

Sarah Scott – A Female Historian in Mid-Eighteenth Century Bath

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The superb book by R.S. Neale has made Sarah Scott well-known as one of the witnesses of life and gossip in mid-eighteenth century Bath.¹ But she is by far more than one of the – in a continental perspective – enviably numerous authors of witty letters. She is also one of the novelists of distinction, though her writings seem not to have been widely discussed.² Nevertheless her literary work has experienced a considerable renaissance in recent years and at the conference on 'Women's writing in Britain 1660-1830' in Southampton in July 2003, an entire panel was dedicated to some of her novels. Strangely enough 'her historical works ..., were always more consistently praised than her novels... and applauded as balanced and strong',³ yet they are not looked at by modern historians. So the historical works of Sarah Scott form the basic theme of this paper. Her specific idea of history is studied by comparing her *History of Mecklenburgh* with the *History of Vandalia* by her contemporary Thomas Nugent (c.1700-1772). Finally the question is raised, why her *History of Mecklenburgh* was forgotten, marginalized? A promising answer to this question leads us to Bath. But first, her life and works will be sketched briefly.

The Life and Works of Sarah Scott, née Robinson

Sarah Robinson was born on 21 September 1720, probably at the country seat of her father in the village of Hutton Magna, 12 kms north of Richmond, Yorkshire, and baptised on 5 March 1721 in York.⁴ Her father, Matthew Robinson (1694-1778), was descended from an old gentry family of that county. Around 1712 he had married Elizabeth Drake (c. 1693-1746), the daughter of a Cambridge landowner, who was a member of a Kent propertied family of office bearers and scholars. Twelve children – seven sons and two daughters reached adulthood – came from their marriage. The second husband of their maternal grandmother, Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), taught at the university of Cambridge. He was regarded as one of the 'classical republicans' of the

early eighteenth century. In his house three younger brothers of Sarah were born between 1727 and 1731. During the long regular stays of the Robinson family in Cambridge, Middleton saw with notable success to the education of his grandchildren – including the two girls. Some of his grandsons studied in Cambridge. First-born Matthew (1713-1800)⁵ was a Member of Parliament for Cambridge from 1747 to 1761. His brother William (1727-1803)⁶ lived in Naples from 1760 to 1762 and later had a parish near Canterbury. He was a friend of the well-known poet Thomas Gray. Their sister Elizabeth, born in 1718, became in the 1750s a central figure of the so-called ‘Blue Stocking feminism’.⁷ The surviving personal letters show that they were – without exception – a family of talented, close brothers and sisters, who stayed in touch for the whole of their life.⁸ Sarah’s life was always tied to that of her older sister Elizabeth.

The family was undoubtedly wealthy, but the father’s wish to move from Yorkshire to London could not be fulfilled. A life befitting their rank in the booming capital was too expensive and the family therefore moved to the country seat inherited by their mother in Mount Morris, Kent. Sarah had the worst future prospects of all the children: financial means were expended on the education and career of her brothers, and a marriage before her older sister was certainly out of question. The extraordinarily close relation between both sisters loosened in the short term, when in 1734 a friend of Elizabeth, Margaret Harley, married William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, and Elizabeth spent a lot of time in London to keep her company. Because of her lively and witty nature Elizabeth was soon successful in high society. Sarah, however, usually stayed in the country. A heavy smallpox infection in 1741 decreased her prospect of a socially advantageous marriage further. Elizabeth married Edward Montagu (1692-1775) on 5 August 1742. He was wealthy, due to coal mines, a grandson of the Earl of Sandwich and a Member of Parliament since 1734.⁹ Marriage with a man twice as old as she but respecting her concerns had considerable advantages for Elizabeth: she obtained social reputation and the material independence to look after her literary and social interests.¹⁰ From the 1750s her distinguished circle of ‘Blue Stockings’, to which the painter Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807) belonged at times, was one of the most important salons at London. The couple lived in Yorkshire for most of the time, but also in Sandford, Berkshire, where Sarah often paid longer visits. There, Edward Haytley (active 1740-1762), working often for the Montagus, painted her portrait in the 1740s.



Portrait of Sarah Scott by Edward Haytley, 1744.
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Mount Morris was the centre of Sarah's life until the death of her mother in 1746. After that her father, following his old wish, moved to London and lived there with a housekeeper. Sarah could not, was not allowed, or did not want to follow him. It was also out of the question to live in the shadow of her bright sister. Thus, she chose a restless life that was characterised by long visits to friends and relatives and stays in the elegant spas of Bath and Tunbridge Wells, the most important 'wedding markets' of the kingdom.¹¹ In Bath she got to know – at the latest in 1747 – Lady Barbara Montagu (died August 1765), a daughter of the Earl of Halifax, a few years younger than Sarah.¹² In August 1748 she moved into her house at Bath. Both lived on relatively modest allowances from their fathers. In 1750 Sarah Robinson published her first book, probably hoping to increase their household budget. In the same year George Lewis Scott (1708-1780) became 'sub-preceptor' of Prince George, the later George III, grandson of King George II.¹³ Sarah had used her contacts in the background to support this appointment.¹⁴ She had already met him, as a friend of her brother-in-law, at the end of the 1740s. His post was apparently the prerequisite for their marriage in London on 15 June 1751. With that, Sarah Scott approached the social and cultural centre of the country. The couple lived in Leicester Fields near the prince's residence at Leicester House, and moved some months later to Chelsea. But the marriage failed after nine months, causing a great stir. Scott left London with an allowance from her husband – £100 a year – and lived until her death with her friend Lady Barbara in Bath, spending the summers in Batheaston close by. This obviously scandalous step provoked a deep disagreement with her father. In Bath she initiated with Lady Barbara various charitable projects, concerning for example the employment of mentally and physically disabled servants. Thereby her financial difficulties increased, leading to her becoming a productive writer.¹⁵ Many of her works found a quite positive reception by critics.¹⁶ Contacts with court and London society, which arose out of the connections of her husband and her sister, fitted very well into her literary activity, and a long-term Sapphic friendship did not cause concern if it was seen without sexual connotation.¹⁷

The 'Blue Stockings' tried to create a kind of female republic of scholars. In the end, this was the only chance for women with academic and literary ambitions in an educational system that was shaped and dominated by men and that denied women access even to classical education. The works of Sarah Scott – she kept her husband's name after the separation – can be divided into two groups. On the one hand there

are novels like *Millenium Hall* and *Sir George Ellison*. These works show a clear condemnation of moral and political failure as well as of the bad state of social affairs of her time. She criticises the discrimination against women in a sexist environment and condemns slavery in the colonies.¹⁸ The solution to these problems she sees in a society based on a religious-utopia, transfiguring the hierarchic paternalistic feudal society.¹⁹ The fundamental contradiction in this 'merry old England' ideology led in the end to her finding the events of the French Revolution repugnant, as did her sister and the 'Blue Stockings'. In her novel *Agreeable Ugliness*, written after her move to Lady Barbara Montagu's home, she tells the story of two sisters – one a bright beauty, the other a plain woman of education and virtue – whose juxtaposed adventures show the superiority of moral goodness over physical beauty. One has the idea that she put some autobiographical experiences from her relation to her sister Elizabeth into this.

In the second group of her publications – Sarah Scott's three historical treatises – her religious moralising attitude is also noticeable. In Scott's opinion the purpose of history is always to provide edifying and instructive models and examples for the present day. According to the then current idea of 'historia magistra vitae',²⁰ she published in 1760 (the year of the coronation of George III, the former 'student' of her former husband) a *History of Gustavus Ericson*. This is in our understanding no historical treatise, it is more like an early modern mirror for princes (*Fürstenspiegel*). There is no need to say that this work had to be published under the male pseudonym of Henry Augustus Raymond: an historical treatise by a female writer, moreover one who knew the king, could never have been published. The work – quite well reviewed by contemporaries – portrays the founder of the Swedish great-power as a religious, protestant, paternalistic, model king. The characterisation of his personality and policy becomes a governmental programme for an enlightened sovereign: promotion of trade and industry, deep respect for the sciences, welfare services for the poor and sick, founding of schools, hospitals and granaries. Scott's other historical works did not appear under her name either, but were published anonymously. Nevertheless the educated public knew of Sarah Scott's authorship.²¹ The next historical publication was the *History of Mecklenburgh*, coming out in 1762 in two editions. Its origin is obvious and will shortly be dealt with below. Her last publication in 1772, *The Life of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné* (1552-1630), was also an historical work. Again the personality of the well-known Huguenot poet and the events connected with him, serve as *Exempla*

Historica for the discussion about personal freedom and religious dissent in those days: a controversy which had been discussed by England's educated public since the spectacular process of and the rigid censorship against John Wilkes (1727-1797).²²

On the whole Scott's publications were more than the common works of an amateur, or the historical tales – dictated by events of the day – of a contemporary observing the current discussion. Basic geographical and historical knowledge combine in them with a good understanding of the relevant literature – the choice of that consulted in her *History of Mecklenburgh* already shows this.

The death of her brother-in-law Edward Montagu in 1775 made it possible for Elizabeth to make Sarah an allowance of £200 a year. The death of their father three years later brought Sarah another £50 annual income from the family's possessions in Yorkshire. Because of that she ceased to write, lived in London until 1784/5 and then moved to Catton near Norwich, where she died in 1795. In her last will she instructed that all private papers should be burned. Therefore her letters came down to us only in the estates of her family and friends. Although Sarah Scott never belonged to the inner circle of the 'Blue Stockings', she deserves our attention as an early 'professional' writer and as the author of the first English compendium of the history of Mecklenburg.

Sarah Scott and Thomas Nugent

The origin of the two earliest English works on the history of Mecklenburg is known and will be mentioned only briefly. On 8 September 1761, 22-years-old King George married 17-years-old Sophie Charlotte von Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744-1818).²³ Until then this principality and its rulers were hardly known in England. If English society had some ideas of it they were rather obscure. On 9 July 1761 the famous writer Horace Walpole mocked in a letter about the English ambassador: 'Lord Harcourt is to be at her [Sophie Charlotte's] father's court – if he can find it – on the 1st of August ...!'²⁴

The need for information was great: 'As soon ... as his Majesty declared his intention of taking the princess of Mecklenburgh for his consort, she became the general topic of discourse; and every Briton's thoughts were turned towards the family from which Great Britain was to receive its Queen', says Scott in the preface. However, in her letters she commented less enthusiastically on the new queen and the great public attention the young bride received. 'One would imagine that no king had ever married

or any state ever had a queen before. The nation ... [is] ... absolutely frantic. I hear there is scaffolding enough erected against the coronation to hold two millions of people ...' she wrote to her sister-in-law in Naples on 14 September 1761.²⁵ Sarah's description of the appearance of the bride was not very benevolent: 'I understand she is very far from handsome. Her mouth fills great part of her face', which incidentally corresponds to the portrait of the queen by Thomas Gainsborough in Schwerin, Mecklenburg, 1781. But she admits that Sophie Charlotte had a good nature, was very lively and had a tremendous mental grasp. Expressing subtle irony she is surprised at the 'physical' capacity of the Princess of Mecklenburg: after ten days on board a ship and one day in a coach Sophie Charlotte arrived in London on 8 September and on the same day the wedding took place. After the wedding celebration 'she and the king were in bed, and *all* the night after her journey and so long a voyage. Nothing but a German constitution could have undergone it'.²⁶

However these private remarks are to be judged, in the preface Scott declares her own curiosity to be the reason for her studies – financial interests seem to have been bad manners for writers even then: 'I confess I was myself no less curious on this subject than the rest of my countrymen'. And because no reliable and satisfying information was available she studied the authors 'from whom I could hope to receive any information for authentic particulars, relative to the house of Mecklenburgh'.²⁷ In 360 pages she compiles chronologically the history of Mecklenburg from the earliest days until the marriage of Princess Sophie Charlotte, without further subdivision into chapters. In the beginning there is a short overview of the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, considering especially the relation between the emperor and the princes. As sources for the extensive account of the legendary prehistory Scott used the usual classical historians like Jordanes and Procopius, but also the *Annales Herulorum ac Vandalorum* by Nikolaus Marschalk, published in Rostock in 1521.²⁸ She describes the Vandals, claimed to be the direct ancestors of the people of Mecklenburg, as hospitable, charitable and just – quoting the chronicle uncritically. The part on modern history is mainly based on older works of Jean de Heiss, Samuel von Pufendorff and François de Bassompierre. Sarah used also quite recent publications, for example *The History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus* by Walter Harte, published in 1759²⁹ or, for the time after the Treaty of Westphalia, Joseph Barre's *Histoire générale d'Allemagne*, ten volumes published in Paris 1748.³⁰

The origin of Nugent's *History of Vandalia* was also the public interest in the royal wedding in 1761. But Nugent was neither forced to publish

anonymously or under a pseudonym, nor to put forward curiosity as a reason for the work. On the contrary, as a member of the establishment³¹ and as a history expert he recommended himself for such a task. In the preface it says: 'The following History derives its origin from the auspicious nuptials of the august pair, who so happily fill the throne of Britain. At the time when the eyes of the whole nation turned towards that princess, who ... was found worthy the affection of our most gracious sovereign, the author was solicited by some friends to represent the antiquity and splendor of her majesty's descent, in a concise history of the most serene house of Mecklenburg'. Nugent's treatise is also strictly chronological. Following the early legends, the work is more or less subdivided according to the reigns of the fabulous Vandal and Veneti rulers. In the first volume he starts with an extensive description of the geographic and topographic facts as well as a summary of the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire and its territorial states. After that the volume continues until the middle of the twelfth century. The second volume deals with the time from the Middle Ages until the Reformation, and the last volume ends with a description of Sophie Charlotte's journey to England and the wedding celebrations. Nugent studied much more literature than Scott. Not only did he publish his first volume four years later than Scott, he also travelled in 1766 – before he published the other volumes – for a few months through Mecklenburg. There he researched in libraries and archives and sought for discussions with native scholars. One of his most important sources for the first volume was Stephan Werner von Dewitz, an *envoyé extraordinaire* whom Nugent got to know in London between 1762 and 1765.³² On his journey Nugent also got in touch with Lord Bassewitz, a minister of Duke Friedrich von Mecklenburg, and with experts of the history of Mecklenburg especially Angelinus Johann Daniel Aepinus,³³ Professor of rhetoric in Rostock and Butzow, and Samuel Buchholz,³⁴ preacher in Lychen. They made it possible for Nugent – unlike Scott – to study the relevant German and Latin historical literature intensively.³⁵

Both authors, however, start with the complicated constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, the 'Germanic Body',³⁶ followed by a report on the great principalities. After dealing with the sovereignty of every prince in his own territory, they both give an account of the system of rule in Mecklenburg. With the emphasis on the sovereignty they obviously try to establish a certain equality between the bridal couple. Scott even describes this sovereignty as absolute: '... every Prince in Germany is absolute in his principality; and however insignificant his state may

be, still he is above the laws'.³⁷ Nugent restricts it according to reality and the constitution of the empire: 'The princes are all sovereigns in their respective territories, having an absolute jurisdiction over their subjects, except where the diet or the supreme courts of iudicature think proper to interpose ... they exercise most acts of sovereignty that are not prejudicial to the empire'.³⁸ While Scott's statements on these general questions of the history of the Holy Roman Empire and its constitution are based on French treatises by Heiß von Kogenheim and Antoine de la Martinière, Nugent's knowledge came from Leibniz, Pufendorff and different German jurists.

Occasionally both used the same sources. In these parts one can see easily the contrasting fields of interest and the different personality of both authors. This can be exemplified by the description of the restitution of the rule of the dukes of Mecklenburg in Gustrow on 25 June 1631. Gustavus Adolphus attended the celebrations and both writers sometimes follow exactly the words in Harte's *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*. But they differ in an important detail. Nugent emphasises particularly that 'twenty hogsheads³⁹ of wine and forty of beer were given to the poor', and the King of Sweden even invited parents 'to bring their young children with them to taste the festal wine, that they might remember ... the restoration of their lawful sovereigns, as well as of their religion and liberty'.⁴⁰ A lot of alcohol, enjoyed in society as the promoter of loyal and religious feelings, was of course impossible for Sarah Scott. She portrays Gustavus Adolphus as a patriarchal educationalist who orders 'that all parents, should fully instruct their children in the nature of this Restoration, and teach them to remember ... the re-establishment of their lawful Sovereigns, of their religion, and of their liberty'⁴¹ – no word about the pleasurable consumption of alcohol.

But it would be short-sighted and unjust to accuse Scott of being naive and seeing the king as a Nordic shining light, as did the biased popular Protestant literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rather her point of view corresponds to the already mentioned idea of what kind of nature a prince and politician should have. Moreover, Scott has a specific understanding of politics and history. In principle, she has an enlightened notion that believes in a positive development of history and understands war as a secularised eschatological fight between good and bad. That did not concern eternal salvation, it was about the improvement of mankind in this world. So, a prince fought battles to promote common wealth. It is almost unnecessary to refer to the consequences for her treatise.

But, to return to Gustavus Adolphus: Wallenstein is portrayed as a blood-sucking usurper who exploits the country and oppresses the population, no matter if friend or foe.⁴² In order to do that he gets support from sinister Southern European figures like the Italian Torquato di Conti who does not dare to fight an open battle against the 'lion from midnight'.⁴³ Instead they try to eliminate him with treason and deceitfulness – in vain of course. The death of the Swedish king in the battle of Lutzen is described by Scott in only two sentences, however she devotes more than one page to his personal qualities, mainly his humanity and his religiousness.⁴⁴ Nugent treats these events much more extensively. The attitude is basically the same. Torquato di Conti, who is not loved by his soldiers and is feared by the people, even gets the epithet of the devil – obviously the diametrical opposite of Gustavus Adolphus.⁴⁵ But – and attention has to be paid to that difference – in Nugent's work a more stereotypical male view of the war and his hero can be discerned. He devotes many pages to the detailed description of the campaigns and the different battles and sieges of the years 1630-32 – but never losing sight of the political dimensions of the events of the war. On the occasion of the battle of Lutzen Nugent sings an epic song:⁴⁶ on more than two pages he not only reports the death of the 'godlike hero, Gustavus Adolphus, the delight of his subjects, the terror of his enemies' and quotes his obligatory last words, he also recalls the 'brave and worthy commander' of the imperial troops, Lord Pappenheim, who also was mortally wounded at Lutzen.

The different ideas of war and history were not restricted to such sensitive topics as Gustavus Adolphus or the siege of Magdeburg.⁴⁷ Rather these attitudes characterised the complete treatise. For Nugent, who was much more familiar with continental court historiography, it was about striking out 'a history of ... powerful and warlike nations; a history representing the succession and memorable actions of their sovereigns'.⁴⁸ Scott however regrets that 'the history of Germany thus becomes entirely military; and consequently unentertaining'.⁴⁹

Has Sarah Scott been forgotten or marginalised?

Nugent's description was historically and scientifically better researched: he had the matchless advantage of studying the historians of Mecklenburg. But both authors were known to their contemporaries, and although there are no figures about the number of copies published, Scott's *History* experienced two editions within one year, Nugent's only one. Thus, at

the end a question has to be asked: has Sarah Scott been forgotten or marginalised? And if so, why did that happen? Today she is not one of the famous female authors of the eighteenth century. In Anglo-Saxon countries attention was paid to her in recent years only because of her novels. The *History of Mecklenburgh* satisfied only a short-term curiosity, a current interest in the new queen, not an interest in Mecklenburg. In Germany, even in Mecklenburg, Scott is forgotten. In 1944 she was still mentioned in a bibliography by Wilhelm Heess⁵⁰ and some short extracts were printed recently in a small anthology, edited by Jurgen Grambow.⁵¹ But serious historical and literary studies of her life and her works are still to come.

The reasons for the priority Nugent enjoys in Mecklenburg are easy to understand: his journey in the country made him popular and the official character of his *History* got him suitable patronage. He established personal relations not only with scholars, but also with Sophie Charlotte's brother, Duke Adolf Friedrich IV.⁵² The duke had already learned of Nugent and his work before, presumably from his ambassador Dewitz in London. He was in favour of the project and already in 1769, he engaged Andreas Gottlieb Masch the elder,⁵³ court chaplain in Neustrelitz, to do a translation of the *History*.⁵⁴ But it was never finished, or at least nothing was printed. Nevertheless, in 1781 a German edition of Nugent's letters on his journey was published and – the genre predestined for a literary success – established his fame in Germany. In England he was already well-known for the accounts of his travels.⁵⁵ In the year of his journey to Mecklenburg, Tobias Smollett's best-seller and trend-setter *Travels through France and Italy* appeared, in which Smollett fell back on Nugent's *Grand Tour*, published in 1749.⁵⁶ In 1768 – at the same time as Nugent's *Travels through Germany* – Lawrence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* was published.

But what was the situation with Sarah Scott's *History of Mecklenburgh*? The inability of a female author of historical works to find appreciation has already been mentioned, but it is now necessary to draw attention to two sets of suspicious circumstances. It has to be made clear that Nugent knew Sarah Scott, if not personally, then at least her *History of Mecklenburgh*. After all they had the same publisher, Dilly and Millar. Moreover, Dr. Christopher Nugent, a doctor practising in Bath until 1764, was probably a brother or cousin of Thomas and mentioned in his will.⁵⁷ In view of Sarah Scott's charitable commitment in her long-standing place of residence, they had almost certainly met. So the question has to be raised, why Nugent, studying the literature intensely, did not take the only recent

English book about his topic into account? Misogynous arrogance may have led him to disregard a woman, but there are hints that most likely personal vanity and loyalty were crucial. Nugent's reference to a hardly important 'count Schomberg' in connection with conflict in Mecklenburg in 1630/31 may be significant.⁵⁸ Some pages earlier, some light is cast on the matter by the dedication of a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus 'To Ralph Schomberg', doctor of medicine and 'Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries', from 'His most Humble & Obedient Servant Thomas Nugent'.⁵⁹ Obviously Nugent wanted to honour his friend and connect him – genealogically wrongly – to the family of Schomberg, which had numerous different branches in France and England, that produced many army officers and civil servants. Ralph Schomberg (1714-1792) had established himself as a doctor in Bath in the 1750s and 60s, dedicating himself also to his literary ambitions – however, with limited success: 'Even the all-swallowing vase at Bath Easton was found to nauseate our Doctors compositions', Baker judged twenty years after Schomberg's death.⁶⁰ Apart from that, he was soon notorious as a plagiarist.⁶¹ After he had embezzled money from a hospital fund, he had to leave Bath. Sarah Scott's literary reputation and her charitable commitment at her place of residence may have made her an enemy of Schomberg and because of that also of Nugent. But this is merely a speculation.

While Nugent's disregard can be explained by these personal reasons, the marginalizing of Sarah Scott by her contemporaries and following generations has other reasons. The main cause was the alleged proximity and sympathy of 'Blue Stocking' feminism to the French Revolution. In fact, all 'Blue Stockings' as well as Sarah distanced themselves early from the revolutionary events across the Channel, if they ever had any sympathies at all. In England from the middle of the 1790s, counter-revolutionary attitudes treated feminists as equivalent to Jacobins and the term 'Blue Stocking' connoted something negative until the twentieth century.⁶²

Notes

- 1 Ronald Stanley Neale, *Bath 1680-1850: A Social History, or A Valley of Pleasure, yet a Sink of Iniquity* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp.17-27, 171, 319-321. On p.317 Neale acknowledges that Sarah Scott was 'one of the two sisters whose correspondence sets much of the scene for the description of the company ...' in Bath.
- 2 For her as a person, see Liz Bellamy, 'Scott, Sarah', in Janet Todd (ed.), *Dictionary of British Women Writers* (Routledge, 1989), pp.598-599, in which some details are not correct; Gary Kelly, *Sarah Scott, Bluestocking Feminism*, vol.5 (Pickering & Chatto, 1999), pp.ix-xxvii; and for relevant literature, Holger Th. Gräf, 'SCOTT, Sarah, geb.

- Robinson, geb. 21.9.1720, get. 5.3.1721 York, gest. 3.11.1795 Catton bei Norwich', in *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg*, vol.3 (Rostock, 2001), pp.276-280. A first appreciation of her life and work from a feminist perspective was provided by Lynn M. Grow, 'Sarah Scott: A reconsideration', *Coranto. Journal of the friends of the libraries*, vol.9 (1973), pp.9-15. For a recent assessment see the entry by Gary Kelly in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 3 Elizabeth R. Napier, 'Sarah Scott (21 September 1723-30 November 1795)', *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol.39: *British Novelists, 1660-1800* (Gale Research Company, Detroit, Michigan, 1985), pp.413-418, especially 417-418.
 - 4 21 September 1723 has been given for Sarah Scott's birthdate since the publication of the letters of Elizabeth Montagu, Emily J. Climençon (ed.), *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Bluestockings: Her Correspondence from 1720-1761*, 2 vols. (Murray, 1906), here vol.1, pp.116-117. See, e.g. Walter Marion Crittenden, *The Life and Writings of Mrs. Sarah Scott*, Phil. Diss. Philadelphia, 1932, p.13 and Napier, 'Sarah Scott', *op.cit.*, pp.413-418. Only Betti Rizzo established the real date from the baptismal register, see the 'Introduction', in Betti Rizzo (ed.), *The History of George Ellison by Sarah Scott* (University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 1995), pp.xxxvii and xli.
 - 5 Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754-1790*, vol.3 (H.M.S.O., 1964), pp.367-368.
 - 6 *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), vol. 17 (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1917), pp.55-56.
 - 7 Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle. Women, Friendship, and Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990), pp.177-206, *passim*.
 - 8 Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.x.
 - 9 Namier and Brooke, *op.cit.*, p.153.
 - 10 Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.xiii; Rizzo, *op.cit.*, pp.xi-xii; Harcstark Myers, *op.cit.*, pp.96-102.
 - 11 Rizzo, *op.cit.*, p.xi. On the wedding market see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1989), pp.243-248 with appropriate comments on Elizabeth Montagu.
 - 12 Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.xiii.
 - 13 DNB, vol.17, p.961.
 - 14 Rizzo, *op.cit.*, p.xiv.
 - 15 See the list of her works in Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.xxiv.
 - 16 See the reviews in *Monthly Review* and in *Critical Review*, recorded in Rizzo, *op.cit.*, pp.xlii-xlv.
 - 17 See Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angelica. Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660-1800* (Virago, 1989), p.115.
 - 18 Apart from the relevant passages in Kelly and Rizzo see mainly Eve W. Stoddard, 'A Serious Proposal for Slavery Reform: Sarah Scott's Sir George Ellison', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol.28 (1995), pp.379-396.
 - 19 Nicole Pohl, ' "Sweet Place, where Virtue then did rest": The Appropriation of the Country-House Ethos in Sarah Scott's Millenium Hall', *Utopian Studies*, vol.7 (1996), pp.49-59; Alessa Johns, 'Journeying towards Identity: Sarah Fielding, Sarah Scott and Feminist Utopianism in Eighteenth-Century England', in Raffaella Baccolini et al. (eds.), *Viaggi in utopia* (Ravenna, 1996), pp.319-325; Alfred Lutz,

- 'Commercial Capitalism, Classical Republicanism, and the Man of Sensibility in The History of Sir George Ellison', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, vol.39 (1999), pp.557-574.
- 20 See Reinhart Koselleck, 'Historia Magistra Vitae. Über die Auflösung des Topos im Horizont neuzeitlich bewegter Geschichte', in Reinhart Koselleck (ed.), *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, 2nd. edn. (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1984), pp.38-66.
- 21 After the anonymous publication of her last historical work in 1772 her authorship became known. See Paget Toynbee (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, 16 vols. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1903-05), vol.VIII, p.170. Walpole had been acquainted with Sarah Scott for quite a long time, see the hand-written remark in his copy of the 2nd edn. of *Millenium Hall*, now in the British Museum. See John Doran, *A Lady of the Last Century (Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu)* (Richard Bentley, 1873), pp.104-105.
- 22 See the remarks of Horace Walpole in Toynbee, *op.cit.*, vol.VIII, p.170 as well as Peter D.G. Thomas, *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 23 See Angelika Schmiegelow Powell, 'Sophie Charlotte, geb. 19.5.1744, Mirow (Mecklenburg-Strelitz), gest. 17.11.1818 (in Kew Palace bei London)', in *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg*, vol.2 (Rostock, 1999), pp.243-247.
- 24 Walpole to H. Mann, Strawberry Hill, 9 July 1761 in Toynbee, *op.cit.*, vol.V, p.73.
- 25 Doran, *op.cit.*, pp.94-95.
- 26 Doran, *op.cit.*, pp.97-98.
- 27 Scott, *The History of Mecklenburg, from the First Settlement of the Vandals in that Country to the Present Time* (1762), pp.ix-x.
- 28 Nikolaus Marschalk, *Annales Herulorum ac Vandalorum libri septem* (Rostock, 1521). Probably the new edition by Ernst J. Westphalen, *Monumenta inedita rerum germanicarum praecipue Cimbricarum et megapolensium* (Leipzig, 1739), was better known to Sarah Scott.
- 29 Walter Harte, *The History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, surnamed, the Great*, 2 vols. (G. Hawkins, 1759).
- 30 Joseph Barre, *Histoire général d'Allemagne, 1648-1740*, 10 vols. (Desespine & Herissant, Paris, 1748).
- 31 Alan Valentine, *The British Establishment: 1760-1784. An Eighteenth-Century Biographical Dictionary*, vol.2 (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1970), names several current members of the Irish Nugent family.
- 32 See Thomas Nugent, *The History of Vandalia. Containing the Ancient and Present State of the Country of Mecklenburg; its Revolutions under the Vandals, the Venedi, and the Saxons. With the Succession and Memorable Actions of its Sovereigns*, 3 vols. (Hamilton, 1766-1773), vol.1, p.I. About Dewitz see Julius Freiherr von Maltzan (ed.), *Einige gute Mecklenburgische Männer* (Wismar, 1882), p.40-62. Dewitz presented his credentials in London on 13 December 1762 and had his last audience on 2 May 1765. See Friedrich Hausmann (ed.), *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden/Répertoire des représentants diplomatiques de tous les pays depuis la Paix de Westphalie*, vol.2: 1716-1763 (Zürich 1950), p.221.
- 33 See Niklot Klüßendorf, 'Aepinus, Angelinus Johann Daniel, geb. 10.5.1718 Rostock, gest. 28.2.1784 Rostock', in *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg*, vol.2 (Rostock, 1999), pp.14-17; Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany : Containing observations*

- on customs, manners, religion, government, commerce, arts, and antiquities; With a particular Account of the courts of Mecklenburg ; in a Series of Letters to a Friend (1768; translation into German, Berlin 1781-82; new edition Schwerin 1998), pp.108-115 and 123-127.
- 34 Nugent, *Travels*, *op.cit.*, especially pp.199 and 279-281; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol.3 (reprint, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 1967), pp.480-481.
- 35 See Matthias J. Behr, *Rerum Meckleburgicarum libri octo* (Leipzig, 1741); Samuel Buchholtz, *Versuch in der Geschichte des Herzogthums Meklenburg* (Rostock, 1753); Hans Henrich Klüver, *Beschreibung des Herzogthums Mecklenburg* (Hamburg, 1728-1729); and in particular David Franck, *Alt- und Neues Mecklenburg* (Leipzig, 1753-1757); also Niklot Klüßendorf, 'Franck, David', *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg*, vol.2 (Rostock, 1999), pp.77-83. See other literary sources on Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.1, Appendix iv, pp.451-452.
- 36 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.7; Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, p.2.
- 37 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, p.5.
- 38 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.8.
- 39 A barrel containing 322 litres in the Hanseatic area.
- 40 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.3, pp.286-287.
- 41 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, p.263.
- 42 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, pp.246-249.
- 43 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, pp.250-252.
- 44 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, pp.271-272.
- 45 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.3, pp.272-273.
- 46 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.3, pp.300-301.
- 47 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, pp.260-261 and Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.3, pp.281-282.
- 48 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.v.
- 49 Scott, *History*, *op.cit.*, pp.xi.
- 50 Wilhelm Heess, *Geschichtliche Bibliographie von Mecklenburg* (Rostock, 1944), 1st part, p.257.
- 51 Jürgen Grambow, *Die Rostocker Sieben und andere Merkwürdigkeiten*, 2nd ed. (Rostock, 2000), pp.27-29.
- 52 Nugent, *Reisen*, *op.cit.*, p.145. Nugent presented the duke with a copy of the first volume of the *History* and was therefore received by him in Neustrelitz and Mirow several times; see pp.166-168, 172-173, 287-289.
- 53 See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, *op.cit.*, vol.20, pp.550-551.
- 54 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.vii.
- 55 See Erwin Neumann, 'Ein aufgeklärter Ire in Mecklenbburg. Thomas Nugents "Travels through Germany" und ihre deutsche Übersetzung', in Wolfgang Griep (ed.), *Sehen und Beschreiben. Europäische Reisen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Heide, 1991), pp.185-196 here p.194.
- 56 Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour; or a journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France*, 4 vols. (1749, and two further eds.).
- 57 Valentine, *op.cit.*, pp.653-654, and DNB. Nugent, Christopher (1698-1775), doctor, born in Ireland, practised in Bath until 1764. There, in 1756, Edmund Burke got to know his daughter, whom he later married.
- 58 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p.275.
- 59 Nugent, *History*, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p.263.

- 60 David Erskine Baker, *Biographia dramatica or a Companion to the Playhouse*, 3 vols. (Longman, 1812), recorded in British Biographical Archive, New York 1999. See A. Barbeau, *Life and Letters at Bath in the 18th Century* (William Heinemann, 1904), pp.224-229, for an account of the Bath Easton Vase, into which poems were placed to be drawn out and read at literary gatherings at Batheaston Villa.
- 61 Alexander Chalmers, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, 32 vols. (London, 1812-1817), recorded in British Biographical Archive, New York 1999.
- 62 Harcstark Myers, *op.cit.*, Epilogue and Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.xx.

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