listing of her tasks and the people she encounters. Significantly, her daily routine begins with her active involvement with the garden, from working with other women to inspecting her dairy. Similar to her tone earlier when describing the landscape, she offers the specific quantity of livestock and emphasizes, with a constant use of "my" and "I", that under her charge her garden and livestock have flourished. By now this self-

praise feels common in Montagu's writing, while also suggesting a repetition, a routine she practices. The moment is an example of Montagu's embodiment of place, specifically David Seamon's "time-space routine." Seamon uses a metaphor of dance to describe a person's "sequence of preconscious actions used to complete a particular task," which he refers to as a "body-ballet" (Cresswell 63). When the body-ballet is sustained over time he labels it a "time-space routine," which defines "the habits of a person as they follow a routine path through the day" (63). Participation in a routine, a series of daily performances, allows us to "get to know a place and feel part of it" (64). Montagu enacts her own time-space routine in the garden, following a similar schedule each day and becoming more in tune with the Italian landscape as she performs her routine. Such an embodiment of place seems at odds with the temporary nature of travel, but Montagu's time-space routine indicates that her relationship to Italy and her Italian garden is more permanent.

Ultimately, Montagu's attachment to and routine in the garden reveal the interwoven nature of her identity as a traveler, gardener, and author. Montagu's garden musings are not simply about the beauty and bounty of the place, but also about Montagu's own identity as a woman and author living in Italy. Stephen Bending argues that gardens were "recognized as a private venture, as an image of their owner, as an opportunity to articulate one's identity, and as a place in which, on which one would be judged" (3). Montagu may be "judged" on the success of her garden, on her ability to live in solitude, and on her aptitude for letter writing. If her garden flourishes, so does Montagu by extension. Bending also suggests that "the shaping of physical space is the shaping also of identity" (1). Her active role in the garden, and her subsequent writing on the space, are always about the tenuous nature of Montagu's identity at this time. In Italy she no longer produces writing for publication, she separates herself from

England, and she lives almost in solitude. So, she turns to different work. She develops a set of skills for gardening in the same way she may have done for the craft of writing. A correlation exists between writing and gardening, one that Montagu herself extends when she draws a metaphor between gardening and playwriting: "I am realy as fond of my Garden as a young Author of his first play when it has been well receiv'd by the Town" (II: 407). Such a metaphor is symbolic of the garden's ability to provide, maybe not as equal, but as valuable pleasure for her. Gardening simultaneously demonstrates Montagu's adaptation to Italy as well as her desire to find her new "sense of self."

Embodying the Local

Several critical food moments from Montagu's letters illustrate her depth of knowledge for food and food culture, and the way that food specifically shapes Montagu's own identity during her stay in Brescia. Montagu's reflections on food range from short references to what she ate for the day to more self-congratulatory descriptions about dishes she prepares from her garden to share with her Italian guests. The critical food moments—including a scene of a salad from her garden and sack posset—analyzed in this section reveal Montagu's knowledge of the British food trend of "plain cooking" and demonstrate Montagu's hybrid identity as a British tourist and Italian gardener.

The first critical food moment—an indication of embodying the local—involves Montagu's success with serving a salad and sack posset to an Italian visitor. In December 1748 she writes to Edward Wortley about the Dutchess of Gustalla, claiming the Dutchess "told me since I would not oblige her by comeing to her Court she was resolv'd to come to me and eat a salad of my raising, having heard much Fame of my Gardening" (II: 415). Served at the end of supper, salads traditionally consisted of "succulent parts of lettuce . . . mixed with salt, vinegar

and oil . . . . Cucumbers were sliced in succulent combination with lettuce, mint, sage and watercress" (Colquhoun 208). Montagu situates her discussion of the Dutchess's visit around food, as if she came to visit Montagu *because of* her salad. According to Montagu, in less than half a year she has become widely regarded for her gardening ability, so much so that visitors must travel to her. More than Montagu serving something from her garden, the salad historically represents a larger changing food landscape in the eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century "patriotism extended to the kitchen" as a result of Britain continually finding itself at war with France during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13), then the War of Austrian Succession (1740s) and, later, the Seven Years War (Colquhoun 190). As a reaction to this conflict, professional cooks began to move away from the rich and dense dishes favored in the Restoration and opted for simpler dishes with fewer ingredients (191). The royal chef Patrick Lamb labeled this food movement as "unfussy 'English' cooking" (192). Cookbook authors picked up on the new virtues of English cooking, and cookbooks like Hannah Glasse's bestselling *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747) appeared alongside William Ellis' *Country Housewife's Family Companion* (1750), which both articulated trends for cooking based on "what was home-produced, gathered from the back garden" and recipes for "[p]lain cooking" (196). A key aspect of plain cooking meant utilizing seasonal produce. Glasse's cookbook, as an example, contains an entire section devoted to listing "the product of the kitchen and fruit garden" where she lists the fruits and vegetables available in a particular month. For December, she includes:

> MANY sorts of cabbages and savoys, spinach, and some cauliflowers in the conservatory, and artichokes in sand. Roots we have as in the last month. Small herbs on the hot-beds for salads, also mint, tarragon, and cabbage-lettuce

> preserved under glasses; chervil, sellery, and endive blanched. Sage, thyme, savoury, beet-leaves, tops of young beets, parsley, sorrel, spinach, leeks, and sweet marjoram, marigold-flowers, and mint dried. Asparagus on the hot-bed, and cucumbers on the plants sown in July and August, and plenty of pears and apples. (328)

Not only does Montagu prepare a seasonally appropriate dish, she also, perhaps surprisingly, serves a pointedly British dish. As Glasse's cookbook reveals, vegetables especially "were coming of age" and salads were having a moment (Colquhoun 205). There was, as Kate Colquhoun proves, a "fuss over green stuff," causing a dramatic increase in cultivation (206).

Anne C. Wilson historicizes salad vegetables rise to popularity beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, listing that "[t]he greenstuff included lettuce, purslane, cornsalad, sorrel, dandelion, buds of alexanders, mustard, cresses, and the young leaves of radishes, turnips, spinach and lop lettuce. . . . The many small-leaved plants were often known jointly as salading or small salad" (360). Salad plants were thought to have various helpful medicinal properties. The greens also required skill to mix together. Wilson's description of a mixed salad of "aromatic herbs noted for their warm, dry qualities" counteracting "the coldness of . . . lettuce, purslane or endive" accentuates the complexity involved in merely "throwing together" a salad. In fact, the dish itself was actually quite laborious: "before [vegetables] could be peeled, chopped and pared, the clinging mud had to be scraped off, and cookbooks emphasized the need for repeated washing in the deep kitchen sink to remove bugs, caterpillars and dust" (Colquhoun 207). Montagu's earlier remark that her garden is "abounding with all sort of Fruit" could also suggest that Montagu serves the popular lemon salad dish, for which *The Compleat Housewife*, written by Eliza Smith (1727), provides a recipe:

> TAKE Lemons, and cut them in halfs, and when you have taken out the meat, lay the rinds in water twelve hours; then take them out, and cut the rinds thus [see image]: Then boil them in water till they are tender; then take them out and dry them; then take a pound of loaf-sugar and put to it a quarter of a pint of white-wine, and twice as much white-wine vinegar, and boil it a little; then take it off, and when 'tis cold put it in the pot to your peels: They will be ready to eat in five or six days, and it is a pretty Salade. (90)

The salad recipes indicate that food preparation is about what is in season and illustrate an element of "plain cooking." Thus, Montagu's self-proclaimed "fame" for her garden and salad is multifold, and, in fact, accurate. The success of her salad positions her as adept at cultivating greens, skilled at preparing and serving a delicious salad, and at the forefront of plain cooking.

Along with her notorious salad, Montagu serves the traditional English dish sack posset. Montagu asserts to Edward that he "may imagine I gave her as good a supper as I could. She was (or seem'd to be) extremely pleas'd with an English sack posset of my ordering" (II: 415). Sack posset was "a drink made from hot milk curdled with ale, wine, or other liquor, flavoured with sugar, herbs, spices, etc., and often drunk for medicinal purposes" ("*Posset*"). Marissa Nicosia, from *Cooking in the Archives*, writes that possets "teeter on the divide between medicine and food . . . . [R]efreshing drinks on the one hand, and curative concoctions on the other." Tellingly, recipes for posset are included in many of the popular eighteenth-century cookbooks, including Glasse's, who includes three recipes: "To make an excellent sack posset," "To make another sack posset," and "Or make it thus" (155). While Montagu does "order" the posset, accompanying the salad with another quintessential English dish serves to further enhance plain cooking on the one hand and her desire to introduce British cuisine on the other.

Ultimately, Montagu's insistence on the "fame" of her garden reads as yet another moment in which Montagu writes less about her garden and more about her identity as a British tourist in Italy. As Bending suggests, landscape gardens "offered elite women a . . . means of writing about themselves" (4). Therefore, the meal served to the Dutchess references not only the food itself, but also what it symbolized for Montagu—her public position in Italy. This "plain and simple" critical food moment is actually an indication of the way places are in fact hybrid, made up of an intersection of people, land, history, and culture (Lippard 5). Montagu may be a British tourist, but she is feeding off (and digesting) the Italian landscape that she cultivates. Montagu's own biography suggests she may be aware of such a hybridity. For example, at the same time Montagu introduces simple British dishes from her garden, her food choices reflect the changing food scene in Italy, which is experiencing a similar food trend to Britain. Provocatively, at the forefront of the Italian food movement is Francesco Algarotti. In "*Pensieri diversi*" Algarotti dubs the century as "this purged century of ours" (qtd. in Camporesi 37), which sought a more measured and balanced sense of pleasure in Italy. The Italian culinary scene embarked on a transformation based on "the need for 'elegant simplicity'" (34). Algarotti's impact on food and taste led to changes at the dining table: Italians "sought to restore balance to the laws of the table" (37). Montagu may well have been aware of Algarotti's effect on Italy's cuisine, and knowing Montagu's complex relationship with him, he may have influenced her own food experiences.

Montagu's knowledge also highlights the ways in which her many identities—traveler, gardener, cook, woman—intersect through food and food culture. Considering Lucy Lippard's concept of the "lure of the local," that as "we enter a new place, we become one of the ingredients of an existing hybridity, which is really what all 'local places' consist of" (6), allows

us to view Montagu's own identity as hybrid. Lippard suggests that places are always already hybrid and that "by moving through, between, and around them we are simply adding to the mix" (7). Montagu enters Gottolengo as a tourist, but her embodiment of the place through gardening and cooking means she becomes one component of the "local." At the same time, the relationship between Montagu, her garden, and the local reflects Bending's argument that gardening "confronts the individual with both their influence over, and their place within, the world" (5). In other words, it is precisely because of Montagu's engagement with her Italian garden and contemporary food trends that allows Montagu, and us (the future readers of her letters) to better understand her always developing position as a British woman-tourist and author living in Northern Italy. Michel de Certeau theorizes that when a person lives in exile "what remains the longest as a reference to the culture of origin concerns food . . . [as] a way of inscribing in the withdrawal of the self a sense of belonging to a former land [*terroir*]" (184). Food informs the past and the present and acts as the narrative connection back to "where one was born" (184). This first critical food moment illustrates the ways that Montagu negotiates a complex and developing relationship between being a tourist and an expat in self-imposed exile. Her connection to food is at once British and Italian; her meals are inflected with quintessential British dishes, but influenced by what is available to her seasonally in Italy.

Conserving Montagu's Legacy

A second critical food moment—a moment of conservation—reveals Montagu's wish to preserve her legacy through food and writing. She relates another source of fame: her ability to make complex dishes that are seemingly plain and simple, the focus of which is her ability to make butter. The "butter moments" illustrate Montagu's hope to be celebrated for her food skills,

which act as a replacement for her writing skills. Tellingly, Montagu repeatedly writes about her butter accomplishments in order to be certain her reputation will outlast her lifetime. This section continues the argument that Montagu replaces her love of writing for her pleasure in gardening, as it also aims to prove Montagu's hybrid identity includes being a chef and an author.

Montagu actively engages in household duties, keeping a receipt book and preparing food. Amanda Vickery states that for women in the eighteenth century "[f]ood was the most bountiful expression of genteel housewifery. Ladies recipe books, both printed and manuscript, detail a comprehensive interest in its production and processing" (151). Montagu writes to Lady Bute about her housewifery skills: "I have now no other [vanity] but in my little Huswifery, which is easily gratifiy'd in this Country, where (by the help of my receipt Book) I make a very shineing Figure amongst my Neighbours by the Introduction of Custards, Cheesecakes and mince'd Pies, which were entirely unknown in these Parts, and are receiv'd with universal applause" (II: 447). Though we do not know of the existence of Montagu's personal recipe book, historians have enough household cookbooks to gain a sense of the British recipes she references here and introduces to her Italian community. She notes custards, cheesecakes, and minced pies specifically. Just as the sack posset earlier was an essential British dish, these foods are representative of a distinctly British taste that "were entirely unknown" To Italians. Glasse's cookbook, intended for English readers, contains a whole chapter dedicated to such dishes.

The complexity of the dishes themselves reinforces Montagu's ability to successfully make British dishes herself. The history of mince pies in particular offers us a clear perspective on the significance of Montagu's introduction of such an intricate British dish. Minced pies, a fruit-based mincemeat sweet pie, typically served during the Christmas season, often contain thirteen or more ingredients. Marissa Nicosia recipe tests an early modern recipe for "minceed

pyes" from Catharine Cotton's 1698 cookbook, which calls for tongue (calf or beef) that must be brined and parboiled. Nicosia remarks, "This process adds at least three days of brining and three and a half hours of slow boiling to the overall cooking time." Furthermore, the recipe calls for making pastry and candied orange peels from scratch. Ostensibly, "plain" British cooking has no time limitations. Nicosia declares the mince pies "delicious: spicy, fatty, and subtly sweet," with no further reference to the time it took to make the dish. However, the difficulty of preparing such a dish is clear. The complexity, though, eludes Montagu. In fact, she characterizes her abilities as "easily" gratified and her dish as received with "universal applause."

This food moment is one of many that mirrors Montagu's success with writing complex poetry. Montagu's *Six Town Eclogues*, a pastoral cycle of six poems named for each day of the working week, written over the course of one year, 1715-1716, often garners critical attention for its difficulty and frequent misreading. Each eclogue takes the form of either a monologue or a dialogue between two or more speakers, all purportedly based on real figures from Montagu's social circle. Grundy suggests that the eclogues' "deep roots in the urban, upper-class social fabric of their time present certain difficulties to the modern reader" ("*Six Town Eclogues*" 185). Jennifer Keith too acknowledges that, "To appreciate Montagu's contributions to the course of English poetry, we must attend to her skilled use of forms associated with the canon and her exploration of poetic personas and lyric passion in relation to these forms" (79). The classical eclogue was a short pastoral poem often in the form of a monologue or dialogue between shepherds, but in the eighteenth century, the form was transformed into the mock eclogue, with the innocent, rural shepherds displaced into the modern, urban world. Like the minced pies that are difficult and time-consuming to prepare, Montagu's refashioning of the eclogue may seem simple, but in actuality is quite challenging to accomplish. In a similar way scholars recognize

her as writing complex poetry, her successes with food are well received in Italy. In this way, just as writing about her garden earlier was more about Montagu's identity as a tourist and author, this food moment is also more of a reflection on Montagu's identity as a retired author seeking a substitute for writing.

The most telling example of Montagu's desire to be remembered for her cooking skills is her repeated anecdotes about her butter-making. She believes her dishes "will preserve my Memory even to Future ages, particularly by the art of Butter makeing, in which I have so improv'd them that they now make as good as in any part of England" (II: 447). Her attention to butter fits with a long history in the British culinary scene. Wilson outlines the ubiquity of butter in British cooking, claiming butter "was in constant use, both in the cooking processes and as a sauce" (181). Just as the consumption of salads increased in the eighteenth century, so did the consumption of butter rise dramatically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or as Wilson labels it, "the golden age of butter" (183). Butter was used:

> in cake and pastry making, in fish frying and meat basting, in cereal pottages and buttered ales . . . [I]t was added as well to virtually all forms of boiled food, being put to them as they cooked, or else melted and 'run over' them afterwards in the serving dish. Boiled salads, herbs and roots, meat in stews, hashes and fricassees, and fish in *court bouillon* were all liberally buttered. (182)

In other words, butter was everywhere. Not only was its presence abundant in cooking, but the butter-making process was difficult and required special equipment. Wilson explains that, "For many years [butter] was still produced in the traditional upright churn. Only in the later eighteenth century did the barrel churn, hung horizontally and with paddles turned by two handles to agitate the cream within, become the usual butter-making vessel" (181).

Hannah Glasse puts the recipe for butter at the front of her cookbook and warns "you must be very careful" making the recipe (5). Furthermore, Colquhoun claims "melted butter is one of those fundamental processes better demonstrated than described, which perhaps accounts for its apparently regular failure. Foreigners on the whole loathed its blandness, its proneness to oil and to lump" (205). Montagu's suggestion then that she embodies a "shineing Figure" and her food is "receiv'd with universal applause" initially seems like Montagu acting quite pleased with herself, but in actuality most foreigners (to whom she would be serving) would not always be receptive to the dish. The intricacies of butter making reveal to us the skill Montagu must have had—and she is overtly conscious of possessing this skill—and her writing about its success tells us more about Montagu's perception of herself as a cook and author. Perhaps Montagu exaggerates to assume her food "will preserve [her] Memory even to Future ages," but it is not an overstatement to say Montagu's engagement with such complicated recipes mirrors her own writing ability, her skill to compose complex poetry and prose, which also have the ability to delight her audience and established her fame. As mentioned previously, her participation in the mock eclogue form with *Six Town Eclogues* represents Montagu's participation in a poetry genre that is "of the moment," rooted in a highly specific and cultural milieu. The eclogues, similar to the butter, are timely, and a genre that requires expertise. Grundy asserts, "More than most women of the period, [Montagu] set out to wrest control of a masculine genre and make it serve her feminine perceptions" (185); Keith too observes that "Montagu's poetry not only shows a fluent command of formal features and classical erudition valued by a male-dominated poetic elite but [it] also delineates a woman's experience inside and outside a poetic discourse" (185). To make and serve butter and to write mock eclogues required time, skill, and space; both were, as Montagu claims, an "art" form. Montagu's references to her cooking skills, and this chapter's

parallel between cooking and poetry, begin to position Montagu not only in literary history, but food history as well.

If Montagu only mentioned her achievements at butter making once, perhaps this moment would seem less critical; but, Montagu writes about her skills at least three more times in her letters to Lady Bute. Just as butter is ubiquitous in British cooking, it seems everywhere in Montagu's letters. She writes,

> I have introduc'd French rolls, custards, minc'd Pies, and Plumb pudding, which they are very fond of. 'Tis impossible to bring them to conform to Sillabub, which is so unnatural a mixture in their Eyes, they are even shock'd to see me eat it. But I expect Immortality from the Science of Butter makeing, in which they are become so skillfull from my Instructions, I can assure you here is as good as in any part of Great Brittain. (II: 485)

In only three sentences Montagu situates herself as a brilliant teacher and cook, elevating her skills as greater than those in all of Great Britain. She moves from the success of introducing British foods to her community to elevating butter making from an "art" to a "Science." In the middle of her reflections she couches only one failure, the syllabub, "a drink or dish made of milk or cream, curdled by the admixture of wine, cider, or other acid, and often sweetened and flavoured" ("Syllabub"). The dish was popular in the eighteenth century, "served in special syllabub glasses, so that the effect of the cream whip above contrasting with the clear liquid below could be fully appreciated" (Wilson 171). The taste of syllabub dissatisfied Italians, especially the contrast between sweetness and acidity. Such a mixture did not bother the English. Wilson notes the frequent use of vinegar by the English, but contrasts their love for the condiment with the Italians intense dislike. An Italian, Castelvetro, spent many years in England

but continued to complain that food was served "swimming in vinegar, without benefit of either salt or oil" (Wilson 363). Alyssa Connell, in her reflections on making a solid syllabub, declares it "wasn't my favorite . . . The cream mixture is extremely rich – lemony and sweet – and the liquid underneath is a tart contrast to that." The impossibility of getting Italians to like the dessert does not prevent Montagu from claiming she "expect[s] Immortality" from her other, more successful, dishes, and instead positions her butter-making skills as even greater because she was able to make Italians like a British dish.

Thus, Montagu's introduction of such British dishes is yet another indication of her influence on the local. Lippard discusses the idea of a "personal geography," which she defines as a "lived experience grounded in nature, culture and history, forming landscape and place" (5). Montagu enacts her personal geography through sharing food: she introduces literal ingredients to the community and prepares unfamiliar dishes for them, which in turn changes the tastes of her community as well as the history of that place. She, and by extension her future readers, associate Gottolengo not only with rich soil, but with the import of butter and minced pie recipes. Importantly, Montagu seems conscious of the effect she has, or longs to have, on changing place and taste. She maintains, "I am afraid I have bragg'd of this before, but when you do not answer any part of my Letters I suppose them lost, which exposes you to some repetitions" (II: 485). Montagu fully recognizes her correspondence may not be reaching her daughter and so it is necessary for her to write, in multiple letters, about her butter. If she does not do this, her fame may not be conserved. I am also taking part in conserving Montagu's famed cooking because I am writing about her butter-making skills from an understudied part of her repertoire; I am attempting to preserve, similar to Montagu herself, the writing and cooking abilities of Montagu to "Future ages."

Montagu's own language reveals a relationship between food and writing when she makes clear that the butter is "of my own Manufacture" (III: 136), which draws a parallel to "manufacturing," or composing, her own poetry. She wants to be remembered for her butter now that she longer has the strength or eyesight to write as she did in the past. She produces butter in a similar way she once created poetry and prose. This critical food moment is about conservation and preservation; it illustrates Montagu's perception of herself as a gardener and writer, and depicts Montagu as being on the forefront of eighteenth-century British food trends. The food moments here illustrate the ways that Montagu negotiates a complex and developing relationship between being a tourist, a cook, and an ageing author. While her meals are inflected with quintessential British dishes, she is influenced by what is available to her seasonally in Italy. At the same time, her discussions of food are a larger reflection of gardening and cooking substituting for Montagu's desire to seek fame through writing.

Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, the aim of this chapter is to draw an explicit connection between four seemingly disparate topics: travel, the garden, local food, and old age. Montagu herself moves fluidly between these topics in her letters, especially those written to her daughter. I argue that Montagu's identity has always already been hybrid, but the letters in which she discusses her relationship to gardens and food exposes the clear intersections between her positions as a traveler, gardener, cook, and author. It is impossible to look at these identities individually because Montagu herself does not do such a thing.

We must frame these critical food moments by considering Montagu's place in life, where these letters from Italy fit in the trajectory of her writing career. Throughout her letters to

her daughter Montagu comments on her age and becoming an older woman. She admits to Lady Bute, "It was formerly a terrifying view to me that I should one day be an Old Woman; I now find that Nature has provided pleasures for every State" (II: 477). Montagu beautifully reflects that as she ages, Nature, both the physical world and the essence of something/someone, affords her pleasure under any condition. Her sentiment particularly resonates since we know she was separated from her friends and family in England, unhappy in her marriage to Edward, and experienced deteriorating health. Montagu mentions her age in connection with gardening and cooking too. "Gardening," Montagu notes, " is certainly the next amusement to Reading, and as my sight will now permit me little of that, I am glad to form a taste that can give me so much employment, and be the plaything of my Age, now my pen and needle are allmost useless to me" (II: 408). During her time abroad the strength of Montagu's eyesight fluctuated and she lived through several illnesses that left her bedridden. These experiences impeded on her ability to read and write, two of her greatest pleasures. Gardening acted as a substitute for her, a new "taste" that provided her with amusement. Though she does write letters, she is anxious that her correspondents do not receive them. For instance, to Edward Montagu she laments, "The apprehension that what I write may never reach you is so discouraging that it takes off all the satisfaction I should otherwaies find in writeing" (II: 409). This apprehension and dissatisfaction with letter writing itself differs from the pleasure with which she relates her successes with gardening and sharing food with others.

Additionally, Montagu reflects on the passing of time—of her own age and of the calendar year. She thoughtfully writes about the way in which she lives her life in Italy: "I have little to say from hence (having allready sent you the description of my Garden). My time passes as regularly as that of a Clock, the returning seasons bringing with them their Country busyness,

which is all the variety of my Life" (II: 421). Her comment not only reflects the time-space routine Montagu developed, but also that Montagu lives seasonally, both the seasons that determine what is being cultivated and growing at that time of year and the seasons of her life. Notably, her time in Italy is one that nourishes and fulfills her in the winter of her life. The longer she stays in Italy, the more self-conscious she becomes—"My Time is wholly dedicated to the care of a decaying Body, and endeavoring (as the old Song says) to grow wiser and better as my Strength wears away" (III: 50). Sadly, her body begins to reject the very things that nourished her time abroad: "I have in a great degree lost my sleep and appetite; what I most dreaded (the greatest part of my Life) has now happen'd" (III: 261). Similar to her way of situating visits to her Gottolengo home around food, she centers this final season of her life around her loss of appetite. The culminating connection between Montagu and food comes in her will. To her daughter she bequeathed "whatever I am possess'd of, all my Meassuages Lands and Tenements and Hereditaments whether now in possession or in Reversion, desiring her to see duly executed this last Will and Testament of her affectionate Mother" (III: 295). Montagu leaves her Italian property to her daughter, the person she most often wrote to of her gardens and food skills, and to whom she "would" have sent pieces of the land if she had been able.

I aim to enrich the literary history we as scholars have begun for Montagu, and I argue that including her Italy letters, and reading them from a material approach—an intersection of food and place—is a rich and necessary project. Montagu's letters from her later life offer evidence of Montagu's lived experiences in the eighteenth century, of how she responded to contemporary understandings of gender and age. Devoney Looser asks scholars to "investigate British women writers in old age through emerging frameworks" (178). I enact such a call through reading Montagu's letters at the intersection of gardens, food, place, and authorship. To

conclude, as Looser asks us, “How—and why—have we forgotten so many women writers of this era in old age? . . . Why have we continued to ignore or downplay so many subjects’ achievements and trials in old age?” (168). We cannot and must not. And, as Montagu herself reminds us, though being an “Old Woman” once terrified her, nature perpetually provides a pleasure she once thought only writing could produce.

Chapter Three:

Taste of Place and Epicurean Sensibility in Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality*

From 1774-1776, Janet Schaw journeyed on the Jamaica Packet along the triangular trade route from Scotland to the West Indies to North Carolina. She traveled as a middle-aged, single woman with her brother Alexander. The documentation of her voyage, *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being a Narrative of a Journey*, provides a unique perspective into the experiences of a Scottish woman traveling at a time of colonial expansion and political revolution. Her epistolary journal—written to a friend in Edinburgh—falls into four parts, beginning with the voyage from Scotland to the West Indies, followed by reflections on her experiences in Antigua and St. Kitts, the voyage from St. Kitts to the Cape Fear River, her time in North Carolina on the verge of the American War of Independence, and concluding with her experiences in Portugal on her return trip to Scotland. Throughout each section, Schaw consistently calls attention to her dual status as woman traveler and author, drawing attention to her own "lived moments"—"my own" feelings, "health" and "humour" (20)—as she traverses page and place. Her aim to write "of the Moment" specifically locates her journal within the contemporaneous travel writing discourse, inviting the reader to participate in Schaw's travels with her, and positioning herself as both epistolary author and authoritative travel guide. Schaw's focus on the material—the sensory aspects of travel and the authorial attention to render those sensations across the page—unites these two familiar narrative personae into a text that is both a guide to a particular female body and its experiences and a guide to colonial landscapes and cultures.

Compared to the other women in this study, Schaw spends more time on the sensual experiences of eating, drawing attention to the actual smells, tastes, and origins of the food she eats. Whereas Manley and Montagu used food to reflect on their own identities, Schaw's representations of food are typically gustatory. Her detailed descriptions of food and landscape, combined with her expressive attitude, make the reader feel as if she is dining, walking, and chatting with a fellow traveler. Evangeline Walker Andrews, editor of Schaw's journals, characterizes them as "delightfully whimsical and candid" and as "a document of rare interest and importance" (6). This chapter's focus on Schaw's frequent musings on the quality of the food she tastes highlights the ways Schaw's food experiences are foremost about her own experience and palate grounded in her Scottish roots. However, her reflections provide a relevant early example of a gendered domestic and national food guide, one who is interested in the influence of *terroir* on food and taste at time in Great Britain's own history when food and landscape (geographically) were changing as a result of the beginnings of the American War for Independence.

This chapter uses *terroir* and *le goût de terroir* (translated as "the taste of place") as an organizing principle and specifically concentrates on food tastes, food origins, and food practices. Cultural anthropologist Amy B. Trubek demonstrates the relevance between food and place in her monograph on *terroir* and *le goût de terroir*, categories that "frame perceptions and practices – a worldview, or . . . foodview" (18). Simply put, *terroir* and *le goût de terroir* are concerned with "the flavor or odor of certain locales that are given to its products" (xv). They offer the "ability to trace a connection between the symbolic and practical definitions" of the earth and the tastes of the food and beverage from particular places (i.e. the soil, weather, temperature, etc.) (xv). Terroir is a term deeply rooted in French history and culture, and the

French have long "linked place to taste, developing values and practices and making such thinking a type of cultural common sense" (xv). Trubek explains the connection between the taste of wine and food and their origins in a simple reflection from her time at culinary school:

> By *origins* I mean what happened before the food and beverages came to the loading dock of the school's central purchasing facility: the region where the wine was made, the method used for pressing the olive oil, the style of the cheese maker . . . . [T]he taste—the sensation when the wine and carrot and sauce were brought into the mouth, when the products of the earth were incorporated into the human body—is what mattered most . . . . The *place* where the wine and carrot came from and the methods used in their creation, according to the sommelier, the farmer, and the chef, created *distinctive* taste. (3-4)

A similar approach to taste and place are reflected in Schaw's own relationship to food: her writing on food and taste echoes parallel concerns for food origins and the effects of place on taste.

Schaw's emphasis on the local provenance of the food she eats and the quality of its tastes draws attention to the complex interaction of place, production, and consumption in the global eighteenth century. Schaw's way of eating and writing about food and taste position her at the forefront of heralding local food in the eighteenth century, before such concerns had labels like organic, local, sustainable, heirloom, slow, artisanal, gourmet, and farm-to-table. In some ways, Schaw is an early example of what we now call a "foodie" or gourmand, a person who seeks food experiences for the pleasure of eating and drinking rather than simply eats for necessity. Just as Trubek attributes the negative stereotype of "foodie" as "a focus on ingredients, their origins, and their quality [as] an elitist set of practices, or [as] aimed at capitalizing on the

desire for distinction . . . among elite groups" (14-15), Schaw is both complicit in and critical of imperial practices. While the concept of "foodie" has positive elements (supporting local farmers, valuing local food, caring about food provenance), it is also undeniably intertwined with issues of class, wealth, and access. Schaw's journal highlights the uncomfortable interconnections of these elements in the eighteenth century, long before they have been identified in the twenty-first. She traveled during a significant historical period and, as Andrews points out, the journal is often a reflection of Schaw's "prejudices and antipathies" that, at times, "warp her judgement and blind her to the real significance of the events in which she plays an important part" (11). Her tastes and preferences are almost always at odds between Schaw "the gourmand and traveler" and Schaw "the Scottish woman and staunch Presbyterian."

Schaw is a relatively unknown figure today, but when she is recognized it is for the Antigua section of her journal, because of its imperialist and startlingly racist perspective, a perspective particularly shocking because of the violence and nationalism that informs her disturbing commentary on the status of enslaved black bodies.[12] This critique of her writing is valid; my focus on other aspects of her life and writing neither ameliorates, counters, nor overshadows Schaw's colonial complicity and racist discourse. Rather, I contend that Schaw's text offers us a window into more than only toxic "othering," and that her journal is of historical and literary value to us precisely because it instantiates a material and subjective complexity. As

[12] Elizabeth Kim argues that while Schaw's emotional reactions to colonialism may be complex, she nonetheless plays "in the colonial drama as a supportive cast member," which precludes her from "probing the tensions underlying" her experiences (168). Elizabeth Bohls similarly stresses Schaw's relationship to colonialism highlighting the ways in which Schaw's journal supports "imperial interests" by using "the language of aesthetics to harmonize the violently disharmonious elements of colonial society" (364-65). Eve Tavor Bannet provides yet another argument about Schaw's authorial construction, contending that historians have wrongly dismissed Schaw as an "observant visitor" and "'blind to the real significance of the events' she recounts" and instead claims that Schaw "was not blind at all" (138).

a document of the lived experiences of women travelers in the nascent British Empire, Schaw's journal provides a map of feminized, racial, national, and material narratives of place and space.

In this chapter, I argue that Schaw acts as a food historian, eating always with an eye towards recording, and as an early case study of an advocate for eating local, quality food. She aims to record and critique food moments in order to share, through writing, the tastes of her travels. She is disadvantaged as a woman traveler who finds pleasure in consuming various and abundant amounts of food and drink, an attitude at odds with her strong Presbyterian beliefs. Schaw demonstrates concerns for where her food was grown and the influences of that food on the individual bodies and social communities she encounters. Her observations on gender, cultural customs, and landscape connect the inner space of body regulation and discipline to the outer space of bodies traveling in unfamiliar places, encountering new customs and new foods. I argue that Schaw establishes a thoughtful connection with the food she eats, not only through writing retroactively about what she consumes, but more importantly, by exposing the actual path that food takes before arriving at the table. In each of the moments that Schaw writes about food and consumption, she reinforces the pleasure she feels when eating tasty, local food grown using smart food practices. Schaw's writing signifies the relevance between food and place, and that taste and place matter to our pleasure in consuming food. Her journals also indicate a tension always exists between authoring food moments and performing in those moments. This chapter aims to begin to unravel the complicated and sometimes damaging connections between eating, writing, and feminine expectations of the body.

Food Origins and Food Tastes in a Three-Course Meal

One of Schaw's most extensive passages about a single dining experience in Antigua—one she devotes a full five pages to explaining—reveals how a food's origin affects the taste of and pleasure in consuming a meal. This section begins with a central West Indies ingredient—the green sea turtle—and then progresses to the tablescape, before navigating through three full courses, mimicking Schaw's own experience of the meal; the following analysis mirrors Schaw's narrative, attempting to arrange the table as she would have experienced it and discussing the foods she mentions tasting. Schaw writes a detailed account of a particularly "plentiful table to sit down to" (85-86), rewriting the tablescape and dining scene, intertwining the material and the sensual. As this section demonstrates, she maintains a narrow vocabulary to discuss food, limiting language to a simple comparative scale ("better" or "best") and often lacking descriptive language at all. She is always more concerned with her own experience of the food and never includes reflections from those with whom she dines. Yet, the meal is important to unpack because it instantiates the lived experiences of a woman traveling for the first time outside her home country and negotiates the experience of eating beyond necessity.

The meal takes place at Mr. Halliday's Plantation and as she describes it, "We had a family dinner, which in England might figure away in a newspaper, had it been given by a Lord Mayor, or the first Duke in the kingdom" (95). Schaw details the "luxurious" meal, listing and describing the tastes and textures of the food and drink she consumes. Her description positions Schaw as a travel guide, but moreover a food historian and critic, as she lays out the table and foods she and the guests eat. The extravagant meal offers an eighteenth-century case study for the complex interplay of food origins and food tastes, as laid out by Trubek and the concept of *terroir*.

The green sea turtle. At the table, a signature turtle dish takes center stage. As we shall see, the green sea turtle is a defining taste of Antigua, a specialty associated with the West Indies, which are geographically available and generally thrive throughout the Atlantic Ocean, with large nesting sites in the Caribbean islands. Anne Wilson historicizes that, compared to other turtles available in England, the West Indian green sea turtle was "far superior to the other local varieties in wholesomeness and rareness of taste" (225). There was an abundance of sea turtles available and the food source became a staple of the West Indian plantation and colonial diet.[13] Schaw claims at meals to have "seen Turtle almost every day" (95) and draws attention to the turtle precisely because she experiences tasting the dish in Antigua, its origin site: "tho' I never could eat it at home, [I] am vastly fond of it here, where it is indeed a very different thing" (95). Though Schaw insists she does not care for the turtle when eaten in her native Scotland, she does consume—and enjoy—the turtle in Antigua. In a sense, she begins to eat like a local.

Place and taste intersect as Schaw remarks on the importance of the turtle's origin, exhibiting disdain for Scotland's turtles which are "old" and "unable to stand the voyage" (95) from the West Indies to Great Britain. In contrast, the turtles in Antigua "are young, tender, fresh from the water, where they feed as delicately, and are as great Epicures, as those who feed on them" (95). Schaw's comments call to mind the importance of eating locally: the sea turtle tastes better because it did not travel far. In the eighteenth century, Great Britain began to import turtles and found they "could survive the shipboard journey to England if kept in tanks of fresh water" (Wilson 225). Britons developed a taste for sea turtle, making it a "colonial import that would become one of the most unforgettable elements of Georgian dining" (Colquhoun 211). And yet,

[13] The prevalence of sea turtle in the West Indian diet began because the green turtle "was valued only as an antidote to scurvy" (77). For a complete history of the green sea turtle see Alison Reiser, *The Case of the Green Turtle: An Uncensored History of a Conservation Icon* (2012).

such a cross-Atlantic journey was not easy on the turtle. Sir Algernon Edward Aspinall, traveler and secretary for the West Indian Committee, writes that consumers of turtle "would certainly be chastened if they were to see the unfortunate turtle on board the mail steamers on their way to England from the West Indies, lying in all weathers on deck and forced to be content with a daily sponge down or a rinse with the hose!" (141). Such a distressing description makes it easy to understand why Schaw might avoid sea turtle in Scotland but relish it in Antigua. She even makes the hyperbolic suggestion that an Alderman "of true taste" would "make the Voyage [to Antigua] on purpose, and I fancy he would make a voyage into another world before he left the table" (95). Such boasting about the turtle's origin punctuates what Trubek characterizes as "the oft-used American phrase": "Location, location, location" (18). Turtle from a certain place—in this case, the West Indies—possesses a unique and superior taste, and this connection to the food's origin is "essential" for framing Schaw's sensual "relationship to the land" (Trubek 18), even as—and perhaps because she is—a visitor.

As the taste for turtle became increasingly popular in Great Britain, the methods of preparation changed over time and place, from simple recipes to complex, and from the West Indies to Great Britain. The most common use of turtle was in turtle soup. In Antigua, Schaw offers a detailed description for the West Indian turtle soup she consumes as part of the grand meal:

> They never make but two [dishes], the soup and the shell. The first is commonly made of old Turtle, which is cut up and sold at Market, as we do butcher meat. It was remarkably well dressed to day. The shell indeed is a noble dish, as it contains all the fine parts of the Turtle baked within its own body; here is the

> green fat, not the slabbery thing my stomach used to stand at, but firm and more delicate than it is possible to describe. (95)

Schaw's account emulates the classic treatment of turtle: early recipes instructed cooks to make the flesh "into a pretty insipid soup lifted only by copious amounts of Madeira, lemon pickle, cayenne pepper and anchovies, served in a great ornate tureen or in its own *callepash*, or upper shell" (Colquhoun 211). The first known recipe for turtle soup "came in 1727 from Richard Bradley via 'a Barbadoes Lady'" (211). The preparation included "laying the flesh in salt water for two hours, sticking it with cloves, and roasting it with a baste of wine and lemon juice, crisping the outside with flour and breadcrumbs and serving it with lemon peel and a little sugar, the gelatinous green fat rendered into a sauce" (211). English cooks initially attempted to replicate the West Indian method for cooking turtle soup, labeling recipes in cookery books as "To dress a Turtle, the West-Indian Way." Hannah Glasse's recipe, from *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1780), calls for many of the same ingredients as Bradley's, including cayenne pepper, cloves, and Madeira wine, and emphasizes using the *callepash* for serving the soup as well. The recipe provides an example of the way in which English cooks hoped to imitate the flavors of the signature West Indian dish, rather than adapt the recipe for an English audience.

The attempts to reproduce the West Indian method for cooking are a shift from earlier turtle soup recipes that did not make the same claim. For example, the English method for preparing turtle soup began as a recipe titled "English Turtle," which does not use turtle at all, but rather calf's head, beef, and veal. Though the recipe does call for the familiar taste of cayenne, other key ingredients such as Madeira and cloves are absent. The changes from the "English Turtle" to the "West Indian Turtle" recipes reflect a larger shift occurring in England in

the eighteenth century: new recipes and foodstuffs were being accepted "for the sake of their novelty and interest, and by those who had travelled and had already encountered them elsewhere" (Wilson 14). Travel and empire "encouraged the eating of new foods and the preparation of strange dishes which [travelers] had enjoyed in foreign lands" (15). Alison Rieser similarly highlights this trend in terms of the turtle itself by explaining that English gentry "learned to like turtle soup while stationed in the Caribbean to oversee the sugar plantations and colonies. By shipping live turtles home to London, they helped the City of London's elites develop an epicurean taste for green turtle soup, the demand for which led to a hefty cross-Atlantic trade in turtle" (78). Turtle exemplifies a growing and changing British Empire. However, the demand for turtle and turtle soup also suggests that what matters most is not only the exotic nature of food, but also its locality and freshness, as Schaw implies.

The green sea turtle could weigh up to 100 pounds, only one of the factors that made turtle dinner a difficult production. Typically, turtle dishes took at least "eight hours to prepare, so that recipes that used up every part of the reptile often covered several pages" (Colquhoun 211). One such example is Elizabeth Raffald's, *The Experienced English House-keeper* (1769), whose recipe covers over four pages. She includes recipes for the "Bottom Dish," "Corner Dish," "Top Dish," another "Corner Dish," and the "fourth Corner Dish," which refer to the location at which the dish should be placed on the table—the number of dishes is quite a contrast to the *two* dishes commonly found in Antigua. The different sides made to complement the turtle soup itself filled the spaces of the table. Raffald notes, "The first Course should be of Turtle only, when it is dressed in this Manner; but when it is with other Victuals, it should be in three different Dishes, but this Way I have often dressed them, and have given great Satisfaction" (15). Raffald further encourages cooks "to kill your Turtle the Night before you want it, or very Early next Morning,

that you may have all your Dishes going on at a Time" (15). Colquhoun points out that "[s]ome cooks suggested starting two days in advance" (212) because of the sheer amount of skill and time involved in successfully completing the multiple dishes. Turtle soup production requires skill and preparation, needing the foresight to begin a day (or more) in advance and requiring impeccable knowledge for timing the main dish and the accompanying dishes as well. The turtle flesh "was sliced into collops, the guts stewed, the heart ragoued, the lights fricasséed" (212). The cook needed patience to "clean out both shells, scrape the intestines and whiten them with lemon juice, make the broths and farces, guard against the dishes becoming slimy and poach the turtle eggs as garnishes" (212). The expertise required to successfully prepare turtle reminds us of Montagu's ability to prepare complicated British dishes for an Italian crowd. In a similar way, Schaw is on the other side of this dynamic: she is being served a dish she normally does not eat at home, and now she thoroughly enjoys it.

As English cooks adapt and (re)appropriate the recipe, it tastes less and less like the dish Schaw consumes in Antigua. Turtle soup becomes not turtle at all, but "Mock Turtle Soup." To "mock" means to imitate something so that it "deceptively resembles something else" ("mock"). Wilson explains, "Only a few people could aspire to turtle dinners" (225), which meant cooks began to fake, or mock, the expensive and time-intensive dish with calf's head. Mock turtle soup "made its appearance in the cookery books almost as soon as the genuine article" (Wilson 225). Raffald's recipe, "To dress a Mock Turtle," revises the nearly four-page long recipe into little less than two pages. The dish consists mostly of calf's head, sweetbreads, morels, truffles, and artichokes, and is seasoned with "Chyn Pepper" (cayenne), salt, lemon, and Madeira. The use of typical turtle soup spices resembles the original recipe and its presentation—shaping the "Crown of the Turtle"—mimics serving the dish in its turtle shell. The creation of an Anglicized version

of the soup suggests a desire to imitate "the taste of place" and underscores Great Britain's mutability and national tastes. The desire to Anglicize, or mock, the original recipe represents a gustatory trend to adapt a recipe that is an assimilation of the gentry and colonial imagination—the turtle is both an imitation of West Indian tastes and also literally digested by the body. The demand for turtle, as Rieser points out, increases the trade in turtle to England and the recipe books also introduce various recipes for the West Indian dish, but without access to fresh turtle, the recipe changes and translates into a more accessible English version, though one that only slightly resembles the taste of the West Indian version.

At the same time, Schaw's attention to the "noble" turtle dish offers the perspective that taste gets lost in translation and in transportation. Despite the initial desire to replicate the West Indian turtle soup preparation, the import of West Indian green sea turtles to Great Britain actually results in English cooks creating turtle dishes more complicated in preparation and presentation than Schaw witnesses in Antiqua. Schaw claims, "They laugh at us for the racket we make to have it divided into different dishes" (95). The demand for turtle soup ironically made it more difficult to acquire and prepare. The cookery books themselves offer a material representation of the ways turtle soup, a symbol of colonialism, evolved: the recipes progress from "English Turtle" to "Turtle the West Indian Way" to "Mock Turtle," each signifying the way place—geographically and phenomenologically—influence taste and identity, not just on an individual cook's level, but also Great Britain as a whole. The green sea turtle "became a byword for success, the venison of the middle classes" (Colquhoun 211), but the fact that many Britons attempt to mock a dish that they never actually consume outside of England (most Britons are not traveling to the West Indies), demonstrates the influence of place on taste and a desire to (re)create a sense of the West Indies in England. However, Schaw's comments regarding the

superior flavor of the turtle soup in Antigua suggests that taste remains with place. As Trubek emphasizes, place offers *distinctive* tastes with particular "flavor characteristics and combinations" (19), which Schaw experiences by eating the turtle soup in Antigua, rather than in her native Scotland. Mock turtle soup from Great Britain acts as an imitation that a vast majority of Britons cannot understand is a poor, less tasty, replica of the authentic West Indian dish. Schaw's portrayal then that in Antigua the turtle soup "is indeed a very different thing" (95) makes it unsurprising that she prefers to pass on the dish in Scotland: the choice is a reflection on the influence of place on taste, but also considers Schaw's own ability to discern taste. She is simultaneously self-referential ("*I* could never eat it at home" [95 emphasis added]) and nationalistic—her palate and preference reveals that she is most familiar with Scottish gastronomy. Yet, as a first-time visitor to Antigua, this food moment demonstrates that travel affords the opportunity for her palate to expand and change.

The table. During Schaw's travels in Antigua, she visits old friends and acquaintances from Scotland, many of whom colonized in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Andrews historicizes that Scots "established homes and places of business, and . . . created centres of Scottish life that became in reality little Scotlands" (7). This lifestyle extended to the "lavish" hospitality that "clannish Scotsmen naturally offered to such charming and distinguished guests" as Schaw (Andrews 7). In fact, Andrews paints Schaw's journey as "more a royal progress than a tour of ordinary travellers" (14). The table itself marks material evidence of the abundance and excess included in such hospitality. Schaw's depiction of the table setting reflects a typical three course meal served for a special occasion or for invited guests, and is representative of an extravagant meal hosted by Scotsmen.[14]

[14] Maggie Lane explains that, "Of course it was only in the grandest households, or when company was invited, that two full courses were *de rigueur*. Ordinary family dinners consisted of just one course" (43).

The first course is set by "placing the meal in three rows the length of the table; six dishes in a row, I observe, is the common number. On the head of the centre row, stands the turtle soup, and at the bottom of the same line the shell. The rest of the middle row is generally made of fishes of various kinds, all exquisite" (Schaw 95-96). This arrangement for the first course replicates the standard British service for gentry in the eighteenth century, comprised of "a huge variety of dishes" all "present upon the table together" (Lane 42). The dish arrangement was purposeful and meant to "give a pleasing balance" (42). A common first course would include:

> Several large joints of meat and complete boiled or roasted fowl, sometimes garnished with appropriate vegetables (duck with peas, for example) would occupy the central ground. Made dishes and accompaniments (though not many vegetables) would be placed artistically at the sides and corners. There would always be a tureen of soup at one end and very often a whole fish at the other. (Lane 42)

Eighteenth-century manuscript images diagram a similar layout with a "Mock Turtle" as the central dish. Just as the dish itself mocked actual turtle soup recipes, the table setup mimicked one that would highlight turtle. It also reflects the set-up most familiar to the Scottish guests and, in Antigua, acts as a symbol of Great Britain in the colonial landscape. The image best represents the tablescape Schaw describes, though it is not exact; it illustrates twenty-five dishes, mostly comprised of meat: mock turtle, hare soup, pigeon, chicken, veal, turkey, etc. The table diagram and the table at which Schaw dines are each carefully polished and presented, but moreover, abundant.

Running from 1770-1772 in *The Lady's Magazine* the "The Lady's Handmaid, Or Housekeeper's Calendar" section recommends the appropriate ways to set a table and what foods to serve, depending on the time of year: "Shewing a First and Second Course for each Month in the Year, ingeniously displayed upon Twelve Copper-plates, designed and engraved purposely for this Work, which will contain several Hundred new and choice Receipts in Cookery, written from Practice" (I.423). The dishes change with the seasons as do the diagrams for where to place those specific foods. Schaw's description of the table seems even more impressive when visually compared to the more ordinary setup depicted in *The Lady's Magazine,* which shows a diagram for the month of June, including "English Turtle" in the first course.

In Schaw's description of the first course alone she mentions at least eighteen dishes, while the two courses from *The Lady's Magazine* totals eighteen dishes. Schaw's recollection of the number and types of dishes emphasizes the extravagance of this meal, and also signifies Schaw's attention to the details associated with hospitality and dining. This food moment is one of many incidents that indicates Schaw ate this meal with the intent to later write on it—I "observe," have "seen," and "think," Schaw repeats, scrutinizing over the number of dishes and names of fishes. At the start of the meal, the table acts as a material object on which place and food intersect. At the same time the table setting represents a sense of propriety—and familiarity—associated with hospitality, especially with an honored guest like Schaw. The sheer amount of dishes and food options highlights that excess is an inherent, though perhaps unnecessary, component of hospitality. Schaw is complicit in this abundance and even freely encourages indulging in it as she wonders, "Why should we blame these people for their luxury? since nature holds out her lap, filled with every thing that is in her power to bestow, it were sinful in them not to be luxurious" (95). According to Schaw's rationalization, it is more criminal

to ignore what nature has to offer than it is to seek pleasure in its wealth. Schaw's depiction of the material table reflects the complex interplay between place, food, and hospitality: this meal is hosted by Scots and consumed by Scottish guests, but served by West Indian slaves and provided by the local agriculture and landscape. Schaw and her fellow diners are never phenomenologically far removed from Scotland, and yet they participate in taking advantage of "what [Antigua] has to offer," even when that means dining in excess.

The three courses. In the three courses that follow, Schaw shifts the focus from the table to the fare, listing and categorizing almost every dish present. As these three courses will demonstrate, what interests Schaw is not only cataloging the food she eats, but rather emphasizing which foods she prefers and classifies as preferable in taste. Her attention to the foodstuffs falls in line with tropes of travel writing, including two characteristics of travel writing asserted in the eighteenth century, "the right to leave things out and the freedom to include what interested the writer" (230). Most noticeably, while Schaw provides a lengthy catalogue of dishes, she lacks an extended vocabulary with which to discuss these foods—she often rejects the vocabulary of food tastes (bitter, salty, sweet, sour, etc.) for simple adjectives (best, excellent, finest) that refer to taste but are unreflective and unconcerned with others' food experiences.

She records that "[t]hey named thirteen different fishes all good, many of which I have eat and found so" (96). Of these thirteen different types of fish Schaw specifically mentions that "they principally admire" King, Crouper, and Mullet (96). The fish dishes "are generally dressed with rich sauces; the red pepper is much used, and a little pod laid by every plate, as also a lime which is very necessary to the digesting the rich meats" (96). She continues, "The two side rows are made up of vast varieties: Guinea fowl, Turkey, Pigeons, Mutton, fricassees of different

kinds intermixed with the finest Vegetables in the world, as also pickles of every thing the Island produces" (96). Thus far, her observations on the meal read as simplistic—fish is "exquisite" or "vastly good" and vegetables and mutton are "good." She practically ignores flavor profiles, textures, and presentations of the dishes, with one exception. From the various rows of foods she chooses to highlight the taste of mutton, which she claims "is as fine as any I ever ate" (96). Recalling the ubiquity of mutton discussed in the Manley chapter,[15] it is unsurprising Schaw draws attention to its taste and texture: "It is small, the grain remarkably fine, sweet and juicy, and what you will think wonderful is, that it is thus good, tho' it is eat an hour after it is killed" (96). The sensory pleasure Schaw experiences from consuming the mutton is a direct result of its freshness, but also a personal reflection by Schaw. Mutton is a common dish to her, so her senses are heightened and her familiarity with, and knowledge about, the taste of mutton allows her to describe more elements of the dish. The importance of its freshness is even more evident when she compares the mutton to beef. The beef, she critiques, "I do not think equal to the Mutton; it comes generally from New England, and I fancy is hurt by the Voyage" (96). Not only is the mutton tied to geography and to British ways of eating, but Schaw, as Andrews reminds us, is "a well-born Scotswoman, loyal to her country and her king, in her tastes and preferences an aristocrat" (11). As she tastes the difference in the beef and labels food in standard ways, her list and food descriptions also invite a connection to her Scottish national identity, which exposes tensions between her lack of language, her Scottish palate, and her evolving tastes in Antigua.

At the end of course one, when everyone had eaten enough, "there would be a large-scale disruption and bustle while the servants carried away all the dishes and brought and arranged another complete course" (Lane 43). A second course would contain "as many dishes as the first,

[15] See pages 26-30 in Chapter 1 for the full discussion and history of mutton in the British diet.

just as deliberately arranged . . . but the emphasis this time round was on the lighter savoury concoctions like fricassees and patties, together with a selection of fruit tarts, jellies and cream puddings" (43). Schaw explains, in almost identical language to scholar Maggie Lane, that the second course "contains as many dishes as the first, but are made up of pastry, puddings, jellys, preserved fruits, etc." (96). Similar to the previous course, Schaw limits her taste descriptions to simple adjectives and the description of the meal progresses in much the same way as the first course, with a listing of almost every dish that makes an appearance and with emphasis on certain foods that seem most pleasurable or interesting to her. She declares the pastry "remarkably fine," a sorrel tart "the best I ever tasted," and the puddings "so various, that is impossible to name them" (97). She evokes several senses, drawing attention to the sorrel tarts's "beautiful Scarlet" color and the "rich" taste of the puddings (97). Schaw's description reflects a sensory overload, so much so that even Schaw—who has eaten many of the dishes on the table—finds it "impossible" to discuss them all.

In relating this particular food moment, Schaw demonstrates an awareness for not only the specific dishes served, but also to the *way* the dishes are made. For instance, she remarks the "cheese-cakes are made from the nut of the Cocoa" (97). Notably, British cheesecake recipes from the eighteenth century do not typically call for coconut as an ingredient. Both Raffald and Glasse's cookbooks contain chapters that focus on the foods present in the second course: "Of Cheesecakes, Creams, Jellies, Whip Syllabub" (Glasse) and "Observations upon Creams, Custards, *and* Cheese-cakes" (Raffald). Yet, in neither cookbook do the recipes for cheesecake include coconut. Similarly, Schaw wonders how they serve "many dishes that with us are made of milk, but as they have not that article in plenty, they must have something with which they supply its place, for they have sillibubs, floating Islands, etc." (97). Schaw suggests to her

correspondent these dishes are as present on the table in Antigua as "frequently as with you" (97), but notes they are made differently than in Scotland. For instance, British recipes for syllabubs and floating islands (a meringue floating on a vanilla custard) rely heavily on milk as a main ingredient. Consider Raffald's recipe, titled "To *make* a Syllabub *under the* Cow," which calls for milking a cow directly into a mixture of "strong Beer, and a Pint of Cyder into a Punch Bowl" with a grating of nutmeg" (184-85). The modifications in the Antigua recipes create a distinctive taste similar enough to recognize, but still unique to that place. Schaw's ability to discern unfamiliar ingredients in familiar dishes and the knowledge of how these dishes are prepared, draws attention to the complex interplay of taste and place, and of Schaw's own relationship to "the taste of place." She finds local foods and tastes pleasurable, yet also acts supremely conscious of the differences between the dishes in Antigua and those from Scotland. Interestingly, unlike the turtle or the mutton, she uses less comparative language to describe the dishes and rather notes the differences out of curiosity or admiration.

Furthermore, Schaw's comments on the various puddings in the second course expose her desire to "locate" food. Trubek argues, locating food—both in geographical terms and by name—"makes it ours, and it can also train us to appreciate it in new ways" (12). Schaw's perception of particular ingredients, for example, changes as she proclaims, "what a little surprised me was to be told, that the ground of them all is composed of Oat meal" (97). Her "surprised" reaction may be because oat flour in a pudding base is particularly unusual to Schaw; or, it could be that Scots had an affinity for oats that separated them from the English. Samuel Johnson defined oats as a "grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people." Johnson's definition is indeed humorous—to suggest only horses and Scots eat oats—but also purposefully insults Scots and their taste preferences. Incidentally, Raffald's

cookbook contains no recipes that include oats and Glasse's cookbook contains only a single recipe for a savory pudding, "An oat pudding to bake" (130). The most common ingredients in an English pudding are "flour, milk, eggs, butter, suet, sugar, marrow and raisins" (Grigson 245). Schaw's attention to oat in the pastry allows us to consider her palate not only as a lover of food, but also as a Scottish woman traveler—her tastes reflect both her national identity and a growing interest in local tastes. In fact, she notes "they gave me the receipt" for oat pudding (97), so she may, ostensibly, recreate the recipe in Scotland (she is after all "surprised" to learn of a new way to use oats).

At the same time, her attention to the various puddings reveals the larger importance of these dishes to the British national diet. Food writer Jane Grigson praises English pudding, complementing its "great reputation" and labeling the "wonderful things [as] some of the most subtle and imaginative combinations, relying on simple and natural ingredients" (245). Grigson characterizes puddings as a "national cooking that has invented Queen of Puddings, summer pudding, syllabubs, gooseberry fool, Bakewell Pudding and that sweet concoction we now insist on calling crème brulée as if it were French and not the Burnt Cream of English cooks of the eighteenth century" (245-46). Similar to the turtle that Schaw tastes a better version of in Antigua, she tastes a variety of puddings typical to the British diet, but with a West Indies twist. The second course—one "invented" by British cooks—reveals a tension exists between Schaw "the Scottish gourmand" and Schaw "the traveler." For Schaw, and perhaps travelers in general, it is difficult to completely put aside what is familiar from back home, wanting to locate food and those foods that seem familiar but have had tastes altered. "Home" remains a person's ground for taste—as in Schaw's case, Scotland's soil and climate (*terroir*) have always been integral to her

food and palate, and now she is introduced to Antigua's *terroir,* which forms and shapes her impression of her origins and her new food moments in Antigua.

As with the first course, when guests had eaten enough of the second course, servants cleared the dishes, removed the tablecloth, and set dessert. Lane explains that in the eighteenth century the concept of dessert was different than we think of it now, deriving "from the French *desservir,* to clear the table, . . . dessert was a way of prolonging the meal with tidbits which could be eaten using the fingers" (45). The dessert course traditionally included "a variety of dried fruits, nuts and sweet and spicy confections" (45). Schaw reports the dessert is "something beyond you" (97), an indication that the course is more than her correspondent can imagine and possibly more than her correspondent can afford to put on his or her own table. It is comprised of "thirty two different fruits, which tho' we have many other things, certainly was the grand part" (97). At Schaw's meal, pineapple and orange in particular "are preferred":

> The pine is large, its colour deep, and its flavour incomparably fine, yet after all I do not think it is superior to what we raise in our hot houses, which tho' smaller are not much behind in taste even with the best I have seen here, tho' in size and beauty there is no comparison. As to the Orange it is quite another fruit than ever I tasted before, the perfume is exquisite, the taste delicious, it has a juice which would produce Sugar. (97)

The pineapple has a long history in British culture, perhaps best known for being rare and exotic, and as a symbol of royalty. The pineapple first appeared on the frontispiece of John Parkinson's *Paradisi in sole* (1629) (*fig 7*) who "put the exotic pineapple at the very centre of his paradise, a heaven-scented fruit whose time had still not quite arrived" (Colquhoun 131). Not until the return of Charles II would pineapple "burst onto the consciousness of the super-rich" (131),

when, in a painting, the royal gardener presents a pineapple to Charles II. Colquhoun explains that the fruit "remained so rare that it caught the public imagination with a force that made it the decorative device of choice of a whole generation" (155).[16] To accommodate the fruit's growing popularity, and to ease the expense of having it imported, early in the eighteenth century English gardeners began to use hothouses to grow pineapples, making pineries "a fashionable adjunct to those great estates that had their own hot houses, and wealthy hosts liked to offer home-grown pineapples to their guests" (Wilson 347). Schaw's remark that the pineapples grown in Scotland are "smaller" may be a result of the tedious process of growing them in hothouses, in which they "took two or three years to mature, depending on the variety chosen" (Wilson 347). Once the importation of pineapples became cheaper, pineries were no longer put to use. Schaw's critique that the hothouse pineapples are "superior" in taste is not merely a comment on actual palatable taste (on the tongue), but also reflects a larger trend in the eighteenth century that directly connects food with status and class. Pineapples hold a position similar to that of the cherries Manley finds so provocative and tasty—both symbolize more than fruit itself, and connote wealth and fashion.

However, Schaw consistently draws attention back to the taste of the fruits, especially as she compares the quality of the pineapple to the orange. The "exquisite" and "delicious" orange seems most pleasurable to Schaw. Orange trees—which flourish in tropical and subtropical climates—would be abundant in Antigua. If pineapples are symbolic of wealth and fashion status in England, oranges are indicative of taste and place intersecting in Antigua. In this case, "the

[16] Colquhoun also remarks, "In London pineapples were hired out as centerpieces for dinner parties, passed between houses for weeks on end, and it may be for this reason that [Richard] Bradley also concocted a recipe for pineapple marmalade, using up the over-ripe fruit" (195).

physical environment (soil, weather, topography) . . . is the primary source of the distinctive tastes" (Trubek 19-20) of the oranges.[17] As with the turtle, Schaw finds the orange enjoyable because of its origin and freshness. Furthermore, her attention to the material and sensual aspect of consumption invites comparison with Trubek's concept of a "foodview," an assertion that "when you eat or drink, it needs to be a shared experience that incorporates sensory analysis *and* sensory pleasure" (46). Schaw shares these elements of the meal with her actual dining companions and then retroactively with her correspondent, who will then circulate the journal among relatives and friends. While Schaw does not share opinions or reflections other than her own, the food moment still demonstrates Schaw embodying the taste of place through evaluating and sharing the three-course meal as a whole, and her journal exists as a cultural and historical document from which current-day scholars can develop and evaluate a unique eighteenth-century foodview.

At this meal alone Schaw recounts tasting six types of fish, eight meats, and numerous vegetables, fruits, puddings, and beverages. However, Schaw does not merely list the food she eats; she specifies each of the different types of fish, meat, and desserts and remarks upon quality, ingredients, and origins of the dishes. Schaw takes evident pleasure from not only initially consuming, but also retroactively re-living her meal through writing. Beyond indulging her reader with a five-page description of a luxurious meal, Schaw ultimately satisfies her own craving for pleasure by recalling the meal in such detail. Interestingly though, she curtails, and complicates, her appetite by interrupting her narrative about the dining experience to apologize for the time and space she gives the table. After she details the array of fish and meats on the table she writes with uncertainty: she will first "finish the table" for her satisfaction—because

[17] While here Trubek specifically discusses French wines and cheeses (18-20), I am using her concept as a way to similarly investigate foods outside of France and French cooking.

she "like[s] to see it"—but she "hope[s] to find . . . more agreeable" subjects later, and "*yet*" she desires to complete her description because it will satiate her "eating friends" (97). Strikingly, Schaw measures just how much she should write about her relationship with food—she simultaneously gratifies her pleasure while also controlling the amount of delight she feels and exposes. Schaw's pleasure seems to be both private—she keeps insisting on her own enjoyment—but also communal—she records the journal for herself but also her correspondent and other "eating friends."

Overall, in this section, Schaw models a kind of thoughtful (as opposed to thoughtless) consumption by taking pleasure in the food and yet also by pointing out the connection between consumption and place. She must have eaten with an eye toward recording the meal; to write about the three courses, they must be "fresh" in her mind. The remarks on the freshness of turtle soup, the beef's lack of quality, and the taste of the citrus draws attention to the importance of food that is local (*from that place*), implicitly criticizing excess and waste (food that is not quality and not from that place). Consumption becomes an experience of place, a moment to take pleasure in, a way to better engage with the location that Schaw travels to and experiences. It also exemplifies a traveler's desire to, in a sense, "keep" a part of their travels with them. We may eat a dish on our travels and try to recreate it at home ("mock" it), but this is almost impossible because of ingredients, location, skills, access, privilege, etc. In addition, food and travel experiences, as Schaw exhibits, allows for tastes to grow. This three-course meal is an indication of the complex ways place and taste are important as a travel memory, as a way to "be" someplace you cannot actually see, and as an opportunity to expand your palate.

An Epicurean Appetite and the Female Body

While the previous close reading focused on the material food, its historical significance in England, and the connection between food origins and food tastes, this section examines the ways Schaw's comments extend beyond food and eating itself to the body, namely the influence of consumption on women's bodies. Schaw's letters demonstrate that food consumption is not separate from gender. Specifically, she shows interest in how much women eat and whether or not she, and women in general, can eat for pleasure. The journal illustrates how travel to a new place and experience of a new culture can increase the tension between pleasure in eating and the surveillance of a feminine body.

Schaw's writing often reads as contradictory, simultaneously self-conscious and unashamed. Despite an obvious interest in food and eating, she often undermines this pleasure. In one compelling instance Schaw declares, "One would think that this letter was wrote by a perfect Epicure, yet that you know is not the case, but this is the last time I shall mention the table, except in general, unless I find some very remarkable difference between this and the other Islands I may be in" (100). The sentence structure itself indicates tension: it uses four conjunctions to make exceptions between fragments. The sentence reads as indecisive and defensive. Just as the word choices reflect a conflict within the writer, the connotation of "Epicure" itself is complex. On the one hand, it can have a positive meaning, as in a "person who cultivates a refined taste for, or takes a pleasure in, fine food and drink" ("Epicure, *n.*" Def. 2.b.). On the other hand, the term can be used negatively, labeling an Epicure as "a glutton" ("Epicure, *n.*" Def. 2.a.) or a "person who indulges in or cultivates a taste for some other specified pleasure or pursuit" ("Epicure, *n.*" Def. 2.c.). Schaw does not want to be labeled as an "Epicure," though she first refers to herself as one and she admits that she eats "not only without fear, but with

pleasure" (99). For Schaw to eat "with pleasure" poses a problem, for such a sensibility undermines her religious beliefs. Andrews characterizes Schaw as "deeply religious," a woman who "revels in hymns and the Scriptures, as her frequent quoting of both attests" (12). In biblical scripture, verses allude to gluttony as a sin: "Be not among winebibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh" (*King James Bible*, Proverbs 23:20); "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit" (*King James Bible*, Ephesians 5:18). Schaw may also have read the more epicurean-minded sentiment when Paul, speaking about the resurrection of the dead, says, "what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die" (*King James Bible*, 1 Cor. 15:32). With such contradictory connotations, it is clear why Schaw wishes to deny her letter is written by "a perfect Epicure." The proximity of epicure and glutton poses a deep tension for Schaw, one that deserves unpacking.

The above instance is not the first time Schaw uses the term epicure, which she earlier uses to characterize the green sea turtles in the West Indies. When she discusses the superior turtle in Antigua, she draws a disparity between those she has seen at home and those she dines on in Antigua. At home, the turtles are "starved, or at best fed on coarse and improper food" (95), while the West Indian turtle "are as great Epicures, as those who feed on them" (95). The parallel between human and non-humans "epicures" is palatable: the West Indian sea turtle, typically over 100 pounds in weight, feeds well and finds pleasure in eating, much like the guests who have cultivated a taste for and take pleasure in eating turtle soup. Not only are the turtles gluttons, but the people eating them are as well, including Schaw, who has seen (and presumably consumed) turtle at almost every meal in Antigua. Perhaps Schaw attempts to distance herself from the label of "Epicure" and the language of pleasure and consumption because she is aware of the moral implications of Epicure in the eighteenth century. Laura Linker, in her discussion of

female libertines in fiction, addresses the influence of Lucretius (*c*.100 – *c*.55BC), whose "Epicurean ideas shaped writers' characterizations of the female libertine" (3). According to Linker, Thomas Creech's translation of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, with its focus on tranquility and simple pleasures, particularly intrigued such writers as Dryden, Behn, and Defoe. She reminds us the terms "Epicure" and "libertine" became synonymous during the late seventeenth century, placing a particularly negative value on each. Schaw's cautious use of language can then be read as an indication of the tension she senses between openly expressing desire for food and the stereotype of not being willing to regulate and discipline the body. In each of the locations she visits, Schaw performs both her appetite and her authorship, writing constantly about both at the same time she contends she is not a glutton, as if the insistence of not being an Epicure herself outweighs her bodily experience of eating for pleasure.

Schaw's consciousness about the Epicure label illuminates another important discussion in her letters, that of the complex interplay between food consumption and the female body. Schaw offers her opinions about the men and women she observes and meets in Antigua by providing an in-depth analysis of their characters and appearances. Schaw's most illuminating observations relate to consumption. She discusses the virtues of the Creole women, contrasting her observations of the women regulating their consumption alongside her own desires for unrestrained consumption of food and drink. While Schaw begins by praising the feminine virtues and domestic qualities of the Creole women—they are the "most amiable creatures in the world" (113), and "make excellent wives, fond attentive mothers and the best house wives I have ever met with"—the most fascinating aspect of Schaw's characterization is the intimate connection between consumption and the discipline of the feminine body. The women, she emphasizes, drink "nothing stronger in general than Sherbet, and never eat above *one or two*

things at table, and these *the lightest and plainest*" (emphasis added 113). Lane's explanation of the way a table is set for the type of three-course meal that Schaw details, helps to better elucidate the scenario Schaw describes:

> [D]espite the huge variety [of dishes] on display, an individual diner might not be served to the dishes he or she liked. Each gentleman carved the meat immediately before him and helped his neighbor and himself to this and other dishes within his reach . . . . Even for men it was ill-bred to stretch too far or to pass the heavy dishes about and . . . it was considered greedy and discourteous to the company to do this too often" (42-43).

Schaw must watch the women barely touch the food and ultimately decide on the least pleasurable options, while she touches and tastes practically everything available to her. In order for her to do this, she must ask men and servants to continually pass and serve dishes from around the whole table. Typically, "nobody was expected or enabled to try more than a small proportion of the dishes on offer" (Lane 43), and here Schaw does quite the opposite, a most Epicurean business. As with writing about the food she consumes, the crucial issue is one of performance and how to be a distinguished woman traveler and an indulgent gourmand, particularly how to be a woman who enjoys food and eating, but must do so when the other women around her hardly eat at all.

Juxtaposed to Schaw, the women manage the quantity and quality of food they eat, diminishing the pleasure afforded to such an eating experience. Their actions demonstrate a regulation of the body and in turn render Schaw as quite Epicurean: she finds pleasure in the act of tasting and writing about her experience to an excess that stands out against the women's imposed limitations. Schaw explicitly comments on this difference noting that she "observe[s] no

indulgence they allow themselves in . . . and if I stay long in this country, I will lose the very idea of that innocent amusement" (113). Eating is an "innocent amusement" until the gendered codes of the island cast doubt on it. The women must behave themselves—enact a particular type of femininity—at meals, and the form of this performance includes regulating consumption and disciplining the body at the table. While Schaw admits she enjoys indulging in eating and drinking for pleasure, she only seems indulgent because she parallels her own dining habits with those of the women around her. Schaw's refusal to perform femininity at the table is part of her character; as Andrews asserts, Schaw "sometimes claimed exemption for herself, as when she humorously defied custom and drank wine at a ladies' luncheon in Antigua" (13). Schaw chooses not to regulate her body or submit to managing her passions, and yet we witness her doing so through the act of writing. The writing itself exposes a burden between her lived experience and her crafting the experience through writing. Schaw regulates her journal—*not* her consumption—so as not to expose too much of her Epicurean self.

Schaw's attention to food and women's bodies lays bare not only that women have complex relationships with food, but also that this relationship may be determined by place—both geographically and phenomenologically. Observations on the Creole women's practice of monitoring their consumption implies that Schaw—under the status of a traveler—identifies with womanhood and feminine practices differently than the women who live in Antigua—or, at the very least, she pushes against these sorts of gendered, specifically feminine, regulations. Kate Cairns and Josée Johnston refer to femininity as signaled "through our food choices and the ways we [as women] relate to food" (vi). Food practices, like regulating consumption, "speak to personal tastes, political commitments, and gendered identities, but they also illustrate gross levels of inequality" (ix). The expectations for the Creole women (eating little and plain)

influences the way in which Schaw experiences and makes meaning of Antigua itself: her critique of the women and her direct rebelliousness against this type of regulation shapes the meaning of Antigua as contradictory, a place ripe for consuming delicious food and one that prohibits women from indulging in the abundance the place offers.

Conclusion

The three-course meal analyzed in this chapter is not the only instance in Schaw's journal in which food and eating play critical roles in shaping Schaw's travels. In fact, her attention to consumption, local foodstuffs, and tastes make frequent appearances in her correspondence and take up an abundant amount of space in her writing. These critical food moments focus on the connections between food origins, food tastes, and food production. During her time in North Carolina, Schaw praises the successes of the local food system, both its origins and the tastes derived from the natural environment. Her explanation of the production and consumption of local wine directly calls to mind the concept of "the taste of place":

> Finer grapes cannot be met with than are to be found every where wild. . . On a sail we took up a creek, we found the grapes dangling over our heads in large bunches, particularly a red grape, whose berries are very large. . . we had them bruised and set to ferment, and this day we tasted the wine, which is already excellent, and in time will be as good as any of the common Portuguese wines. (175)

This passage details the full production cycle of picking, crushing, and fermenting grapes for wine. Schaw does not simply taste wine, but rather partakes in the entire process, which provides a physiological taste experience only afforded to her because she travels to the source, a

geographic location that can produce "fine" grapes and "excellent" wine. The hands-on experience of place simply makes the wine taste better. The attention to the location and taste of the wine parallels current notions of *terroir* and *goût du terroir*; because the wild grapes come from North Carolina and Schaw plays a part in the process of turning those grapes into wine, she finds the wine's taste distinctive and the moment of consumption pleasurable. Interestingly, the wine-making takes place later in her travels and in writing about it she has moved from the self-reflective "I" to the more communal "we." The moment reflects Schaw's expanding foodview—she uses communal language to demonstrate this shared experience, while she also incorporates "sensory analysis *and* sensory pleasure" (Trubek 46). Not only does travel effect Schaw's palate, it also causes her reflections on eating and drinking experiences to include others.

Schaw takes evident pleasure from not only initially consuming, but also retroactively re-living her meal through writing. Beyond indulging her reader with detailed descriptions of her luxurious meals or wine making, Schaw ultimately satisfies her own cravings by recalling foods and tastes in such detail. While her letters at times praise the local food systems, they concurrently expose a tension for Schaw: she desires to find pleasure in what she tastes, and yet, food from her travels often falls flat to the tastes she admires back home in Scotland. The following comments on peaches remind us of her earlier description of the pineapple. She claims, the fruits are ripe, but she has "never yet seen a peach, that either from colour or flavour was superior to those we have at home" (174). Despite the fruits' ripeness Schaw expresses disappointment in the "color" and "flavor" of the peach; its inferiority does not fulfill her wishes for the distinct local taste she previously encountered. She continues, "As to the Nectarine or Apricock I have seen none, nor any plumb, a small red one excepted, such as we find growing red and yellow thro' our hedges, but which the fine climate makes better-tasted. The water-

melon, of which they are so fond, I do not like, but perhaps that may be owing to my taste, not yet being accustomed to them" (174). The fruits—coming from the land in North Carolina—carry distinct tastes from that *terroir*, and yet Schaw does "not like" them, nor has she yet developed a taste for them.

Viewing her dislike of the fruits from a perspective on place and food—or, the intersection of the geographical and cultural perceptions of food—illustrates that Schaw's dislike of the fruit parallels her disapproval of the place itself and its agricultural practices. She relates that she has "seen but few vegetables, and those very poor of their kinds. This too is their own fault, for the fine light soil is intirely fitted for them, and roots of all kinds would be excellent here, but their indolence makes them prefer" what grows wild to what requires "the least attention to propagate" (174). Her criticism of the plantation owners' inability to "properly" propagate the land affects Schaw's taste for the food, as well as negatively influences her impression of the agricultural processes practiced in North Carolina and of the place in general.

The complex authority Schaw claims resonates with current-day tensions regarding gender and national identity. On the one hand, Schaw's claim of feminine authority on agricultural practices acts as a powerful early example of a woman's claims to taste. On the other hand, national and colonial hierarchies inform her often blisteringly racists commentaries—we see in Schaw's journal both sources of celebratory focus on local taste and process and simultaneous elitism and narcissism. Just as Schaw traces food origins, charting the foodways of her journey makes visible an alternate path through the British colonial imagination. While she does not recognize the value and meaning of local political bodies, she recognizes and insists on the value of local food. Her relationship to taste and place and to aesthetics of value regarding food culture provides us a genealogy of "foodie" and "gourmand." Consumption becomes an

experience of place, a moment to take pleasure in, a way to better engage with the locations that Schaw travels to and experiences. Ultimately, Schaw's travel narrative is an early instance of what we now laud, a culture that praises the connection between taste and origin. She appreciates and articulates the specific ways in which locally produced food often tastes better and affords more pleasure. And though a deep conflict emerges with Epicureanism and food and women's bodies that resonates today, Schaw's journals articulate the necessity to eat with enjoyment and, sometimes, even to excess.

Chapter Four:

Foodwork and Metaphorical Domestic Space in Frances Burney's Letters from France

In a letter dated 6 July 1812 from Dunkirk, France, Frances Burney wrote to her husband, General Alexander d'Arblay, of what she viewed as "so useless a separation!" between them (VI: 629).[18] She and her son, Alexander, arrived in Dunkirk ready to board a ship to England, which eventually departed six weeks later than they expected. She laments that the delay meant she left "YOU to so little purpose" (VI: 629). She passionately addresses d'Arblay, "Oh my dearest Friend!—why will the constant regret of quitting you take place of all my better prospect, & impede my enjoyment of the hopes now so fair of meetings to inexpressibly dear, & so long & painfully awaited?" (VI: 629). The writing exposes a palpable conflict for Burney, between regret for leaving her husband only to be delayed in Dunkirk and her excitement at seeing family in England after ten years of exile in France. However, these tensions could be eased for Burney if only she could "but be sure of [his] health!" (VI: 629). She interrogates, "Did you breakfast with [Madame] de Maisonneuve & dine with M. Barb. Neuville? . . . Where did you eat yesterday?—Where today?—where will you be to-morrow?" (VI: 629). Burney's series of questions and desire to be "sure" of d'Arblay's health reflects the importance that food and

[18] Burney became a celebrated diarist with the posthumous publication of a seven-volume selection, *The Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, edited by Charlotte Barrett and published between 1842 and 1846. These volumes were later supplemented by the two-volume *Early Diary of Frances Burney* (1889), edited by Annie Raine Ellis, and supplanted by the modern complete editions of Joyce Hemlow and Lars E. Troide. Most recently, Oxford University Press is in the midst of publishing a new six-volume scholarly edition of *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney (1786-1791)*, general editor Peter Sabor. Burney's journals are best known for her writing about her time in court (1786-1791) and her ten years in France (1802-1812), during which she wrote in vivid detail about her mastectomy operation in 1811.

nourishment play in Burney's letters to her husband. The idea of being separated from him is worsened not only because she does not know when they will be together again, but also by the concerns she maintains over his health and well-being. Such questions and anxieties about transience and food recur in Burney's letters from France, making the intersection of travel, food, and gender worth unpacking.

The ship's departure on August 14, 1812 marked the end of a ten-year "forced sojourn in France" (Harman 291). Burney expected to visit France in 1802 for only one year while d'Arblay, a French émigré, hoped to return to France to regain property and to "make a proper contribution to supporting his family" (276). Though he held a firm position to "never fight against England" (283), he had renewed his military commission to become a general under Napoleon. However, once he arrived in Paris, he learned his commission had been cancelled and his passport, issued as part of his military service, prohibited his return to England for one year (Harman 283). Claire Harman explains, this "forced a huge disruption on his wife and child" and "there was nothing for it but for Fanny and Alex to join him in Paris" (283-84). Burney had planned to return to England at the end of the one-year ban, but the declaration of war between England and France on 16 May1803, hindered her departure and in fact made her a political "prisoner of war" (Harman 288). As an English citizen in France, she could not communicate with friends and family outside the country. Harman describes her as "a sort of refugee, detained in France not for one year, but ten" (284). Scholars label Burney during this time as a "refugee," "exile," "nomad," and "prisoner of war" (Harman 288).[19] Each of these identities is indicative of Burney's transience in this ten-year span and the absence of a stable, domestic space.

[19] For more on Frances Burney in exile see Katharina Rennhak, "Tropes of Exile in the 1790s: English Women Writers and French Emigrants," *European Romantic Review* 17.5 (2006): 575-592; Pamela Cheek, "The Space of British Exile in Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* and Germaine de Stael's *Corrine*"

In this period Burney is frequently mobile and the concept of "home" is tenuous. Even before the exile in France, Burney and d'Arblay's different national identities created friction between the married couple over what and where constituted "home." D'Arblay had resolved not to fight against England or return to France until the two countries were at peace, but when he did journey to Paris without his wife and son in early November 1799, d'Arblay "longed to bring his son 'home' and settle in the beautiful valley of Yonne" (277). Harman characterizes his visit as "exciting, surprising and stimulating" (277), and these "excited letters from Paris" made Burney realize that "his visit likely [made] him discontented with their life of quiet retirement in England" (277-78). Harman indicates Burney responded to these letters with advice and "point[ed] out that there was no need to 'change our system'" since they could easily travel to and from France (278). Burney also, realistically, needed to be in England to earn money from her writing. Instead of an unchanged life in England, Burney's life in France dramatically shifted to one filled with temporary and fleeting moves. Initially, before being trapped in France, d'Arblay developed a plan to "spend six months of every year at Camilla Cottage, four months in Paris and two in Joigny" (Harman 286). This plan itself is impermanent—it never comes to fruition, does not allow for any sense of dwelling, and means "home" is three different geographical locations. Even once they reside in France, the family frequently moves: upon moving to Paris, Burney and Alex lived in an apartment in the Hotel Marengo near the Champs Elysees, then moved to an "airy suburb of Monceau because of Alex's persistent illnesses in the city" (Harman 287); from there, in October 1802, they purchased a house overlooking the Seine at Passy, which they bought to secure d'Arblay's citizenship (288); in winter 1806 they moved back to the center of Paris, and finally spent six weeks in Dunkirk before leaving France on

---

in *Gender and Space in British Literature, 1660-1820* edited by Mona Narain and Karen Gevirtz (Ashgate, 2014).

August 14. While place is often about "rootedness" and "authenticity" (Cresswell 71), Burney's time in France is more indicative of how place is related to the idea of mobility and transience.

In this chapter, I argue that more than the previous authors in this project, Burney's letters reveal an interest in the metaphorical significance of food more than its materiality. She constructs a metaphorical domestic space in her letters, attempting to maintain familial connections while displaced from England and from her husband. Food language becomes a way for Burney to think about how to sustain—to figuratively feed—her family. This chapter begins to unravel the complex interplay between transience, domesticity, and foodwork that shape Burney as an exile, mother, wife, and author. Material food is not what nourishes Burney, but rather the craft and performance of motherhood and domesticity on the page feeds her. Letters act as a literal and figurative connection between Burney, her husband, and her son, during a time when they lack a permanent home or place. Through various comments on medicinal recipes, health, and healing foods, Burney enacts place-making (or home-making) as she creates the metaphorical domestic space she seeks. This chapter identifies a shift in women's writing about travel in the late eighteenth century: while the authors in the first three chapters discuss in detail food, dining, and bodies, Burney turns her attention to language and metaphor. As a result, her travel letters become less about the places themselves and more about the ways in which she constructs her place, her identity, in letter-writing.

In the last twenty years, scholarship on Burney's novels has eclipsed critical attention to Burney's letters and journals. When critics do discuss her life writing, visible trends order the scholarship: attention to the early journals, especially the court journals; narrative and textual strategies, particularly the connections between her life writing and her fiction writing; and, her candid account of her mastectomy. Burney scholarship is fueled by the immense and important

work of such critics as Peter Sabor, Margaret Doody, Gillian Skinner, Lorna Clark, Kristina Straub, Julie Epstein, and Betty Schellenberg.[20] This chapter seeks to build on these important works and add to Burney's literary significance by focusing on the time in France that garners less attention. Like Montagu, this time in Burney's life—she is in her late forties and early fifties—is largely ignored except for the mastectomy and for her failed novel, *The Wanderer*.[21] This chapter is informed by Sarah Moss, whose work on Burney's early journals and novels claims that for Burney "eating is at least as important as writing, especially during her first forays into independent socializing" (47). She considers "the role of eating in Burney's performance and reporting of her public, authorial persona, [then] mov[es] on to contrast this detailed reportage of mouthfuls and recipes with her fictional heroines' unremitting lack of interest in sustenance or gastronomy" (47-48). Reading the letters at the intersection of travel, food, and gender allows us to explore Burney's identity as a mother and wife, and to explore the

[20] For more on Burney's journals see Ingrid Tieken-Book van Ostade, "Stripping the Layers: Language and Content of Fanny Burney's Early Journals," *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 72.2 (1991): 146-59; Peter Sabor, *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney* (Cambridge UP, 2007); Lorna Clark, "Dating the Undated: Layers of Narrative in Frances Burney's Court Journals," *Lifewriting Annual: Biographical and Autobiographical* Studies, 2012: 119-139; Gillian Skinner, "'A Tattling Town like Windsor': Negotiating Proper Relations in Frances Burney's Early Court Journals and Letters (1786-87), *Eighteenth-Century Life* 38.1 (Winter 2014): 1-17. On Burney's professional and literary life see, Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Rutgers UP, 1988); Janice Farrar Thaddeus, *Frances Burney: A Literary Life* (St. Martin's P, 2000); Betty Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge UP, 2005); Julia Epstein, *The Iron Pen: Frances Burney and the Politics of Women's Writing* (Bristol Classical P, 1989). On her mastectomy and women's sexuality see, Julia Epstein, "Writing the Unspeakable: Fanny Burney's Mastectomy and the Fictive Body," *Representations* 16 (1986): 131-66; Heidi Kaye, "'This Breast-It's Me': Fanny Burney's Mastectomy and the Defining Gaze," *Journal of Gender Studies* 6.1 (1997): 43-53; Annie Pécastaings, "Frances Burney's Mastectomy and the Female Body Politic," *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism* 33.3 (2011): 230-240; Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Johns Hopkins UP 2008).

[21] Harman, for instance, claims the novel "suffered from its aimless, episodic composition; without the pressure of a deadline that had knocked all her preceding novels into shape, Fanny's new story merely sprawled" (292).

various ways her personas of mother, wife, and author interact with one another on the page, specifically in the epistolary genre.

This chapter is organized around theoretical inquiries surrounding home and domesticity, especially as they relate to how gender shapes the domestic space, how mobility interrupts the concept of the domestic, and how food bridges domesticity and femininity even in transient spaces. It begins to unpack the specific ways in which these elements (the domestic, gender, and food) *interact* and *influence* each other. Often, scholars view or use these theories as distinct from one another and this chapter aims to instead find the points at which they intersect, whether in positive or negative ways. Humanists have long debated the meaning of "home" and are indebted to Heidegger's theory of dwelling "as the ideal kind of authentic existence" and to Bachelard's consideration of the house/home as "a primal space that acts as a first world or first universe that then frames our understandings of all the spaces outside" (Cresswell 39). Feminist geographers like Gillian Rose and bell hooks are suspicious of viewing home from this particularly male/masculine perspective. Rose resists such an optimistic view of home and argues that homes can also be places of drudgery, abuse, and neglect, asserting some women may not consider home as "conflict-free, caring, nurturing and almost mystically venerated" (56). For hooks, home is a place of resistance and homeplace is empowering.

Moreover, domestic spaces (a home, household, or residence) have socially and historically been constructed as a "woman's place," conflating notions of domesticity with motherhood and femininity. In eighteenth-century Britain, as Marilyn Francus deftly summarizes, "the representation and assessment of motherhood was most strongly shaped by the discourse of domesticity. Eighteenth-century British society insisted upon domesticity as the most appropriate venue for the fulfillment of a woman's duties to God, society, and herself" (1).

Discussions of the domestic woman as a wife and mother—especially in eighteenth-century conduct books and literature—became "codified and culturally dominant" (1). Francus argues eighteenth-century society generally agreed on two points: "first, that the idealized image of the domestic woman served as a cultural shorthand for standards of female behavior, applicable to all women regardless of specific situation or subject position; and second, that domestic discourse relied upon a gendered geography of space" (2). Domestic discoursed assumed a stable, or at least permanent, home for woman. As previous feminist critics of dwelling and homeplace have done, I, too, would like to resist and complicate the eighteenth-century ideas of home and domesticity as they relate to Burney's time in France, when her letters indicate less a sense of "stability and permanence" and more a picture of mobility and "constant change and process" (Cresswell 62).

Mobility and transience are central to the lived experiences of Burney during her ten-year stay in France. As an English woman and political prisoner, Burney's place (politically, nationally, and socially) is always tenuous. Her movement from home to home within France and her inability to maintain a consistent correspondence with her family back in England, means she inhabits multiple places simultaneously. She does not have a sense of attachment or rootedness in this time because she is, in fact, mobile. Different than Manley who is the most mobile traveler in this study in terms of being constantly in motion, Burney's transience is marked by "openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence" (Cresswell 71). Her letters reflect Marc Augé's concept of the "non-place," which connotes sites as "fleeting, temporary and ephemeral" (78). Augé contends, "Non-place is essentially the space of travelers . . . . [N]on-places demand new mobile ways of thinking" (78). One possibility for thinking about the meaning of these non-spaces during Burney's stay in France is through the examination of

foodwork, specifically food theories related to gender and food practices. Foodwork, "a site for performing maternal femininities," includes such maternal foodwork as "nutrition promotion and disease prevention, fostering health and diverse (not picky) food habits, and cultivating children's understanding of ethical issues" (Cairns and Johnston 65). Unpacking the connections between foodwork, home, and mobility encourages news ways of understanding eighteenth-century women's experiences of travel as they simultaneously "invest their time and emotional energy in labor-intensive, child-focused parenting practices' (65). Also useful here is Certeau's intersection of home and food, as he notes the kitchen and cooking are "the most necessary" of "practical arts," the "nourishing art" (148). In the private space of the home, "one rarely works, except at that indispensable work of nourishment, of cleaning, and of conviviality" (146). He too makes a connection between home and mobility: the home "must know how to open itself up to the flow of people coming in and out, to be the passageway for a continual circulation, where objects, people, words, and ideas cross paths; for life is also about mobility, impatience for change, and relation to a plurality of others" (148). As this chapter will demonstrate, the foodwork that appears in Burney's letters and the food language that she employs act as textual strategies that allow her to create a metaphorical, or imagined, domestic space in which she can author and perform motherhood, wifehood, and family even as she is a mobile traveler.

Importantly, this creation of a domestic place and authorial performance of maternity occurs *on the page*, in the epistolary form. The identities of exile, mother, wife, and author shape her writing and the content about which she writes. Clare Brant, characterizing letters written by travelers, argues the "cultural similarity between letter-writer and addressee made letters a space in which people could test their identities. Travel puts identity in motion; letters were a genre that allowed the borders of self to be renegotiated" (214). Letter-writing allowed Burney another

source of mobility as an author, and to explore various identities as a mother, a wife, and daughter. Lorna Clark too considers Burney's legacy as a life writer, claiming the narrative strategies in her private writing "represent a powerful combination of fiction and fantasy constructed from the materials of her life" (284). John Wiltshire suggests Burney's life writing acts as both letters and historical records, a "paradox" because "they are private communications which at the same time parade Burney's experiences and write their author into history" (76). The letters, in this period written mostly to her husband and occasionally to her father, Charles Burney, often discuss the mundane, or "ordinary" details of living a life of retirement in France with Alex. Such mundane details represent what Certeau refers to as "the necessity of returning to triviality" or "ordinary life" (155). The letters reveal Burney's daily "ways of operating," as she navigates page and place, potentially affording her "the only place of inventiveness available" (155) to her at that time.

Maternity, Food, and Domesticity

Burney gave birth to her only son Alexander in 1794 at the age of forty two. When they traveled to France he was almost eight and she was nearing fifty. At the time Burney became a mother, social and cultural ideological constructions of family and motherhood had shifted dramatically in the eighteenth century. Scholars have produced rich scholarship on the change in attitudes towards motherhood that occurred over the course of the eighteenth century.[22] The

[22] See foundational scholarship from Barbara Darby, "Frances Burney's Dramatic Mothers," *The English Studies in Canada* 23.1 (1997): 37-58; Ruth Perry, "Colonizing the Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the History of* Sexuality, Special Issue, Part 1: The State, Society, and the Regulation of Sexuality in Modern Europe 2.2 (1991): 204-234; Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1995); Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford UP, 1990); Marilyn Francus, *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the*

expanding British Empire, sentimentalism, and capitalist economics stimulated new conversations over domesticity and maternity. Middle-class women were encouraged to become, as Felicity Nussbaum describes, nurturing, passive, and devoted to the interests of society and family. Mothers were meant to be educators and produce "citizens who might contribute to British imperial projects as consumers and explorers" (Darby 37). This period sees the emergence of the nuclear family and the idealized stay-at-home mother. Motherhood is linked "with nourishment and protection that embody the ideal of the self-sacrificing mother" (Darby 50). As Darby contends, Burney's "depictions of motherhood have been almost entirely overlooked by critics of her work" (38), and I aim to demonstrate that Burney's remarks about her son's health and his eating reveal an attitude towards motherhood that is both conventional—caring and nurturing—but is even more rooted in masculine and professional identities.

Darby depicts Burney as "an enthusiastic mother, and her letters following the birth of her son, Alex, [as] filled with admiration for him and delight at his very existence" (54), while Margaret Doody, by contrast, scrutinizes Burney's abandonment by mother figures, including the death of her own mother (177). Moss has already begun to address the relationship with Burney and Alexander in terms of food. She claims, it is after his birth that Burney's "heightened interest in food reappears" (59). As Moss outlines, Alexander's health during childhood caused "constant anxiety" for Burney and she often worried "that he does not eat enough and is too thin" (60). Furthermore, Burney's "attempts to feed him well enough to generate a good body are undermined" by worms (60). The worms and his weak digestion figure largely into what Burney feeds him and force a "precisely managed diet" (Moss 60). Many of Burney's concerns over Alexander's body and health continue into her letters to her husband from France as she writes of

---

Ideology of Domesticity (Johns Hopkins UP, 2012); Anne Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation: Women's Political Writing in England, 1780-1830* (Indiana UP, 2002).

her daily home remedies and recipes for healing and safeguarding her son's health. In these critical food moments, Burney labels herself as a physician and an apothecary—both typically masculine professions, but also jobs that involve the very foodwork that Burney enacts as a mother.

Written from Passy (outside of Paris) on 1 October 1804, Burney relates to d'Arblay that their "dearest Boy" had "so much fever, & so dreadful a Cough, which latter exercised every moment, that, after a second analeptic had failed of cure, though it had procured him, thank God, a good night, I gave him 1 grain of James's powder. This soon operated like magic in relieving his lungs, by stilling his Cough" (VI: 477). In only two sentences, Burney moves from diagnosing her son with a fever and cough to prescribing, and re-subscribing, prescriptions of analeptics and James's powder, to determining that he is cured. The mode in which she relates this information is orderly and factual, swiftly moving through each stage of his illness and her remedies. The emphasis here is on what she ("I") determined the best solution for his fever and cough. The choice to administer analeptics and James's powder are particularly relevant to eighteenth-century medicine. Though now used rarely, the medical term "analeptic," meaning a "strengthening, restorative" or "medicine or food" ("analeptic"), was common in the eighteenth century. Additionally, Robert James (1703-1776) is best remembered for his fever powder ("James's powder") and the controversy surrounding Oliver Goldsmith's death in 1774. In 1791, doctor and chemist George Pearson determined that James's powder was made of a mix of antimony and calcium phosphate, toxic substances that may have contributed to Goldsmith's death. O.M. Brack and Thomas Kaminski, claim that in spite of this controversy, James remained a prominent medical figure and his reputation not seriously hurt (378). They also contextualize he "was a trusted physician in the Thrale household" (378) and Samuel Johnson

"continued loyal to his old friend, vigorously defending him in a concluding paragraph to the advertisement of James's *Vindication of the Fever Powder*" (379). The friendship between James and Johnson and his connection to the Thrale household indicates that Burney—also intimate with Johnson and the Thrales—may have been familiar with James's Powder and the possible problems with it. Burney's choice to give her son the powder, many years after the controversy, implies not only that she trusts her friendship circle's opinions, but also that she feels confident enough in her knowledge of medicine to give Alexander something viewed as potentially dangerous.

Burney's letters often demonstrate a significant amount of medicinal knowledge as she lists and documents the concoctions she administers, including saline draughts, Sulphur, cream de tartar, rhubarb, bark, garlic, and turnip juice. Many of these, like the saline draught, which was often made from a distillation of the bark of a willow tree boiled in white wine, were medicinal recipes created by women and documented in personal manuscripts. Sometimes, Burney's recipes focus on food as medicine, as when she explains to d'Arblay, "This Morning [Alex's] cough has again been very cruel, though much less than yesterday, but his fever is nearly gone, & I have given no more medicine—plenty of tisanes &c, & tartines of Honey & salad are all he has taken" (VI: 477). Historically, tisanes were associated with illness and healing. Anne Wilson explicates, the consistency is a thin soup or beverage, initially made of barley with warm water, but later a "medieval version in France . . . was sweetened with sugar and seasoned with licorice and sometimes also figs. Adapted for English use it more often comprised barley boiled in water with licorice, herbs and raisins" (211). Whether or not Burney followed the French or English preparation method for tisane is unknown, but, either way, preparing such recipes required skill. Harman views these home remedies in a more negative

light, criticizing Burney as always "keen on dosing up her child" and declaring "NO wonder the child felt sick most of the time and looked as thin as a 'live skeleton'" (290). Such a perspective implicitly censures not only Burney's knowledge of preventative medicine, but also her skills as a mother—it is Burney's actions and choices that make Alexander sick and thin.

Instead of judging Burney's, in Harman's view, failed use of home remedies, it is more productive to analyze Burney's methods in light of her exile in France. Amanda Vickery characterizes "the making and dispensing of medicine" typically an "elite housekeeper" skill (147); one "of the most distinctive and traditional aspects of genteel housekeeping" (153). In France, Burney has little income as she is unable to obtain her pension as a political prisoner and there is no evidence that she had a housekeeper to do work for her. Instead, Burney herself hones and performs the skills associated with medicinal recipes, bragging to d'Arblay that, after a doctor's visit to her home, she felt "amazingly contented . . . as you now see how much confidence you may have in your household apothecary" (VI: 491). Burney labels herself not as a mother or housekeeper, but as an apothecary, a person in the "business" of preparing and selling drugs for medicinal purposes ("apothecary"). Making the medicinal recipes as an apothecary calls to mind the act of "doing cooking," or "the medium for a basic, humble, and persistent practice that is repeated in time and space, rooted in the fabric of relationships to others and to one's self" (Certeau 157). Burney enacts a similar practice of "doing medicine" as she repeatedly finds ways to use home remedies to care for her son. In practice and through language, she elevates the preparation of medicinal recipes from a housekeeper duty to doing the work of an apothecary, a position typically held by men, while also suggesting that both types of work—medicine as a profession and medicine in the home—are equal.

Burney is often quick to relate the direct effects of her food and medicinal remedies on Alexander's health. After a series of saline draughts, she claims the solution has "revived & calmed him delightfully" (VI: 477). Here, her home remedy succeeds at curing Alexander. The use of "delightfully" to describe Alexander is reflexive: it is both a direct reference to his new demeanor and health and also a reflection on how Burney feels about her own triumph with the saline draught. In fact, this moment continues to be more about Burney than about Alexander, as she relates, "he is at this moment eating a young & tender artichoke, found fortunately in our own possession, with a pleasure that makes it more refreshing to myself still than to him" (VI: 477). France was particularly known for its globe artichokes; Catherine de Medici is credited for popularizing artichokes when she brought them to France in the 16th century before marrying King Henry II. They are prepared simply with, as John Evelyn suggests, "*Oyl*, a little *Vinegar*, *Salt* and *Pepper*" (17), and are thought to have beneficial medicinal effects, such as strengthening the stomach, easing digestion, protecting the liver, and being "a most delicate and excellent Restorative" (Evelyn 17). The artichoke itself fits well in the medicinal food diet already established by Burney for Alexander, but the food is subsumed by the "pleasure" she feels at seeing him consume the artichoke, a pleasure she assumes is "more refreshing" to her than to him. Like the reflexive nature of "delightfully" earlier, this moment too refers back to Burney and her positon as a mother and apothecary more than it reflects on Alexander's own health.

These are not the only instances of the reflexive nature of food language in Burney's letters. The consumption of food is often intimately tied to both Alexander's health and to Burney's own identity. In a letter dated 6 October 1804, she insists to d'Arblay, "The fact is, I have recovered [Alexander] from an attack so alarming, one of the days, that it nearly gave one

to me . . . . I have given him a little boiled veal to day, & taken the same. We are *both* at our best at once!—" (VI: 491). In this moment, it is difficult to determine who suffered more from this "attack." Alexander's illness affects Burney to the point that she too almost falls ill and she serves veal—an easy to digest meat often associated with being unwell—to her son and herself; the meal leaves them "*both*" feeling their "best." The shared meal, one of the few instances of her eating, displays an interest in who eats what and why. Having an appetite for and consuming the veal is proof of well-being. The meal, though, is not about taste, nor does she mention any sensory details, but rather reflects the act of commensality. Moss argues that Burney "often gives the impression that Alexander is of interest only as an eater, and she describes his eating as if it takes place in isolation. There is no table and no commensality in Burney's accounts of her son the consumer, but merely a rather desperate inventory of what goes in and comes out" (61). This observation may be true of Burney's earlier letters, but it is not true in France—the meal is "taken" together and represents a shared experience between a mother and son. By extension, the meal is also shared on the page with d'Arblay and thus he too shares in the meal. In this case, commensality is an example of maternal foodwork, where Burney works to maintain and nurture Alexander's body and her own and where she is emotionally rewarded from the success of such foodwork.

On the one hand, Burney's concern for her son reflects her position as a mother and her desire to enact an ethic of care. On the other hand, these food moments are also indicative of her viewing maternity and foodwork as a profession. In an earlier letter, from June 1803, to Esther Burney, she declares, "I am the most *preserving of physicians* in giving it my cares, medicine & attendance to the last moment" (VI: 469 emphasis added). She collapses the act of preserving—to protect and save—with the role of physician—one who cures or heals, and in doing so,

collapses the roles of mother and physician into one occupation as well. These multifaceted identities are carried out with a certain degree of excellence, and it becomes the business of the mother-physician to protect and cure her son. The maternal work never ends.

In this sense, labeling herself a capable physician reminds us of Betty Schellenberg's argument for Burney as a professional author, "steering a course toward identification with authors successful in the marketplace, and thereby choosing to foreground male forbears in the profession" (21). Schellenberg claims that Burney used the "print-culture model of professionalism to establish an authorial identity that freed her, to a significant extent, from the limitations of an essentialized feminine identity while allowing her to adopt tenets of female propriety in her private life" (144). Though Schellenberg addresses Burney as a novelist, the same argument is applicable to Burney as a mother. While she adopts masculine identities—apothecary and physician—she, at the same time, daily pursues tasks associated with femininity and maternity. Burney acknowledges that for Alexander "all that remains now to be done consists of care, cough medicines, & tranquility" (VI: 490). Such a comment draws a direct connection between foodwork, emotion, and mothering, one that encourages the professionalization of child-focused parenting practices.

Although Burney never explicitly calls herself a mother, she uses language to draw the metaphor of mothers as a source of food and nourishment. To Mrs. Waddington, on 2 July 1805, Burney compares Alexander to a plant, stating "our Boy, though a plant difficult to rear—yet,—let me, to *You*, say a Plant of Promise" (VI: 523). Referring to Alexander as a plant situates him as an object that needs nourishment and care from someone else. Burney, as his mother, and in this metaphor his gardener, is the one to "rear" him. To rear a plant and child are similar: "To bring up (a child) to maturity; to care for, nourish, educate" and "To attend to, promote, or cause

the growth of (a plant)" ("Rear"). In each case, the aim is to successfully promote growth through care, nourishment, and attention. The connotations of "rear" are unsurprisingly feminine and maternal. And this maternal work, as Burney notes, can be "difficult" to accomplish. Yet, just as a mother might, she assures Mrs. Waddington that Alexander is a "Plant of Promise"—an indication of future expectations and achievements.

A little over a year later, Burney writes to Mrs. Waddington again, implementing the same plant metaphor for the relationship between mothers and children as she discusses Mrs. Waddington's own position as a mother: "Sweet are the maternal cares that know which way to direct the talents, which to form the principles, which to excite the emulation, & which to guide the heart of three such lovely Plants: & I believe my dear friend thus gifted" (VI: 566). Again, the language aligns motherhood with gardening, to "direct," "form," and "guide" the children. Such word choices affirm gendered expectations of motherhood and recall the changing ideals of motherhood in the eighteenth century, for mothers to acts as educators and to form citizens for the expanding British Empire. However, it is the expression of these ideals in a food metaphor specifically that stands out. Food, femininity, and maternity intersect. Cairns and Johnston highlight "how women may engage reflexively with mothering ideas, yet remain enmeshed in the emotionally binding ties of maternal foodwork" (66). Mothers "become personally invested in these practices as an expression of identity" (68). For Burney, her identity is multifarious and fragile: she lives in France as a political prisoner, raising a child in retirement, separated from family. The attention to the care and nourishment of Alexander clearly indicates a deep love and devotion to her son. Burney often embodies the gendered notions of motherhood and in fact seems to embrace such an identity. Her choice to include these ordinary and maternal details in her letters to her husband further signifies the importance of maternal foodwork for Burney.

Furthermore, typically such family dynamics would be expressed in-person, but without that luxury, Burney must utilize correspondence to create the ordinary familial narrative she and Alexander are often without. Her documentation of these family dynamics illustrates private moments of "real mothers mothering," as Darby suggests, "reinforcing the impression of a feminized and privatized domesticity" (27). Though for Burney, domesticity remains problematic because it is a metaphorical space created on the page rather than a pin-pointed geographical location. Maternity and domesticity, then, are doubly performative for Burney, first as a "real mother" to Alexander and then again in the epistolary form to her husband.

Marriage, Food, and Domesticity

Burney structures her letters to her husband, d'Arblay, in ways that are distinct from any other of her correspondents, linguistically and stylistically more intimate. The letters between this husband and wife sometimes read as love letters, expressing "demand and need" (Brant 93), but more often "were explicitly communicative" (229). In particular, their correspondence "supplied literary companionship" (229). Unlike with her other correspondents, Burney's letters to d'Arblay do not begin with a greeting or end with a signature, but rather start in media res, as she does on 6 October 1804: "Before I answer your too interesting too terrible Letter, let me hasten to say our Boy is at this moment Drawing upon the round Table in the Sallon" (VI: 492). Burney sets the scene by positioning their son in the space and creating an intimate familial setting. Their correspondence reads like a private conversation between companions who cover a variety of topics, but frequently deal with questions and concerns over health and eating habits. They mutually address one another as "Friend" or "mon ami," terms of endearment that, as Johnson defines, joins "another in mutual benevolence and intimacy" ("friend"). These letters

add an additional layer—the connection between husband and wife—to Burney's construction of a metaphorical domestic space, still with food at the center, but with an emphasis on food as an expression of sustenance.

Burney establishes a pattern of concern in her letters, wanting always to know what and where d'Arblay is eating. After relaying that Alexander "had his artichokes & a mutton chop" and discussing the states of their health, she declares, "This is our bulletin of health. Give us yours sincerely" (VI: 495). Burney has provided the news of their health and now she requests that he share his "sincerely," or with honesty. When d'Arblay does not respond with his own "bulletin of health," Burney's tone turns anxious and her concerns multiply: "And—why do you not give me the *contour* of a Journal, such as I propose returning? I have no idea of your manner of passing your time, & I wish to know its *daily* history, however briefly. You have mentioned but *5 Dinners* to me in 5 weeks. Do you not like the plan? (VI: 691). Burney wants d'Arblay to do the same in his letters that she does for him, to provide ordinary details about his "daily history." She is upset that he has told her so little about where and what he eats (she knows of only five dinners in five weeks!). The follow-up question about "the plan" implies that they have designed, or proposed, how to construct their food discourse, as well as a designed, what seems to be, a meal plan for d'Arblay that he then must relate to Burney. Just as with Alexander, she wants to know that d'Arblay is nourished and in good health, and she is frustrated by the lack of a reciprocal communicative correspondence. Furthermore, without such information, Burney is even more separated from her husband and his daily life. The epistolary genre elucidates the potential for letters to become a shared metaphorical representation of domestic space; it "acts as a material link that connects sender to recipient" (Cook 379), imitating a familial and familiar space by containing the mundane details between husband and wife. Burney makes this even

more explicit when d'Arblay does not participate in the exchange with her; home-making, in this case, must be reciprocal.

In addition to longing for ordinary details in d'Arblay's letters, Burney makes evident that her husband must preserve and maintain his health. She insists, for instance, d'Arblay must "remember the necessity of frequent food, for strength, & resisting full & hearty meals, for your digestion: (VI: 642). Burney's suggestions might allude to "the plan" discussed in the previous paragraph: it is necessary, or imperative, that his diet be frequent, small meals. The repeated comments on his diet recall Burney's similar foodwork with Alexander, as she monitors and manages d'Arblay's diet her anxiety over his health increases. Worry seeps into many of her letters to her husband, as she agonizes, "How could I write to you yesterday and not thank you for the analeps? For heaven's sake don't spare them for yourself, and in particular take them as protections of life and preservatives of health . . . . For heaven's sake take them without fail, for God forbid we should be separated so long as to make you want more before we meet again!" (VI: 661). The analeps—shorthand for the analeptic restorative medicine discussed earlier—become a byway for a larger discussion of health and their separation. Twice she pleads, "for heaven's sake," take the pills. The phrase acts almost as an expletive or statement made out of anger, especially as she aligns the pills with "protections of life"—the medicine acts as a guardian of his health, when Burney is not physically present to do so herself and can only protect him through writing. Her insistence that he take the pills is thus not a throwaway comment, but rather a matter of life and death. The celestial language and use of exclamation points connect Burney's desire to see her husband again and to see him in a state of good health. Like his diet, the letters are "necessary" for communication, for linking the pair from page to place and creating a sense of longevity and well-being.

Burney's attention to d'Arblay's diet and health, and her expression of love through food, highlight her own complex relationship to food and digestion. She distresses, "Oh, mon ami! you boast of your health—you promise me formally to take care of it—yet you dine upon Choclate—or, standing, upon 2 Eggs—&c—Ah Heaven! if you knew what fears deject me!" (VI: 694). The structure of this sentence alone, with its multiple dashes and exclamations, reads as exasperated. Burney frets over d'Arblay's consumption of chocolate and eggs (and not sitting down to eat), and clearly marks this moment as straying from "the plan." Moreover, her fears—over his health and life—weaken or dishearten her, to the point that even her writing seems less structured and polished. These exclamations highlight, once again, the reflexive nature of food writing. Simply, the letters indicate Burney's concerns over d'Arblay's health, but more than that, this food moment reflects Burney's identity. The emphasis here is on her reaction to d'Arblay—you promised *me,* what fears deject *me*. Her concern over his diet becomes biographically interesting when taking into account Burney's own fraught relationship to food. Critics, including Harman and Moss, have speculated Burney herself had an eating disorder. Harman stresses Burney's "attitude towards food and eating immediately suggests some sort of disorder. References to food in her journals and works are infrequent, and never enthusiastic or appreciative" (71). Moss similarly agrees that Burney's "appetite and 'shape' were a major preoccupation of her adolescence and early adulthood. If one resists the temptation to offer a retrospective diagnosis of anorexia nervosa, then it becomes possible to think about Burney's own very knowing constructions of meaning of her desire not to eat and pleasure in thinness" (51). Food is of course integral to the daily life of both Burney and d'Arblay, but putting the emphasis on d'Arblay's health instead of her own frees her to discuss food and digestion without it being about her own eating habits. Her food language is seemingly objective—not at all about herself—and yet, her

distress and frequent musings over her husband's eating demonstrates that his health is intimately tied to her own.

While Burney may not specifically write on her own experiences with food and eating, she does specify the importance of her correspondence with her husband, which reveals how it acts as a metaphorical source of food. In a particularly intimate moment, Burney lovingly writes to d'Arblay of his recent letter, "I was fatigued & full of cold myself; & fit only for your Letter,—which proved such a cordial as has been reviving ever since" (VI: 490). In spite of feeling ill, and perhaps because of this, Burney feels "fit only" for d'Arblay's letter. To be "fit" is to be "well adapted or suited to the conditions or circumstances of the case, answering the purpose, proper or appropriate" ("fit"). For Burney to feel fit *only* for d'Arblay's letter reveals a sense of intimacy between them as a married couple and the intimacy between letter-writer and letter-recipient. More significant is her metaphor of the letter as cordial. In the eighteenth century, cordial waters, "warming drinks [that] stimulated the action of the heart," were thought to hold medicinal properties (Wilson 396); they were sold by doctors and apothecaries (398). Specifically, the cordial-letter is "reviving" to Burney—it helps her to regain "strength, vigour, consciousness" ("Reviving"). She consumes the letter in the same way one would drink cordial, and thus the letter acts as medicine would, it heals and revives.

The metaphor of the letter as food is more significant when situated with the other moments in which Burney discusses eating and drinking. While Burney rarely mentions food tastes, this is not to say she never discusses eating. Some notable exceptions include eating bread before her mastectomy, dinner with Madame Godefroi, and her first dinner back in England after her time in France. Before her surgery, she relates, "I finished my breakfast, &—not with much appetite, you will believe! forced down a crust of bread, & hurried off, under various pretences"

(VI: 608). This moment is not one of pleasure or taste, but rather "forced," and yet she refers to the "crust of bread" as her entire breakfast. Understandably, she might not have had much of an appetite before the terrifying surgery. Reflecting on Madame Godefroi's meal she states, "the fare itself was good; but the Flemish cleanliness & neatness made it delicious, & it was by far the most agreeable meal I have made at Dunkerque [Dunkirk]" (VI: 700). The food is simply "good" and it is the "Flemish cleanliness & neatness" that she describes as "delicious," a connotation typically used with food. The food itself becomes secondary and in fact the meal is "the most agreeable" because of the cleanliness, not the tastes of the food (none of which she actually depicts). And, finally, in England she describes the dinner as "amusing both to Alexander & myself. A large fillet of Veal, & a noble Sirloin of Beef were a sight that seemed to us, after the small & dainty French *plats* we had left, to demand a whole Garrison to devour" (VI: 729). This is one of her more descriptive food moments, in that she actually lists the food that is present, and yet, there is no indication that she consumes the meal, rather that it was a "sight" to see. In each of these instances, what she consumes and what nourishes is the circumstances of the food situation. Just as with the cordial-letter, food is always more metaphor than actual eating; writing and digesting letters is a more significant source of food than literal food itself. And, in letters with her husband, she is particularly well-fed. Similar to her earlier moment of commensality with Alexander, the letters are a metaphorical source of commensality between her and her husband, a literal and figurative link between husband and wife.

Burney Crafts a Metaphorical Domestic Space

Burney plays with constructing place, specifically the domestic, in the spaces between food and writing, and it is often the metaphor of letters-as-food that reminds us of the literary and

lived experiences of Burney's time in France. Two extended metaphors in particular draw a connection between food and the domestic, and food and family. To her father, Doctor Burney, she determines, "Could you but send me a little food for the Hope now in private circulation that the new alliance of the Emperor may perhaps extend to a general alliance of all Europe—ah Heaven! how would that brighten my faculties of enjoyment!" (VI: 584). As with previous examples, the food metaphor guides Burney's pleasure. The phrase "food for the Hope" calls to mind Manley's use of "food for thought" in Chapter 1, but here the substitution of "hope" for "thought" indicates an "expectation of something desired" ("Hope"). Burney would like to return to England and escape her exile. Without a permanent home in France and away from her home country, Burney seeks enjoyment through thinking about home, despite not being able to travel there. The phrase thus illustrates the idea that appetite can be both literal and figurative, and for Burney the metaphorical is more sustaining than actual food—such "food for hope" fulfills her hunger for home and "brighten[s]" her disposition, in the same way food may fulfill a person's literal hunger.

In a separate letter to her father, she repeats the letter-food metaphor, revealing the ways letters can act as a substitute for a feast. She writes:

> [Y]our letter . . . was all comfort, all consolation. . . . But let me imitate, as well as thank and admire, & fly this heart-wounding subject to dwell upon your kind restorative. Seated round our wood Fire, by one, by two, by three, we gave to it a whole Evening, stopping upon every phrase, commenting upon every paragraph, & I, the reader, indulging them & myself by expounding & dilating upon every allusion, quotation, & family story or saying. It was therefore a long & delicious banquet. (592-93)

Similar to the cordial-letter, this food moment draws the extended metaphor of letter-reading as "a long & delicious banquet." Some of the language she uses here feels familiar; for instance, she refers to the letter as "restorative," a link to the healing properties of correspondence. She also describes their way of reading the letter in a similar manner someone may discuss partaking in a feast: they "gave to it a whole Evening," "stopping," "commenting," upon every element. The letter is a figurative banquet, "a feast, a sumptuous entertainment of food and drink" ("banquet"). This metaphor reveals an explicit connection between the sensory elements involved in eating a feast and consuming a letter, illustrating the way food metaphors become central to the creation of a home-space. Burney enjoys this letter-feast as a family, another act of figurative commensality. Sitting around the fire, the family ("we") became place-makers, making meaning of this space and creating a sense of home, by "feasting" on the letter from Burney's father.

Regarding "home" as a place to which "[o]ne 'returns to'" and which "cannot be the place of others" (Certeau 145), and Burney's home-place as housed within the epistolary genre, the narrative and textual spaces act as substitutes for Burney's physical homespace. Perhaps Burney creates the metaphorical domestic space in her letters because she is more confident or comfortable in her authorial position than she is in her other identities. Or, maybe, because she does not have a geographical location or physical space to call a permanent home, the textual space acts as the best space in which she feels able "return to" and make her "own place." Certeau claims, "everyone knows that even the most modest home reveals the personality of its occupant" (145). Certainly, one of Burney's most discussed "personalities" is as an author, and so the page is a fitting "home" in which to analyze Burney, the occupant. In doing so, this chapter responds to Francus's argument that "the literary and cultural representations of motherhood call into question our understanding of the ideological dominance of domesticity"

(8), and her call to "reframe and revise the domesticity thesis itself" (10). Burney's creation of a metaphorical homespace in her letters helps to revise current images of what a domestic space entailed and how women travelers and authors reshaped the domestic space in the eighteenth century.

The literary reception to Burney's journals captivated, as Susan Civale argues, "the Victorian public imagination with first-hand accounts of a Georgian woman" (236). The multiple reprints of her diary and her inclusion in the *English Men of Letters* series resulted in Burney getting "neatly repacked, and ultimately shelved, as a reassuring figure of past-tense femininity whose eminence as a diarist undermines and eventually upends her reception as a novelist" (237). Some reviewers, from conservative-leaning periodicals in particular, figured Burney as "having the appetite and organ capacity of a man . . . as 'all swallow and digestion' for 'praise. . . . gulped down with the most palpable rapture'" (qtd. in Civale 240). The extended food metaphor refers to Burney's appetite for praise, not a literal hunger for food. It is interesting to compare the reviewer's food metaphor to current scholarship that argues for Burney's lack of appetite: in both cases, Burney is not considered an "eater" but rather has having a metaphorical hunger for praise and prose. Burney is depicted as having both a "grossly inflamed appetite" (Civale 241) and no appetite at all (Moss). In this chapter, the (re)analysis of Burney's relationship to food—both literal and figurative—reclaims a maternal and transient voice that has largely been ignored. The image of Burney's relation to food and home that emerges through this chapter is markedly different from previous scholarship, proposing an equal proportion of material food consumption to metaphorical consumption in her writing, which indicates that food for health, for medicine, and for longevity are integral to Burney's identity formation as an exile, mother, wife, and author.

Works Cited

Abbate Badin, Donatella. "Self-Fashioning through Travel Writing: "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters from Italy." *Textus: English Studies in Italy* 25.2 (2012): 91-110. *MLA Bibliography*. 8 April 2014.

Allen, John S. *The Omnivorous Mind: Our Evolving Relationship with Food*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 2012.

Al-Rawi, Ahmed K. "The Portrayal of the East vs. the West in Lady Mary Montagu's *Letters* and Emily Ruete's *Memoirs*." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 30.1 (2008): 15-30. EBSCOHost: *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011.

Altman, Irwin and Setha Low, eds. *Place Attachment.* New York: Plenum P, 1992. Print.

"Analeptic, *adj*. and *n.*" Def. B.*n. OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb 2017.

"Apothecary, *n*." Def. 1. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb 2017.

"Apothecary, *n*." Def. 2. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb 2017.

Ashley, Bob. *Food and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Aspinall, Algernon E. *The British West Indies: Their History, Resources and Progress*. London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1913.

"Bait, *fig.*" Def 2. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d.. Web. 16 December 2015.

Ballaster, Ros. "The Economics of Ethical Conversation: The Commerce of the Letter in Eliza Haywood and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." *Eighteenth Century Life* 35.1 (2011): 119-32. *Project Muse*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011.

Bannet, Eve Tavor. "Trading Routes and Eighteenth-Century Migrations: Reframing Janet

Schaw." *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*. Ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2006. 137-157. Print.

"Banquet, *n*.1." Def.1.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2017.

Batten, Jr., Charles L. *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: U of California P, 1978. Print.

Bayne-Powell, Rosamond. *Travellers in Eighteenth-Century England.* London: John Murray, 1951. Print.

Beach, Adam R. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Slavery in the Ottoman (and the British) Empire." *Philological Quarterly* 85.3-4 (2006): 293-314. EBSCOHost*: MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011.

Bell, David and Gill Valentine, eds. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.

Bending, Stephen. *Green Retreats: Women, Gardens and Eighteenth-Century Culture.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2013. Print.

Beynon, John C. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Sapphic Vision." *Imperial Desire: Dissident Sexualities and Colonial Literature*. Ed. Philip Holden and Richard J. Ruppel. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. 21-43. Print.

Black, Christopher F. *Early Modern Italy: A Social History.* London and New York: Routledge, 2001. Print.

Black, Jeremy. *Italy and the Grand Tour.* New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2003. Print.

Blackwell, Elizabeth. *A Curious Herbal, Containing Five Hundred Cuts, of the most* useful *Plants, which are now used in the Practice of Physick*. *Engraved on folio copper plates, after drawings taken from the life. By Elizabeth Blackwell. To which is added a short*

description of ye plants; and their common uses in physick. London: Printed for John Nourse, 1739-51. Print.

Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.

Brack, O.M. Jr. and Thomas Kaminski. "Johnson, James, and the 'Medicinal Dictionary.'" *Modern Philology* 81.4 (1984): 378-400. *JSTOR.* 1 Feb 2017.

Brant, Clare. *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. Print.

Burney, Frances. *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay)*. Edited by Joyce Hemlow, volume VI. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975. Print.

Cairns, Kate and Josée Johnston. *Food and Femininity.* London: Bloomsbury, 2015. Print.

Camporesi, Piero. *Exotic Brew: The Art of Living in the Age of Enlightenment*. Trans. Christopher Woodall. Cambridge, UK: Polity P, 1994. Print.

Carnell, Rachel. *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008. Print.

Certeau, Michael de, Luce Giard, Pierre Mayol. *The Practice of Everyday Life: Volume 2: Living & Cooking*. Trans. Timothy J. Tomasik. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998. Print.

Chard, Chloe and Helen Langdon, eds. *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996. Print.

Civale, Susan. "The Literary Afterlife of Frances Burney and the Victorian Periodical Press." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44.3 (2011): 236-266. Print.

Clark, Lorna J. "Dating the Undated: Layers of Narrative in Frances Burney's Court Journals." *Lifewriting Annual: Biographical and Autobiographical* Studies, 2012: 119-139. Print.

Colbert, Benjamin. *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland*. Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillian, 2012. E-book. EPUB file. 24 June 2015.

Colquhoun, Kate. *Taste: The Story of Britain through its Cooking.* London: Bloomsbury, 2007. Print.

Connell, Alyssa. "Solid Sillabubs." *Cooking in the Archives: Updating Early Modern Recipes (1600-1800) in a Modern Kitchen.* Web. 24 Aug 2015.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*. 2nd ed. Hoboken: Wiley, 2014. Print.

Darby, Barbara. "Frances Burney's Dramatic Mothers." *The English Studies in Canada* 23.1 (1997): 37-58. Print.

Drummond, J.C. and Anne Wilbraham. *The Englishman's Food: A History of Five Centuries of English Diet*. Expanded ed. Oxford: Alden, 1964. Print.

"Epicure, *n*." Def. n. 2.a. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 December 2016.

"Epicure, *n*." Def. n. 2.b. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 December 2016.

"Epicure, *n*." Def. n. 2.c. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 December 2016.

Evelyn, John. *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets.* Prospect Books, 2005. Print.

"Exile, *n*." Def n. 1. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d.. Web. 3 August 2015.

"Feast, *n.*" Def. 3.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

"Feast, *v.*" Def. 1.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

"Feast, *v.*" Def. 1.b. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

"Feast, *v.*" Def. 2.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

"Feast, *v.*" Def. 3. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

Findlen, Paula, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds. *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2009. Print.

"Fit, *adj*." Def. 1.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2017.

Francus, Marilyn. *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Ideology of Domesticity.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2012. Print.

Gigante, Denise. *Taste: A Literary History*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2005. Print.

Gilroy, Amanda, ed. *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844*. Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.

Glasse, Hannah. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. London: 1774. *Google Books*. Web. 1 August 2016.

Grigson, Jane. *English Food.* London: Penguin, 1992. Print.

Grundy, Isobel. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

---. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Italian Memoir'." *The Age of Johnson: A Scholarly Annual* 6 (1994): 321-346. Rpt. in *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*. Ed. Lawrence J. Trudeau. Vol. 57. Gale, 2000. *Literature Resource Center*. Web. 22 Apr. 2016.

---. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Six Town Eclogues* and Other Poems." *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*. Ed. Christine Gerrard. MA: Blackwell, 2006. 184-96. Print.

---, ed. *Romance Writings. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon P, 1996. Print. "Italian Memoir." 81-105.

Harman, Claire. *Fanny Burney: A Biography.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001. Print.

"Hope, *v*." Def. 1.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2017.

"Hydra." Def. 2. *OED Online*. Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 17 Oct. 2015.

Johnson, Samuel. "Friend (noun)." *A Dictionary of the English Language: A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson.* Edited by Brandi Besalke. Last modified: November 28, 2012.

Keith, Jennifer. "Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762): Haughty Mind, Warm Blood and the 'Demon of Poesie.'" *Women and Poetry 1660-1750*. Ed. Sarah Prescott and David E. Shuttleton. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003. 79-87. Print.

Kim, Elizabeth S. "Complicating 'Complicity/Resistance' in Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality*." *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 12.2 (1997): 166-187. Project Muse. 7 January 2013.

Kinsley, Zoë. *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812.* Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

Konuk, Kader. "Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." *Criticism* 46.3 (2004): 393-414. *Project Muse*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011.

Korte, Barbara. *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations.* New York: St. Martin's P, 2000. Print.

Lane, Maggie. *Jane Austen and Food*. London: Hambledon P, 1995. Print.

Lippard, Lucy. *The Lure of the Local: Sense of Place in a Multicentered Society.* New York: New P, 1997. Print.

Looser, Devoney. *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750—1850.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2008. Print.

Lorenzo-Modia, María Jesús. "'I look'd through false Glasses': letters versus fiction in Delarivier Manley's *Letters*." Re-*Shaping he Genres: Restoration Women Writers.* Ed. Zenón Luis-Martínez and Jorge Figueroa-Dorrego. Peter Lang, 2003. Print. 279-299.

Lowenthal, Cynthia. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994. Print.

Manley, Delarivier. *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter: Describing the Humours on the Road, with the Characters and Adventures of the Company. In Eight Letters to a Friend*. London. *ECCO*. 19 October 2013.

Manzo C., Lynne and Patrick Devine-Wright, eds. *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013. Print.

Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Print.

Meriwether, Rae Ann. "Transculturation and Politics in the Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 53.3 (Summer 2013): 623-641. *MLA Bibliography*. 2 June 2014.

Miller, Jeff and Jonathan Deutsch, eds. *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*. Oxford, UK: Berg, 2009. Print.

Moir, Esther. *The Discovery of Britain*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013. Print.

Montagu, Mary Wortley, Lady. *The Complete Letters of Lady Wortley Montagu*. Ed. Robert Halsband. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1965-67.

Morton, Timothy. *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillian, 2004. Print.

Moss, Sarah. *Spilling the Beans: Eating, Cooking, Reading and Writing in British Women's Fiction, 1770-1830.* Manchester, UK: Manchester UP, 2010. Print.

Nicosia, Marissa. "How to make minceed pyes." *Cooking in the Archives: Updating Early Modern Recipes (1600-1800) in a Modern Kitchen.* Web. 16 Dec 2015.

---. "Lemon Posset." *Cooking in the Archives: Updating Early Modern Recipes (1600-1800) in a Modern Kitchen.* Web. 1 June 2016.

---. "To make minceed pyes." *Cooking in the Archives: Updating Early Modern Recipes (1600-1800) in a Modern Kitchen.* Web. 16 Dec 2015.

Nussbaum Felicity, A. *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1995. Print.

"Oats. *n.f.*" *Dictionary of the English Language*. Samuel Johnson. J. & P. Knapton, London. 1755. By permission of the British Library Board. Web.

Ogborn, Miles, and Charles Withers. "Travel, Trade, and Empire: Knowing other Places, 1660-1800." *A Concise Companion to The Restoration and Eighteenth Century*. Ed. Cynthia Wall. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005. 13-35. Print.

O'Gorman, Frank. *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political & Social History 1688 – 1832.* London: Arnold, 1997. Print.

Parkes, Joan. *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century.* London: Oxford UP, 1925. Print.

Parkinson, John. *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris.* Reprinted from the 1629 edition. 1904. Print.

Porter, Roy. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex; New York: Penguin Books, 1982. Print.

Portland, Margaret Cavendish Holles Harley Bentinck, Duchess of, 1715-1785. *Receipts relating*

to physic and surgery: those marked with M.P. experienced by My Lady Duchess. 1750.

"Posset, *n*." Def. n. 1. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d.. Web. 29 June 2016.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Raffald, Elizabeth. *The Experienced English Housekeeper.* Manchester: 1769. *Google Books*. Web. 1 August 2016.

"Recompense, *v*." Def. 2.a. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

Relph, E. *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion, 1976. Print.

"Reviving, *adj*." Def. 1. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2017.

Rieser, Alison. *The Case of the Green Turtle: An Uncensored History of a Conservation Icon.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2012. Print.

Robinson, Jane. *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers*. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1990. Print.

---. *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995. Print.

Rose, Gillian. *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993. Print.

Rosenthal, Laura. "Introduction: Recovering from Recovery." *The Future of Feminist Theory in Eighteenth-Century Studies.* Spec. issue of *The Eighteenth-Century* 50.1 (2009): 1-11. *Project Muse*. Web. 8 April 2014.

Schaw, Janet. *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*. Ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews. New Haven: Yale UP, 1923. Print.

Schellenberg, Betty A. *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Schlick, Yaël Rachel. *Feminism and the Politics of Travel After the Enlightenment*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2012. Print.

Scholz, Susanne. "English Women in Oriental Dress: Playing the Turk in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Embassy Letters and Daniel Defoe's Roxana." *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Culture.* Eds. Sabine Schülting, Savine Müller, and Ralf Hertel. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012. Print.

Smith, Eliza. *The Compleat Housewife*. London: 1739. Google Books. Web. 29 June 2016.

Staves, Susan. *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Print.

Still, Judith. "Hospitable Harems? A European Woman and Oriental Spaces in the Enlightenment." *Paragraph: A Journal of Modern Critical Theory* 32.1 (2009): 87-104. 4 April 2014.

"Syllabub, *n*." Def n. 1. *OED Online.* Oxford UP, n.d.. Web. 28 June 2016.

The Bible. Authorized King James Version, Oxford UP, 1998.

The Lady's Magazine; or entertaining companion for the fair sex, appropriated solely to their use and amusement, volume 1. 1770-1771. London, UK. Printed for John Wheble. Birmingham Central Library, B070.48347.

Thirsk, Joan. *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760*. London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007. Print.

Trubek, Amy B. *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*. Berkeley: UP of California, Columbia and Princeton, 2008. Print.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. “In Place, Out of Place.” *Place: Experience and Symbol*. Ed. Miles Richardson. Louisiana State U: Geoscience Publications, 1984. 3-10. Print.

Turner, Katherine. *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800: Authorship, Gender, and National Identity.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002. Print.

Valentine, Gill. “Imagined Geographies: Geographical Knowledge of Self and Other in Everyday Life.” *Human Geography Today.* Ed. Doreen Massey, John Allen, and Philip Sarre. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999. 47-61. Print.

Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England.* New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1998. Print.

Visentini, Margherita Azzi. “The Gardens of Villas in the Veneto from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries.” *The Italian Garden: Art, Design and Culture.* John Dixon Hunt, ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 1996. Print. 93-126.

Weitzman, Arthur J. “Voyeurism and Aesthetics in the Turkish Bath: Lady Mary’s School of Female Beauty.” *Comparative Literature Studies* 39.4 (2002): 347-59. *Project Muse*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011.

White, Jerry. *A Great and Monstrous Thing: London in the Eighteenth Century.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2013. Print.

Wilson, Anne C. *Food & Drink in Britain: From the Stone Age to the 19th Century.* Chicago, IL: Academy Chicago Pub, 1973. Print.

Wilton, Andrew and Ilaria Bignamini, eds. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Tate Gallery Pub, 1996.

Wiltshire, John. “Journals and letters.” *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney.* Ed. Peter Sabor. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. Print. 75-92.

Winch, Alison. "'Drinking a Dish of Tea with Sapho': The Sexual Fantasies of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Lord Byron." *Women's Writing* 20.1 (2013): 82-99. 4 April 2014.