

Elizabeth Montagu's Study of Cicero's Life:
The Formation of an Eighteenth-Century Woman's Rhetorical Identity*

Popular eighteenth-century British biographies of Cicero had a significant impact on the rhetorical identity formation of one of the architects of the eighteenth century's literary public sphere in Britain, Elizabeth Montagu. By tracing connections between her discussion of Cicero and Atticus in her early rhetorical education and some aspects of her subsequent rhetorical practice, we can begin to understand how representations of Cicero's life had a far-reaching impact on how this woman and her society viewed rhetorical life. Through her comparative study of biographies and letters of the Roman rhetorician Cicero and his friend Atticus, Elizabeth Montagu constructed a rhetorical identity and a broad understanding of rhetorical culture that enabled her to transcend the conventional limits of female ethos in her society.

Many of Montagu's contemporaries believed that while rhetorical theories and exercises played an important role in education, a "civic" identity of a rhetor could not be acquired merely by learning the systemic theories and strategies of language use that have often been considered the heart of rhetoric. They claimed that a conscious civic purpose and identity was also necessary. As is written in the *English Theophrastus* (1702),

It is Liberty alone which inspires Men with lofty Thoughts, and elevates their Souls to a higher Pitch, than Rules of Art can direct. Books of Rhetorick make Men Copious and Methodical; but they alone can never infuse that true Enthusiastick Rage which Liberty breath[e]s into their Souls who enjoy it, and which, guided by a sedate Judgment, will carry Men further than the greatest Industry, and the quickest Parts that can go without it.¹

These educational practices were not separate from the *traditional* rhetorical tradition—they were not part of an entirely different rhetorical culture. Sometimes these practices involved very careful engagement with contemporary theories of rhetoric or debates about rhetorical history, as one may see in Elizabeth Montagu's engagement with Cicero.

Like Elizabeth Montagu and many of her contemporaries, my approach to the history of rhetorical education acknowledges that there are at least two overlapping and mutually reinforcing objects and processes of rhetorical study: *phronesis*, a meta-rhetoric which helps us better understand

* Smith, Tania. "Elizabeth Montagu's Study of Cicero's Life: The Formation of an Eighteenth-Century Woman's Rhetorical Identity." *Rhetorica* 26.2 (2008). Author's final proof (forthcoming).

our rhetorical contexts and the rhetorical identities that may be valued within them, and *techne*, a strategic rhetoric which provides us with a growing store of discursive tools and conventions for achieving rhetorical aims.² As for strategic rhetoric, Elizabeth certainly learned how Cicero structured his epistolary rhetoric (as much as could be observed through English translation and a biographer's explicit analytical commentary on Cicero's eloquence), and one could demonstrate her imitation and departure from his arrangement and style. But her growing ability to analyze and creatively imitate Cicero's arrangement and style, though valuable in itself, is not the central thesis of this essay, and was not her central interest in Ciceronian rhetoric. While reading about Cicero and his contemporaries, Elizabeth focused on learning the bases of Cicero's and Atticus's rhetorical identities: their social contexts, rhetorical intentions and *ethos*. In short, Elizabeth was learning rhetorical *phronesis*.

Rhetorical formation through *phronesis* is a process of enculturation, not just of critical reading and imitation of literary characters. As such, Elizabeth Montagu's rhetorical formation was not just about strategically crafting her own identity but about the rhetorical possibilities and limitations for such an identity within a wide network of social relationships among men and women in her present society. Her rhetorical roles within a network of social resources and constraints is what Middleton's biography of Cicero helped her to perceive.

Elizabeth Montagu's Life and Rhetorical Contributions

Elizabeth Montagu and other "Bluestockings" (the eighteenth-century nickname of the male and female members of intellectual conversational networks established by Montagu and her contemporaries) played a central role in creating the intellectual milieu in which eighteenth-century literature and culture developed. These eighteenth century salons and correspondence networks became informal rhetorical schools and venues of rhetorical performance. Montagu's development as the most eminent facilitator of Bluestocking salons laid a foundation for other rhetors' formation under her influence.

The young Elizabeth, whose maiden name was Robinson, was born in 1720 and grew up with seven brothers, all of whom received their education at Cambridge; they became lawyers, politicians, scholars, and a ship captain. At the age of twenty-two, Elizabeth Robinson married Mr. Edward Montagu,

a wealthy Cambridge mathematician who had a seat in parliament. He also owned a coal mine that near the end of her life, greatly due to her management of the business, gave her as much wealth as Eton College, equalling the richest members of the aristocracy.³

Elizabeth Montagu became a prolific and influential author. In 1769 she published a scholarly critique of Shakespeare that compared the bard with Greek and French dramatists and defended him from the attacks of Voltaire, and this went into six English editions, and a French and an Italian translation.⁴ She collaborated with her friend Sir George Lyttelton on his *Dialogues of the Dead* and wrote three of the dialogues herself; she also contributed her thoughts on ornament to the fourth edition of Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism*.⁵

However, while Elizabeth Montagu's published work gave her the name of author and enhanced her public ethos, her letters may have enacted the more personal and powerful rhetorical influence. There are more than 6,000 letters to or from her in archives; the Huntington Library alone has 3,300 letters by Montagu and several thousand addressed to her. The fact that her letters were treasured by recipients is a witness to the value that many of her correspondents accorded to her epistolary eloquence and social eminence.⁶ Her letters engage in literary, educational, religious, and political discourse which had an influence on the men and women in her circle. Elizabeth Eger says that in her letters we can see her "manipulat[ing] the market forces of the literary profession, for herself and on behalf of others" and "creating a literary community of both sexes."⁷ Eger views Elizabeth Montagu as a shaping influence on the three discursive spheres in which women forged social and intellectual relationships with each other: correspondence, patronage, and conversation. Her correspondence reveals she was close friends with The Duchess of Portland (Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley), the religious writer and poet Gilbert West, the actor David Garrick, the aging politician Lord Bath, and the famed politician and writer Edmund Burke, among others. When her nephew Matthew published a collection of her letters shortly after her death, he claimed that "The scholar and the statesman were alike desirous of her society [. . .] She was permitted to entwine her myrtle with the bays of the poet, to share the counsels of the politician, and to estimate the works of the historian, the critic, and the orator."⁸

The Significance of Middleton's Life of Cicero

Conyers Middleton's biography, *The History of the Life of Cicero* (1741),⁹ details the life and times of the ancient Roman rhetorician, lawyer and politician Marcus Tullius Cicero. The biography was so popular—and controversial—that it had gone through eight London editions by 1767. Middleton's accuracy, style and moral objectivity as a biographer was debated in letters and pamphlets within his own century,¹⁰ and he had political and religious motives for praising the pagan hero as he did.¹¹ The present cloud of disrepute under which the *Life of Cicero* now sits is a testament to the rhetorical nature of historiography. Political and cultural uses of rhetorical history naturally bring out counter-arguments that revise the way a whole culture perceives politics, rhetoric and individual agency.

Despite the decade and a half of debate following Middleton's panegyric, which resulted in widespread questioning of the republican Roman myth-history,¹² his biography of Cicero was useful and empowering as a tool for rhetorical education, providing facts and interpretations to sift through, as well as high ideals for inspiration. Middleton's work strongly influenced not only Elizabeth Montagu's early life, but also the rhetorical identity formation of the early American statesman John Adams, as revealed in Adams' autobiography.¹³

Middleton's text was a mixture of popular genres such as collections of familiar correspondence, the burgeoning genre of handbooks and essays on everyday conversation and conduct, scholarly historical treatises, and texts on the art of rhetoric. *The Life of Cicero* narrated both the public and private oral and written discourse of the heroic classical orator and his contemporaries, providing readers with an interpretation of the ways in which this hero, his friends and enemies formed their identities and goals, developed their verbal skills and strategies, and interacted with others within their private and public social contexts. His narrative interweaves the familiar discourse of his hero's letters with the great historical events and speeches, framing them with moral and political reflections and rhetorical criticism. The neo-Ciceronian rhetorical identity posited by Middleton and his republican contemporaries valorized rhetoric's public, ethical ends and promised individuals that through the achievement of this holistic eloquence, they could obtain well-earned fame in the eyes of the public, both present and future.

Enlightenment classical histories and translations of Cicero, such as Middleton's biography, emphasized the fact that Cicero developed and

deployed his rhetorical art not only through practicing public oratory and studying ancient theories of rhetoric, but through reading, letter-writing, informal conversation and disputation. Cicero's *De Officiis*, which was translated and printed in English far more frequently during the enlightenment than Cicero's rhetorical work *De Oratore*, expresses the idea that there are two kinds of rhetoric, one for the public sphere, and one adapted to conversation. The 1723 translation by L'Estrange expresses Cicero thus:

As to the matter of Speech, the Power of it is Great; and it is also Two-fold. The One is a Speech of Contention; the Other, of Common discourse. The Former is for the Barr, for Publick Assemblies, and for the Senate; the Other, is for Private Sets of Company, casual disputes, Meetings of Friends and Acquaintance, and likewise for Table Conversation. The Masters of Rhetorick have given Precepts for the Former, but we have none for the Latter; altho' perhaps, that might be done too. For if men would but apply themselves to the Study of it, they would never want Masters to Teach it. But there's no body that concerns himself to learn this. And yet we are all of us Mad upon Rhetorick; altho', for what concerns words, and conceits, the same Rules would serve Both.¹⁴

In a culture with these beliefs about the two realms of rhetoric it might have seemed to Elizabeth Montagu as if she and Cicero could comfortably become acquainted in a drawing room salon or across the dinner table, sharing and comparing rhetorical theories about the conversational realm and the realm of the law courts.

The wider debate surrounding Middleton's *Life of Cicero* influenced not only his culture's beliefs about the rhetorical nature of genres such as conversation and letters, but heightened his culture's interest in the ethical dispositions of the rhetor. This was an age of intense discussion regarding the definition and formation of private and public virtue.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Elizabeth Montagu's mature reflections on rhetoric and rhetorical education contain strong elements of neo-Ciceronian rhetorical *phronesis* as well as contemporary notions of virtue. When Elizabeth Montagu was about 38 years old, she played the role of rhetorician and instructor when advising her friend's son, Thomas Lyttelton, about his rhetorical formation. She recommended that he learn eloquence from studying ancient literature, especially the examples of Demosthenes and Cicero:

As to the particular study of eloquence I need hardly exhort you to it, for eloquence is not only the most beautiful of all the daughters of wisdom, but has also the best dowry; and we may say of her, as Solomon did of her mother, riches and honours are in her right hand. —Elevation of sentiment, and dignity of language are necessary to make an orator; modern life and modern language will hardly inspire you with either. I look upon virtue as the muse of eloquence, she inspired the philippics of the Grecian and Roman orator, her voice awakened Rome, slumbering in the snares of Catiline. Public spirit will teach the art of public speaking better than the rules of rhetoric, but, above all things, the character of the orator gives persuasion, grace, and dignity to the oration.¹⁵

Although uniquely expressed here by Montagu, these ideas about an education in rhetoric and eloquence can also be found in the writing of many other Enlightenment writers from René Rapin¹⁶ to Vicesimus Knox.¹⁷

To espouse a “republican virtue” approach towards eloquence was important to Montagu’s political identity as one sympathetic to Whig politics. As Adam Potkay has revealed through the writing of poets and politicians of the 1730s and 1740s, “Classical eloquence [was] viewed by Opposition writers not simply as a technique, but as a comprehensive ethos.”¹⁸

Elizabeth Montagu, whose republican political leanings and high opinion for classical literature would not allow her to repudiate the “rules of rhetoric,” nevertheless questioned the role of rhetorical theories in relationship to “eloquence,” the term commonly used to praise excellent oratory and public spirit. Her letter to Lyttelton’s son reflects that she believed the key to the development of eloquence lay in the “inspiration” afforded by a particular type of study of rhetorical history which she herself engaged in as a young woman.

As we shall see, her study of contemporary biographies of Cicero, and translations of texts by and about Cicero, enabled her to achieve a comparative and critical awareness of “modern” life and language, and to construct a sense of rhetorical identity and agency as a woman of the upper-middle ranks during the reign of George II. As Elizabeth Montagu hinted in her letter to Lyttelton’s son, “Modern life and modern language” proffered certain types of limited rhetorical identities to men and women that were largely “uninspiring” to her. In her culture, a woman’s virtue was defined primarily by chastity, piety and modesty. In contrast, her reflection on rhetorical history and contemporary life built within her a strong sense of

publicly virtuous, civic rhetorical intentions to awaken and inspire others, and thus to be in the lives of others a daughter of wisdom, a muse of civic eloquence. The aspects of rhetorical formation she valued — “character,” “virtue,” “public spirit” — these she understood as the best “teacher” of eloquent speech and writing. They were, in her opinion, more necessary to the art of eloquence than “the rules of [technical] rhetoric.”

Elizabeth Montagu's Early Study of Cicero's Life

When she began reading biographies of Cicero such as Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, Elizabeth was conscious of studying the life and writings of a famous orator and rhetorician in order to equip herself for her future rhetorical practice. She soon learned that in her letters and conversations, she could participate in current debates about Cicero's virtue and Middleton's faithfulness and bias as biographer. Through her wider reading of the debates surrounding the *Life of Cicero*, she discovered how her contemporaries conceived of the relevance of Cicero's life and work to current political issues, gender identities, and discursive practices.

In 1741, the year before her marriage, the year Middleton's work was published, Elizabeth carefully read and discussed various biographies and letters of Cicero and Atticus. Her letters refer to *The Life of Atticus* translated from Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch's *Lives*, and *Observations on the Life of Cicero* by George Lyttelton, all of which were published before Middleton's work.¹⁹ By the amount and frequency with which Elizabeth wrote on the topic of Middleton's *Life of Cicero* at this time, and her descriptions of solitary study, one can tell she was gradually becoming more absorbed in the text and actively engaged in researching and debating the issues it raised.

While these books could be considered her curriculum, equally important were her teachers and peers and the social situation which focused her attention on her studies. While her sister was sick with smallpox, she boarded with a country family, and she brought her books on Cicero with her, including Middleton's. She corresponded with two female friends who were also reading Middleton's *Cicero*--The Duchess of Portland (a married noblewoman six or seven years her senior) and Anne Donnellan (a friend of the composer Handel and a correspondent of Jonathan Swift). She also mentioned her thoughts on Cicero in letters to her uncle the Rev. William Friend, who became Dean of Canterbury in 1760.

Elizabeth's close relationship to the author of *The Life of Cicero* was particularly significant. It gave her a personal, family interest in reading his book thoroughly. Conyers Middleton (1683-1750), a fellow and Principal Librarian of Cambridge university, had a close relationship with Elizabeth Montagu. He was her grandmother's second husband. For much of her life Elizabeth's family spent summers at the estate her mother inherited near Coveney in Cambridgeshire, and it was at Conyers Middleton's home where Elizabeth's mother gave birth to her younger brothers. In a letter to Montagu on her marriage, Middleton claimed that he and his university took credit for her education as well as her husband's, and praised her for her skill in descriptive letter-writing.²⁰

As I shall argue below, Elizabeth's attitudes toward Cicero progressed through several stages, from an growing intellectual and personal interest in debating Cicero's character, to a strong preference for the character of Atticus, to a reconsideration of Cicero's merits, and then gradually to identification with him and justification of their shared character weaknesses. Each phase had an influence on her later rhetorical character and beliefs.

Phase One: interest in debating Cicero's character

Knowing Middleton's love of debate encouraged Elizabeth to critique his book and learn through resisting and questioning its claims. Grandfather Conyers and his scholarly Cambridge friends would often hold conversations and informal debates at his home. Elizabeth's nephew Matthew tells us that her grandfather Middleton would often command her to observe closely and summarize the conversations that she overheard in his company, insisting that even though she understood little of them at her age, she would gain habits of attention by this means.²¹

In *The Life of Cicero*, Middleton depicted the ancient orator's conversation parties very much like the philosophical debates he had with his Cambridge friends that he invited young Elizabeth to observe. His text reinforced in her mind the philosophical and educational significance of conversational among intellectuals. Middleton describes in this way the social situation that originated Cicero's work called *Tusculan Disputations*:

It was his custom in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country; where instead of amusing themselves with idle sports or feasts their diversions were wholly speculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the

understanding. [...] they used to retire in the afternoon into a Gallery, called the Academy, which he had built for the purpose of Philosophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held a School, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject, that they desired to hear explained; which being proposed accordingly by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate.²²

Thus, despite the historical distance between Elizabeth's life and Cicero's, she expressed to her correspondent Anne a great interest and absorption in studying Cicero and Atticus. During her enforced exile away from her sister's smallpox, she missed her friends and family. She complained to Anne Donnellan, "I am forced to go back to former ages for my companions; Cicero, and Plutarch's heroes are my only company. Pray how do you and Tully agree? I have taken a great fancy to his friend Atticus."²³ Ten days later she wrote "I am left wholly to myself and my books, and both, I own, too little possess me entirely."²⁴

Anne Donnellan mentored Elizabeth through correspondence by modeling the ethos of a critical thinker and researcher. While they were at different phases of reading, they welcomed each other into their processes of reading, conversing about, and reflecting upon their developing understanding of Cicero. Anne said she had "read no further than Cicero's consulship" in Middleton's work by April 15, 1741. She heightened Elizabeth's awareness of the controversy about Middleton's portrayal and Cicero's character by reporting a recent conversation she had had with the Bishop of Oxford, his wife Mrs. Secker, and the devout Miss Catherine Talbot.²⁵ Anne reported that they "seemed to think Dr. Middleton was not so much the historian as the Panegyrist of Cicero." To Anne, Cicero seemed "too like a modern Lawyer who pleads all causes good or bad that gets him interest which was money to them; but when I have read the whole I will read St. Real [translator of Atticus and Cicero's letters] again, and then I will tell you more of my mind."²⁶ In reply, Elizabeth then confessed her resolution to discover the grounds for an accurate moral criticism of Cicero's biography and letters. Writing two days after receipt of Anne's letter, Elizabeth expressed the need to discuss Cicero in her letters. In regard to his character, she said, "I mistrust my opinion, doubt my judgment, but have no one to set me right in them."²⁷ She observed that Anne was behind her in the reading, still "in the meridian of Tully's glory." Elizabeth warned her friend that as she read on, she would find more in Cicero's character that was

blamable. "I own I am much offended at his vanity, and surprised at his timidity; such a desire of glory, and fear of death, seem strangely united as likewise his love of country and submission to the tyrants of it." Elizabeth's curiosity was piqued by the apparent contradictions of his character. She also had personal reasons for studying his epistolary style: "I have such a desire to know [Cicero], that I intend to read, with great attention, all his epistles, for I find by those Dr. Middleton has inserted in his work, that he writes very freely to his friends."²⁸

Elizabeth imitated the form of the Tusculan disputations in her home schooling as she engaged in a household debate about the character of Cicero and described the debate in her letters. Elizabeth was not very warm or serious in her opinions of Cicero at first, using the debate on Cicero's character as an intellectual game that would refine her verbal skills. One day, seeing Middleton's book on the table occasioned two hours of entertaining conversation among her hosts, herself and her sister. Her own rhetorical strategy at first, appropriately feminine in her culture but quite different from Cicero's, was to "be very cautious as to [her] conversation," to modestly conceal from her hosts her deep knowledge of the subject, and express her opinions while avoiding the appearance of "all positive affirmation" in her discourse style. However, she noticed that this mode crippled the intellectual edge of conversation so that it never really progressed to a firm conclusion nor went beneath the surface of one opinion or the other. The topic was engaging, but the partners were not strongly committed to their stances and therefore the logic and purpose suffered, even though it was entertaining: "we condemned Cicero for folly, Cato for cowardice, Brutus for subjection, Cassius for gaiety; and then we talked it all back again, and left them the very men we found them; for you must know there are persons who, if no one will contradict them, will contradict themselves rather than not debate."²⁹ Elizabeth herself, hungry for some intellectual exercise and pleased with her sister's participation, loved the debate, was unsure of her opinions about Cicero anyway, and was willing to contradict her own assertions to test which opinion was more defensible.

Elizabeth's narrative of the debate illustrates her process of negotiation between culturally masculine and feminine styles and topics of rhetoric in the sphere of conversation. Her interest in scholarly disputation reveals she was at home with the mode of discourse she observed among the male members of her family. On the other hand, she displayed a feminine caution and avoidance of positive affirmation.

Similarly, in Elizabeth Montagu's mature rhetorical practice as facilitator of the Bluestocking conversational salon, she demonstrated a creative combination of culturally masculine and feminine styles and topics. Literature and scholarship were on the menu; if politics were discussed at all, it was indirectly through discussing literature and history, much like the discussion of biographies of Cicero. Like Cicero's sophistic school of both entertaining and serious debates, her larger parties were focused on verbal entertainment and intellectual enlightenment, while she engaged in more sensitive political and personal discussions only privately and in letters with her closer friends and family. Deborah Heller has highlighted how Elizabeth spoke longer, almost oratorical, speeches in her salons and continued to use the model of intellectual debate even as tastes in women's discourse were shifting to more heavily emphasize softness and agreeableness. Her stereotypically unfeminine, yet powerfully engaging leadership strategy excited both admiration and criticism in her audience.

Phase two: admiration for Atticus

It is no surprise that Elizabeth did not staunchly defend a strong opinion of Cicero in a mock debate—she was at first far more interested in his friend, Atticus. Indeed, when Elizabeth began reading Middleton, she was already under the influence of Cornelius Nepos's life of Atticus and George Lyttelton's pamphlet criticizing Cicero. In a letter to the Duchess of Portland a week before the debate above, she had highly recommended that the duchess continue to read the *Life of Cicero* but also obtain a copy of the pamphlet by Lyttelton, since "I think one loves to hear what is said on both sides."³⁰ As a result, she at first believed Atticus to be more virtuous than Cicero.

Elizabeth's early respect for the character of Atticus, and later for Cicero, also parallel her internal negotiation between culturally feminine and masculine, private and public rhetorical identities. Elizabeth could more easily identify with Atticus because she shared many of the socially acceptable traits and values the biographers attributed to him. In an earlier letter to Anne Donnellan on April 20, 1741, Elizabeth explained to her friend that she admired the fact that Atticus belonged to no political party or faction, that he never grovelled to beg for favors from the great, that he was generous to his friends and enemies in their distress. Atticus was able to befriend men who were rivals to each other, and thereby make peace between them. These characteristics also happened to be virtues

recommended to women in contemporary didactic literature. In an early eighteenth-century English translation, Cornelius Nepos says Atticus gained his friends “by the obliging Air of his Conversation” and treated people with familiarity regardless of their rank.³¹

Atticus exemplified the classical Roman association between private friendship and public citizenship, encouraging Elizabeth to see herself acting in a public role despite the fact she could not hold public office to attend to “the general care of the republic.” Middleton shows Cicero’s deep appreciation for Atticus’s conversation, which may have inspired her to later pursue intellectual conversational friendships that would be appreciated by politicians, authors, and artists. He translates Cicero’s letter thanking Atticus for sharing his political joys and sorrows, applauding his successes, comforting him in distress and fear, advising him on what he should do, and enjoying familiar chat: “In short, neither my labors, nor rest; neither in business, nor retirement; neither in the Forum, nor at home; neither in public, nor in private affairs, can I live any longer without your friendly counsel, and endearing conversation.”³² In this letter Cicero also praises Atticus for being his equal in honor and virtue although Atticus chooses to live in retirement.

As a result of this influence, what Elizabeth wrote of Atticus in 1741 could have later been applied to her own character in her maturity:

He applied himself not at all to the general care of the republic, but only to the relief of particular persons' calamity, so that I think he cannot be reckoned a patriot, but a general friend to his fellow-citizens.³³

Like Atticus, Elizabeth Montagu had such attractive wit and charm in conversation that she drew both men and women into her early friendships and her conversational salons throughout her life. According to Nepos, Atticus “received men of all Conditions at his House with a liberal Hospitality” and instead of music at parties he had a reader recite literature to his guests.³⁴

Phase three: reconsideration of Cicero’s merits

Elizabeth’s correspondence revealed that gradually she began to reconsider the value of Cicero’s patriotism and political accomplishments. The reasons for Cicero’s fame became a counterpoint to his apparent vanity and ambition. Elizabeth began to recognize the complexity of rhetorical identity and action that could leave one open to both praise and blame. She

considered the degree to which one's intentions and the overall outcomes of one's rhetorical action carried weight despite one's human character weaknesses.

At the time of first reading and discussing Cicero, near the beginning of the European War of the Austrian Succession, Elizabeth was becoming more aware of her own political environment and how it compared with ancient Rome. Her early criticisms of Cicero may have been a way in which she resisted acknowledging the fact that she had ambitions and character traits similar to Cicero's, and was somehow simultaneously attracted and repelled by elements of his life and character. Elizabeth used Cicero's negative examples to articulate her own pacifist definition of citizenship in contrast to the portrait of Roman political life offered by her grandfather-mentor Middleton. To Rev. Friend she writes,

Dr. Middleton's life of Cicero has led us among the heroes of antiquity, but I am sick of those votaries of ambition, who sacrifice to the furious grasp of power the peace of nations, the life of millions, the happiness of mankind, the welfare of their country, and the rights of posterity. They are not my true heroes who cry havoc, and let loose the dogs of war. The wise disinterested patriot, who guards the safety of his country by his vigilance, is the man made in the image of his Maker, and a far better citizen than the ambitious man, who enlarges its dominion.³⁵

Despite her distaste for the wars of ancient Rome, the further Elizabeth read in Middleton's biography of Cicero, the more she admired both Atticus and Cicero and sympathized with their desire to see their republic flourish, just as she desired her own nation to flourish.

This same letter to Rev. Friend reveals a turning point in her attitude toward Cicero and to her own rhetorical identity. Elizabeth once again debated the virtues and vices of Cicero, and acknowledged she was playfully displaying her ability to argue both sides of the question: "You will wonder that I should say so much against ambition; if it does not please you, I will say twice as much in its praise as I have in its defamation, for I should be extremely loath not to be thought expert in both."³⁶ But during this debate she began to see that her own ambitions for fame were mirrored in Cicero's. Right after reflecting on the ambition of the ancient Romans, she lamented how easily both the famous and infamous women are forgotten:

If ever ambition is to be excused, it is in a little woman, who must stand upon an eminence to become conspicuous; one who finds herself so empty she must have vanity to bear her out. Riches make life easy, greatness makes it honourable, but what can fame do? Does it comfort the ear that cannot hear it? Do laurel wreathes adorn the head long since buried, or statues glad the eye that is shut for ever? ... Alas! That the ghost of Lucretia, and the Wife of Bath, should dispute *le pas* on the banks of Styx, and have no herald of renown to decide it by our court of honour.³⁷

In the passage above, Elizabeth discerned the injustice of allowing a person's gender to eclipse their rhetorical fame. During Cicero's lifetime he enjoyed his fame, while famous Roman women like Lucretia (and perhaps she was also thinking of Cicero's daughter, Tullia) did not have the same pleasure of hearing their virtues and talents extolled and vindicated in public during their lives. Even Admiral Vernon, she reasoned, caught up in political controversy after his 1739 victory at Porto Bello, could hope to "enjoy the best bliss this world affords—the reflection of conscious goodness" and the approbation of those who judged his character fairly.³⁸

Elizabeth found herself caught between the Roman value for public fame, which inspired patriotic behavior in men such as Admiral Vernon, and her culture's Christian suspicion of ambition for public fame, especially in women. As a woman, could she dare aspire to this masculine fame, this blissful significance? She confided to Rev. Friend her hopes and fears, comparing her unknown future to a nautical voyage toward a well-deserved fame. Vaguely hinting at her marital prospects, Elizabeth pondered who would be her steady pilot through the ocean of fortune: "without such a guide, can I avoid the gulph of misfortune, the barking of envy, the deceits of the Syrens, and the hypocrisy of Proteus? So I wait on shore, scarce looking towards this land of promise, so few I find with whom I would risk the voyage."³⁹ The metaphor, borrowed from her discussion of Admiral Vernon's failed nautical campaign to Carthage, applied to her own risk in a future marriage. With such a small dowry, how could she obtain her desire for financial security and social significance in her marriage? Appropriate to her metaphors of oceanic exploits, the very summer before her marriage, her father took her out on a horseback ride to see some land of interest to himself, the ocean, and the distant view of France beyond. She hinted to her father that she would like to own some property, but he did not perceive the hint. In frustration she wrote to the Duchess of this incident in 1741, "Is it not a sad

thing to be brought up in the patriot din of liberty and property, and to be allowed neither?"⁴⁰ As she was "brought up in the patriot din of liberty and property," Cicero's rhetorical life whetted Elizabeth's thirst for a similar kind of fame and persuasive power as Cicero's.

Phase four: identification with Cicero

By the end of the summer of 1741, Elizabeth had settled her doubts about Cicero and could fully identify with his ambitious character. She had found a way to reconcile her respect for Roman public rhetoric and ambitious patriotism with her desire for a Christian reputation of private feminine virtue. By writing in Cicero's defense, she became more aware of and accepted her desire to shine in conversation, to become famous by means of her own rhetorical and critical talents, and to bring glory to her country as Cicero had done by his life and writings—without losing Christian humility and feminine modesty. Her admiration for Cicero grew despite the fact that his reputation and authority were continually under attack during his life and afterwards, and despite the fact that she as a woman was allowed neither liberty nor property other than what a father's or husband's generosity would give. Her thirst for fame was tempered with the sober understanding that her weaknesses of character, her ambition and vanity, were similar to Cicero's, and that she faced additional challenges and restrictions as a woman without a title to liberty, property, or direct access to influence in the political public sphere. She realized how much her sphere of freedom and her own reputation for virtue would depend on a judicious marriage to a husband with "established fortune, and character so established that one piece of generosity should not hurt his fortune, nor one act of indiscretion prejudice his character."⁴¹

This phase of Elizabeth's rhetorical identity formation proceeded not through an even, two-sided debate, but through writing epideictic rhetoric in praise and defense of Cicero. While she encouraged the Duchess of Portland to make up her own mind, in her letter on August 2, 1741 Elizabeth provided five pages' worth of her arguments on behalf of Cicero in which she contradicted her criticisms of Cicero's vanity she had expressed on April 20, 1741 to Anne Donnellan. She was now more firmly convinced that Middleton's portrait of Cicero was that of a truly heroic man, even if she was not certain of the accuracy of the historical facts and translations, not being a classical scholar herself. She defended Cicero's reputed vanity and ambition on the grounds that they were natural side effects of his strong desire to do

great deeds for his nation and his fellow citizens. His dejection under misfortunes, she argued, was due to his affection for his family and his lack of Christian faith.

In her defense of Cicero, Elizabeth demonstrated a growing understanding of the influence of politics and culture on history-writing, the factors that produced such apparently contradictory portraits of Cicero over the centuries. She explained that history did not honor Cicero as much as he deserved because at first, at his death the people's fear of the emperor Augustus would not allow it, and later, because of the degeneration of the Roman empire: "soon there was not eloquence enough left among the Romans to praise his [love of liberty] as it deserved."⁴² Her letter shows she understood the restorative justice that Middleton's eloquent biography brought to Cicero's fame, and the importance of historical epideictic and forensic rhetoric (about past deeds and character) to the strength of a society. The epideictic rhetoric of history and biography suggests or critiques models for contemporary creative emulation. The eloquent defense of a good character during his or her life and the eloquent praise of a good person's moral qualities after his or her death encourages similar actions and characteristics in others as they come to form their civic identities and rhetorical aims and skills. It is likely that the *Life of Cicero* inspired her vindication of Shakespeare. For a similar reason, later in life Elizabeth would seriously consider writing a biography of her namesake, Queen Elizabeth.

The influence of Cicero and his contemporaries on her civic rhetorical identity was still strong after Elizabeth's marriage. Elizabeth was fortunate enough to gain access to a more public life than most of her female peers in her rank when she married in 1742. Mr. Edward Montagu, nearly thirty years her senior, did not marry her for money; in Elizabeth's letters we see a representation of a husband who was proud to have such a wife so eminent for her vivacious wit and practical discernment, one who understood politics and had a similar aversion to the baser forms of rhetoric and scheming that went on in parliament. In a letter to Rev. Friend shortly after her marriage, she bubbled over with excitement and happiness at her liberty to interweave her life with conversation, current political affairs, and classical literature.

Elizabeth's marriage brought rhetorical opportunities to exercise her Neo-Ciceronian ethos, but also brought its challenges. As a patriot, Elizabeth was disappointed when Edward became disaffected with what he observed in the political sphere, chose to spend more time in private study, and shirked his duty of being present in parliament. In 1751 she wrote from her

London residence in Hill-street to persuade Mr. Montagu to become more involved in politics by intimating the great good he could do for the state, and providing him with political news that might inspire him. When she received word he was coming, she began her reply by freely chiding him in good humor: "I am glad you are so far tired of your monastic life, as to think of returning to the secular state of a husband and member of parliament."⁴³

Elizabeth's commitment to a rhetoric that upheld Christian humility and private virtue revealed itself in her adult correspondence. Ever joining and blurring the political and the personal worlds, Elizabeth was curious about how ancient rhetoricians and politicians carried their civic virtues and patriotic arguments into their domestic retirement and old age, and how the rhetoric of the pulpit, bar and senate was adapted to conversational persuasion and the criticism of literature. For the Cicero portrayed in Middleton's book, philosophical study, conversation, and correspondence was pursued while in relaxation, retirement or exile from the public sphere. For Elizabeth Montagu, and for most women, these forms of discourse were, by contrast with the domestic labor and anonymity of most women's lives, a means of indirect access to and influence in the public sphere. Reading history and corresponding about current politics brought her close to the events at the political center that her correspondents reported, allowing her, as she says, "To go from the toilette to the senate-house: from the head of the table to the head of an army; or, after making tea for a country justice, to attend the exploits, councils, and harangues of a Roman consul."⁴⁴ Elizabeth's letters frequently praise domestic retirement and literary reflection, yet her letters idealize not the strict separation of public/political and private/literary spheres, but the fairly frequent alternation and overlap between them. When writing to Mrs. Vesey in 1771 she reported on visiting Edmund Burke at his estate, and quipped, "I daresay Demosthenes at his Villa was all sweetness and gentleness after he had uttered a Philippick."⁴⁵ No wonder Elizabeth admired and defended Shakespeare, who also mixed together high and low language styles, high and low characters, great heroic deeds and everyday events, powerful and witty women and men.

Conclusion: Implications for Rhetorical History and Pedagogy

The excerpt from Elizabeth Montagu's letter to Thomas Lyttelton quoted near the beginning of this essay encapsulates her opinions about rhetorical education, or, more precisely an education in the rhetorical character traits of private virtue and public spirit. The letter reinforces the fact

that for Elizabeth Montagu, rhetorical study was less a matter of explicit training in the “rules” of rhetoric, although she acknowledged language skill was important, and only that public spirit instructed one “better” than technical rhetoric could. Reading of the *Life of Cicero* had an ethical impact upon her by showing the importance of virtuous purposes for persuasion in civic and private life.

Elizabeth Montagu’s later rhetorical contributions had a lot to do with how she crafted a civic identity for herself at least in part through her early engagement with biographies of Cicero. Her shrewd analysis of Middleton’s rhetorical biography as an argument in Cicero’s defense enabled her later to pursue steadily the kind of fame she successfully maintained during her life, in spite of facing “the barking of envy, the deceits of the Syrens, and the hypocrisy of Proteus” that she had observed as her social and ethical obstacles in her 1741 letter to Dr. Friend. She savored the possibility that even the eloquence of a public Cicero, a Pitt, or Lyttelton could be inspired by a private female muse. Her high respect for Cicero helped her develop a sense of “public spirit.” Her misgivings about Cicero’s character weaknesses only reinforced in her mind the importance of developing in herself and her friends’ characters a rhetorical *ethos* that would enable them to ethically deserve the laurels and riches of “eloquence.”

Although this article has focused on the processes of rhetorical formation of a single eighteenth century British woman, it has implications for women’s rhetorical history and contemporary rhetorical pedagogy that are worth pursuing.

Elizabeth’s Montagu’s example shows that it was possible for Enlightenment men and women to share forms of rhetorical education and rhetorical models accessible outside of formal education. Women’s rhetorical education was pursued in many of the same informal “schools”; in fact, women and men like Elizabeth and her male and female friends and relatives learned rhetoric together through interacting with each other in the academies of private reading, sociable conversation and letter-writing. Their preceptors and schoolmates were their family members and friends, and their informal *progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises) were not mere academic exercises but performances for real audiences in the malleable genres that often bridged the public and private spheres: letter writing and conversation.

This examination of Elizabeth Montagu’s development illustrates the power of classical and masculine aspects in a historical woman’s rhetorical education. Elizabeth’s rhetorical education did not consist entirely of

“feminine rhetorics” – it was equally based on learning masculine, classical, and public models of rhetorical discourse. An increasing number of Enlightenment women, while they may not have attended formal schools nor received training in classical Latin and Greek, gained access to the theories and practices of rhetoric that their brothers and fathers learned in schools and universities. Because of the emergence of vernacular translations and the rise of the middle ranks, more women could afford to buy or borrow these texts and had the leisure to read and converse about them, and to engage in correspondence about them. As an educated woman became a symbol of rising social status, families encouraged their daughters to study and their wives to engage in intellectual conversation and correspondence. The phenomenon of the Bluestocking salon contributed to the impression that women’s rhetorical formation and the resulting social networks it established could become a path to a family’s rising socio-economic status.

The cross-gender influence of Middleton, Cicero and Atticus upon Elizabeth Montagu also highlights the usefulness of both men’s and women’s rhetorical biographies for students regardless of their physical sex or gender identity. The culturally masculine, ancient model of Cicero, at first strongly critiqued and resisted by a young woman surrounded with notions of feminine virtue and eloquence and growing up in retirement from public life, eventually grew on her as she saw her own ambitions and values reflected in his character. Atticus’s character, though male, confirmed for Montagu the political and social value of traits and rhetorical skills that were acceptable for women in her culture. The different genders of her models were beneficial: her growing respect for Cicero and his community of supporters inspired her to stretch her female rhetorical identity and activity beyond the limits her culture’s gender ideologies, enabling her to rise to published authorship to defend Shakespeare, construct a web of powerful patronage networks and friendships, and acknowledge the rhetorical and historical potential of letter-writing.

A “civic” rhetorical identity—a conscious awareness of how and why one can and ought to speak and write for ethical public purposes—has become an increasingly important topic in rhetorical education, as recent book chapters by William Denman and Shirley Wilson Logan argue.⁴⁶ Denman writes that “The history of rhetoric makes clear that the teaching of rhetoric was an instrumental part of the development of that civic persona, the ‘citizen-orator,’ whose skills were¹ at the service of the community.”⁴⁷

Elizabeth Montagu's early correspondence exemplifies the formation of a civic identity through rhetorical *phronesis*.

¹ *The English Theophrastus: Or, the Manners of the Age. Being the Modern Characters of the Court, the Town, and the City.* (London: Printed for W. Turner, 1702), 207.

² "In the Nichomachean Ethics, Aristotle divides knowledge into three categories: theoretical (episteme), productive (techne), and practical (phronesis)." David P. Haney, "Aesthetics and Ethics in Gadamer, Levinas, and Romanticism: Problems of Phronesis and Techne," *PMLA* 114, no. 1 (1999): 32-45 (p.32). As Daniel L. Smith describes the concept through Heidegger's reading of Aristotle, "*Phronesis* is an ethical comportment If *techne* is a way of being concerned with things and principles of production and *theoria* a way of being concerned with eternal principles, then *phronesis* is a way of being concerned with one's life (qua action) and with the lives of others. Daniel L. Smith, "Intensifying Phronesis: Heidegger, Aristotle, and Rhetorical Culture," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 36, no. 1 (2003): 77-102 (p. 88).

³ Elizabeth Eger, "Introduction: Montagu," in Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738-1785, Volume 1: Elizabeth Montagu.* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999), lv-lxxxvii.

⁴ Elizabeth Montagu, *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear, Compared with the Greek and French Dramatic Poets. With Some Remarks Upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire,* (London: 1769); Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage, 1765-1774* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 5: 328.

⁵ George Lyttelton, *Dialogues of the Dead,* (Dublin: 1760); Montagu, Elizabeth, "Dialogues of the Dead, 1760" in Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Bluestocking Feminism,* pp. 115-32, cited in n. 3 above; Letter from Kames to Montagu, Dec 9, 1769, in Helen Whitcomb Randall, *The Critical Theory of Lord Kames.* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages 22, 1-4. (Northampton, 1944), p. 109.

⁶ Elizabeth Eger reports that there are 6,923 letters in Montagu's correspondence ("Introduction: Montagu," cited in n. 3 above, p. lvii). The Huntington Library's Montagu collection contains 3,300 letters by Elizabeth Montagu and several thousand letters addressed to her. There are additional smaller collections and fragments of Montagu's correspondence in British archives.

⁷ Eger, "Introduction: Montagu" lvi

⁸ Elizabeth Montagu, *The Letters of Elizabeth Montagu, with Some of the Letters of Her Correspondents,* 4 vols, ed. Matthew Montagu (London: 1809-13), 2: 316.

⁹ Conyers Middleton, *The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero.* 2 vols. (London: 1741).

¹⁰ In the decade to follow, an unknown Oxford man critiqued Middleton's style and his "downright rank Patriotism" *The Death of M-L-N in the Life of Cicero. Being a Proper Criticism on That Marvellous Performance.,* (London: 1741). Colley Cibber and an anonymous essayist in the Norfolk Miscellany both claimed that Cicero was indeed vain and that it was harmful to publicly excuse his vanity. Colley Cibber, *The Character and Conduct of Cicero, Considered, from the History of His Life, by the Reverend Dr. Middleton. With Occasional Essays, and Observations Upon the Most Memorable Facts and Persons During That Period. By Colley Cibber,* (London: 1747); "An Extract from a Letter to a Friend. Containing Some Remarks on Cicero, and Dr. Middleton's Account of Him," in *The Norfolk Poetical Miscellany.*

To Which Are Added Some Select Essays and Letters in Prose. Never Printed Before. By the Author of the Progress of Physick. In Two Volumes., ed. (London: 1744), 322-9.

¹¹ Middleton writes "But whatever was the origin of the Religion of Rome, Cicero's religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality" (*Life of Cicero*, cited in n. 9 above, 2: 555). Middleton's deism was of a mild sort, focused mainly on defending Protestantism from Catholicism. He believed in the miracles of Christ and the Apostles, but also in God's provision of natural revelation to pagans enlightened by reason, as Cicero apparently was. However, his discussion of Cicero's piety is minor compared with his general focus on Cicero's virtues and the Roman government of the day.

¹² Addison Ward, "The Tory View of Roman History," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature, 1500-1900* 4, no. 3 (Summer 1964): 413-36.

¹³ James M. Farrell, "John Adams's Autobiography: The Ciceronian Paradigm and the Quest for Fame," *The New England Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (December 1989): 505-28.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Tully's Offices, in Three Books. Translated into English, by Sir R. L'Estrange. The Sixth Edition, Revised Throughout, and Carefully Corrected According to the Latin Original* (London: 1720), 78.

¹⁵ Montagu, *Letters* 4: 89; n.d., possibly 1758.

¹⁶ In 1731 Rapin is translated as saying, "The Eloquence of Demosthenes was the best Security, and the surest Defence of Greece, and the greatest Bulwark of Persia, against the Designs of the Macedonian Kings; and that of Cicero, in destroying Catiline, prevented the Ruin of Rome, which otherwise it cou'd neither have avoided, or repair'd." He also wrote that Eloquence is "an Art that does entirely exist in the Internal Faculties of the Soul." Rene Rapin, *The Whole Critical Works of Monr. Rapin. In Two Volumes* (London, 1731), 1: 3, 7.

¹⁷ Vicesimus Knox, in his 1781 treatise on liberal education, argued "Historical books are highly proper, and I wish, as I have said before, to begin with the Antient History. ... Plutarch's Lives should also be read. Such models tend to inspire the young mind with all that is generous and noble" (212). In his Conclusion, Knox claims "I have laboured to infuse a taste for the antients, which will naturally cause an admiration of their writings, and an adoption of their sentiments. I have endeavoured to recommend a long and close application to letters, and to explode the novel, and superficial modes which terminate in disappointment. I have aimed at FOUNDING PUBLIC ON PRIVATE VIRTUE" (361). Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education: Or, a Practical Treatise on the Method of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning. By the Reverend Vicesimus Knox, A.M., Late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and Now Master of Tunbridge-School*, (London: C. Dilly, 1781).

¹⁸ Adam Potkay highlights the republican virtue theories of rhetoric espoused by Lord Bolingbroke, David Hume, and the poets Mark Akenside and James Thomson. For instance, in "A British Philippic" (1738), Akenside writes,

Come then the various powers of forceful speech,
All that can move, awaken, fire, transport,
Come the bold ardour of the Theban bard;
The arousing thunder of the patriot Greek;
The soft persuasion of the Roman sage;
Come all, and raise me to an equal height,
A rapture worthy of my glorious cause . . .

Adam Potkay, "Classical Eloquence and Polite Style in the Age of Hume," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25, no. 1 (Autumn 1991): 31-56 (p.39).

¹⁹ Middleton's preface mentions all of these texts and comments positively on Lyttelton's work as being written by one with "a warm love of virtue" though based on scant evidence of Cicero's life (*Life of Cicero* 1: xxx). Cornelius Nepos, "The Life of Atticus." In *The Lives of Illustrious Men*. 4th ed. (London: printed for Tho. Shelmerdine, and Tho. Tebb; and A. Bettesworth, 1723). Plutarch, "The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero," in *Plutarch's Lives in Eight Volumes. Translated from the Greek. With Notes Historical and Critical from M. Dacier* (London: Printed for J. Tonson, 1727), 393-459. George Lyttelton, *Observations on the Life of Cicero, the Second Edition* (London: printed by J. Purser, for Lawton Gilliver, 1741).

²⁰ Montagu, *Letters* 2: 202 (Oct 4, 1742)

²¹ Emily J. Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu the Queen of the Blue-Stockings: Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761 by Her Great-Great-Niece Emily J. Climenson . . . With Illustrations, in Two Volumes.*, (London: John Murray, 1906), 1: 6.

²² Middleton, *Life of Cicero* 2: 394-5.

²³ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 147; to Anne Donnellan, April 10, 1741.

²⁴ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 152-3

²⁵ Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu* 1: 70-71. Catherine Talbot became known as an author of religious and moral essays. The orphaned granddaughter of Bishop Talbot of Durham, she lived with her mother as part of the Secker family. Her religious reflections and Archbishop Secker's sermons were published in 1770, the year following both their deaths. Belby Porteus and George Stinton, "A Review of the Life and Character of Archbishop Secker," in *Sermons on Several Subjects, by Thomas Secker, LI.D. ... Published from the Original Manuscripts* (London: 1770), i-xcvii.

²⁶ Climenson, *Elizabeth Montagu* 1: 71

²⁷ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 153; to Anne Donnellan, April 20, 1741.

²⁸ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 155-6; to Anne Donnellan, April 20, 1741.

²⁹ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 198-9; to the Duchess of Portland, May 13, n.d. [1741].

³⁰ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 179; May 7, 1741

³¹ Nepos, cited in n. 19 above, p. 222.

³² Middleton, *Life of Cicero* 1: 281.

³³ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 156-7.

³⁴ Nepos, "Life of Atticus" cited in n. 19, p. 239.

³⁵ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 215-6; to Rev. Friend, 1741

³⁶ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 216.

³⁷ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 216.

³⁸ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 218.

³⁹ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 219-20.

⁴⁰ Montagu, *Letters* 1: 241

⁴¹ Montagu, *Letters* 2: 30-1.

⁴² Montagu, *Letters* 1: 257-62.

⁴³ Montagu, *Letters*, 3: 150; January 7, 1751.

⁴⁴ Montagu, *Letters* 3: 201; to Gilbert West, November 26, 1752.

⁴⁵ Reginald Blunt, *Mrs. Montagu, "Queen of the Blues," Her Letters and Friendships from 1762 to 1800. Edited by Reginald Blunt from Material Left to Him by [and in Continuation of the Collection Edited by] ... Emily J. Climensson*, 2 vols. (London: Constable & Co, 1923); 1: 246

⁴⁶ William N. Denman, "Rhetoric, the 'Citizen Orator,' and the Revitalization of Civic Discourse in American Life," in Cheryl Glenn, Margaret M. Lyday and Wendy Sharer, eds, *Rhetorical Education in America* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 3-17; Shirley Wilson Logan, "'To Get an Education and Teach My People': Rhetoric for Social Change," in *Rhetorical Education in America*, 36-52.

⁴⁷ Denman, "Rhetoric," 3.