The Female Guise:
The Untold Story of Female Education in English Periodicals

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on mid-eighteenth-century British periodicals and their claims to educate middle-ranked women in natural philosophy, modern history, and vernacular literature. I argue that articles published in female-penned periodicals are comparable to articles in male-penned periodicals and therefore allowed women to pursue an informal education through reading. I propose that female periodicals also illustrate how women formed counterpublics of learning through correspondence that rivaled the conversations that took place in the male-dominated public spheres, such as in coffee houses and meeting halls. As formal classical education was reserved for elite men, women learned through reading books and periodicals, and through conversation. Given the cost of books, periodicals became the main source for informal learning for middle-ranked women. I call attention to the periodical form that allowed women to complete feasibly short lessons between their daily domestic duties and amusements. Female-penned periodicals encouraged women to diversify their interests by deploying literary depictions of the moral pitfalls of women's focus on the beautification of the body. Driven by the financial and social rise of the merchant class, middling-ranked women with small dowries sought to gain advantage in the marriage market by distinguishing themselves as suitable wives for merchant or even gentry husbands. Periodicals thus made an economic as well as a moral case for their single female readers to balance fashionable amusements with intellectual pursuits.

By examining not only how mid-century female-penned periodicals defined themselves in relation to male-penned periodicals but also the impact of broader changes in formalized education, my thesis uncovers an important and under-discussed aspect of the rise of the middling ranks in eighteenth-century Britain. I show how female-penned periodicals encouraged

women's involvement in discussions about the development of the modern disciplines of education. My thesis is organized chronologically and follows the work of three notable periodical editors and authors with chapters on Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-46), Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid* (1755-56), and Charlotte Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61). The purpose of my thesis is not only to chart the changes in representations of women's learning over time, but also to reveal how Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox propose that women share their proto-disciplinary knowledge beyond their counterpublics in order to encourage intellectual discussions between like-minded males and females in the public spheres.

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This thesis is for my mom and dad. They never got the chance to go to university and they always supported and encouraged my educational pursuits. I went back to university at age 30 to finish my bachelor of arts in memory of my dad, and it is because of my mom's insistence that I applied for PhD programs, despite her cancer diagnosis. My mom went to every one of my university graduations (four so far) and I know that she will be looking down from heaven for my final graduation ceremony. Finally yet importantly, this thesis is for my husband Christopher. He has been there through all the difficulties of me following my dream. He was there for me when I told him I wanted to quit my full-time job to finish my undergraduate degree, when I told him I wanted to go to graduate school, and when I wanted to take a PhD in another city. He is what made this journey possible.

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Introduction: Emerging Counterpublics of Female Readers in the Eighteenth Century

This thesis considers literary representations of women engaged in informal intellectual pursuits from the mid-eighteenth century onward. It demonstrates the significance of women authors of female-penned periodicals in the developing public spheres of the eighteenth century. I examine the role they played in the development of modern disciplinary fields and in Britain's slow, incremental progress toward universal education, two developments that would not culminate until the later nineteenth century. In the past ten years, eighteenth-century scholars have begun to focus on women-penned periodicals after years of focusing on male-penned periodicals. It is only in the last few years that the focus has broadened. *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s,* edited by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell (2018), is the first comprehensive study of women's periodicals in the field. The thirty essays in the collection examine how periodicals were marketed and written for an emerging middle-class female audience. In their introduction, Batchelor and Powell assert, "by the mid-century, some periodicals, including those marketed directly at women readers, could command substantial prices on the clear assumption that their purchasers would have considerable disposable income."[1] The contributors to the collection address how authors/editors such as John Dunton, Eliza Haywood, Frances Brooke, Charlotte Lennox, and George Robinson navigated the overcrowded market of newspaper and periodical publications to reach the specific interests of middling-ranked women. My thesis builds on their work to help restore the historical voices of female periodical editors, allowing them to be read and studied alongside male-penned periodicals.

[1] Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, "Introduction" *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain*, 1690-1820s: *The Long Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 14.

Despite increasing scholarly interest in female-penned periodicals, few scholars have focused on how periodicals claimed to educate women in intellectual fields of knowledge to better prepare them for the marriage market. Evidence of this omission lies in the limited access scholars have to female-penned periodicals. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *The Nonsense of Common-sense* (1737-38), Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-46), Brooke's *The Old Maid* (1755-56), and Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61) are digitized, but are not included in the *Eighteenth Century Journals* database (Adam Matthew Digital).[2] Others such as Sarah Trimmer's *The Guardian of Education* (1802-1806) are not digitized and only available through select archives or microfiche. Both their omission from Adam Matthew Digital's collection and the lack of modern editions prevent female periodicals and their editors from being added to syllabi in twenty-first century classrooms.

With the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695, the reading public saw a steady increase in the number of available publications. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the volume of reading material was so large that it was hard to negotiate which texts deserved attention.[3] By the start of the eighteenth century, the middling ranks had increased access to literature in lending libraries and to newspapers and periodicals in the coffee houses and

[2] Montagu's, Haywood's, and Lennox's periodicals have recent modern digital editions. Haywood's, Brooke's, and Lennox's periodicals (but not Montagu's) are part of *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and Haywood's periodical is also in *The British Periodical*, which gives access to individuals and institutions that pay a licensing fee.

[3] Ann Blair observes that as early as the Renaissance the ever-increasing volume of printed material necessitated reference books as an important tool for those who wanted to keep track of all the publications available. *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 58.

tearooms of London, Edinburgh, and elsewhere.[4] In the tenth number of *The Spectator* (1711-12), Joseph Addison describes how his periodical helped create intellectual public spheres of influence as it brought "philosophy out of the Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables and Coffee-Houses."[5] For men who did not have access to higher education, coffee houses and periodicals served as informal substitutes. The periodicals represented the formation of hybrid research communities that were both in-person and epistolary research communities, otherwise known as a republic of letters.

The print culture of the eighteenth century fostered intellectual communities for women that allowed them to participate in the ongoing discussions of the educational needs of middle-ranking mothers and wives. Kathryn Shevelow's *Women and Print Culture* (1989) argues that periodicals became an agent of education by offering guidance to women; early women's magazines and periodicals effectively functioned as informal syllabi substituting for a more formal school-based curriculum.[6] She describes periodicals as "instrumental in forming a female reading audience organized around the literary representation of women as readers, writing subjects, and textual figures situated within a reformist discourse designed to instruct and entertain."[7] My thesis builds on Shevelow's argument to show how female-penned periodicals claimed to educate their readers in the intellectual fields of natural philosophy, modern history,

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[4] Robin Valenza observes there was a "desire to form a 'republic of letters' or a 'commonwealth of learning' that came in response to the intellectual and disciplinary stratification of the print sphere." *Literature, Language, and the Rise of the Intellectual Disciplines in Britain, 1680–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34.

[5] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator* ed. D. F. Bond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 44.

[6] Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 179.

[7] Shevelow, *Women in and Print Culture*, 3.

and vernacular literature, fields that were developed in the eighteenth century. These subjects were only slowly incorporated into the universities, where they were not properly established until the nineteenth century. Instead, they flourished in dissenting schools and periodicals. My thesis also builds on the work of periodical scholars –Susan Carlile's work on Charlotte Lennox, Kathryn King's work on Eliza Haywood, and Jennie Batchelor's work on *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1831) – who argue for the textual authority of female-penned periodicals. My project traces how periodicals claimed to provide women with an education parallel to that enjoyed by boys and men in formal school settings such as dissenting academies and, at a more elite level, public schools. I approach these periodicals for women as knowledge networks or what Michael Warner calls "counterpublics" that helped female readers engage with natural philosophy, history, and belles lettres both by reading articles and by sharing their knowledge through correspondent feedback loops.[8]

My thesis analyzes the ways in which periodical editors urged middle-class women to form their own spheres of influence. I am primarily interested with how editors represent middling-ranked women engaged in reading and responding to periodical articles, as well as building a counterpublic through the formation of epistolary-based communities. My analysis of informal female education in the eighteenth century will follow two main strands: the history of print and eighteenth-century pedagogical theory. In terms of the history of print, I draw on scholarship

[8] Michael Warner argues, "A counterpublic, in this sense is usually related to a subculture, but there are important differences between these concepts. A counterpublic, against the background of the public sphere, enables a horizon of opinion and exchange; its exchanges remain distinct from authority and can have a critical relation to power; its extent is in principle indefinite, because it is not based on a precise demography but mediated by print, theater, diffuse networks of talk, commerce, and the like." *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 56-57.

inspired by Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), which famously argued that the circulation of print was essential to the creation of the public sphere as it allowed disparate groups to form virtual communities of discourse.[9] Scholars such as Warner and Nancy Armstrong have expanded on Habermas's study to reveal several competing spheres of influence in which individuals could participate. Indeed, Warner's *Publics and Counterpublics* (2002) suggests that there are an "infinite number of publics within the social totality."[10] He argues that Habermas's concept of a unified public sphere is problematic, not least because new avenues of print in the eighteenth century allowed various fluid and self-organized publics to form. As such, the public sphere was not confined to a specific type of public space, but rather occupied several simultaneous spaces, including the virtual public space of printed discourse. Reading is both private and public, the latter by the individual and the former by a shared experience by all who read the text. Benedict Anderson observes that periodicals are often read "in silent privacy," yet the reader "is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others."[11] The public (in-person discussions in coffee houses) and counterpublic (letter-based discussions in the periodicals) therefore mirror each other but are not mutually exclusive; readers and writers could be members of both.

Warner argues for a tripartite understanding of this "public": first, people in general; second, a specific group in one concrete space; and third, a reading public that "comes into being

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[9] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (1962),* translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 51.

[10] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 67.

[11] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 35.

only in relation to texts and their circulation."[12] My thesis focuses primarily on the third type of public and investigates the impact of print on women's education. For example, the editor of *The Female Guardian* (1787) asserts that her intended readers are a reading public of auto-didactic mothers who aim to educate both themselves and their children. She writes, "The lady who wrote this little volume for a family of children blushes to assume the Title of Female Guardian in public… by the Public the writer means Mothers; to whose indulgence she flatters herself she is entitled for her endeavours to assist them in that important-work, of forming the dispositions of their children."[13] Thus, the periodical represents the formation of a learning community of mothers. Warner further distinguishes between two main kinds of publics: dominant and counter. The former includes the primarily masculine space of the bourgeois coffee house of Habermas's theory. The latter, in contrast, includes varying ranks and genders through print circulation. I build on Warner's work to consider how print cultures foster intellectual communities for women. As Catherine Gallagher in *Nobody's Story* (1995) argues, women could be actively involved in several "spheres of influence."[14] Periodicals such as *The Female Guardian* functioned as counterpublics by claiming to provide a space for women to form self-created and self-organized communities that mirrored the dominant publics of the coffee houses.

Periodical editors such as Eliza Haywood, Frances Brooke, and Charlotte Lennox helped to develop female counterpublics by encouraging readers to submit letters in response to what they read. Rachael Scarborough King argues that letters were a "bridge genre" that linked the old

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[12] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 66.

[13] *The Female Guardian. Designed to Correct Some of the Foibles Incident to Girls, and Supply Them with Innocent Amusement for Their Hours of Leisure, By a Lady* (London: John Marshall, 1784), n. p.

[14] Catherine Gallagher, *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8.

media of manuscripts with the new media of print.[15] She explains that letters were "quasi-public," as they could be meant for an individual, a network of likeminded individuals (a coterie), or a larger anonymous audience (a periodical).[16] When placed in the latter category, epistles maintain the intimacy of an individual writing down her personal thoughts, but reach a much larger and more public audience. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood writes letters from imagined correspondents, to model the idea of an epistolary community in anticipation of its creation. Ten years later, Brooke's *Old Maid* illustrated how readers could form a "bridge" between the dominant and counter spheres of influence. An illustrative instance is a correspondent known as S.P. who writes to the editor describing some critiques of the journal that she overheard in a coffee house by Tom Noisy. She explains: "As I am a constant reader, and a zealous well-wisher to your undertaking, I must acquaint you, that I was the other day in a coffee-house, where a knot of them was assembled about a file of your papers, and, like witches round a conjuring cauldron, every one throwing in his invidious ingredient."[17] Here, the correspondent depicts periodical readers not as rational denizens of Habermas's idealized coffee house but rather feminized as witches whose "conjuring" can transform a seemingly static mode of discourse (print) into something more dynamic and fluid (conversation). I will return to this

[15] Rachael Scarborough King explains, "[b]ridge genres connect old and new media: they transfer existing textual conventions to emerging modes of composition and circulation, a function that provides stability and continuity during what are otherwise times of fluctuation and reordering. They exhibit a set of features that remain recognizable in different material incarnations, extending these features into fresh arenas." *Writing to the World: Letters and the Origins of Modern Print Genre* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018), 2.

[16] King, *Writing to the World*, 4.

[17] Frances Brooke, *The Old Maid. By Mary Singleton, Spinster* 2nd edition (London: A. Millar, 1764), 151.

point in chapter two. The correspondent explains "Tom's criticism was crown'd with a laughter of applause; and finding it would be to no purpose to attempt your defence any longer against such an army of licentious blockheads, for I had now and then interposed, I prudently slipped out of the coffee-room." She also adds, "I chuse… to appear your champion in your own paper, and by throwing down my gantlet in that field, to defy Tom Noisy and all his gang."[18] As such, Readers become contributors, creating what Warner calls a "feedback loop" of "letters from readers *real* and *imagined* [emphasis is mine]."[19] When Brooke publishes her correspondent's letter, the feedback loop is continued, since the coffee-house patrons mentioned in the letter are themselves potential readers of the letter. One of those readers then continues the discourse by responding to the correspondent's letter with another letter. King explains that "printed letters [in periodicals] appeared as ways to convey information to the reader, [to] imagine him or her as a member of a semi-select reading community, [to] emphasize the ongoing nature of the communication, and solicit feedback that could create further texts."[20] By using the genre of letter writing, eighteenth-century editors like Haywood and Brooke encouraged their readers to participate in public discourse and enabled an unlikely virtual community in which members of diverse backgrounds could converse.

These epistolary feedback loops included literate women of various ranks. Shevelow notes, "the periodical represented an epistolary exchange that constructs a tension, predicated upon social class, between the roles of readers and writers."[21] A woman from a middling social rank would read a periodical and perhaps write a letter in response, whereas a higher ranked

[18] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 152.

[19] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 99.

[20] King, *Writing to the World*, 53.

[21] Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, 178.

woman would have the resources – whether time or educational background – to draft articles for publication. King argues that "the letter showed the intersection of manuscript and print and the interpenetration of the public and private in the arena of news: readers saw that important topics could be profitably discussed by two 'nobodies,' anonymous figures loosely assigned to social roles."[22] However, participating in a counterpublic posed social risks due to the fact that members of a counterpublic, despite sharing similar aims and interests, were strangers to each other. Similarly, Warner explains, "[p]ublics orient us to strangers in a different way" as "they are no longer merely people-whom-one-does-not-know-yet," but rather a premise for the formation of a community.[23] This distinction distinguishes counterpublics from "literary coterie[s]" that Betty Schellenberg describes as letter-based communities "linked by ties of friendship."[24] She explains coteries gave women opportunities to participate in mixed-gender discussions. She argues that they gave women a potential "conduit to fame or print publication."[25] Indeed, Norbert Schürer in *Charlotte Lennox: Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents* (2012) demonstrates that Charlotte Lennox benefited from participating in a literary coterie with Samuel Johnson and Samuel Richardson as they championed Lennox's work and put her in touch with publishers.

Women who participated in counterpublics often used disguises to shield their identities. Encouraging women to partake in public discourse in the eighteenth century involved strategic forms of secrecy and disclosure, depending on the participant's background and role in society.

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[22] King*, Writing to the World*, 10.

[23] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 75.

[24] Betty A. Schellenberg, *Literary Coteries and the Making of Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2.

[25] Schellenberg, *Literary Coteries*, 17.

For example, *The Nonsense of Common-Sense* (1737) had a narrative persona simply known as "the author." Montagu published her periodical anonymously in part because of her high social rank. As a member of the court and the wife of a public figure, Montagu was careful in what she wrote publicly, even as she worked to educate women in matters of politics, natural philosophy, and history.[26] Montagu's little-known periodical demonstrates how a noblewoman could publish a periodical without compromising her reputation. From December 1737 until March 1738, she published *The Nonsense of Commonsense*, each number of which opened with the phrase "To be continued as long as the Author thinks fit, and the Publick [sic] likes it."[27] Even so, in issue 5, Montagu reveals that her publisher edited or censored the periodical due to its radical political content. However, she gives the reader a small hint to the "true" identity of "the author" with a discreet attack on Pope by suggesting that "the little Bawdy" her printer added at "the end of a Paragraph" was reminiscent of "all the Bawdy in the *Dunciad.*"[28] Montagu's periodical and her male narrative persona act as a precursor to the subsequent female-penned periodicals and their use of a forged personas or female eidolons.

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[26] Prior to producing her periodical, Montagu participated in a coterie community that exchanged letters amongst a small group of family and friends. Montagu acted as an educator, offering her coterie an eyewitness comparison between Turkish and British culture with her controversial proto-feminist view that Turkish women had more freedoms than western women. Montagu argued that inside Turkish harems—which earlier male travel writers had described only in terms of polyamory and luxury—women wielded both political and scientific power, forming counterpublics. She hoped that through her letters she could encourage western women to create similar counterpublics. Although her *Turkish Embassy Letters* remained unpublished until her death, Montagu educated women through her letter writing and her periodical.

[27] Mary Wortley Montagu, "The Nonsense of Common Sense" *Essays and Poems and Simplicity, a Comedy* ed. Halsband & I. Grundy (Oxford: Oxford Scholarly Editions Online 2014), 106.

[28] Montagu, "Nonsense of Common Sense," 127.

Comparatively, middle ranked authors used eidolons as forged personas, such as Brooke's "Mrs. Singleton." A defining feature of female periodicals was the use of eidolons on the part of authors and editors. In *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals* (2012), Powell explains that "an eidolon in the Platonic sense is a projected image, the double, phantom, or simulacrum of a person." Powell then stipulates that, "the role being played by a periodical eidolon is always the same: that of the author." As such, they are "artificial projection[s] of authorship that [are] generated by the author."[29] Eidolons gave women an image of authority and allowed them to distance themselves from what they wrote or edited. Eidolons allowed authors to be what Gallagher calls "partial Nobodies" hidden behind their fictional personas.[30] Eidolons are not simply pseudonyms, mirror reflections, or pen names of the author, but rather portrayals of an authoritative figure who could be of a higher rank, a different gender, or possessed of a more elite education than the author.

Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox use their projected eidolons to pursue a common goal, to further the education of middling-rank women and promote learning communities. In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood creates "Mrs. Spectator," the namesake of her periodical, as her eidolon. Mrs. Spectator leads a group of like-minded individuals who form the editorial direction of the periodical. Similarly, Lennox uses an eighteen-year-old eidolon, "The Trifler," for her periodical, whereas Brooke takes a differing tack, choosing the fifty-year-old "Mrs. Singleton" for her periodical. Brooke's older spinster figure acts as a pseudo-guardian who guides her young readers in their pursuits of love and education. Haywood and Lennox are alike in using

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[29] Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 24.

[30] Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*, xix.

the trope of a reformed coquette to guide their young readers in balancing their time between amusements of the body and mind – what Tita Chico calls "intellectual beautification."[31] For example, Haywood's Mrs. Spectator guides her city-dwelling readers to balance their time spent at balls and masquerades with countryside excursions to examine the beauty of nature and venture into natural history. In doing so, she encourages them to re-examine the merits of their coquette behaviour. Similarly, Lennox's Trifler encourages readers to diversify their reading of romances with articles on natural and modern history. In the opening issue of *The Lady's Museum*, the Trifler depicts how she reformed her own coquette behaviour by diversifying her interests to include "intellectual pleasures."[32] Her introduction sets the premise for the periodical: to entertain and instruct women with a curriculum of subjects that will enable them to avoid coquetry and successfully navigate the marriage market. Powell explains, "Lennox's focus is on persuading women to read more, and more wisely, rather than on more radical reforms of their trifling ways."[33] The subsequent Trifler letters help to redefine "trifler" from "one who acts with levity" to an individual who balances domestic duties with frivolous and academic trifles.[34] In contrast, Lennox herself was in her early thirties, an established writer, and married to Alexander

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[31] Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 71.

[32] Charlotte Lennox, *The Lady's Museum By the Author of The Female Quixote* (London: J Newberry and J. Coote, 1760), 4.

[33] Powell, *Performing Authorship*, 191-92.

[34] Samuel Johnson, "History" *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/views/search.php?term=trifle.

Lennox. Haywood was also an established writer in her thirties, but her marriage status is unknown. However, for Brooke, *The Old Maid* was her first publication and helped launched her writing career as a novelist.

The use of eidolons not only shielded the authors' identity, but also helped develop female counterpublics by encouraging readers through their approachable editorial personae to submit letters in response to what they read (or at least suggesting the possibility they could do so). In 1737, Montagu included letters from fictionalized correspondents in her periodical. Seven years later Haywood used a series of inter-connected fictional personas in her periodical articles and letters to create an imagined community of authorial authority. Montagu's fictional correspondents and Haywood's fictional republic of letters both claim to encourage female participation in public discourse through correspondence. Moreover, actively participating in public discourse through letters to periodicals allowed for anonymity as correspondents would often sign off as *a faithful reader* or *Lady L___s*. Indeed, periodical writers would use the anonymity of letter writing to represent participation in public conversations without the threat of personal attack or persecution.

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My thesis is composed of four chapters that focus on the visual and textual representations of women learning by reading periodicals. In chapter one, I examine periodical frontal images and how they represented a slow progression of women's learning. In the following chapters, I analyze Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator*, Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid*, and Charlotte Lennox's *The Lady's Museum*. I consider their articles about natural philosophy, history, and literature and compare them to male-penned or male-edited periodicals such as Addison's *The Spectator*, Benjamin Martin's *The General Magazine of Arts and*

Sciences (1759-63), and George Robinson's *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1831).[35] I examine how three female-penned periodicals represented informal learning as comparable to the education provided by public schools, boarding schools, and dissenting academies. I order my chapters chronologically; however, they do not chart a linear development or "progress" in women's periodicals, but rather focus on these publications' various strategies for broadening middle-ranking discussions of proto-disciplinary topics.[36] My thesis considers the ways in which these periodicals expand our understanding of the role women played in expanding the power and influence of the middling ranks in Britain in the eighteenth century. My research focuses on how female-penned periodicals represented women learning about natural philosophy, history, and literature, and how they aimed to improve gender parity in the dissemination and production of knowledge. We must be careful when using terms like "parity," however, because the discourse of these periodicals was not "feminist" in our modern sense. Many female periodicals claimed to educate women primarily so that they were better equipped to find suitable husbands.

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[35] Addison and Steele's *The Spectator* addresses century-long debates about who had access to formal and informal education in Britain. On May 16, 1711, Sir Richard Steele penned an issue of *The Spectator* (1711-1712) that addressed the disparity in education between men and women. Mr. Spectator observes that "the general Mistake among us in the educating our Children, is, That in our Daughters we take Care of their Persons and neglect their Mind; in our Sons, we are so intent upon adorning their Mind, that we wholly neglect their Bodies." *The Spectator,* 282.

[36] In the eighteenth century, concepts of disciplines were in flux. Historically, disciplines incorporated the study of theology, history, rhetoric, and grammar as part of the curriculum of classical studies. This set of courses, Valenza observes, was "the Renaissance ideal of disciplinary system in which a single person participated in many fields of knowledge."[36] By the eighteenth century, the rising influence and wealth of the merchants necessitated a gradual widening of the curriculum to include students that did not receive a classical education in grammar and public schools. *Literature, Language, and the Rise of the Intellectual Disciplines*, 23.

Nevertheless, my research foregrounds the pivotal role of periodical editors like Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox had in the early formation of what later became the modern intellectual disciplines in the British education system.

My first chapter explores the ways in which the frontispieces of these and other periodicals illustrate and dramatize female learning and nascent counterpublics, showing the requirements of time and space that are crucial to their learning. I show how the visual afterlife of the two frontispieces from the first volume of Haywood's *Female Spectator* promotes the argument that women should be allowed to study the same disciplinary topics as men. The periodical represents how women could include both amusements and informal learning in between their duties and social obligations. I argue that Haywood's periodical acts as a catalyst for subsequent periodicalists to debate the importance of women's education in the long eighteenth century. For example, the emblematic illustration that heads each issue of Brooke's *The Old Maid*, the frontispiece to Lennox's *The Lady's Museum*, and the 1789 frontispiece to *The Lady's Magazine* all employ representations of Minerva as the Goddess of Wisdom to continue the debates about female education. Each image builds on *The Female Spectator*'s depiction of women learning, with portrayals of the challenges in balancing distractions with informal education. Through an analysis of these visual representations in the context of Warner's theorization of counterpublics and Natalie M. Phillips's framing of women balancing an increasing list of distractions in the eighteenth-century, I show how these periodicals refuted the notion that middle-ranking women were neither capable of nor interested in learning.

My second chapter surveys three periodical writers who incorporate topics of natural philosophy in their periodicals. I examine essays on studying insects, mollusks, and small animals in Haywood's *The Female Spectator,* Martin's *The General Magazine of Arts and*

Sciences, and Lennox's *Lady's Museum.* These three authors recognized and encouraged women's interest in learning natural philosophy. Haywood's articles called for women to examine closely insects in nature with portable microscopes and magnifying glasses. As with the frontispieces, Haywood's discussions on nature act as a catalyst for further discussions about women studying the supposedly masculine proto-disciplinary topic of natural philosophy. Building on Chico's use of "intellectual beautification" and reforming of the coquette in the course of natural philosophy, I argue that Haywood, through her eidolon and fictional correspondents, sets up the premise for women to partake in developing conversations about the establishment of the modern discipline in natural philosophy.[37] Fourteen years later, Martin's serialized dialogue, "Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*"* in *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* depicts a brother and sister who explore nature through a series of walks and examination of specimens with portable complex microscopes. The brother, home from university, acts as his sister's tutor guiding her through readings, lessons, and experimentation. Then, in *The Lady's Museum*, Lennox expands upon Haywood's and Martin's discussions with the serialized series of essays "Philosophy for the Ladies" on natural history. There are installments that give detailed descriptions of insects such as the "swallow-tail'd Butterfly," the "day-fly," and the silk-worm using visual and textual data compiled from microscopes. In the inaugural issue of the *Lady's Museum*, Lennox writes, "History and natural philosophy are alone sufficient to furnish women with an agreeable kind of study[;] the latter, in a series of useful observations and interesting experiments, offers a spectacle well worth the consideration of a reasonable being."[38]

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[37] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 71.

[38] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 12.

The third chapter of my thesis focuses on how Brooke's *The Old Maid* advised its mainly female readers how to achieve an informal education in polite literature. Through the sentimental narrative of Mrs. Singleton's guardianship of her niece and pseudo-guardianship of her niece's friend, Brooke builds a case for an education in polite literature to help middle-ranking women find husbands who are suitably matched in wealth and intellect. In addition, I analyze Brooke's representation of how a woman schooled in modern literature can take an active role in re-invigorating the field of modern English authors as patronesses of new authors. Brooke displays how women can use their literary knowledge to engage in public discussions with men through factual and fictional epistolary correspondence. *The Old Maid* was a hybrid magazine, written by a small group of both male and female writers under a jointly-penned female eidolon. In this way, Brooke picks up where Haywood's *Female Spectator* left off in her example of men and women working together to promote the new discipline of English literature. Through her use of mottos from English authors, her sentimental narrative with a fictional anthology of English authors, and showcase of new literature from both male and female English writers she illustrates how women can affect change in education. I argue that through her multi-penned eidolon, Brooke's periodical encourages its readers to study literature by English authors, representing the increased demand for an informal education in both the classics in translation (previously inaccessible to readers without Greek and Latin) and modern vernacular literature.

In my fourth and final chapter, I examine how Lennox's inclusion of articles about history in *The Lady's Museum* engaged with ongoing debates about whether women should obtain a polite or intellectual education. In doing so, she critiques the eighteenth-century notion that history, like natural philosophy, was a masculine topic. I demonstrate how Lennox, through her careful curation of a library of articles on what Hugh Blair categorized as secret histories,

factual history, and ancient history, shows that women could be entertained and improved by the intellectual topics discussed in male dominated public spaces. Lennox's periodical illustrates how women could take pleasure in learning history by combining it with elements of secret and personal histories. I also analyze Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* as an experimental precursor for her later 1762 novel, *Sophia*. Like her earlier popular novel, *The Female Quixote* (1752), the serialized periodical version of the Lennox's new novel titled "The History of Harriot and Sophia," focuses on the controversial topic of women achieving an intellectual education. *The Female Quixote*, with its satirical warning for women to be cautious in their self-guided pursuits of knowledge, serves as a crucial precursor to Lennox's periodical. The former provides the reader with a negative example of Arabella's faulty self-education, and the latter provides a positive example of a female autodidact in the character of Sophia. I argue that the serialized novel "Harriot and Sophia" is the core of the curriculum of Lennox's periodical; the subsequent articles, treatises, and correspondence help the reader gain a deeper understanding of the dichotomy between two starkly different educated sisters. I contend that Lennox's heroines in *The Female Quixote* and *Sophia* represent the struggles that eighteenth-century women faced in pursuing an informal education to help them become competent wives and mothers and partake in public discourse, while living in a culture that did not support their "intellectual beautification."[39]

[39] Chico, *Experimental Imagination,*71.

Chapter One: Photo-Feminists: The Inter-textual Discussion of Eighteenth-Century Periodical Frontispieces[40]

The first volume of *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) has a much-discussed frontispiece that is famous for having been revised: the first version depicts a group of four women in conversation sitting around a table; the second depicts the women no longer facing one another but instead doing different tasks.[41] The four women represent the fictional contributors of the periodical: the Female Spectator, Euphrosine, Mira, and a Widow of Quality. Jennie Batchelor argues that the "pretence" of a community working together in the first frontispiece does not accurately square with the Female Spectator's declaration she is in fact the "Mouth," the spokeswoman of the group.[42] Mrs. Spectator specifies, her "contributors are to be consider'd only as Members of one Body, which I am the mouth."[43] I reflect on Batchelor's work to consider whether the changes between the representation of the women in the first and second frontispieces accurately portray how the fictional club worked together. I interpret the changes in the 1748 image as indicating a shift towards individual learners coming together to share their knowledge in an intellectual counterpublic. I contend that the two frontispieces depict the conception of female intellectual activity from communal learning to individual learners

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[40] Susan Carlile suggested this play on words for the chapter title.

[41] *The Female Spectator* was printed in four volumes; each one has its own unique frontispiece. Jennie Batchelor explains that the images "commonly pictured an allegorical figure of female virtue and wisdom guiding the periodical's reader, publication in hand, towards the path of virtue." '"Connections, Which are of Service... in a More Advanced Age': *The Lady's Magazine*, Community, and Women's Literary Histories," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 30, no. 2 (2011): 251.

[42] Jennie Batchelor, "Connections," 250.

[43] Eliza Haywood, *The Selected Works of Eliza Haywood: The Female Spectator. Volumes I & II,* eds. Kathryn King and Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000-2001), 19.

compiling their separate learning into a collaborative project that is the periodical. The visual representations of women learning in these two frontispieces are carried forward in the frontal images of subsequent female-penned and female-centred periodicals in the second half of the eighteenth century. The images represent an intertextual discussion in eighteenth-century periodicals about the informal education women could gain in intellectual, letter-based counterpublics formed in response to overwhelmingly male public spheres.

I read the depiction of women learning in periodical frontispieces as a visual conversation that continued through a complex series of images that represent the ways that periodicals both encouraged female counterpublics and acknowledged the distractions of feminine consumerism. The first response is the emblematic illustration to Frances Brooke's periodical, *The Old Maid* (1755-56), which is followed by the frontispiece to Charlotte Lennox's periodical, *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61), and finally the frontispiece to the 1789 *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1847). As the century progressed, women were allowed more time to pursue their informal studies, as the frontispiece to *The Lady's Magazine* illustrates. Ultimately, the five images examined in this chapter depict modalities of women's informal education, from a group activity, to an individual activity in competition with other distractions and diversions, to a purposeful activity that combined entertainment with intellectual amusement. This represents a change in the perception that there was an innate weakness in women's minds, to a perception that women were only weak in their behaviour and could be strengthened with individual intellectual stimulation. The images depict a subtle change of women learning together to a woman learning on her own and then reinforcing that learning through sharing (or teaching) her knowledge in an (in-person or letter-based) counterpublic of like-minded women. Reading these images alongside one another, I analyze how the illustrations represent the slow progression of women learning and

disseminating intellectual knowledge through subtle differences in how the women are represented. My work builds on the existing scholarly conversation on the visual representation of women learning in periodical illustrations. Sarah Creel observes that Haywood's frontispieces are visual representations of women as autodidacts, participating in a broader dialogue about how to read and discuss literature pioneered by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in *The Spectator* (1711-12).[44] Susan Carlile analyzes how the use of an "ancient Greek scene" in the frontispiece to *The Lady's Museum* represents the "intellectual potential" and value of women who study history to "move the nation forward."[45] Jennie Batchelor examines the "rich" implications of the role played by visual representations of Minerva as a symbol of learning for didactic periodicals.[46] She considers how George Robinson's *Lady's Magazine* used the image of Minerva to foster discussions on "overlooked" female education.[47]

I build on these arguments by introducing the emblematic illustration from *The Old Maid* into the conversation. I consider how Brooke's use of Minerva not only visually links her periodical to *The Lady's Museum* and *The Lady's Magazine* but also bridges the twenty-year gap between Haywood's and Lennox's periodicals to show a gradual progression of women's informal education. I argue that the visual and textual legacy of Haywood's periodical helped change the debate from *whether* women should have access to areas of intellectual inquiry

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[44] Sarah Creel, "(Re)framing Eliza Haywood: Portraiture, Printer's Ornaments, and the Fashioning of Female Authorship" *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 4, no. 14 (2014).

[45] Susan Carlile, *Charlotte Lennox: An Independent Mind* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 191.

[46] For this chapter, I have chosen to use the Roman name of the Goddess of Wisdom: Minerva. However, she is also referred to as Pallas Athena (the Greek name of the goddess) and in some instances, as Britannia.

[47] Jennie Batchelor, "UnRomantic Authorship: The Minerva Press and *the Lady's Magazine* (1770-1820)" *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840*, 23 (2020): 123.

comparable to those encountered by men in universities, to *how* they could alter their daily lives to add casual learning to their domestic duties. I show how the female intellectual counterpublics that Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox envision come to fruition in George Robinson's *The Lady's Magazine*. His magazine represents the reader with a curated collection of articles and letters that are ostensibly from a perceived community of magazine readers. Haywood's periodical was therefore a catalyst in eighteenth-century periodicalists' debates on education, as its frontispieces are witness to an intertextual conversation on the necessity of female education, and the role of periodical literature in fostering that education, in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Creating a Counterpublic of Female Intellect

Female-edited periodicals in the second half of the eighteenth century offered middle-class women a diverse curriculum of intellectual topics. For instance, Haywood's *Female Spectator* presents women with studies in natural philosophy, Brooke's *Old Maid* encourages readers to gain knowledge of English literary works, and Charlotte Lennox's *Lady's Museum* focuses on ancient, modern, and natural history. Together these three periodicals offered women an overview of subjects of intellectual interest in the latter half of the century. The periodicals' visual and textual representations of women learning countered the pre-conceived notions of the female mind as excessively malleable and unable to retain focus or knowledge. Natalie M. Phillips explains that there was an "eighteenth-century trope of describing women's brains as

literally soft," which made them "more vulnerable to the pull and sway of diversion."[48] Moreover, women's alleged boredom made them "unusually distraction prone."[49]

In response, the periodicals edited by Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox use eidolons and fictional correspondents as representations of women whose lives are preoccupied by diversion. The Female Spectator informs her readers that "My Life, for some Years, was a continued Round of what I then called Pleasure, and my whole Time engross'd by a Hurry of promiscuous Diversions."[50] Similarly, Brooke's Mrs. Singleton counsels her niece on how to avoid coquetry by giving her lessons on proper manners and behaviour for women in public. Finally, Lennox's Trifler admits to having become a coquette before the age of eighteen. In each case, the eidolon warns her readers about the danger of solely focusing on superficial diversions that divert from the development of the mind. Sara Landreth in her analysis of Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809) notes that "relentless repetition of dinners, masquerades, balls, and card games produces a kind of socializing automaton who is 'addicted' to a frenzied schedule of worldly pursuits."[51] She explains that female's "automata" is a consequence of "societal practice" of monotonous repetition in women's lives and a lack of mental stimulation.[52] Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox offer their readers stimulation to remedy "automata" and to be aesthetically pleasing to the male gaze with intellectual articles that aim to beautify their minds.

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[48] Natalie M. Phillips, *Distraction: Problems of Attention in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2018), 70.

[49] Phillips, *Distraction*, 20.

[50] Haywood, *The Female Spectator. Vol. I & II,* 17-18.

[51] Sara Landreth, "Hannah More's Clockwork Christians" *The Eighteenth Century* 61, no. 2 (2020): 213.

[52] Landreth, "Hannah More's Clockwork Christians," 213.

The development of commercial diversions in the eighteenth century competed with the middling ranks' desire for intellectual diversions. Darryl Domingo argues that the rise of different types of entertainment-based diversions was fuelled by the creation of an "individualized consumer society," primarily in the cities.[53] This growing consumer culture supplanted older communal diversions of carnivals and holiday meals that were enjoyed at specific days of the years. The new diversions, Domingo argues, "were available virtually daily" and spread throughout London.[54] Pleasure seekers had a plethora of "competing activities" to choose from, such as plays, operas, and masquerades.[55] The working classes turned to such diversions as a "relief from the ordinary."[56] Diversions could quickly become addictive and detract from work duties or family obligations in the eighteenth century. Domingo explains individuals could become "diverted *by* diversions": anticipation of returning to them would take over their thoughts, taking their concentration away from their duties [emphasis is Domingo's].[57]

Another form of diversion in competition with "reigning diversion[s]" was reading for pleasure. Authors added the words "amusement" or "diversions" to their titles to entice readers.[58] Entertaining texts, such as novels and romances, might offer a "temporary relief" to readers and even allure them to consume more diversions. Yet, if chosen poorly, reading literature could

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[53] Darryl Domingo, *The Rhetoric of Diversion in English Literature and Culture, 1690-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 31.

[54] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion,* 37.

[55] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion,* 40.

[56] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion,* 31.

[57] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion*, 32.

[58] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion,* 59.

itself quickly become another diverting diversion.[59] I consider how female periodical authors who wrote for their livelihood differed from "hack" authors who wrote for commercial profit.[60] I surmise that the content of Haywood's, Brooke's, and Lennox's periodical writing balanced "commercial profit" with a proto-feminist advocacy of women's education aimed at improving the minds of their female readers. I examine how they entice their readers with elements of "pleasure" in their articles – such as tales of fallen coquettes, jilted wives, and secret affairs of monarchs – to teach their readers important moral lessons. They demonstrate how literature could be an acceptable "*regulated* diversion" to "refresh the mind," depending on the didactic quality of the literature [emphasis is Domingo's].[61]

Most women's lives in the first half of the eighteenth century did not allow much time for studying. Christina Lupton points out that for the middling ranks time for reading competed with their work. In *Reading and the Making of Time* (2018), she examines how "actors, clergy, professional novelists, translators, housekeepers, and politicians" found time to read between their work obligations.[62] She explains that both men and women struggled to find time to read between their duties. With some variation depending on a woman's age and social standing,

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[59] I see this in relation Landreth's argument that "[Hannah] More's analogy between falling bodies and the motions of minds, readers are free to choose which book to read, but when they begin to admire an immodest character, they cede their self-control to 'a greater force' of habit akin to that of the irresistible pull of gravity." Indeed, the wrong type of reading material could pull a woman to the direction of immoral behaviour by enticing their minds with tempting scenarios of torrid romances and unregulated behaviour. "Hannah More's Clockwork Christians," 213.

[60] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion*, 72.

[61] Domingo, *Rhetoric of Diversion,* 53.

[62] Cathy Lupton, *Reading and the Making of Time in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 3.

domestic duties as daughters, wives, and mothers took priority over developing their intellectual interests. For women in particular, reading happened in small spurts on Sundays or in the winter months.[63] I consider how Lupton's assessment of female reading applies to periodicals and how they operated differently from books to complement or replace diversions.[64] Periodical editors knew their publications were competing with books, domestic duties, social obligations, and competing diversions. Therefore, they offered their readers material that was designed to be read in small chunks. As Abigail Williams argues, "partial reading" of texts was popular in the eighteenth century, and readers would often "sample," "excerpt," or "revisit" texts either on their own or as part of "communal reading."[65] Periodicals (along with anthologies and abridgements) were an ideal medium for partial reading as they allowed women (or men) to read editor-selected excerpts or short essays in small allotments of time. Phillips argues that essays from periodicals such as *The Spectator* could be "valuable as a unit of length" for school children because it was "possible to reach the end [of an article] quickly and still have time to select key passages, look up vocabulary, diagram sentences, and analyze rhetoric."[66] Similarly, the brevity of periodical articles meant that women could read a whole article in brief moments of spare time between their domestic duties or social obligations.

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[63] Lupton observes that Sundays (in accordance with religious restrictions against working on the Sabbath) were an ideal time for women to read and that for youth the winter months were also considered good times for reading. *Reading*, 35.

[64] Lupton, *Reading*, 18.

[65] Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books*: *Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 74-77.

[66] Phillips, *Distraction*, 29.

The Female Spectator followed in the footsteps of Addison and Steele by providing women with a means of broadening their intellectual horizons in the brief snatches of time available to them. Mrs. Spectator asserts, "Reading is universally allowed to be one of the most improving, as well as agreeable Amusements," but readers should be careful to "single out" texts that are the most "conducive" to their learning.[67] Similarly, *The Lady's Preceptor* (1743) advised its readers "the Diversions of Reading, if they are well chosen, entertain and perfect at the same time, and convey Wisdom and Knowledge through Pleasure."[68] This conduct book also warns against women reading more than "one Subject" at a time, in order to avoid burdening "your Memory with a confused Mass of different Ideas and Images, which will be the Cause of your retaining nothing."[69] Thus, the brevity of the essays in periodicals allowed women to finish one topic between their daily duties or competing distractions.

Visual Representations: Coquettes Learning

In the first issue of Haywood's periodical, the eponymous Female Spectator introduces herself and her co-writers. The eidolon begins by explaining that in addition to her many experiences —"A thousand odd Adventures"— she has a "Genius tolerably extensive, and an Education more liberal than is ordinarily allowed to Persons of my Sex," which has inspired her to become an "Author" and share her knowledge with other, less experienced women.[70] However, she also acknowledges that she has "an infinite Deficiency both in Matter and Stile

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[67] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 17.

[68] D'Ancourt, *The Lady's Preceptor. Or, a Letter to a Young Lady of Distinction Upon Politeness,* 2nd ed. (London: J. Watts, 1743), 62.

[69] D'Ancourt, *Preceptor*, 62.

[70] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 18.

[sic]" and has accordingly sought out "Assistance of such my Acquaintances as were qualified for that purpose."[71] She then introduces the three fictional characters of Euphrosine, Mira, and a Widow of Quality to the readers. The four fictional personas represent a female version of Addison and Steele's Spectator Club, forming what Kathryn King calls a "little society" of authors.[72] They are treated as a unit, as "several members of one Body," of which the Female Spectator is "the Mouth."[73] This in effect, is a portrayal of an imagined counterpublic of women writers, working collaboratively to publish the periodical. In the second issue, Haywood explains how the group works together. The group "devote[s] two Evenings in every Week" to its editorial business. In their meetings, the group "communicate[s] to each other what Intelligence we receive, and consider on what Topicks we shall proceed" and "lay our several Productions on the Table, which being read over, every one has the Liberty of excepting against, or censuring whatever she disapproves; nothing being to be exhibited to the Public, without the joint Concurrence of all."[74] Each member of this society contributes to the whole. In the textual description of the Female Spectator Club, each woman is represented as sharing her unique knowledge, creating a "communal exchange" of ideas that produces collaborative writing.[75]

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[71] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 18.

[72] Kathryn King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 114.

[73] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 19.

[74] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 53.

[75] Amy Culley discusses the important role of communal writing in female literary communities in the context of women's life writing in the eighteenth century. She writes, "Inspired by Margaret Ezell's work, researchers have established the persistence of manuscript circulation, characterized by communal exchange and coterie readerships, as a significant and thriving model of authorship into the Romantic period." Her ideas on female collaboration are useful in thinking about how the Female Spectator textually portrays the imagined community of the Female

The Female Spectator's frontispieces complement the textual representation by visually representing a change from group female learning in the 1745 version to individual learning in the 1748 frontispiece. This is significant because Haywood's *The Female Spectator* suggests that the medium of the periodical is a way for women to form a community ("a concrete audience") without meeting in what Michael Warner has called a "visible space."[76] Learning by means of periodicals allows middle-class women to incorporate informal study into their domestic routines without the complications of hosting a group and barriers to participation in such semi-public gatherings. By depicting women learning separately, this second frontispiece also serves in effect as an advertisement for Haywood's publication; it promotes a kind of 'distance learning': a text-based sociability that encourages women to purchase periodicals and use them to connect with other readers.

Spectator Club. "Introduction" *British Women's Life Writing*, *1760-1840: Friendship, Community, and Collaboration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9.

[76] Michael Warner argues a public can be "a concrete audience, a crowd witnessing itself in visible space, as with a theatrical space." *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 66.

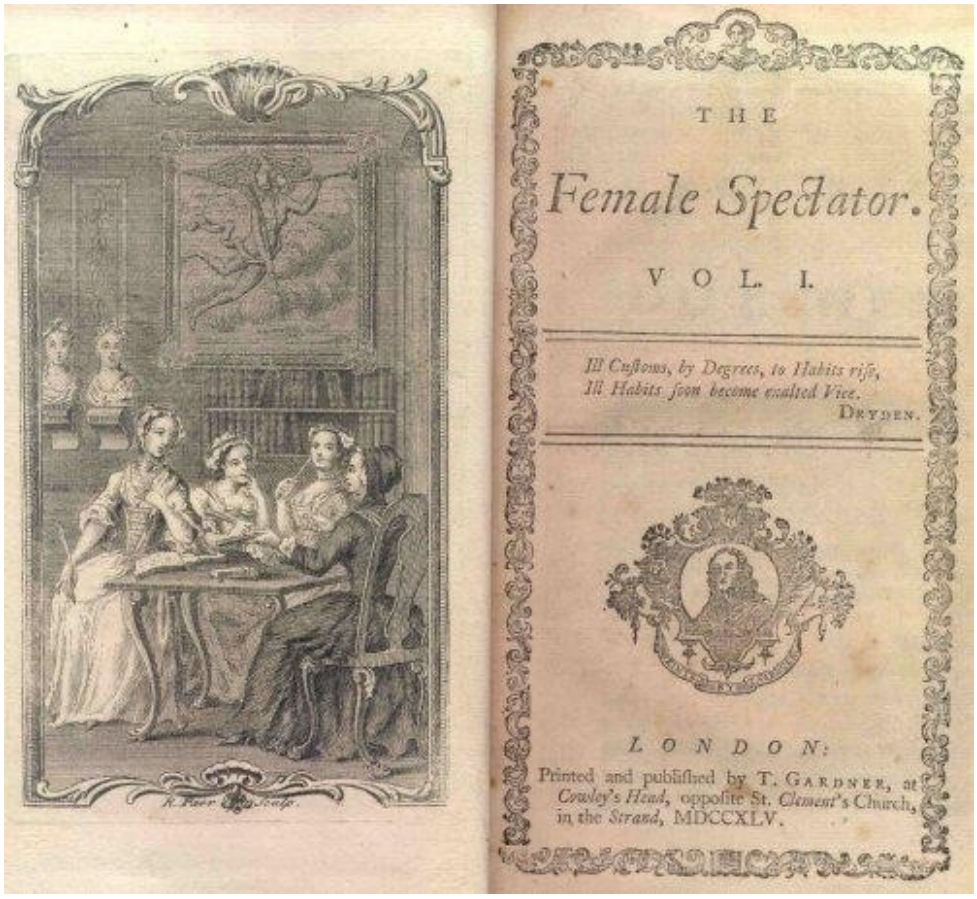

Figure 1.1: Frontispiece to *The Female Spectator* (1745) © courtesy of the General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Turning to the frontispieces themselves, the 1745 frontispiece to *The Female Spectator* (figure 1.1) depicts a community of women seated around a table in either a private parlour or a library, as signalled by the bookcase behind them. The women represent the fictional contributors to the periodical. They form a semi-circle and face one another. Of the three women facing outward, the one at the left with an opened notebook represents the Female Spectator; beside her are the recently married Mira and the unwed virgin Euphrosine. The three women

hold quills, and they are all intently listening to the fourth figure dressed in black, the Widow, who appears to suggest topics or ideas to the group.[77]

On the left of the illustration are two female busts. The two busts face toward the group of women, creating an impression that they are watching over and listening to the discussion. These busts, identified by name, represent the classical poet Sappho (630-550 BC) and the French intellectual Anne Le Fèvre, Madam Dacier (1645-1720). The choice of these two women is significant. Creel explains that they "conjure [up] the ghosts of educated and accomplished females of the past and give authority to the gathering at hand."[78] Indeed, eighteenth-century readers would readily associate Dacier with Sappho, since Dacier produced a prose rendering of the classic poet's work, one of several translations that sparked controversy, given the alleged licentiousness of the originals.[79] Her expertise in the classics earned Dacier praise but also controversy.[80] Dacier's translation of Sappho's work into French was based on her father's 1660's translation and generated a renewed interest in Sappho in both France and England. However, Dacier controversially showed a personal bias in her translation by changing the pronouns in Sappho's poem "Hymn to Aphrodite" (6th Century BC) from female to male, in contrast with both Ovid's and her father's translations of the hymn. Her change of genders in the

[77] I rely and build on Sara Creel ("(Re)Framing," 34-36) and Jennie Batchelor ("Connections," 250-251) description of the 1745 frontispiece in their articles.

[78] Creel, "(Re)Framing," 36

[79] Fern Farnham explains that the popularity of Dacier's translations in the eighteenth century was "stimulated by the demands of an ever-expanding reading public whose training in Latin was declining and whose knowledge in Greek was negligible" *Madame Dacier: Scholar and Humanist.* (Monterrey: Angel Press, 1976), 11-12.

[80] Rosie Wyles and Edith Hall, *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the Fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2016), 87.

translation was an attempt to morally reclaim Sappho in the eyes of the early modern readers, allowing Sappho to be remembered for her work, rather than for the notoriety of her "accused" sexual "misconduct."[81] Their presence in the frontispiece encourages periodical readers not only to learn, but also to partake in the dissemination of knowledge, in defiance of the perceived stigma associated with women who wrote.

In the early eighteenth century, this stigma was attached especially to women who wrote for money. As Manushag N. Powell explains, women "writing for hire smacks, if only faintly, of a kind of mental prostitution, but marriage requires mental as well as physical chastity: this is a problem faced by periodicalists of any sex, for family publicity, good or bad, is always a bit of a scandal."[82] In Haywood's case, her ability to write suggests she came from a genteel background, but the fact that she made a living from writing whilst unmarried was problematic. Haywood's own success and notoriety as a woman who wrote for money led to the perception that her reputation was questionable (as were the subjects of some of her works). The inclusion, therefore, of Sappho and Dacier in the frontispiece signifies not only female learning, but also women as literary iconoclasts protesting against the supposed transgressiveness of women writers. Consequently, the frontispiece encourages a conversation about learned women that compares the past with the present; it challenges periodical readers to consider how education or the lack thereof has shaped the lives of women from antiquity to the eighteenth century. In doing so, the frontispiece encourages readers to become learners and writers despite expectations that they privilege their domestic roles as daughters, wives, and mothers. The frontispiece visually

[81] Wyles and Hall, *Women Classical Scholars*, 9.

[82] Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 137.

creates a counterpublic in which Dacier and Sappho are welcome, both at the tea table and in the homes of the readers of *The Female Spectator*, as female intellectuals who model how women can reach their intellectual potential.

The 1745 frontispiece alludes to another stigma attached to women writers by its inclusion of a painting above the bookcase, depicting a winged woman blowing a horn. The figure of Fame (*Fama* in Latin or *Pheme* in Greek) is a personification of gossip and reputation. Thelma Fenster defines Fama as an allegorical figure who represents "'rumour' and idle talk, 'the things people say!' It is 'reputation' and 'memory' or 'memories,' 'the things people know.' It is 'fame', or perhaps 'glory', as well as their opposites, 'infamy' and 'defamation.'"[83] The painting satirically represents the malicious rumours and gossip often associated with women writers. Its presence behind the Female Spectator Club signifies their defiance of such slander. Moreover, as King argues, the painting teases out the real identity of the author behind the eidolon and perhaps serves as a form of self-promotion.[84] Indeed, the painting is reminiscent of one that hung outside of Haywood's pamphlet shop in Covent Garden from December 1741 to April 1744.[85] This was perhaps a form of self-promotion by the author or publisher to indicate to readers that Haywood was the author behind the eidolon. Readers familiar with Haywood's

[83] Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, *Fama: The Politics of the Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 2.

[84] King, *Political Biography*, 95.

[85] King makes a case for Haywood's involvement in the frontispiece in her argument of Haywood as a shrewd businessperson. Haywood's propensity for self-promotion suggests that the possibility of a direct connection between the Sign of Fame over the door of her print shop and the painting of Sign of Fame in the frontispiece, but given the lack of evidence linking the two, we can only surmise. *Political Biography*, 105.

pamphlet shop in Piazza Square on Russell Street would easily recognize the likeness.[86] King asserts, "by the end of her career, she [Haywood] was publishing anonymously and practicing 'the little arts of fame,' that is, the career-promoting self-advertisement required of professional writers."[87] Saddled with a reputation for "sexual ill fame" (propagated by opponents, such as Alexander Pope in his characterization of her in *The Dunciad* (1728-43)), Haywood became progressively more cautious in the use of her name in publications.[88] Instead, she left clues, often satirical, about her identity in her works, including the painting reproduced in the frontispiece. The representation of Fame points to the common predicament of Dacier and Sappho, with Haywood, all three women dogged by imputations of ill fame.[89]

Jennie Batchelor argues that there is a disconnect between the visual representation of "the centrality of community to the publication" in the 1745 frontispiece and the Female Spectator's assertion of pre-eminence as spokeswoman for the group. Batchelor points out that the guise of community was "little more than a 'pretence' that was all but abandoned after the

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[86] King, *Political Biography*, 105.

[87] Kathryn King, "Eliza Haywood, Fame and the Art of Self-Homage*" The Circuit of Apollo: Women's Tributes to Women Ed. Laura L. Runge and Jessica Cork* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2019), n. p.

[88] Fenster and Smail, *Fama*, 2.

[89] The second frontispiece removes visual clues that point to Haywood as the author of the periodical. The painting over the bookcase with the figure of Fame is removed, erasing the connection between the frontispiece and Haywood's pamphlet shop. The 1745 frontispiece had in in fact been published after the shop had closed, but buyers of the periodical might well have made the connection. By 1748, Haywood had moved on to other writing projects, and she had relocated her shop. In the second frontispiece, the painting is replaced by a bust of an unidentified bust, which also stands in for the Dacier and Sappho busts in the first frontispiece. King, *Political Biography*, 95.

first issue."[90] The description in the second issue of the club members fulfilling individual roles for their bi-weekly meeting complicates Batchelor's argument, however, as well as the alternate frontispiece produced in 1748 for the second edition of *The Female Spectator* (figure 1.2). It is unclear why the frontispiece was altered for the second edition, but it appears to be a more accurate visualization of the descriptions in the second issue of the club members' individual roles within the learning community.[91] The 1748 frontispiece shifts the focus from communal learning to collaborative writing within an intellectual counterpublic of individual women writers.

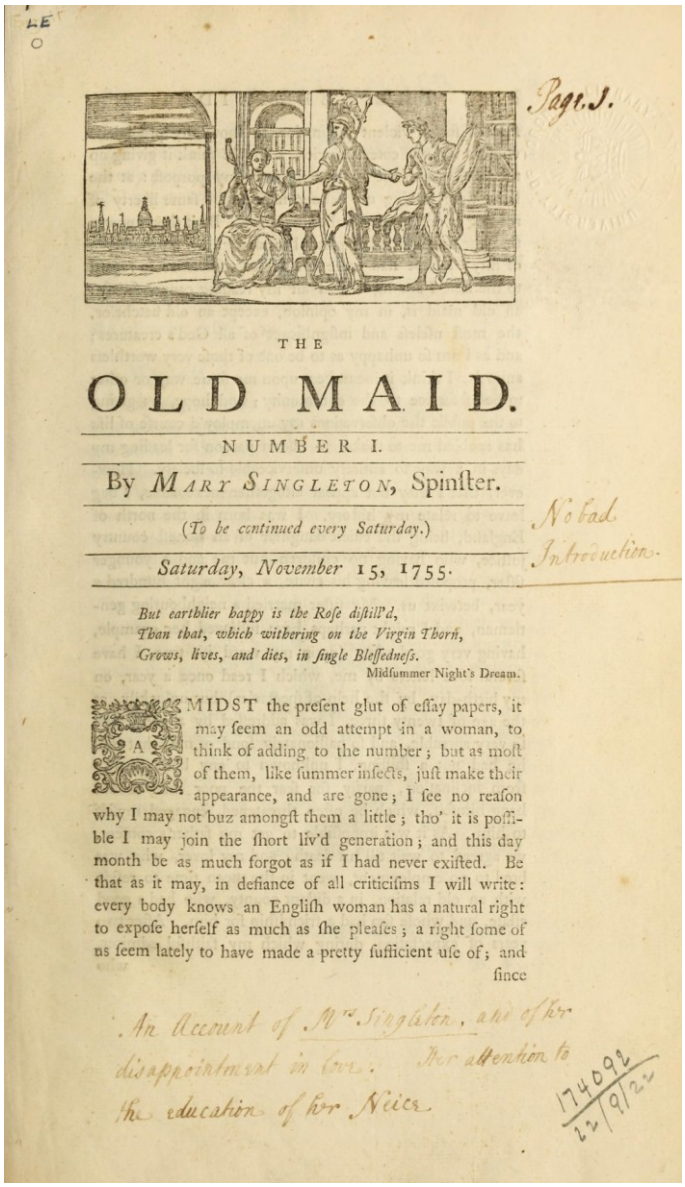
Figure 1.2: Frontispiece to *The Female Spectator* 2nd ed., 1748© By permission of of the British Library Board, P.P. 5251.ga. © Eighteenth Century Collections Online

[90] Batchelor, "Connections," 250.

[91] Creel explains there is no evidence that points to whether the changes in the visual representations were the purposeful intention of Haywood, her editor, or the different etchers. The first etching was done by Remi Parr and the second one was done by S. Wale. "(Re)Framing," 34.

The changes in the placement of the women in the second frontispiece are subtle, yet significant, as they offer a different conception of a female counterpublic. A comparison of the two frontispieces signals a change in the role of the individual in a coterie. In the first frontispiece, we see the women acting as a unit, learning together from the widow. In the second frontispiece, the varying positions of the women signify that, while they are parts of a learning community, they are reading and reflecting individually and then discussing what they have read and learned with one another. They are more accurately depicting the description in the second issue of the club's weekly meetings, with the individual members reporting on their "intelligence" and "Topicks" for articles. As members of "the little society," they are associated with the community, but visually they have subtly changed from a collective learning together to individuals creating a communal exchange of knowledge. This represents a slow change in attitudes toward giving women time and space to learn. The most pivotal change is the position of the eidolon. Her back now faces the viewer, and she has her eyes fixed on her paper. I contend this represents her changed role within the community. I agree with Sara Creel's argument that "the image places the emphasis on the role of the author as recorder of culture and female experience because the woman writing is an amanuensis rather than an active participant."[92] No longer an active participant in the communal learning, the eidolon plays a more passive role as recorder. The emphasis is placed on the importance of the individual members as informants and the eidolon's editorial reliance on the information they furnish.

[92] Creel, "(Re)Framing," 37.



Page 1.

THE

OLD MAID.

NUMBER I.

By MARY SINGLETON, Spinſter.

(To be continued every Saturday.)

Saturday, November 15, 1755.

No bad Introduction.

But earthlier happy is the Roſe diſtill'd,
Than that, which withering on the Virgin Thorn,
Grows, lives, and dies, in ſingle Bleſſedneſs.
Midſummer Night's Dream.

AMIDST the preſent glut of eſſay papers, it may ſeem an odd attempt in a woman, to think of adding to the number; but as moſt of them, like ſummer inſects, juſt make their appearance, and are gone; I ſee no reaſon why I may not buz amongſt them a little; tho' it is poſſible I may join the ſhort liv'd generation; and this day month be as much forgot as if I had never exiſted. Be that as it may, in defiance of all criticiſms I will write: every body knows an Engliſh woman has a natural right to expoſe herſelf as much as ſhe pleaſes; a right ſome of us ſeem lately to have made a pretty ſufficient uſe of; and ſince

An Account of Mrs. Singleton, and of her disappointment in Love. Her attention to the education of her Niece

174092
22/9/22

Figure 1.3: Emblematic illustration to *The Old Maid*, 1755 © Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, The University of Toronto.

Ten years later, Frances Brooke prefaced the title of her periodical, *The Old Maid*, with a woodcut (figure 1.3). It serves a function similar to that of Haywood's frontispieces, as it visually introduces readers to the content of the periodical, but it does so with one key difference. The illustration to *The Old Maid* was reproduced at the head of every issue, whereas the frontispiece of *The Female Spectator* appeared only in the first book of the collected edition. As

a repeated illustration, not unlike a logo, the woodcut continually reinforces the periodical's didactic purpose; it shapes the first impression of readers as they begin their perusal of each issue. Specifically, the illustration reminds the periodical reader to fit learning in between their daily tasks, here represented by the spinning of wool. In contrast with the frontispiece to *The Female Spectator*, which appeared several months after the first issue of the periodical, the emblematic illustration in *The Old Maid* appeared at the head of every issue from the very beginning. In contrast, the first frontispiece to *The Female Spectator* was published in the ninth issue of the periodical, in anticipation that readers would compile and bind the completed first volume. This meant that initial readers did not read the text alongside the image.

Figure 1.4: Emblematic illustration to *The Old Maid* no. 1, 1755 © Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, The University of Toronto.

Figure 1.5: Emblematic illustration to *The Old Maid* no. 37, 1756 Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, The University of Toronto.

The two images also differ in the means of their production. The *Old Maid* illustration has all the earmarks of a woodcut. Woodcuts were cheaper to produce and were added at the time of printing, and hence were an obvious choice for banners and printer's ornaments. Whereas, for more detailed or finer images, such as *The Female Spectator* frontispieces and William Hogarth's satirical prints, artists used zinc or copper plate etchings.[93] Sara Werner explains the lines in a woodcut are often wobbly indicating that they were "created by carving out white spaces around them."[94] A slightly wobbly lined border is visible in the illustration (figure 1.4). The most interesting indication that the print was made by a woodcut is in the diminished quality of the image between the first (figure 1.4) and last (figure 1.5) issues, which

[93] Sara Werner explains that etchings are a type of "Intaglio print" (from the Italian word Intagliare, to carve) on metal plates. *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450-1800: A Practical Guide* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2019), 66.

indicates the wear and tear to the woodblock with repeated use. There is evidence of cracking in the banner in the final issue, with the line on the left side of the illustration broken and partially shifted to the right. The image is also darker, suggesting that more ink was needed to produce the print due to the woodcut wearing down. This could in part explain why the banner illustration was not used in the second edition of the periodical printed in 1764.

Like the frontispieces to *The Female Spectator*, *The Old Maid'*s illustration features a woman in a library whose columns and archways are in the popular neoclassical style of architectural design. Unlike the closed spaces of the previous frontispieces, this room is partially open to the outdoors with an archway, through which the urban landscape of London is represented by the river Thames and St. Paul's Cathedral. At the right are bookshelves, indicating that the room is a study. Facing the female learner is Minerva, the Roman Goddess. She serves an iconic purpose similar to that of Dacier and Sappho in the 1745 *Female Spectator* frontispiece.[95] Minerva holds a manuscript in her left hand, which is outstretched to the learner, while her right hand points to a male figure whose brows are crowned with laurel. He appears to be Apollo, the Roman God of Poetry. In his left hand, he holds a shield and in his right hand, he holds a trumpet that could signify classical tales of bravery.

The woodcut depicts how a woman can combine a household duty with reading. The woman faces the figures, with her back to the urban scene. This suggests that she is diligent in

[95] Batchelor explains that by "mid-century" periodicals "abandon[ed] the more controversial Sappho, who had appeared in the frontispiece of Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator,*" for Minerva. She notes that "Jasper Goodwill's bi-monthly *Ladies Magazine: or, the Universal Entertainer* (1749-53) featured an ornate engraving in which Minerva, overseen by a flying Mercury (god of eloquence and trade), points to a seated woman, quill in hand and surrounded by books, in the direction of a temple of fame" followed by Frances Brooke in 1755 and Charlotte Lennox is 1760. "UnRomantic Authorship," 80.

her household duties and eschews the commercial distractions of London. In appearance, she is a woman of some means, as her dress depicts the current fashionable trends of truffled sleeves, an open bodice, and a stomacher. She is portrayed as spooling yarn: she holds a drop spindle, and on the table beside her are her distaff and a ball of yarn. The two classical figures serve as a visual reminder that women can incorporate reading into their busy lives.

In the second edition of *The Old Maid* (1764), the illustration was dropped (replaced by a printer's ornament of a bird, which appeared only at the beginning of the text). The removal of the woodcut in the subsequent editions of *The Old Maid* erases the periodical's visual participation in the intertextual conversation on the development of women's informal education in the second half on the eighteenth century. However, as I will argue, the similarity between the emblem and the frontispieces to *The Lady's Museum* and *The Lady's Magazine* suggests that periodical editors were familiar enough with the emblematic image to respond to it in their own visual representations of women learning.

Five years later, Lennox built on the visual and textual representations of women learning in *The Female Spectator* and *The Old Maid* to urge women once again to balance educational reading with the ever-growing list of distractions available to them. In the first issue of *The Lady's Museum*, the Trifler writes, "the subjects I propose to treat of will be such as reading and observation shall furnish me with; for, with a strong passion for intellectual pleasures, I have likewise a taste for many of the fashionable amusements, and in the disposition of my time, I have contrived to gratify both these inclinations."[96] In doing so, the Trifler suggests that women needed to balance the pursuit of learning and fashionable amusements. To satisfy what Domingo

[96] Charlotte Lennox, *The Lady's Museum. By the Author of The Female Quixote. (*London: J. Newbery and J Coote, 1760), 4.

calls a "commercial demand for pleasure," Lennox offers her readers a periodical that claims to both educate and entertain.[97] Like the previous images we have discussed, the frontispiece to *The Lady's Museum* depicts a woman engaged in study, guided and protected by several classical figures, who shield her from the temptations of love. These figures serve as a preview of the history lessons on ancient civilizations that Lennox provides.[98]

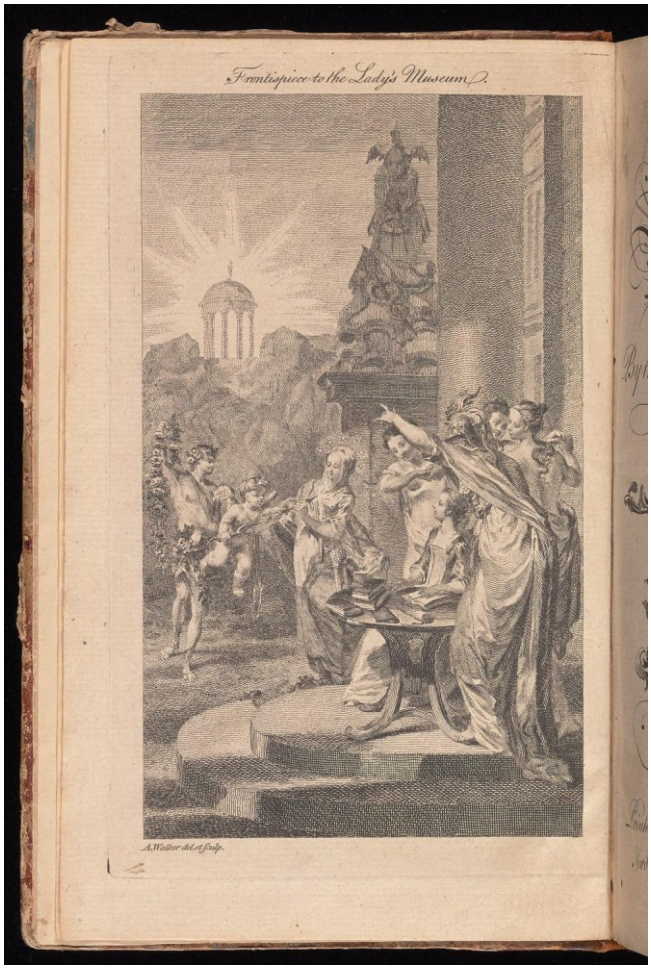


Figure 1.6: Frontispiece to *The Lady's Museum* (1760) © Courtesy of the General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[97] Domingo, *Rhetoric Diversion*, 2.

[98] There is no archival evidence that distinguishes whether the correspondent letters published in *The Lady's Museum* were real or imagined.

The frontispiece itself (figure 1.6) revisits the theme of women who routinely fit informal learning into their lives.[99] The frontispiece depicts a city courtyard scene with a woman seated at a table covered with books and papers. Her head is raised, and she looks off to the distance. To her right is Minerva. She points to a circular temple-like building in the background. Directly behind the learner, three women represent the Three Graces: Euphrosyne (Joy), Agalia (Radiance) and Thalmia (Flowering). To the left of the Graces is a woman fully clothed from head to toe with draping fabric and a crown of stars above her head. Scholars are unsure whom this figure represents. One somewhat peculiar possibility, given England's Protestantism, is that she is a representation of the Virgin Mary because of the halo of stars; however, the figure could instead symbolize theological study in combination with classical studies.[100] She uses her right hand to stop an arrow, and her left hand pushes away a small winged boy who represents Cupid. Behind him, there may be a representation of Apollo, the God of Poetry.

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[99] The well-known illustrator Anthony Walker created *The Lady's Museum* frontispiece. In 1762, Walker also made the cover and illustrations for Lennox's novel *Sophia*. The fact that Walker illustrated both of Lennox's works strengthens the likelihood that Lennox was directly involved in the design process of the frontispiece for *The Lady's Museum*. It is unknown whether Lennox herself commissioned Walker or if her publisher did. Carlile suggests that as Walker "engraved a frontispiece for Newbery's Atlas Minimus in 1758 ... it seems likely that Newbery rather than Lennox... hired him." But as King asserts, Lennox was an "entrepreneurial" woman who oversaw all aspects of her writing, so it seems possible that she was involved in the approval process of the frontispiece (and the other images for the periodical). Walker (along with his brother William) illustrated frontispieces for several books and periodicals. His portfolio includes the illustrations for Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778) and Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall* (1762). Lennox perhaps had become familiar with Walker's work through his engraving of Pope's "Rape of the Lock" in 1751.

[100] A similar figure appears in the frontispiece to volume 3 of *The Female Spectator*.

There is some controversy about this frontispiece, as scholars cannot agree on what the figures in the scene represent. For example, there is speculation about the inclusion of the Cupid figure in the frontispiece. Does he represent a distraction or an aid to the learner? It would be easy to assume that Cupid and his arrow distract the learner from matters of the head to matters of the heart. I surmise the answer lies in the connection between Cupid and the figure directly behind him. Iona Italia suggests this figure is a "possible suitor,"[101] whereas Carlile maintains that the man behind Cupid is "Apollo, the god of poetry."[102] These contrasting views, I suggest, capture Lennox's didactic purpose: to instigate debate about the value of women's diversions, whether for amusement or for education and improvement. If the latter, Cupid can be seen as stimulating the learner's passion for reading; if the former, Cupid is offering the learner the distraction of a suitor. Rather than seeing these possibilities as mutually exclusive, I would argue that Lennox includes Cupid to represent a passion for learning the arts and to challenge the notion that courtship and learning are incompatible. Moreover, the inclusion of Apollo in the frontispiece recalls the woodcut of *The Old Maid*, in which Apollo aids the learner in her studies. Lennox's frontispiece suggests, in short, that a young woman could be passionate both for love (leading to marriage) and for learning, as Cupid works in partnership with Apollo to endow the learner with a love for poetry and for a suitor.

The inclusion of the Three Graces links Lennox's frontispiece to the critique of the stereotypically female preoccupation with adornment. The goddess to the left of the learner, Euphrosyne, shares a name with one of the correspondents in *The Female Spectator*

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[101] Iona Italia, *The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century: Anxious Employment* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 193.

[102] Carlile, *An Independent Mind*, 191.

(Euphrosine).[103] Haywood's eidolon explains that this correspondent "has all the Chearfulness [sic] and Sweetness ascribed to that Goddess."[104] The description both suits a goddess and a friend who would help a learner in her studies. The other two Graces behind the learner are dancing with each another and, unlike Euphrosyne, they are not in conversation with the seated learner. I contend that Agalia and Thalmia represent the coquettish distractions associated with radiance or beauty and flowering, such as going to balls and attending to one's appearance.[105] Lennox builds on Haywood's argument that coquettishness is a learned behaviour and not an innate trait. She uses the Graces to represent some of the many amusements that are incorporated into coquettish behaviour. Lennox argues that intellectual study is a form of healthy amusement that can be balanced with commercial amusements. Thus, she challenges the negative definition of *trifle* ("to make of no importance") and re-associates it with a tangible way that women could incorporate learning into their lives.[106]

Finally, the inclusion of Minerva in the image points to the intellectual potential of women. Eighteenth-century readers were familiar with the Goddess of Wisdom in association with female figures of state. Elizabeth I was considered the "New Minerva" as the leader of English forces against the Spanish, and as a wise monarch. The iconic classical figure is

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[103] The name "Euphrosyne" is also used by Benjamin Martin in *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy, in a Continued Survey of the Works of Nature and Art; by Way of Dialogue (*1759).

[104] Haywood, *Female Spectator*, *Vol. I & II,* 19.

[105] The three Graces were familiar iconography by the eighteenth century and featured in numerous paintings. For example, the paintings *The Three Graces* by Raphael (1502-1503) and *The Three Graces* by Paul Ruben (1693).

[106] Samuel Johnson, "History" *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. 2021. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/views/search.php?term=trifle.

associated with several culture-specific names: Minerva, Pallas Athena, and Britannia. As such, Italia names the figure Pallas Athena, the Greek Goddess of Wisdom,[107] but Carlile suggests that the woman is "Britannia," the personification of the Roman name for Great Britain.[108] Despite their different identifications, both Italia and Carlile agree that the figure is helping the learner pursue classical studies. The former connects the frontispiece to Greek mythology whereas the latter connects the figure to native British mythology. While her identity is up for debate, she clearly personifies female strength and learning. She is the largest figure in the image, dominating the foreground, and stands closest to the learner. The learner appears to be following Minerva's arm, which points to the temple in the background. Lennox thus builds on the previous representation of Minerva in *The Old Maid* as a mentor of female study to include several classical figures that represent the topics of ancient, modern, and secret history explored in the periodical.

The Lady's Museum's frontispiece expands on the themes broached in *The Female Spectator* and *The Old Maid*. Firstly, Lennox's frontispiece opens up the perspective, leaving behind the closed, private spaces in the 1745 and 1748 frontispieces and offers a more open view of the outside world, a public space. This movement, I argue, makes the point that women have a place in a larger intellectual sphere. In moving the scene from indoors to outdoors, the frontispiece shows women venturing toward the development of mixed-gender public spheres. *The Lady's Museum* frontispiece offers a visual cue to its readers that the periodical will be a

[107] Italia, *Anxious Employment*, 193.

[108] Carlile, *Independent Mind*, 191.

"cultural response" to commercial diversions.[109] It appropriates Minerva as a figure of not only intellect, but also of healthy printed diversions. The periodical offers women a justification to adorn their minds with reading *The Lady's Museum*, as a form of "intellectual beautification."[110] As Lupton argues, "[g]ood reading was a matter of giving a certain kind of time to an object," cutting out or delaying the temptation of empty consumer-based fashionable diversions on offer in the second half of the eighteenth century.[111]

Almost thirty years later, a frontispiece, to volume 20 of the *The Lady's Magazine* (1789), shows a woman in her private study. Unlike the previously discussed periodicals, this magazine was not associated with a female author/editor, and it lacks an eidolon or personified editor. Its male editor, George Robinson, built on the success of female-authored periodicals. If Haywood, Brooke, and Lennox encouraged their readers to submit letters and articles to foster discussion of disciplinary learning, *The Lady's Magazine* achieved that goal by having much of its content supplied by its readers. Batchelor explains "[t]he magazine's longevity in an overpopulated periodical marketplace" is because of "its reliance upon a network of amateur anonymous and pseudonymous 'female Correspondents,' who provided the bulk of the magazine's diverse content free of charge."[112] Moreover, *The Lady's Magazine* addressed the concerns expressed in Lennox's frontispiece about distraction by including articles on personal

[109] Domingo contends that "part of the broad cultural response to the commercialization of leisure was that diversion became an important topic of discourse in commercial literature published in the closing years of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century," such as periodicals. Lennox's periodical serves as a positive cultural response because it went beyond diverting or amusing to be educating. *Rhetoric Diversion*, 59.

[110] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 71,

[111] Lupton, *Reading*, 63.

[112] Batchelor, "Connections," 245.

and "intellectual beautification" while also acknowledging domestic duties. In the January 1789 issue, articles included "A Series of Letters on Education," "Thoughts on Female Dress," "Description of the Church of St. Peter at Rome," and "A Recipe for Making Teeth Black." Indeed, these articles offered a wide curriculum of healthy diversions. Batchelor notes that another issue of the magazine gave readers "geographical knowledge" combined with the diversion of embroidery "by inviting readers to stitch the contours of nations onto fabric."[113] As such, the magazine enacts Lennox's re-definition of "trifling" by combining entertaining and learning into one amusement. The inscription for the frontispiece describes the magazine's intent to combine both forms of amusement: "AN elegant Female Figure, seated in her Library, contemplating the Beauties of the LADIES MAGAZINE, represents Study, who is crowned by Wisdom, in the Character of Minerva, with a Chaplet of Laurel, assisted by Cupid, displaying the Torch of Hymen."[114] This last frontispiece picks up elements from the previously discussed images but presents a more secluded countryside scene to represent equilibrium between social or commercial distractions and learning.[115]

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[113] Jennie Batchelor, '[T]o Cherish *Female* ingenuity and to Conduce to *Female* Improvement':
The Birth of the Woman's Magazine" *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820's*, edited by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, 378-392 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 388.

[114] *The Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to Their Use and Amusement* 20, no. 1 (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 2.

[115] There is a rich history of associating Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom with female learning and writing in *The Lady's Magazine*. See Batchelor's in-depth discussion in her article, "UnRomantic Authorship," 73-93.

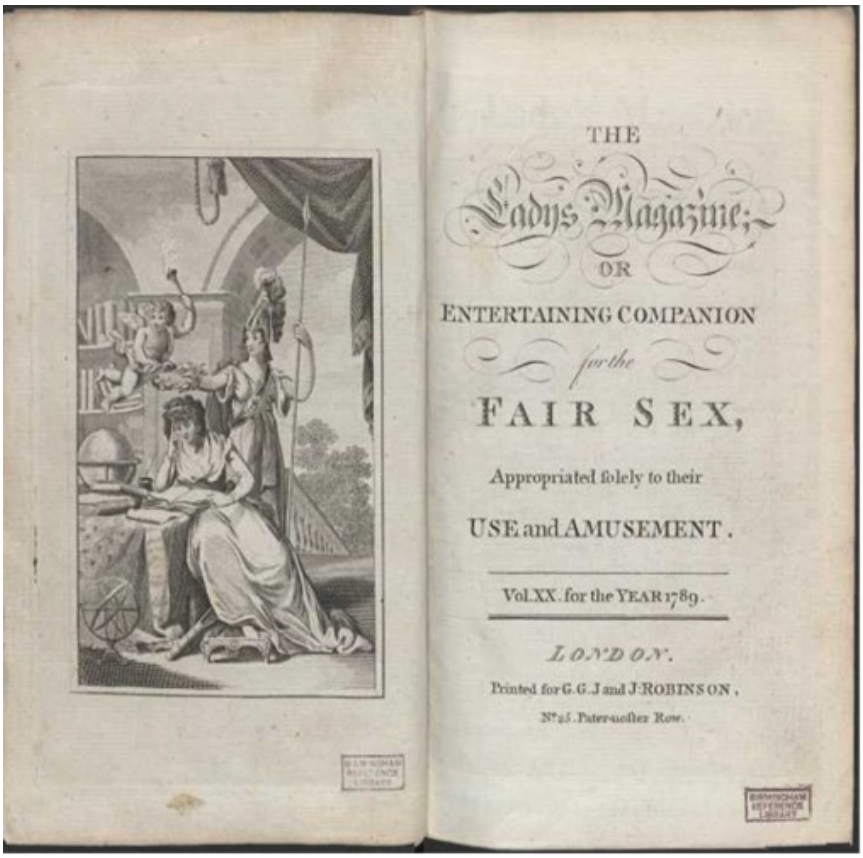

Figure 1.7: Frontispiece to *The Lady's Magazine; or entertaining companion for...*, (1789) © Birmingham Central Library © Adam Matthew Digital 2022.

The 1789 frontispiece (figure 1.7) depicts a woman's private study. The learner, who is focused on her reading, sits at a table with several books and a candle. Behind her is a representation of Minerva, signalled by her helmet adorned with feathers. In her left arm, Minerva holds a spear, and with her right, she proffers a laurel crown just above the reading woman's head. To the right of the learner, Cupid helps Minerva place the laurel crown; he also holds a lit torch in his right hand. At the learner's feet are a book, a footstool, and an armillary sphere that symbolizes her studies in natural philosophy. Behind and to the right of the learner there are more books and a globe signalling the study of geography. Directly behind the learner and Minerva is an arched doorway that reveals a stone stair railing leading down to a tree-lined vista beneath a clear sky.

The Lady's Magazine's frontispiece shares several elements with the emblematic illustration in Brooke's *The Old Maid* and the frontispiece to Lennox's *The Lady's Museum*. First, the learner is in a visually similar space as depicted in Brooke's illustration: both images show a doorway opening to the outside, and both rooms, apparently libraries, include a table, a bookcase, and neoclassical archways. I would suggest, however, that *The Lady's Magazine* frontispiece responds to images like Brooke's with some revealing changes in the representation of a female space for study and contemplation. In the earlier image, Minerva shows the learner how she can incorporate learning into her day. In this frontispiece, Minerva is instead recognizing the learner's work with a crown of laurel reminiscent of the one Apollo traditionally wears. Cupid, meanwhile, holds up the torch of Hymen, Roman God of marriage, signaling for the learner the prospect of a suitable husband. In both illustrations, the learner has her back to the outdoors to signify a focus on her domestic tasks and learning. In contrast to *The Old Maid* image behind the learner (and Minerva), the exterior is empty, giving the library a feeling of an *ivory tower*, an isolated space for study.

The learner's table in the *Lady's Magazine* frontispiece is comparable to the Trifler's table in *The Lady's Museum* frontispiece, with several texts laid out on them. The difference between the two illustrations, however, is the attention of the learner. In Lennox's frontispiece, the learner looks towards a temple, but here, the learner concentrates on her books. There are hints of untidiness, with books on the floor and a disorganized bookshelf suggesting that the woman spends a great deal of time in the library at study. The progression from a group of women learning in Haywood's *The Female Spectator*, to a woman being advised on how to fit learning around her daily duty of spindling in Brooke's *The Old Maid*, to a woman learning a curriculum of history in a public courtyard in Lennox's *The Lady's Museum*, is completed by

The Lady's Magazine representation of a woman who is given time and space for her studies. At the end of this progression of periodical frontispieces, Robinson's ideal learner has retired to the countryside, far away from the distractions of city society. Rather than urban spectacles, the articles of the magazine provide the reader with distractions of amusement and education.

Batchelor questions why many of the frontispieces for Robinson's *The Lady's Magazine* have illustrations with a "common focus on a solitary reader." She argues, it "is out of kilter with the magazine's self-declared efforts to establish connections and conversations between readers and authors."[116] She contends that contrary to Haywood's model of learning in *The Female Spectator*, there were in *The Lady's Magazine* several voices ("mouths") that were "sometimes… encouraging of dissent."[117] In Robinson's periodical, consensus was achieved by a community of readers rather than one editor. This is precisely why an illustration of a solitary reader seems to be a strange choice on the part of Robinson's printers. I argue, however, that despite the appearance of an individual woman, the 1789 frontispiece represents a learner who is in fact taking part in a virtual learning community. We are meant to assume that she is in the process of reading and submitting her own articles to the periodical. Rather than a set editor or editorial board, she is one of many possible contributors to the wider community of *Lady's Magazine's* readers. To use Warner's terms, she is participating in a "concrete audience" in a virtual—rather than a visible—counterpublic. Thus, unlike in *The Female Spectator* frontispieces, the community does not meet in person, but rather, its participants learn individually and then submit their individual contributions to the periodical's group discussions on proto-disciplinary topics.

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[116] Batchelor, "Connections," 251.

[117] Batchelor, "Connections," 251.

The Re-appropriation of a Proto-proto-feminist

These visual representations of women learning intellectual topics in *The Female Spectator*, *The Old Maid*, *The Lady's Museum,* and *The Lady's Magazine* aimed to inspire a generation of middle-class women to cultivate their intellect through reading that they fit in between their household duties and entertainment-based distractions. The images illustrate the progressive acceptance of women's informal learning, giving them space and time to do so. A curriculum of intellectual topics introduced in *The Female Spectator* continued through to *The Lady's Magazine*. Thanks to the seven editions of Haywood's periodical, women could read Haywood's periodical alongside *The Old Maid*, *The Lady's Museum,* and *The Lady's Magazine.* Reading the periodicals together, women got a diverse curriculum with articles on natural philosophy, history, and literature. The later periodicals re-appropriate Minerva as a symbol of wisdom who is not yet opposed to healthy entertaining diversions. *The Lady's Magazine* combined entertaining articles on hairdressing, embroidery, theatre performances, and love advice to give women readers a balance of education and amusements. I argue that the intertextual conversation about how women could fit learning into their day that began with Haywood's periodical and continued for three decades, makes *The Female Spectator* an instigator for a "public" of women learners. It helped to advance the discussion on when and how women should include learning in between their other obligations. In the process of its seven editions, Haywood's periodical prompted the formation of female counterpublics whose intellectual discussions took the form of female-correspondent-written letters and articles in *The Lady's Magazine*. Periodicalists well into the nineteenth century, claiming to advance the role of women within broader intellectual public spheres, continued the discussion that Haywood began.

The use of classical iconography in frontispieces, emblems, and bookplates was a common practice in the eighteenth century. Publishers, librarians, and artists used figures such as Sappho, Minerva, Apollo, and Cupid to inspire eighteenth-century readers to learn and to emulate the intellectual habits of classical society. As Batchelor explains, "Year after year, hundreds of such [Minerva] frontispieces adorned periodicals… [yet] [n]one of these publications had particular associations with women although all boasted content written and read by both sexes."[118] Periodicals such as *The Universal Magazine* (1747-1814) and *The London Magazine* (1747-83) were two of the "hundreds" of publications that utilized Minerva to signify intellectual knowledge.[119] *The Lady's Magazine: or, The Universal Entertainer* (1749-53) was the first women-centric publication to use Minerva in its frontispiece. Brooke and Lennox then followed with their representations of Minerva. The use of Minerva in these different publications illustrates the profitability of the iconic classical figure. They combined Minerva iconography with proto-disciplinary articles that enabled eighteenth-century women not only to become informal scholars but also to participate in the dissemination of knowledge. Robinson's *The Lady's Magazine* then furthered Minerva's representation of female intellect in a periodical that addressed a counterpublic of learning females who were interested in learning how to beautify their minds and bodies. Unlike *The Old Maid* or *The Lady's Museum*, Robinson's magazine addressed the growing commercialization of women adorning their bodies (along with their minds) for marriage. Over the magazine's first twenty years, Minerva was featured in fifteen of the twenty frontispieces. As Batchelor argues, "Minerva takes centre stage

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[118] Batchelor, "UnRomantic Authorship," 80.

[119] James Raven, "The Representation of Philanthropy and Reading in the Eighteenth-Century Library" *Libraries & Culture* 3, no. 2 (1996): 502.

as guide, counsellor, and protector of its female readers, muse of its authors, and as precedent for the ideal of virtuous female learning the periodical promoted."[120] While Haywood's *Female Spectator* re-appropriated Sappho as a figure of intellect rather than scandal, *The Lady's Magazine* reclaims the traditionally intellectual Minerva as a figure who embraces the periodical form as an acceptable fashionable and intellectual diversion for women.

Figure 1.8: Frontispiece to *The Young gentleman's & Lady's magazine, or Universal repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Amusement, ... to Serve as an Useful Auxiliary to Public and Private Tuition*, eds. Dr. Mavor (1799) © By Permission of the British Library General Reference Collection P.P.5992.ab. © Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[120] Batchelor, "UnRomatic Authorship," 80.

Figure 1.9: Frontispiece to *Lady's Magazine; and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge* (1792) © By permission of the British Library's General Reference Collection P.P.6334. © Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

The classical figure of Minerva also appeared in children's periodicals in the latter half of the eighteenth century, such as *The Young Gentleman & Lady's Magazine* (1799). It has a frontispiece (figure 1.8) that illustrates "Apollo and Minerva conducting Youth's of both sexes to the Temple of Science."[121] The temple shares a likeness to the one in Lennox's frontispiece. The 1799 frontispiece represents the classical figures as teachers, guiding children in their studies. The periodical has a selection of polite literature, moral essays, and instructive tales along with

[121] *The Young gentleman's & lady's magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Amusement, ... to Serve as an Useful Auxiliary to Public and Private Tuition,* ed. Dr. Mavor (London J. Walker, 1799-1800).

lessons on natural philosophy, geography and politics. As well, the *Lady's magazine; and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge* (1792) published in Philadelphia, has a frontispiece (figure 1.9) with figures that share a likeness to Minerva and Apollo. A figure sitting on the chair has Minerva's iconic spear and the figure to the right of her, has Apollo's iconic trumpet and laurel crown. The explanation of the image labels the sitting figure as "the Genius of the Ladies Magazine" with the figure to the right as "the Genius of Emulation, who carries in her hand a laurel crown." [122] A figure kneeling is presenting the Minerva figure "with a copy of Rights of Woman" recognizing the contemporary literary genius and proto-feminist Mary Wollstonecraft.[123] The periodical's aim is "to please, instruct, and entertain the fair" by blending "amusement, with instruction" and "charm – by mixing profit with delight."[124] The periodical has a combination of articles on polite literature, natural philosophy, geography and politics. The magazine is offered as an "approved" text by "persons of Erudition and Learning" to be used in "boarding-schools through out [sic] the content."[125] The magazine claims "to regulate the taste, form the judgement and improve the mind." [126] These two examples show how Minerva was further re-appropriated as a teacher to young women (and men).

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[122] *Lady's magazine; and Repository of entertaining knowledge* (Philadelphia: William Gibbons, 1792), V.

[123] The periodical prints "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" with the inscription "This lady is known to the world by her answer to Mr. Burke and we now behold her employing her pen in behalf of own sex." Gibbons, *Lady's Magazine*, 189.

[124] Gibbons, *Lady's Magazine*, iii.

[125] Gibbons, *Lady's Magazine*, v.

[126] Gibbons, *Lady's Magazine*, iv.

Figure 1.10: Frontispiece to *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences, Philosophical, Philological, Mathematical and Mechanical; under the following heads: V. Miscellaneous Correspondence, Essays, Poetry, Remarkable Occurrences* (1759) © By permission of The British Library, General Reference Collection 250.k.8-21. © Eighteenth Century Collections Online

Several other periodical frontispieces in eighteenth century represented women adorning their minds with intellectual topics in the eighteenth century. While not all of them included classical figures like Minerva or Sappho, they depicted a progression in the time and space allowed for women to pursue informal studies. For example, the frontispiece to Benjamin Martin's to *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* (1759-63) illustrates a female learning from a tutor. The image previews the theme of the periodical's serialized narrative, "The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy." It depicts a didactic dialogue between a brother and sister. The sister, Euphroysne is a keen reader who is interested in furthering her education in natural

philosophy.[127] Her brother Cleonicus is a university student who has come home on break to lead his sister in the course of rudimentary lessons of natural philosophy. The frontispiece signifies the topic of the dialogue. It shares key aspects of the five images discussed in this chapter. Like in Haywood's, Brooke's, and The *Lady's Magazine's* illustrations, the siblings are in a private library.

Unlike Lennox's periodical, there are no competing diversions; Euphroysne is focused on her lessons. The image is reminiscent of Haywood's 1745 frontispiece with the two bookcases behind her and a bust of a female over the door. The female learner is holding a book in her left hand and is looking directly at her brother. Beside her, there is telescope, indicating the study of astronomy. Between the siblings, there is a world globe, which I surmise signifies that the dialogue incorporates discussions of geography and animals around the world. Cleonicus is facing his sister, with his right hand on the globe and his left hand pointing to the window. Outside the window there are stars visible, strengthening the representation of learning astronomy. The significance of the image is the depiction of a young middle-rank woman taught by a tutor, which is a step closer to formalized lessons. He offers her an education in natural philosophy that can only be achieved through reading and observation, as it is not taught in schools. As such, the periodical depicts a combination of tutor-led lessons inside and observation of nature outside. In the following chapter, I compare how Martin's dialogue illustrates how Euphrosyne learns natural philosophy through in-depth guided lessons in comparison to how Haywood's and Lennox's periodicals claim that women can learn about the beauty of nature by performing experiments and reading descriptive articles on the life cycles of insects and small animals.

[127] Note the spelling difference between Haywood's Euphrosine and Martin's Euphroysne, which both presumably take after the Greco-Roman Goddess of Joy.

Chapter Two: Laywomen Experimenting with Natural Philosophy

In the third volume of *The Female Spectator* (1744-46), Haywood's eidolon "confess[es] that there is nothing more entertaining, or more profitable to the Mind than the Study of Natural Philosophy."[128] A series of letters follows in the third and fourth volumes of the periodical, from a (real or imagined) male correspondent "Philo-Naturae" who encourages readers to study the beauty of nature up close. He guides the periodical's female readers through lessons in natural philosophy, prompting them to study the "divinity" of nature.[129] Haywood presents natural philosophy as a worthy social and moral activity to occupy the mind. Her promotion of natural philosophy as an appropriate female activity runs parallel with what Patricia Meyer Spacks calls the "developing culture of leisure" in the eighteenth century.[130] Women of the emerging middle classes looked for amusements to fill their leisure time between their "domestic or public" duties.[131] While domestic pursuits such as needlework kept women's hands occupied, contemporary conduct literature was concerned about the state of women's minds.[132] Leisure amusements were designed to keep women occupied, specifically to distract their minds from what Spacks identifies as the "monotony" of their lives, which reportedly led to "irregular

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[128] Eliza Haywood, *The Selected Works of Eliza Haywood: The Female Spectator, Volumes III & IV,* eds. Kathryn King and Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000-2001), 90.

[129] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 89.

[130] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Boredom: The Literary History of a State of Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1995), 60.

[131] Spacks, *Boredom*, 64.

[132] John Gregory, *Legacy to his Daughters by the Late Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh* (Dublin, Thomas Ewing and Caleb Jenkins, 1774), 51.

desires" such as an indulging in "erotic fantas[ies]."[133] In recommending ways for women to occupy their time constructively, writers of conduct literature made a perceived connection between boredom and impropriety. Women's choices in amusements were critical to their reputation and status within sociable society. Philo-Naturae acknowledges this when he asks readers, "[h]ow do we run maddening after Novelties, which are so far from giving us either Profit or Improvement, that they ruin our Fortunes, and corrupt our Morals and Understanding."[134] In this context, the study of nature is an ideal pastime, being both informative and formative to a woman's mind and sensibilities.

Philo-Naturae's letters propose natural philosophy as a discerning amusement to temper the mind of the middle-class woman. He advises women to pursue this study "every Day, every Season and in every Place" because it continually provides "fresh Subjects to entertain and to instruct."[135] Philo-Naturae describes, for example, how women can spend a pleasant and fruitful afternoon in the country, examining insects and mollusks with the help of simple scientific machinery in order to uncover beauties and features not visible to the "naked eye."[136] He seeks to excite "every one's Curiosity" with a "desire to be instructed" in natural philosophy. In the process, women (not incidentally) cultivate their overall attractiveness in mind and body.[137] In the final volume of *The Female Spectator,* Philo-Naturae comments, "I am in a very great Hopes, that as the Female Spectator has led the Way, a great many not only of her own, but [of] our Sex

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[133] Spacks, *Boredom*, 64.

[134] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol.III & IV*, 40.

[135] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 241

[136] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 85

[137] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 84.

likewise, will follow her in these so beneficial Enquiries."[138] Haywood envisions a growing discussion involving women in the dissemination and creation of knowledge in natural philosophy. Indeed, she prompts readers to discover how the beauty of nature far outweighs the splendour of man-made objects, thereby countering the status of tempting "novelties" of fashion-based amusements.

Subsequent periodicals carried forward Haywood's program of female refinement through the study of nature. In 1755, Benjamin Martin's *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* (1755-64) continued the tone established by the Female Spectator editorial club in his serialized dialogue in three volumes, "Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy" (it was also published on its own in 1759). [139] In this dialogue, Martin presents a higher social ranked woman who desires to learn natural philosophy. Euphrosyne has access to a library full of the "choicest Books on the Subject," but she laments that they are "for the most Part, unintelligible, by reason either of Schemes, or hard Terms, or abstruse Reasonings."[140] Her brother, however, tells her that "the only Way, at present, to learn Philosophy is from Books well wrote on that Subject," which makes it a subject that is accessible to women as there is no instructional approach to an

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[138] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 241.

[139] Martin was an entrepreneur who used his knowledge and skills to help disseminate natural philosophy to the middling classes. In his lifetime, he was a philosophy lecturer, an optician, scientific instrument maker, and periodicalist. In each of his vocations, Martin worked towards providing all classes and genders access to knowledge in natural philosophy. For the purpose of this thesis, I will be referencing the revised printed version, *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Philosophy* as it is available in its entirety in ECCO.

[140] Benjamin Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy, in a Continued Survey of The Works of Nature and Art; by Way of Dialogue,* Vol. I (London: printed and sold by W. Owen, and by the author, 1759), 3.

education in natural philosophy.[141] He acts as her tutor; advising her to read the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, taking her on nightly walks to observe nature, and helping her to examine the beauty of nature with a portable microscope (see figures 2.1 & 2.2 below). This educational combination provides Euphrosyne with a solid foundation of rudimentary knowledge that helps her understand the books in her father's library.

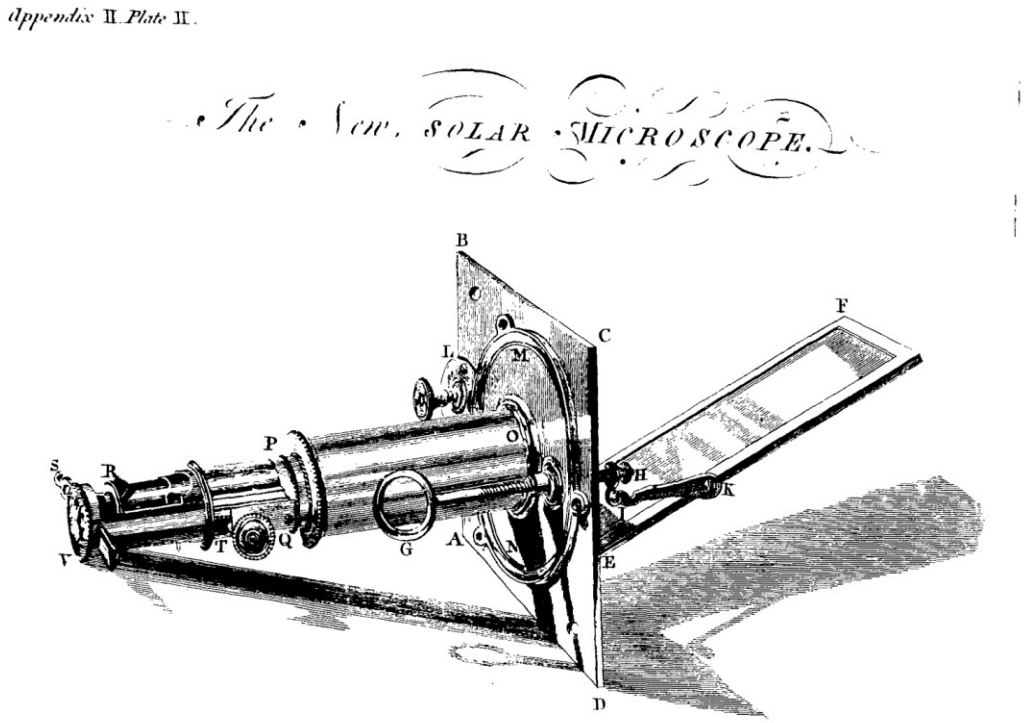

Figure 2.1: "The Universal Microscope" Martin, Benjamin. A supplement to the *Philosophia Britannica*. Appendix I. Containing New Experiments in electricity, and The Method of making artificial magnets. Illustrated with Copper-Plates. By Benjamin Martin. London: printed in the year, MDCCLIX. [1759]. © Courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University N12262 © Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[141] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. I, 3.

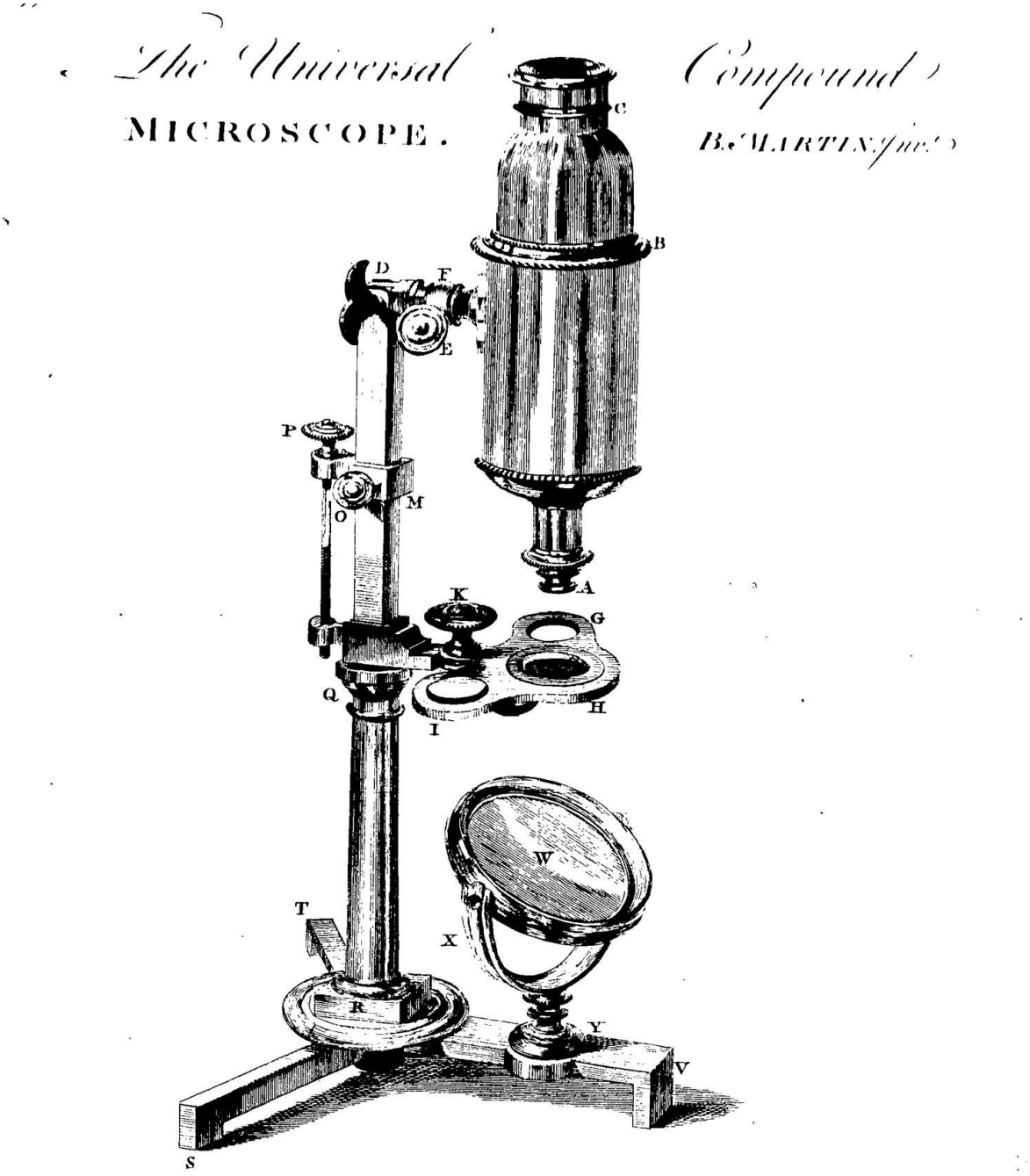

Figure 2.2 "The Solar Microscope" Martin, Benjamin. A supplement to the *Philosophia Britannica*. Appendix I. Containing New Experiments in electricity, and The Method of making artificial magnets. Illustrated with Copper-Plates. By Benjamin Martin. London, 1759. © Courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University N12262 © Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

In 1760, *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61) by Charlotte Lennox followed up on Haywood's and Martin's contributions to female education in natural philosophy by providing readers with disciplinary knowledge in a manner accessible to laywomen. Lennox moves away from the

recommendation that women take walks to observe nature. Instead, the serialized essay "Philosophy for the Ladies" provides her readers with "useful pieces of knowledge" to fill the "vacancies" of their minds.[142] Lennox offers her readers a series of short, entertaining articles containing experimental data in order to represent to them how women can become acquainted with natural philosophy. Unlike Haywood and Martin, she avoids interposing a male mediator between herself and her readers: her essay signals an increase in women's involvement in natural philosophy in the second half of the eighteenth century.

This chapter will focus specifically on how Haywood, Martin, and Lennox argue that insects and mollusks should be a woman's primary entrance into the study of natural philosophy. Their periodicals contribute to an evolving perception of the middling-rank woman, no longer a mere coquette or trifler, but an aspiring informal scholar.[143] They illustrate how a familiarity with natural philosophy could reshape popular conceptions and stereotypes about lesser social rank women by focusing women's interests in nature to cultivate a passion for learning. Moreover, they argue that studying nature can contribute to a woman's domestic responsibilities by

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[142] Charlotte Lennox, *The Lady's Museum, By the author of The Female Quixote* (London: J. Newbery and J. Coote, 1760), 132.

[143] Johnson defines a trifler as someone "who wastes his[/her] time on trivialities; a frivolous person." "Trifler, n.s." *A Dictionary of the English Language*, by Samuel Johnson, "History" *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. 2021 https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755/trifler_ns; *The OED* defines "Trifler" as someone who tells "idle stories," is not "to be believed," is "not serious," and "wastes his[/her] time on trivialities; a frivolous person." *OED Online*. March 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www.OED.com/view/Entry/205964.

increasing her useful knowledge, such as which silkworms produce superior silk,[144] or how snails can treat consumptive diseases.[145] I show that they reject Margaret Cavendish's approach to natural philosophy, by giving laywomen a curriculum in the study of nature that includes the use of scientific instrumentation in the field. The periodicals give three representations of how women were given access to knowledge in natural philosophy: first, by performing empirical experiments, and second, by reading disciplinary articles. Their periodicals give middle-class women tools to alleviate boredom by being morally entertained and educated in their spare time between their "monotonous" amusements and household duties.[146] Before turning to my analysis of laywomen's education in natural philosophy, I will briefly discuss the developing discipline of natural philosophy. I will show how the proliferation of scientific instruments paved the way for male and female lay learners to acquire scientific knowledge. The periodicals under examination indicate a shift in perception, from a view of women as trifling in scientific knowledge to one that shows them obtaining generalist knowledge in natural philosophy.

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[144] "The Historical Account of the Silk-worm" *The Lady's Magazine or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex; Appropriated Solely to Their Use and Amusement* 28*,* no. 25 (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 17.

[145] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 235.

[146] Tita Chico argues that a woman's dressing room was seen as a place for "knowledge production of the highest kind – relating to a woman's morals, modesty, and virtue - and alludes to the pedagogical tradition that envisaged women's intellectual potential as valuable and admirable." She explains "educationalists looked to the dressing room as a figure for the beautification of the female body and *intellect*" for women who "adorned" both their "mind" and "body [emphasis is Chico's]." I contend that didactic periodicals can be seen as virtual dressing rooms, for women to learn how to beautify both their minds and bodies, what Chico calls "intellectual beautification." *Designing Women the Dressing Room in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Culture* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 163.

Haywood encourages middle-class women to develop taste by using their walks in the country to examine the beauty of nature with the aid of "simple" portable microscopes (what we today would call a magnifying glass).[147] I demonstrate how Haywood represents women participating in the new science by taking scientific instruments out of the laboratory to discover hidden beauties of insects and mollusks in the fields. I then show how Martin builds upon Haywood's methods. He urges women to cultivate their minds by learning how to dissect insects and examine them closely using a complex portable microscope. In doing so, he claims, women will gain an understanding in the usefulness of industrious mollusks and insects such as snails and butterflies. Finally, I discuss how Lennox makes use of visual and textual outcomes of microscopy to underpin articles for women on the life cycles of insects and mollusks. I argue that the "possibility" of "social equality" that Tita Chico sees in Haywood's articles is realized in Lennox's.[148] I show how Lennox's readers become "virtual witnesses" to natural history with articles that use diagrams as "mimetic devices."[149] I conclude by showing how the figures of the trifler and coquette, who were previously experts in millinery and cosmetics, obtain a practical knowledge in natural philosophy, allowing them to become not only suitable wives but also more

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[147] The *OED* defines microscopes as "Any of various devices used to project images of very small objects. Chiefly with distinguishing word indicating the source of light used in the device, as *lucernal microscope*, *oxyhydrogen microscope*, *solar microscope*" *OED Online*. March 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www.OED.com/view/Entry/118062 ; the solar, or simple microscope could refer either to a magnifying glass or pocket-sized microscope with a single lens.

[148] Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 69.

[149] I will show that Lennox uses diagrams as Robert Boyle does in his air-pump reports. The terms "virtual witnesses" and "mimetic devices" are from Shapin and Schaffer's discussion of Boyle's need for virtual witnesses to authenticate his findings."Seeing is Believing," 60, 62.

fulfilled readers/learners. Thus, their knowledge about nature as guided by their periodical reading gives them what Chico calls intellectual beauty of mind and body, a potential advantage in the marriage market as their desire for personal enrichment and reinforcements of faith add to their attractiveness.[150]

The New Science: Experimental Philosophy

Starting in the seventeenth century, the study of nature was increasingly pursued using two different methods: a traditional observational method and a new experimental one. The observational or natural historical method emphasized the role of God in the divine creation. Men, women, and children of varying classes observed and appreciated God's creation through nature walks and by collecting specimens. By contrast, the experimental method focused on learning the inner workings of plants and animals through chemical and environmental interventions as well as dissection. There was a class divide between the old and new science methods, since experimenters needed access to laboratories and scientific equipment. As a consequence, experimentation was limited to men of means who could pay the associated costs. The Royal Society, formed in 1660, gave elite male natural philosophers access to microscopes, telescopes, air pumps, and other instruments.[151] Sara Landreth explains, "the Society was in its early years very much a bastion of the elite: its members were all male and all from respectable, if not aristocratic, backgrounds."[152] Society members such as Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke fostered a greater interest in the "new science" by conducting "experimental performances" at

[150] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 71.

[151] Shapin and Schaffer, "Seeing and Believing," 39.

[152] Sara Landreth, "Science in the Long Eighteenth Century" *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Thought*. Ed. Frans De Bruyn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 70.

public meetings of the Society and publishing findings from their experiments, which were read by literate men and women of varying classes.[153] According to Peter Dear, the Royal Society was just one of many organized institutions that came out of the seventeenth century that sought to collect (observe) or generate (intervene) new knowledge in natural philosophy.[154] A major component of the latter was the use of scientific instrumentation. Cavendish publicly opposed the use of instrumentation because of its limited availability, accuracy, and consistency. She dismissed instruments and the experiments in which they were used as "artificial informer[s]."[155] Cavendish pointed out that philosophers could not agree on what they observed with their scientific machines. In *Blazing World* (1666), she depicts the Empress's bird-men astronomers arguing over what they see with a telescope. Each astronomer has a different interpretation of what he sees through the lens. The disagreement of the bird-men satirizes the inability of experimental philosophers to replicate or understand their findings.[156] Elizabeth A. Spiller contends that "[t]he telescope became an image of doubtful knowledge because it was an

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[153] Landreth notes that, "Robert Hooke (1635-1703), [was] a hard-working mathematician and mechanist who made up for what he lacked in financial security and social status with his diligence in designing and constructing scientific instruments." "Science in the Long Eighteenth Century," 70.

[154] See Peter Dear, "Patrons and institutions" *Revolutionizing the Sciences : European Knowledge and Its Ambitions, 1500-1700*. 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 109-120.

[155] Margaret Cavendish, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy to Which Is Added, The Description of a New Blazing World* (London, A Maxwell, 1668), 51.

[156] In 1611, Galileo presented his readings of the solar system with his new invention of the telescope. His readings challenged the "practice of philosophy" that came from reading "the [classical] texts of 'authorities;" from authors such as Aristotle. Elizabeth A. Spiller, "Reading through Galileo's Telescope: Margaret Cavendish and the Experience of Reading," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 207.

instrument in which distortion became the means to truth."[157] In *Blazing World*, the Empress resolves the imprecision of the "false informers" by telling her philosophers to break "the glasses" and "trust" their "natural eyes," thus highlighting a distrust of new science instrumentation.[158] Indeed, Cavendish's critique was not unwarranted. The experiments conducted by the Royal Society members with new instrumentation (such as Boyle's air pump) created variant results and were not always successful. However, experimentalists such as Boyle and Hooke embraced both their successes and failures, including the latter in their publications for their didactic merit.[159]

The reliability of scientific instruments improved as philosophers became familiar with how to use them and replicate their findings, and their use became more widespread. Several patents for microscopes and telescopes in varying sizes and cost had been granted by the eighteenth century, and their wider availability gave middle-class men and women access to them. In particular, the invention of compact microscopes, both simple and complex, increased experimentation outside of the laboratory. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, such newspapers as the *British Journal* (1722-31), the *Daily Gazetteer* (1735-48) and the *London Evening Post* (1727-1806) ran advertisements for portable microscopes. On May 24, 1744, for instance, the *London Evening Post* ran two advertisements for portable microscopes, which were printed alongside an advertisement for the second volume of *The Female Spectator*. The first advertisement was for a single microscope invented and sold by George Adams, author of *Micrographia Illustrata or, The Knowledge of the Microscope Explain'd* (1746). The second was

[157] Spiller, "Reading through Galileo's Telescope," 194.

[158] Cavendish, *Observations,* 27.

[159] See Robert Boyle, "A Proemical Essay," in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 5 vols. (London, 1744).

for “a general Reflecting Pocket Microscope” by inventor and watchmaker George Lindsey. The latter advertisement boasts that the pocket microscope is easy to assemble, making it ideal for use in “a field or Garden” for the “Gentleman or Lady.” The microscope is described as being “portable as a snuff-box.” [160] Haywood echoes this exact phrase in her description of the “glasses” that members of the Female Spectator Club use in their country expeditions.[161] Mrs. Spectator writes, “[t]he Glasses which afford us so much Satisfaction are *as portable as a Snuff-Box*, and I am surprised the Ladies do not make more Use of them, in the little Excursions they make in Fields, Meadows, and Gardens [emphasis mine].”[162] I surmise that Haywood is referring to Lindsey’s pocket microscope, in her seemingly deliberate echo of the advertisement.[163]

In Martin’s *Young Gentleman and Lady’s Philosophy*, Cleonicus tells his sister that they will build on their contemplations of nature in their nightly walks. He explains, “we will take a regular Method of contemplating Nature; survey first the *Heavens*, then the *Air and its Meteors*; after that we will take a View of our Native Earth, and all its various Productions; and lastly, we will recreate ourselves with the delightful Discoveries of the Microscope, and other curious Instruments [emphasis is Martin’s].” The walks are then followed up with examinations of

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[160] "Advertisements and Notices" *London Evening Post*, May 22, 1744 - May 24, 1744.

[161] For more information about the Lindsey microscope (sold by subscription and first built in 1743), *The Science Museum Group* offers a picture of the portable microscope under “Lindsay's pocket microscope” Science Museum Group, https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/objects/co8084/lindsays-pocket-microscope-pocket-microscope.

[162] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, Vol. III & IV, 85.

[163] I have not found pricing for it, but the fact that two models are advertised alongside Haywood’s periodical suggests they were intended for the same middle-class audience.

specimens with "Microscope and other curious Instruments" at home.[164] Martin was the inventor/improver of several microscopes. He created a portable compound or drum microscope, as well as several versions of the universal microscope that had a moveable arm to view objects at different angles.[165] The fact that both Martin's and Haywood's periodicals describe middle-class women making use of portable microscopes indicates the growing popularity and commodification of natural philosophy in the first half of the eighteenth century. Chico asserts, "[s]cientific instruments and instruction gave consumers the promise of transforming themselves into experimental philosophers, delving in the natural and social worlds. Such enthusiasm reflects a vibrant commercial market for scientific instruments."[166] In their periodicals, Haywood, Martin, and Lennox demonstrate how instruments such as microscopes and telescopes help to refine the tastes of their readers by (re)focusing their readers' interests on the beauty of nature, rather than the artificial pleasures of balls and masquerades.

Reforming Taste Naturally

In *The Female Spectator*, Haywood addresses the assumption that middle-class women were prone to coquetry because they lacked refined taste, defined by Samuel Johnson's

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[164] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. I, 6.

[165] For more information on Martin's instruments and his career see "Martin, Benjamin" Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18175?rskey=bLxdPw&result=2; and "A Benjamin Martin Microscope Compendium with Solar, Simple and Compound Microscopes" Microsope-antiques.com (2015) https://www.microscope-antiques.com/martincomp.html.

[166] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 24.

Dictionary as "intellectual relish or discernment."[167] Mrs. Spectator claims that with the help of her periodical, women can cultivate a taste for intellectual amusements by the study of nature. She confesses to her readers, "I have run through as many Scenes of Vanity and folly as the greatest coquet of them all. – Dress, Equipage, and Flattery, were Idols of my Heart." By expanding her interests to include intellectual pursuits, however, her "Vivacity of [her] Nature became temper'd with Reflection." [168] The pleasures of studying nature shift her interest from self-adoration to selfless appreciation of God's creations. As Chico argues, "*The Female Spectator*'s investment in science for women comes from a conviction that it allows for the expression – and even the acquisition – of good taste. Haywood introduces the topic of natural philosophy in the *Female Spectator* through a discussion of reason, curiosity, and intellectual beautification."[169] Indeed, Haywood wanted women to have a seat at the table with learned men, but to do that she needed to make the case that women, like men, are creatures of reason and intellectual curiosity.

As the fictional descendent of Mr. Spectator, Haywood's eidolon introduces her readers to Joseph Addison's "pleasures of imagination" by examining "new or uncommon" aspects of

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[167] Samuel Johnson, "taste" *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. 2021. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/views/search.php?term=taste.

[168] Eliza Haywood, *The Selected Works of Eliza Haywood: The Female Spectator. Vol. I & II,* eds. Kathryn King and Alexander Pettit (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000-2001), 18.

[169] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 71.

nature.[170] Haywood employs Addison's comparison of nature and art to refine her readers' tastes. Addison contends, "they are [both] qualified to entertain the Imagination" but that "the last" is "very defective in Comparison to the former."[171] Here Mr. Spectator refers to landscapes (comparing natural to artificial), but Haywood applies his theory to fashion. Mrs. Spectator tells her readers that "all those Curiosities, which are discoverable by the naked Eye, are infinitely short of those beyond it."[172] In echoing Addison's sentiments, Haywood makes a case for women to appreciate the "curiosities" of nature rather than the details of a dress. A coquette is unsurprisingly drawn to the beauty of a dress. Up close, the appeal of the dress does not increase. It may in fact decrease, if the stitching is not straight or if there are faults in the fabric. By contrast, Mrs. Spectator asserts that examining nature up close will increase one's pleasure. She echoes Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1667) in his case for the use of two types of "Optical Glasses," telescopes to help see the "vast number of new Stars and New Motions" and microscopes to see what is "under our feet," to see "every little particle," and to view a "great variety of Creatures" not visible to the naked eye.[173]

Haywood's promotion of the use of microscopes rejects Cavendish's views of them as "false informers." Cavendish questions,

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[170] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, "The Pleasures of the Imagination" *The Spectator* ed. Donald F. Bond. Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, no. 412 Monday, June 23, 1712", Vol.3: 541. https://org.doi/10.1093/actrade/9780198186106.book.1.

[171] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, "The Pleasures of the Imagination" *The Spectator* ed. Donald F. Bond. Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, no. 414 Wednesday, June 25, 1712", Vol. 3:548. https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198186106.book.1.

[172] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 85.

[173] Hooke, "Preface" *Micrographia,* n. p.

> [I]f Microscopes do truly represent the exterior parts and superficies of some minute Creatures, what advantageth [sic] it our knowledge? For unless they could discover their interior, corporeal, figurative motions, and the obscure actions of Nature, or the causes which make such or such Creatures; I see no great benefit or advantage they yield to Man."[174]

Haywood counters this by embracing Hooke's claim that microscopes can improve the observer's veneration for God's creatures. Mrs. Spectator tells her readers, "*Nature* has not given our Sight the Power of discerning the wonders of the minute Creation; *Art*, therefore, must supply that Deficiency [emphasis is Haywood's]."[175] The use of microscopes, however, alleviates that deficiency to reveal the exquisite beauty of nature not visible to the naked eye.

Haywood picks unusual objects for her readers to venerate. Insects and mollusks are not usually revered for their splendour, but Haywood reveals their hidden beauty, pointing out their "delicate Trimming" "adorned with Crowns," they have "Wings fringed with Colours of the most lovely Dye," and "Coats" that are "embroidered with Purple and with Gold."[176] In this, she also echoes Hooke's use of an anthropomorphizing language of fashion in his description of the flea exoskeleton as a "suit of *sable* Armour" and of porcupine quills as "bright conical Steel-bodkins [emphasis is Hooke's]."[177] By using the language of fashion analogically and anthropomorphizing the creatures, Hooke and Haywood draw lay readers to the study of natural philosophy by making it more approachable. In the case of Haywood, she specifically appeals to coquettes. Chico observes: "[i]f one is instructed in the logic of fashions and diversions

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[174] Cavendish, *Observations of Experimental Philosophy,* 7.

[175] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 85.

[176] Haywood, *The Female Spectator, Vol. III & IV*, 85.

[177] Hooke, *Micrographia*, 210.

associated with the dressing room, then one has the skills appropriate to the practice of experimental philosophy."[178] Indeed, Haywood piques her readers' interest by using words associated with dress and millinery to distract them from the "dangerous diversions" of the city.[179] She exploits their natural aptitude for observing minute details of dress and appearance to cultivate their passion for "uncommon" beauties in nature.

The Female Spectator features a series of mixed-gender correspondents who regularly contribute to the periodical's lessons on morals and education. Mrs. Spectator is depicted as the periodical's head editor; however, Haywood also makes use of several male contributors such as Philo-Naturae.[180] The latter begins his essay by praising the periodical on its dedication to "the improvement of the Morals and Manners" in an age that needs "so agreeable a Monitor."[181] He identifies natural philosophy as a suitable means to expand the periodical's lessons on morals and manners. Eve Tavor Bannet argues that "Haywood wanted women to acquire their learning from books, like those of her periodical."[182] Bannet points out that the letters from Philo-Naturae and his fellow male correspondents represent women *reading* rather than *listening* to a discussion. I would take Bannet's insight further, Haywood not only wanted women to read

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[178] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 70.

[179] Chico remarks, "such diversions will safeguard her audience from the allure of other dangerous urban pleasures." *Experimental Imagination,* 69.

[180] Eve Tavor Bannet notes there are "numerous epistles from men of letters" in Haywood's periodical that offer moral instruction on so-called masculine topics. "Haywood's Spectator and the Female World" *Fair Philosopher: Eliza Haywood and The Female Spectator*, ed. Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman. (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 98.

[181] Haywood, *The Female Spectator, Vol. III & IV*, 82.

[182] Bannet, "Haywood's Spectator and the Female World," 98.

about natural philosophy, but also to *do* natural philosophy. I am interested in how Haywood represents women learning in Philo-Naturae's letters on natural philosophy. Haywood also represents women *doing* empirical experiments. They require the help of men, but they are active participants. First, they acquire motivation and foundational knowledge from Philo-Naturae. Second, a series of male mentors guide their scientific investigations. For example, a member of the Female Spectator Club, Mira's neighbour, described as "a Gentleman of great Sense and Learning," offers them the use of his telescope, and a "worthy gentleman" guides their nature walks.[183] Elsewhere in the periodical, the Female Spectator describes the club members as conducting their own experiments. Here, Haywood is suggesting a method of instruction that anticipates the modern tell-show-do pedagogical method, giving women the knowledge to have a seat at the table with learned men. Haywood provides women with the knowledge and skills to further their studies and enter into discussions with like-minded men. Kathryn King notes, "each cross-gendered exchange" in *The Female Spectator* "gives added solidity to an imagined community in which men enter into dialogue with thoughtful women and seek their counsel" on topics "which fall outside what was usually considered woman's sphere."[184] Although Haywood represents the Female Spectator Club as learning from men, the club's engagement in field observations and hypotheses also dramatizes Haywood's conviction that women have the capacity to synthesize and produce new philosophical knowledge independently.

Martin's *Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, meanwhile, shows how studying nature can further cultivate taste to *prevent* the formation (rather than the correction) of bad habits. Unlike the Female Spectator, Euphrosyne is not a coquette, reformed or otherwise. She

[183] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*. *Vol. III & IV*, 167.

[184] Kathryn King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 122.

has spent her youth cultivating her taste and intellect at boarding school, followed by reading books in her father's library. Her brother Cleonicus compliments her on her reading: "[y]our remarkable Disposition to reading, I see, with the greatest Pleasure, has given you an elegant Taste, and rendered you capable of understanding," enabling her in turn to "convers[e] with Persons" on intellectual topics.[185] However, Euphrosyne laments her lack of knowledge in natural philosophy. She observes, "I often wish it did not look quite so masculine for a Woman to talk of Philosophy in Company; I have often sat silent, and wanted Resolution to ask a Question for fear of being thought assuming or impertinent."[186] In this dialogue, Martin illustrates the social barriers that women faced in discussions of their desire to discuss so-called masculine subjects. Cleonicus's response indicates his agreement with his sister on this score: "Modesty, a most amiable Virtue in all, should never be an Obstacle to the forming, or prosecuting, any great, noble, or laudable Design."[187] He encourages Euphrosyne to continue her learning by hands-on lessons outdoors. He tells her, "Philosophy is the darling Science of every Man of Sense, and is a peculiar Grace in the Fair Sex; and depend on it, Sister, it is now growing into a Fashion for the Ladies to study Philosophy."[188] He goes on to suggest that they spend evenings walking through "field[s]" and "meadows," discussing and examining nature. Like Haywood, Martin indicates within the dialogues between Euphrosyne and Cleonicus his support for women who desire to study insects, cultivate a broader taste for nature, and, not incidentally, purchase his publications and his portable microscopes. In volume 3, Euphroysne tells her brother that she is "terrified with the sight of some of them [insects], and others [she] would not

[185] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. I, 1.

[186] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy,* Vol. I, 2.

[187] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy,* Vol. I, 4.

[188] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy,* Vol. I, 1.

touch for the world!"[189] However, in closely examining insect parts under the microscope she grows to appreciate their beauty.[190]

Lennox's eighteen-year-old eidolon, the Trifler, follows the Female Spectator's lead by acknowledging her own behaviour as a coquette. She acknowledges "the desire of pleasing to be my predominant passion" and confesses herself to be "one of that ridiculous species of beings, called a coquet."[191] Like the Female Spectator, she has been taken in by fashionable amusements but, by diversifying her interests, the Trifler improves her behaviour. Chico argues that Haywood reforms the figure of the coquette by giving her readers "positive models" and safe "diversions" in natural philosophy, which "will safeguard" her readers "from the allure of other dangerous urban pleasures."[192] I would extend Chico's analysis of Lennox by arguing that the latter's "Philosophy for the Ladies" transforms the figure of the female Trifler from a woman with frivolous interests into an individual who not only possesses generalized knowledge in natural philosophy but is also an intellectual equal with potential suitors. Lennox uses the term "trifler" ironically given the comparably rigorous scientific content of her periodical. I argue that Lennox's choice of the name "Trifler" is an ironic one, intended to, satirize the idea that women could only "trifle" with learning. Indeed, the knowledge that the Trifler provides her readers in her serialized essay, "Philosophy for the Ladies," offers women genuine disciplinary knowledge. Unlike Haywood's and Martin's snippets of specialized knowledge about insects and mollusks observed on nature walks, Lennox's essay provides more complete information on the anatomy

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[189] Benjamin Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy, in a Continued Survey of The Works of Nature and Art; by Way of Dialogue,* Vol. III (London: W. Owen, 1782), 34.

[190] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy,* Vol. III, 39.

[191] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum,* 2.

[192] Chico, *The Experimental Imagination*, 69.

and life cycle of living creatures, compiled by findings from natural historians and experimentalists. Anna K. Sagal comments that the topics covered in Lennox's serialized essay "contain almost encyclopedic specificity."[193] Certainly, Lennox's essay is more detailed than Haywood's or Martin's field observations.

Building Intellect through the Study of Nature

Mrs. Spectator tells her readers that "the Study of Natural Philosophy" can be attained "with so little Difficulty" by in-field learning.[194] Indeed, the traditional mode of studying nature required no formal education; natural history was rooted in ancient and medieval practices of collecting and cataloguing specimens. It was straightforward for middle-class men and women to educate themselves. However, with the scientific revolution, natural philosophy shifted from simple outdoor observations to a discipline with specially defined methodologies, particularly the scientific method. Scottish universities began to teach natural philosophy as part of their curriculum in philosophy. In the first half of the century, students studied courses in logic, metaphysics, and natural philosophy. In the second half, they added courses in natural history, civil history, geography, chronology, mathematics, and natural philosophy.[195] Meanwhile, women's access to natural philosophy decreased as the proto-discipline transformed into an official university discipline. Judy A Hayden explains that when "science moved out of the household and into the universities and various institutions, an important avenue of access for

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[193] Anna K. Sagal, "Philosophy for the Ladies:" Feminism, Pedagogy, and Natural Philosophy in Charlotte Lennox's *Lady's Museum*" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 28, no. 1 (2015): 163.

[194] Haywood, *The Female Spectator, Vol. III & IV*, 90.

[195] M.A. Stewart, "The Curriculum in Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies," *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 106.

women in this new knowledge began to close."[196] The professionalization of natural philosophy barred all ranks of women from the formal dissemination and creation of the new science.

Periodicals gave laywomen an informal means to study natural philosophy and to combat a broader lack of access to formal education. Unlike other disciplinary topics such as history and literature, the complexity of the new science required guidance. Martin addresses this in his dialogues, when Euphrosyne explains to her brother that none of her "Masters" or "Tutors" were "enough skill'd in Philosophy to teach that in our [her] School, were any of the young Ladies disposed to learn."[197] She adds, "I love reading very much, but wish I were more capable of improving by it. Philosophy, I mean the Knowledge of natural Things in general, is what I should be greatly pleased in the Study of, *were it not so difficult a Science* [emphasis is mine]."[198] Cleonicus answers, "[f]ear not, *Euphroysne*, the greatest and most delightful Part of this Science is within the Ladies Comprehension."[199] Thus, according to Martin's periodical, it is not a question of a woman's capacity or interest in learning but, rather, her lack of formal education and time to study natural philosophy.

Neither Haywood nor Martin advises women to begin their foray into natural philosophy by reading disciplinary texts. Philo-Naturae recommends women to avoid the "abstruse part" of natural philosophy as it would "rob them" of their "gaiety."[200] Haywood advocates replacing women's coquettish amusements with *enjoyable* intellectual pursuits. If her readers became

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[196] Judy A. Hayden, ed., *The New Science and Women's Literary Discourse: Prefiguring Frankenstein* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 5.

[197] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy,* Vol. I*,* 3.

[198] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol I, 1.

[199] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol I, 3.

[200] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 83.

bored or overwhelmed by the complexity of the topic or words, they would be less inclined to learn natural philosophy. Philo-Naturae tells women to avoid reading Aldrovandus, Malebranche, or Newton because "the ideas of those great Men are not suited to every Capacity."[201] Kirsten M. Girten comments that Philo-Naturae "distinguishes" between the formal and informal study of natural philosophy when he "suggests that the fair sex lacks the 'capacity' required to realize the value inherent in such ideas" presented by natural philosophers.[202] I would argue, however, that in this case the stance of Philo-Naturae is more nuanced. He illustrates how judgment is a learned skill set. The next line in Philo-Naturae's letter reads, "they require a *Depth of Learning*, a Strength of Judgment, and a *Length of time* to be ranged and digested, so as to render them either pleasing or beneficial [emphasis is mine]."[203] Here, Philo-Naturae emphasizes that women would need education, well-honed judgment, and time to acquire the scientific language before they can understand the field in more detail. Indeed, Robin Valenza notes the "true mastery" of the authors Philo-Naturae lists "require[s] long and deep study."[204]

Haywood shows how laywomen could contribute to the creation of philosophical knowledge. Philo-Naturae's letter illustrates how her readers can surpass Cavendish's historic

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[201] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 83.

[202] Kristin M. Girten, "Unsexed Souls: Natural Philosophy as Transformation in Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator*." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 58.

[203] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 83.

[204] Robin Valenza, *Literature, Language, and the Rise of the Intellectual Disciplines in Britain*, 1680-1820 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 79.

visit to the Royal Society in 1667.[205] Cavendish was the first woman to visit the society, but she was not accepted as a colleague.[206] Spiller notes the society saw her as a "spectacle" to be gawked at for her so-called masculine interests.[207] Seventy-five years later, Haywood envisions a world in which women could collaborate with male philosophers. She illustrates this by representing both men and women observing nature together. Philo-Naturae suggests that the Female Spectator Club's "fresh Discoveries" could lead to identification of species hitherto uncatalogued in "the most accurate Volumes of Natural Philosophy," with subsequent recognition from the Royal Society. [208] This was perhaps a lofty goal. Karen Bloom Gevirtz writes that in the first half of the eighteenth century, "[g]enerally speaking, a woman could not publish a book of experimental philosophy," but Haywood illustrates a creative workaround for women to publish their findings.[209] Gevirtz argues, "To have their Names set down on this Occasion, in the Memoirs and Transactions of that learned Body, would be gratifying a laudable Ambition."[210] In this way, Haywood encourages her readers to pursue natural philosophy not only as a cure for boredom, but also as an avenue to knowledge creation in natural philosophy,

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[205] Elizabeth A. Spiller stipulates that Cavendish was invited because of "noble standing and her brother's connections that made it possible" rather than her writings in natural philosophy, "Reading Through Galileo's Telescope," 211-212.

[206] Landreth notes that Cavendish "was allowed to attend a meeting of the Royal Society in May 1667, [but] as a female she was never considered for full membership despite being a noblewoman who had published respected works of natural philosophy." "Science in the Long Eighteenth Century," 70.

[207] Spiller, "Reading Through Galileo's Telescope," 212.

[208] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 88.

[209] Karen Bloom Gevirtz, *Women, the Novel, and Natural Philosophy 1660-1727* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2014), 6.

[210] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 88-89.

with an underlying insistence on the potential for women to be colleagues of male natural philosophers.

Haywood encourages her female readership to feed their curiosity and search for their own answers. Philo-Naturae urges women not only to "behold those Fields, Meadows, and Pastures" but also to examine them closely.[211] By conducting empirical experiments, women could become active participants in an area of knowledge traditionally closed off to them. On their second nature walk, the Female Spectator Club uses microscopes to explore "a kind of Motion" that Euphrosine sees in "Parts of the loose Earth."[212] Their "Glasses" reveal that this movement is caused by developing snails that are "almost transparent" and hence invisible to the naked eye.[213] The women decide to take some of the earth with the snails back to home to observe the growing of the snails. Within three days, they see the snails emerge from the earth, with their shells hardened and turned brown.[214] By witnessing the experience of "breeding up" the snails, the club gains an appreciation for the "ugly and insignificant" mollusks.[215] Girten argues, that "[i]n the hands of Haywood, it [natural philosophy] becomes a tool of defiance: with the help of their microscopes, the female spectators transform the small and insignificant into wonders."[216] Indeed, without the microscopes, the women would not have had the opportunity to study the stages of these snails. The club learns natural philosophy in a practical manner, and in

[211] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 83.

[212] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 164.

[213] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 163-64.

[214] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 240.

[215] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 165.

[216] Girten, "Unsexed Souls," 61.

so doing challenges the preconceived eighteenth-century notion that women lacked the intellect or interest to study natural philosophy.

Haywood also illustrates how women could use their knowledge of nature to form scientific hypotheses. On one of the Female Spectator Club's country walks, the women examine a brown caterpillar in a tree. They are curious as to why the caterpillar has muted colours. Their male guide surmises that the caterpillar is of "the *Camelion* [sic] kind," as it "changes its hue according to the Weather [emphasis is Haywood's]."[217] The Female Spectator ponders what the gentleman says and develops her own hypothesis. She postulates that "the Colour of these Animals [is] more owing to their Food than the Air they breathe."[218] She bases her theory on her examination of "fine green" caterpillars that live in "Apple Trees" and "Cabbages."[219] By analogy, Mrs. Spectator infers that the brown caterpillar gets its colour from eating tree bark. Haywood illustrates her eidolon's reasoning capacity: Mrs. Spectator applies the knowledge she gained by observation to create her own scientific hypothesis. She then reflects on how she "would certainly have made the Experiment, by keeping one of them in a Box, with some Earth, and the same Sort of Leaves on which I found it feeding."[220] Haywood encourages readers to build on the Female Spectator Club's observations of nature by conducting their own observation-based experiments. Gevirtz notes that while women could read about natural philosophy, they very seldom had the opportunity to engage in direct natural philosophical

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[217] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 162.

[218]Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 162.

[219] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 162.

[220]Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 162.

observation or experimentation.[221] Haywood, however, challenges her readers to conduct their own investigations rather than rely on information from a male philosopher.

In volume 4, Philo-Naturae applies the Female Spectator's hypothesis to snails. He tells her that snails "owe great part of their Tincture from the Colour of what they eat," as their colour mimics the "dirty muddy Hue" of "Cellars" and dirt.[222] He then explains that "a certain virtuoso" conducted an experiment to measure the changes of colour in a snail's shell based on their location and what they ate. The Virtuoso placed snails in a box and fed them colourful food such as "fresh flowers." Philo-Naturae explains that the snail's colour only "improved but a little" with the introduction of the colourful food. During the course of the experiment, the snails remained inside the Virtuoso's house. However, when he exposed the snails to the "open air" and specifically the sunshine, the shells grew "more clear and transparent, and also seemed strong and more lively."[223] Philo-Naturae demonstrates a combination of food and air that gives mollusks their colour. Although Mrs. Spectator is incorrect, the fact that the periodical takes her hypothesis seriously is proof of her formidable intellect**.**

In Martin's dialogue, Euphroysne acquires the capacity to examine closely the colours of a butterfly. Whereas Haywood represents women using simple microscopes in the field, Martin illustrates the siblings using a portable version of the compound microscope. They use the microscope to inspect dissected parts of insects which enables Euphroysne to gain a deeper appreciation of their beauty. In Volume 3, she uses the microscope to view the "dust" on the

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[221] Gevirtz argues, "Women faced social opprobrium, practical issues such as lack of money, time and space, and the deficiencies of female education, not to mention the absence of a model for a female philosopher in the cultural or philosophical imagination." *Women*, 6.

[222] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 239.

[223] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 240.

wings of a butterfly; through the powerful magnification of the lenses, she views the "little particles" that make up the "spots and different colours" on the wings.[224] Her use of this scientific instrument allows her to ponder the colourings of an insect. Euphrosyne asks her brother why she has not seen any butterflies that are green or blue, and he responds, "some Colours, like some Vegetables, are the Produce of warm Climates, where these two Colours, *Blue* and *Green*, are stronger and more brilliant than others [emphasis is Martin's]."[225] This observation takes up Philo-Naturae's discussion of how the sun and outdoor air affect the colours of snails. Taking the lesson further, Cleonicus provides Euphrosyne with a specimen of a brightly coloured Indian Papillion butterfly. He instructs her to first "view it with your naked eye," before placing it under the microscope. In doing this, Cleonicus teaches his sister how to examine nature with her own senses before using the instrument, which helps Euphrosyne to understand how scientific machines enhance the natural philosopher's observations. When she looks at the wings in the microscope, she exclaims, "how noble a View is here!" She is able to see the "fine golden" hue around the wing where the fine dust has been rubbed off.[226] Her brother then shows her how to dissect the head of the butterfly with a penknife to examine its colours further. Martin's periodical illustrates a woman's capacity for a more in-depth investigation of specimens.

Lennox expands upon Martin's and Haywood's letters about nature by increasing the complexity of the discussion. "Philosophy for the Ladies" by Lennox gestures toward the format used in disciplinary treatises, encyclopaedias, and textbooks. Rather than a narrative about

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[224] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. 3, 38.

[225] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. 3, 38.

[226] Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Vol. 3, 39.

women examining certain body parts of an insect with a microscope, Lennox's essay is a descriptive analysis of an insect's whole anatomy in terminology that is accessible to readers without a formal education. The Trifler maintains that her essay is "conversable rather than scientific," making it accessible to informal learners and, more importantly, preventing it from becoming "dry" and "tiresome" to read.[227] As such, Lennox provides women with interesting intellectual topics to discuss at the tea table or dinner table, rather than female-specific topics of gossip or fashion. Jennie Batchelor notes, "Lennox sought to devalue the false and artificial virtues of the closet in favour of the more permanent charms of mental accomplishment by appealing to woman's desire to please and attract men."[228] Indeed, the Trifler suggests that women who develop their intellect with disciplinary knowledge appear more attractive to the educated male suitor in comparison to women who endlessly retails the latest gossip or the newest fashion trends.

Lennox's articles on the life cycles of insects fit both of Seth Rudy's definitions of encyclopaedic completeness. They reflect "a full account of every part of knowledge or every article relevant to a given subject or subjects of inquiry" and also "implies cohesion" as they connect together "into a unified whole" of useful knowledge in natural philosophy for women. [229] In issue 3, Lennox presents her readers with a general introduction on the life cycles of small animals. The article addresses how several small animals change their form over the span of their

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[227] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 130.

[228] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 92.

[229] Seth Rudy, *Literature and Encyclopedism in Enlightenment Britain: The Pursuit of Complete Knowledge* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2.

lives, calling it "metempsychosis."[230] It starts with animals that go through simple changes, such as "bear, foxes, hares, &c" that "undergo" an "alteration" to their fur in the summer and winter months, and then discusses the difference between the alterations of form in "viviparous"[231] and "oviparous"[232] reproduction. The article concludes with a discussion about animals of the "earth" and "air" that change their entire form for a more complete transformation, using the examples of the frog and beetle.[233] Issue 4 gives an overview of "metamorphoses" in animals that "appear in four shapes," such as the silkworm, whose cycles include egg, maggot, fly, and sylph.[234] Following the overview are case studies that detail insect life cycles, such as the Formica-Leo or Lion-Pismire and the Swallow-tailed butterfly, with images (figure 2.3) that capture each stage of life.[235]

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[230] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 229. Johnson's defines metempsychosis as "the transmigration of souls from body to body." *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755/metempsychosis_ns.

[231] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 235.

[232] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 237.

[233] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 239.

[234] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 306-08.

[235] Diagrams were a crucial part of experimental reports and scientific books as they documented a philosopher's findings. George Adams explains how he visually documented his microscope findings: "when I had a Mind to make a Drawing of any Object, I placed it in my Universal Microscope, and applied it to an improved Solar Apparatus; by which Means the Object was thrown upon a large Sheet of white Paper, and magnified to a Degree, that cannot be conceived by those, who have never see the Experiment. I then took my Pencil, and went over every Line of the Object, with all imaginable Care and Exactness, 'till I had finished a complete Drawing of it, and this being fixed in the Camera Obscura, and so reduced, according to the strictest Rules of Perspective, to a Size proper

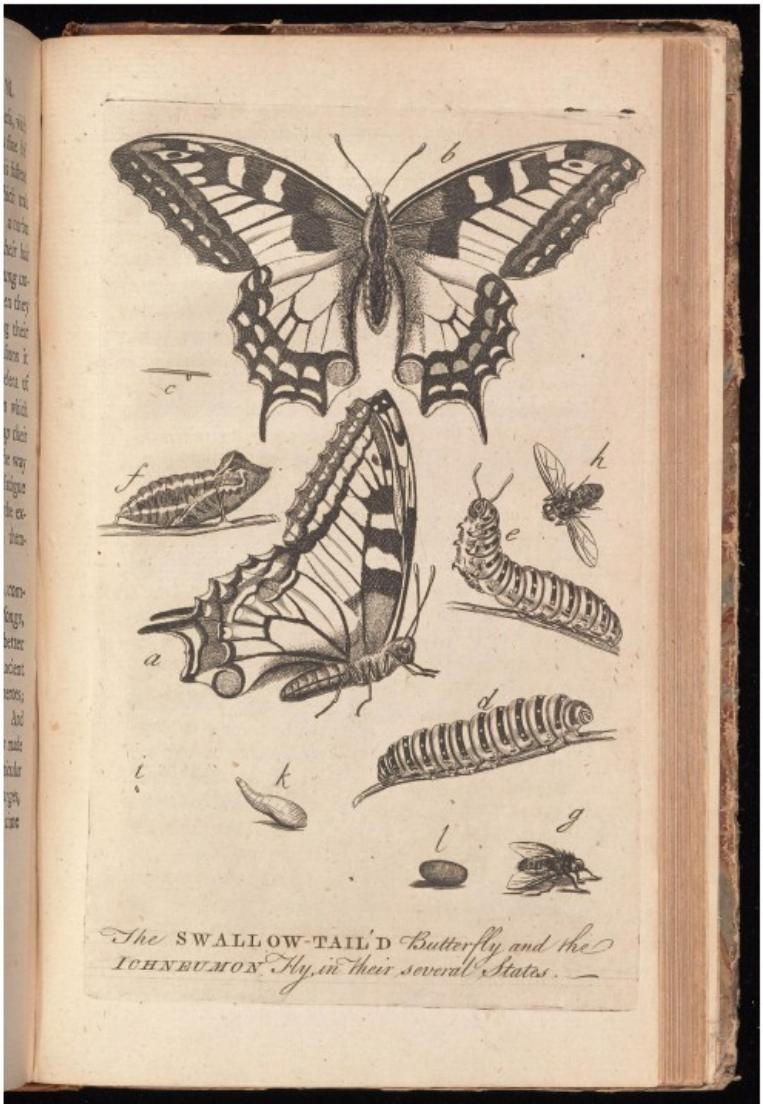

Figure 2.3. "The Swallow-Tail'd Butterfly and the Incheumon Fly in their Several States" in Charlotte Lennox, *The Lady's Museum.* © Yale University Library.

Both Haywood and Lennox discuss the life cycle of the butterfly. However, the detail with which they describe the cycle differs greatly. Haywood mentions the butterfly only briefly in book 15 of volume 3. Philo-Naturae writes, "there is something extremely curious and well

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for my Book, I drew from it the Pattern which was sent to my Engravers." *Micrographia Illustrata: or the Microscope Explained* (London: printed for the author, 1746), 9.

worthy Observation in the Death and Resurrection of these insects."[236] He encourages his readers to observe the chrysalis process, in particular, advising that if they put "one of them into a Box, with small Holes at the Top to let in Air, and take care to supply them with Leaves proper for their Sustenance, you [they] will perceive that after a certain Time they [snails] will cease to eat, and begin to build themselves a Kind of Sepulchre."[237] Philo-Naturae does not give further details, but rather leaves it up to the readers to witness the chrysalis stage of the butterfly. In contrast, Lennox's article meticulously describes the three stages of the insect. It specifies how caterpillars need to be provided with "fresh food" and how, when in the chrysalis, they must be kept "temperate" and undisturbed, with plenty of room "for the wings to expand."[238] The Trifler explains that the caterpillar goes into the chrysalis in August or September and remains in it until May or June the following year.[239] Moreover, the article includes information on the ichneumon, a parasite that latches onto the caterpillar and continues to feed on it in the chrysalis, "spoiling" it and thus preventing the caterpillar's metamorphoses into a butterfly.[240] The accompanying diagram (figure 2.3) also demonstrates how the caterpillar uses its antennae to "defend" itself from the parasite.[241] Al Coppola notes that Lennox treats natural philosophy "in a detailed and rigorous manner, in contrast to the breezy philosophic chatter of Philo-Naturae's letters in

[236] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 84.

[237] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 84.

[238] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 471.

[239] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 469.

[240] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 473.

[241] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 470.

Haywood's *Female Spectator*."[242] Lennox accomplishes this more profound approach thanks to the previous periodicals, which established natural philosophy as an acceptable and tasteful topic for women. Lennox's article reads like an encyclopaedia entry, accompanied by a diagram, giving general knowledge in the life cycle of the butterfly.[243] Hence, it offers readers disciplinary information which surpasses the observations that women obtain in their nature walks and experiments.

Lennox's periodical makes a case for women to become generalists in natural philosophy and other disciplines. The specificity of her articles goes beyond quenching curiosity or staving off boredom. In issue 8, Lennox distinguishes individuals who study specific aspects of nature for the purposes of their own entertainment from those (such as marriageable women) who are interested in examining several aspects of the natural world, for entertainment, improving their minds, self-preservation and for a greater appreciation for God's creations. The Trifler advises her readers to take after "the real philosopher" who has "clear reflection and accurate discernment" because they make connections between various facets of nature rather than merely collect information to improve their intellect.[244] Lennox's articles that cover several aspects of

[242]Al Coppola, *The Theatre of Experiment: Staging Natural Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 173.

[243] The four images in *The Lady's Museum* that accompany the serialized "Philosophy for the Ladies" are as follows: "The Lion Pismire. or Formica Leo in its several States" (308), "The Calamary or InkFish" (394), "The Swallow – Tail'd Butterfly and the Ichneumon Fly in their several States" (466), "The Ephemeron or Day - Fly" (632). They serve as representations of what a specimen would look like under a microscope. I contend they take after the diagrams in Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*, as Landreth notes, "Micrographia's numerous and expensive engraved plates attempted into replicate the experience of gazing in a microscope." "Science in the Long Eighteenth Century," 71.

[244] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 634.

natural philosophy give her readers a balanced education in philosophy to avoid "gimcrack" behaviour. As Chico argues, gimcracks are criticized by Haywood for their obsessive and selfish pursuits. They are immodest witnesses like coquettes, who "are often viewed as performers and dissemblers, devoted to advancing their own social standing and self-interest."[245] However, a diverse knowledge of nature prevents the learner from becoming fixated on one aspect, which prevents the temptation to pursue immoral experiments for the sake of excessive curiosity.

Haywood also addresses the problematic behaviour of the gimcrack, but less directly. Philo-Naturae describes several of his friends whose curiosity fueled experiments with snails, including one who pokes holes in and breaks off sections of a snail's shell to see if and how it would grow back. However, Philo-Naturae does not recommend that his readers carry out similar experiments. He instead admits that "both of us [could] have employ'd our Time better." He continues, "we ought not be so assiduous in gratifying a mere Curiosity, as to neglect those Researches which be of *real Utility* [emphasis mine]."[246] This echoes Cavendish's critique of experimenters who torture animals for the sake of their own interest rather than the production of valuable scientific knowledge.[247] Indeed, *The Female Spectator* highlights the worth of studying snails, despite some of the readers asking, "*[c]ould* they find no Objects, more worth their Attention, than Caterpillars and Snails?"[248] She tells her readers that snails are "useful to Man in

[245] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 44.

[246] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 240.

[247] Margaret Cavendish, *Grounds of Natural Philosophy Divided into Thirteen Parts: With an Appendix Containing Five Parts* (London, A. Maxwell, 1668), 295.

[248] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 165.

the Cure of several terrible Diseases, particularly the Scurvy [emphasis is Haywood's]."[249] Philo-Naturae's lessons on observing snails echo women's historical role in herbology as apothecaries, midwives, and practitioners of domestic medicine in the early-modern period.[250] Philo-Naturae comments, "WONDERFUL Cures have I seen performed by the Help of simples prepared in a proper Manner by these good Housewives." He goes on to say that although domestic medicine is an "old-fashioned Way of spending Time," it "should not be disagreeable" to learn about herbs and mollusks that can help with common ailments to decrease the "Apothecary's Bill."[251] Haywood combines old scientific practices with the use of new scientific machines for a practical purpose. She demonstrates how natural philosophy can be a useful tool in both domestic duties and home economics.

While Haywood's and Lennox's periodicals actively represent how women can reform their behaviours, it is also important to consider what their articles do not include. Neither of their periodicals significantly covers the topic of botany. The study of plants was an increasingly

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[249] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*. *Vol.III & IV*, 165. See Thomas Willis for a description on how snail water can be used as a "cordial medicine" to treat scurvy. Thomas Willis, 1621-1675. *The London Practice of Physick, Or, the Whole Practical Part of Physick Contained in the Works of Dr. Willis Faithfully made English, and Printed Together for the Publick Good* (London, Thomas Basset and William Crooke, 1685), 370.

[250] Lynette Hunter discusses how aristocratic women had access to books and/or shared medicinal recipes with a reading circle. She depicts how medicine fell under women's domestic duties in "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters," *Women, Science, and Medicine 1570-1620*, 89-107. Katherine Allen further discusses how the practice of household medicine continued in eighteenth-century England. She traces how elite women traded medicinal distilling recipes as a leisure activity with practical uses in "Hobby and Craft: Distilling Household Medicine in Eighteenth-Century England," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journa*l 11, no. 1 (Fall 2016): 90-114.

[251] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 234-35.

popular topic of interest in the second half of the century; but there were also moral ramifications to a woman studying plants. For example, in 1758 the Linnaean system named the parts of the flower after the male and female reproductive systems. Haywood's periodical briefly discusses how visiting a greenhouse or a garden is an enjoyable experience as it "ravish[es] two of our Senses with their Beauty, and the Fragrancy of their Odour [sic]."[252] Lennox's periodical does not cover any aspects of plants within her natural philosophy articles. Instead, she discusses the overall geography of ancient races as part of her history lessons. However, Martin's dialogue does extensively discuss botany using Linnaeus' system. An analysis between the three periodicals' discussions of plants (or lack thereof) did not fit within the scope of this chapter, but it would be interesting to consider how the gender of the editor and the type of guidance Cleonicus gives his sister allows for the study of botany, without the so-called slippage in morals.[253]

The Intellectual Beautification of Natural Philosophy

The three periodicals discussed in this chapter offered laywomen informal education in natural philosophy. I argue that the articles gave women the tools to develop taste and intellect, which culminates in a lasting attractiveness. All three periodicals encourage the formation of knowledge in the form of what Chico has called "intellectual beautification."[254] Haywood's and Martin's periodicals encourage readers to collect information in the field, combined with

[252] Haywood, *The Female Spectator*, *Vol. III & IV*, 246.

[253] For the eighteenth-century concern of women's potential slippage of morals see Sam George *Botany, Sexuality, and Women's Writing 1760-1830: from Modest Shoot to Forward Plant*. (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2007).

[254] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 71.

observation-based experiments, and claim to give readers a foundational knowledge in natural history. Lennox's periodical combines women's field observations with images and descriptive analysis of experiment-based micrographia to offer her readers a more complete course of scientific knowledge. The scope of my chapter focused on how Haywood's, Martin's, and Lennox's articles on insects, mollusks, and animals gave women an entry point into studying natural philosophy. My argument can be applied to other types of natural philosophy discussed in the three periodicals, as they simultaneously teach women how to exemplify the expansive beauty of nature over the fleeting aesthetic of man-made objects.[255] As Chico argues, natural philosophy helped reform the coquette by refocusing her interests from the self to the observation of nature. In doing so, the coquette's interests diversify and she develops skills that better attune her to the beauty of creation, which allows her to think critically about humanity's

[255] *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1847) continued the debate on women studying natural philosophy that Haywood's *The Female Spectator* began. The views on women studying and the involvement in natural philosophy had further advanced in the eight years between the inaugural issues of *The Lady's Magazine* and Lennox's periodical. From 1800 to 1805, *The Lady's Magazine* ran a scientific serialized essay called "The Moral Zoologist, in a Series of Letters; Containing an accurate description of every Genus and Species of Animals with Copper-Plates" by Ann Murry. The goal of the series was to describe in detail all of the different animals known to man, including man himself. Murry categorized the animals by dividing them into "several genus and species into the following sections—digitated, hoofed, pinnated, and winged animals, which are individually distinguished by the number and formation of their teeth, tendency of their propensities, and other essential generic qualities." The evolution in complexity and topics covered from *The Female Spectator* to *The Lady's Magazine* helped to establish further the relevance of women studying natural philosophy well into the nineteenth century. *The Lady's Magazine or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex; Appropriated Solely to Their Use and Amusement, Vol. 31*, no. 25 (London: G.G. and J. Robinson,1800), 8 & 10.

role in the natural world. [256] The articles on natural philosophy in *The Female Spectator* are illustrated as a way to improve the coquette's soul, by helping her to understand her place within nature and thus help to turn her focus away from man-made objections to "intellectual beautification." I built on Chico's argument to demonstrate how Lennox reforms the middling-rank trifler by providing her readers with methodological articles on natural philosophy to build a woman's intellect and gives them generalist education in disciplinary knowledge to make them an attractive contender in the marriage market because of their adorned mind and body.

In the *Lady's Museum*, tales of unlucky mistresses and letters to the Trifler by unhappy wives depict women's need to choose their husbands carefully. Traditionally, for a woman to be considered a successful contender she needed to come from a good family, have a sizable dowry, good character, virtue, and a pleasing appearance.[257] However, Lennox's periodical suggests women can be successful by adorning their minds. Lennox's serialized novel, "The History of Harriot and Sophia," extends the lessons of the periodical by demonstrating the predicament that lower status women faced while finding suitable husbands. Sophia is able to secure a husband through demonstrating the beauty of her mind and body, whereas her old sister struggles to find a suitable husband with just adorning her body with beautiful clothes and jewelry. Daughters of middle-class families who could not afford to send them to boarding school or employ a governess received little or no education. Lennox's periodical is represented as an affordable way for young middling-rank women to gain "intellectual beautification" through reading disciplinary articles to improve their chances on the marriage market. However, in Martin's case,

[256] Chico, *Experimental Imagination*, 70-71.

[257] Tim Reinke-Williajenms, "Physical Attractiveness and the Female Life-Cycle in Seventeenth-Century England" *Cultural and Social History* 15, no. 4 (2018): 474.

Euphrosyne's privilege (higher social rank) promotes the acquisition of natural philosophy as a way to keep her mind and soul engaged by exploring the vast elements of nature. In Martin's periodical, the focus is not on a woman's variability, but rather her soul. In the following chapter, we will see how Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid* challenges the necessity of marriage for (privileged) women by illustrating how a woman could be a spinster and serve society through teaching the next generation of women how to find husbands who were well suited.

The periodicals discussed in this chapter demonstrate how the study of natural philosophy developed over the century, moving through observation to experimentation. Haywood, Martin, Lennox and their successors invited upper- and middle-class men and women to learn and participate in the dissemination of scientific knowledge that helped to create the discipline of natural philosophy in England in the nineteenth century. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate how Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid* built on the discussions on the merits of vernacular literature in Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's *The Spectator* and Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler* (1750-51). Like Haywood and Lennox, Brooke makes an argument for women to become involved in the development of a discipline in English literature either by becoming patronesses to potential English poets or by becoming poets themselves. Brooke contends that the studying and writing of *good* literature was another safe diversion that not only prevented immoral behaviour and coquetry but also enriched women's mind and soul.

Chapter Three: In Defence of English Literature: Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid*

On the first page of *The Old Maid* (1755-56), Frances Brooke's eidolon, Mrs. Singleton, acknowledges that it is an "odd attempt in a woman" to add to "the present glut of essay papers."[258] Nevertheless, Mrs. Singleton defends her project and insists that *The Old Maid* should have an equal chance to "buz[z] amongst" the "short-liv'd generation" of periodicals.[259] She approaches her justification of *The Old Maid* indirectly, however, beginning in her first issue with a facetious and self-deprecating portrait of herself as a so-called ineffectual old maid. Unlike the young eidolons of Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-46) or Charlotte Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61), Brooke's fifty-year-old eidolon uses her advanced age and life experiences as an unmarried woman to counsel her readers. She challenges eighteenth-century representations of spinsters as "worthless animals" by calling for her "antiquated virgin" readers to join her in educating the next generation of young women about how to find suitable husbands – men well matched in means, intelligence, and character.[260] Brooke uses her spinster eidolon to model how spinsters can reclaim their social usefulness by mentoring young middle-class women entering the marriage market. In doing so, Mrs. Singleton reclaims the gendered category of "spinster," just as Haywood had rehabilitated the pejorative term "coquette" by showing how young women can transcend such gender stereotypes by improving their minds through the study of natural history.

In the eighteenth century, unmarried women were looked upon with contempt as drains on society. They were often satirized in novels, plays, and periodicals for their inability to find

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[258] Frances Brooke, *The Old Maid by Mary Singleton, Spinster, 2nd edition* (London: A., 1764), 1.

[259] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 1.

[260] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 2, 8.

husbands. There were various schemes such as lotteries and taxes that were meant to encourage marriage. Amy M. Froid explains that "during the reign of William and Mary parliament enacted the Marriage Duty tax, to fund foreign wars. Among other provisions, this act included a tax on bachelors over 25 years of age and on childless widowers. The Marriage Duty tax stayed in effect for eleven years, from 1695-1706."[261] Furthermore, "[i]n 1734 *A Bill for a Charitable Lottery for the Relief of the Distressed Virgins in Great Britain* appeared. This pamphlet depicted singlewomen [sic] as charity cases in need of relief, and singleness as the cause of suffering for both women and the nation."[262] With the rise of personal wealth amongst the middle rank, there was less need for men to marry to gain access to a dowry. By mid-century, unmarried women were no longer seen as "charity cases" but rather individuals who chose to live outside of acceptable societal behaviour. Indeed, a woman choosing not to marry had their virtue questioned, with concerns over their ability to remain celibate. Bridgette Hill notes that "single women of the middle class were not merely deprived of their ability to work, but of any recognized usefulness in society."[263] By the Georgian period, there was a concern that spinsters would cause a decrease in birth rates in a time when England needed to increase population with colonialism and the ever-increasing threat of war with neighbouring nations.[264]

Frances Brooke at age thirty-two was edging towards spinsterhood when she launched *The Old Maid*. This is perhaps why Brooke chose an older eidolon instead of following the example of Haywood's young eidolon. Through Mrs. Singleton, Brooke analyzes the

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[261] Amy M. Froid, *Never Married* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166-69.

[262] Froid, *Never Married*, 168-169.

[263] Bridget Hill, "Spinsters and Spinsterhood," *Women, Work And Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2005), 229.

[264] Froid, *Never Married*, 166.

surmounting pressure upper- and middle-rank women faced to marry. Brooke supplies her readers with various tales (sometimes satirical) of women marrying either above or below their status and facing a lifetime of unhappy consequences. Elizabeth Larsen explains, "Brooke's strategy suggests that even within the margins – the presumably negative place on the outskirts inhabited by, among others, the aging spinster – positive actions and resistance can take place."[265] Brooke develops a case study on how spinsters can help young middling-rank females on the marriage market find suitable husbands, which depicts her niece's (Julia) and her friend's (Rosara) respective searches for husbands. She depicts Mrs. Singleton's life experiences to impart the critical differences between the idealized docile rural woman represented by Rosara and the conversable urban woman represented by Julia. The latter politely uses her education to engage in conversation with potential spouses, whereas the former fumbles in her infatuation over an unattainable wealthy man. Brooke uses the serialized epistolary narrative to illustrate the need to change the expectations middle-class women had of marriage and to encourage her female readers to move beyond traditional gender roles to display their intellectual learning.

In the third issue of the *Old Maid*, Brooke outlines the aims of the periodical. She proposes the study of polite literature as a suitable endeavour for her middle-rank female readers. Through Mrs. Singleton, Brooke illustrates how focusing their interests on polite literature will cultivate a passion for learning. She begins with a broad perspective on the present state of literary culture, lamenting that "this is not the age of genius" and that the "whole circle of polite arts are neglected in England, at present, to a degree of barbarism."[266] She explains that rulers in

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[265] Elizabeth Larsen, "A Text of Identity: Frances Brooke and Rhetoric of the Aging Spinster" *Journal of Aging and Identity* 4, no. 4 (1999): 256.

[266] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 13-14.

past eras had "sought for" and "encouraged" poets with awards and recognition. Mrs. Singleton argues that in comparison, poets currently struggle with "poverty, envy and contempt" as part of the "perpetual warfare" they face.[267] She is concerned that these impediments will banish "many noble geniuses in[to] oblivion" in England.[268] Mrs. Singleton implores her readers to re-invigorate the arts in England. Their new passion for reading can result in support for struggling authors. She notes that although living writers rival the genius of the Greco-Roman poets, the current monarch does not appreciate or celebrate their works as Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne did during their reigns. Brooke's concern was well founded. Faced with this lack of royal patronage, Georgian authors published translations. Stuart Gillespie notes that many Georgian-era authors had to rely on vernacular translations of classical texts to earn a living. Authors such as John Dryden and Alexander Pope in their lifetimes were celebrated as much for their translations, as for their own original works. Gillespie argues, "[t]he eighteenth-century literary world is a translating culture, with the greatest prestige attaching to classical translation."[269] For that reason, eighteenth-century writers did not produce tragedies or epics to rival William Shakespeare's plays or John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1666).

From the Restoration onwards, English literature was re-inventing itself. Mrs. Singleton makes a case for her female readers to take poets "under their protection" and act as their patrons.[270] She expresses confidence that if the English focus their attentions on polite literature rather than "follies," they will soon "outstrip" their French counterparts in "literary

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[267] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 15.

[268] Brooke, *The Old Maid,* 16.

[269] Stuart Gillespie, *English Translation and Classical Reception: Toward a New Literary History* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2011), 13.

[270] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 18.

accomplishments, as they do in beauty."[271] Thus, Brooke makes a case that her periodical should be able to buzz around the other "summer insects," as she jocularly puts it, to add a female voice to the debates on which authors, and what types of writing, should be included in a canon of modern English literature to help bridge the intellectual gap between classically trained upper class and informally trained middle-class readers.[272]

To claim that women are capable of playing an important role in the formation of the field of vernacular literature, Brooke opposes David Hume's "Of Essay Writing" (1742). The content of her periodical goes against Hume's assertion that so-called learned men required women's conversation primarily to polish the rough edges from their public-school educations. In the (later revoked) essay Hume critiques the learned's "barbarous" writing style as totally unintelligible. He argues that the learned, being as they are, "shut up in Colleges and Cells, and secluded from the World and good Company," lack skill in conversation to polish up their writing. [273] Samuel Howell Wilbur explains that the learned's oratorical and written skills reflected the "ornate" and "intricate" rhetoric of Latin, while the tongue of the middling rank was more fluent, less abstruse, and therefore a better vehicle of communication.[274] A distinct difference in the learned's speech and writing style widened the intellectual barrier between the learned and the conversable. The learned couched their writing in obscure terminology and tortured syntax, rather than using vernacular language or literature as their stylistic model. As

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[271] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 19.

[272] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 1.

[273] Dave Hume, "Of Essay Writing," *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, 2000 ed. Eugene F. Miller. (New York: Cosimo Classics, 1987), n. p.

[274]Samuel Howell Wilbur, *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 446.

such, they write in a specialized style that can be only understood by a small group of readers that was less familiar with the more conversable speaking and writing styles of contemporary English spoken by the middling ranks. Hume observes that women can help learned men become more conversable. Hume recognizes women as "sovereigns of the Empire of Conversation." He proposes to give women with "Sense and Education" the role of "judge" to rule on what constitutes fine writing.[275] Hume, perhaps ironically, suggests that women could serve as arbiters of the readability and accessibility of the language used by male authors.

"Of Essay Writing" appeared in only the 1742 edition. It was one of two essays that were withdrawn from subsequent editions. Hume's attitude toward women greatly differs in his other essays. For example, in "Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences" (1742) Hume writes, "nature has given *man* the superiority above *woman*, by endowing him with greater strength both of mind and body," and he remarks that "Barbarous nations" have demonstrated their authority by the enslavement of females [emphasis is Hume's]. [276] He qualifies his argument, writing that women's role was rather to help refine men's manners by serving as exemplars of "softness," "modesty," and "delicacy." He notes that the "delicacy" of women "puts every one on his guard" to not "give offence by any breach of decency."[277] The role he ascribes to women in "Of Essay Writing" recognizes their potential for intellectual accomplishment; however, in "Of the Rise" he reduces their role to exemplars of restraint and polite manners. He stipulates that males from "Barbarous nations" display "superiority by reducing their females to the most abject slavery" but that males "among a polite people" discover "their authority in a more generous, though not

[275] Hume, "Of Essay Writing," n. p.

[276] David Hume, "Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences" *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, 2000, ed. Eugene F. Miller (New York: Cosimo Classics, 1987), 192.

[277] Hume, "Rise and Progress," 194.

a less evident manner; by civility, by respect, by complaisance, and in a word, by gallantry."[278] Christine Battersby points out the severe limitations in Hume's respect for women, asserting that much of his commentary is undercut by irony. She argues, "Hume's gallantry towards women is itself an indication of their inferiority."[279] I would argue that Brooke's *Old Maid* is an implicit rebuke to Hume's condescension; she counters Hume's patronizing and limiting views by proposing that women should indeed act not only as judges of men's speech and manners, but also as judges of new literature. Women circulate in public, contribute to public discussion, and are seen as improved in manners and customs over the ancients.[280] In the course of a series of letters, Mrs. Singleton emboldens women to speak out against uncivilized behaviour on the part of coffee-house "blockheads" or "praters" who rudely comment on modern poets.[281] Through Mrs. Singleton, Brooke demonstrates how coffee-house clients indeed need refinement from virtuous women and that her "town" of readers can educate the coffee-house clients – who

[278] Hume, "Rise and Progress," 192.

[279] Christine Battersby, "An Enquiry Concerning the Humean Woman" *Philosophy* 56, no. 217 (1981), 304.

[280] This was a major topic of discussion among eighteenth-century Scottish intellectuals. See for example John Millar, *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund: 2012*);* Adam Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society (*London: T. Cadell, 1767). For a history of chivalry and history of female involvement in society see Frans De Bruyn, "Edmund Burke the Political Quixote: Romance, Chivalry, and the Political Imagination" *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16, no. 4 (2004), 695-734.

[281] In Lord Orrery's annotated edition of the first edition of *The Old Maid*, he crossed out "blockheads" and replaced it with "praters.' In the second edition, Brooke ignored Lord Orrery's suggestion and kept "blockheads." Brooke, Frances, and John Boyle, Lord Orrery. *The Old Maid*. (London, A. Millar, 1755-1756), 107; and Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 152.

harshly critique women for their gender, education (or lack thereof), and age – on the benefits of polite literature.[282]

In this chapter, I examine how Brooke engages in the eighteenth-century periodical project of rendering modern literature accessible to middle-rank men and women. I show that Brooke carries forward the argument Haywood's periodical makes for female involvement in intellectual discussion, by giving readers a curriculum in the study of literature with epigraphs from modern authors, correspondent letters on literature and theatre, and a fictional anthology of English authors. Her periodical provides readers with the tools to become active participants in the re-invigoration of literary culture in England. She entices them to read polite literature, which serves as a vehicle for moral education; she encourages them to become literary patronesses; and she promotes mixed-gender discussions on canon formation.

Before turning to my analysis of women's informal education in literature, I offer by way of context an overview of the developing field of modern literature. I will show how English dissenting academies and Scottish universities pioneered the teaching of translated and vernacular literature as a university subject for their male students. Adam Smith's and Joseph Priestley's university lectures and publications on belles lettres made it possible, in turn, for male and female informal learners to study vernacular literature.[283] As will appear, there are three

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[282] Mrs. Singleton refers to regular readers as a "town." She sometimes she uses the term ironically, but on three occasions she asks for their opinion on new literature. Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 11, 20, 23.

[283] Richard Terry explains the gradual displacement of the term *belles letters* by the term *literature*. He notes, "[t]he idea of literature seems to have begun taking shape during the latter half of the eighteenth century." He furthers, "It was then that the word began to shed its earlier meanings and to replace the slightly older 'belles lettres' and the much older 'poetry' as a general term for the best imaginative fictional writings. *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past, 1660-1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 13, 20.

important ways in which Brooke's periodical represents a shift from women entertaining themselves with French follies to obtaining a moral education in literature.

First, I show how Brooke encourages middle-ranked women to develop a taste for polite literature as a means to finding lasting happiness in marriage. I demonstrate how Brooke uses the sentimental narrative of Julia's and Rosara's searches for husbands to demonstrate the role polite literature plays in making moral decisions in love. Brooke proposes that reading polite literature teaches women moral behavior and provides them with enlightening material that enriches their conversations with potential suitors. These conversations are proposed as forming the basis for long lasting happiness in marriages based on respect, mutual aesthetic interests, and friendship. I show how Brooke encourages middle-rank women to engage in discussions with men, and how she invites women to participate via the medium of print in public mixed gender discussions, creating a kind of virtual coffee house or space of public debate to give women access to traditionally masculine public spaces. Finally, I discuss how *The Old Maid* is unique as there are multiple authors who are men or women that write under the eidolon's name, Mrs. Singleton. Brooke as sometimes author and sometimes editor of fictional and factual letters written by men and women, encourages readers to have their voices heard by writing letters to the editor. I argue that, like Haywood's articles on natural philosophy, Brooke's articles on polite literature claim to enhance a women's overall intellectual attractiveness to help women educate their husbands on morals and manners.

In Pursuit of Modern Literature

Starting in the seventeenth century, there was an increase in the number of boys attending endowed public and "private venture classical schools" to learn the liberal arts.[284] This is part of a profound change for the middle and merchant classes. These schools included a Latin curriculum, but they differed from the upper-class public schools that prepared elite students for university. Instead, middling-rank boys received a curriculum that had "a stock of classical tags handy for any occasion" that also unfortunately gave students "a firm distaste for ancient literary works."[285] These schools did not encourage students to read literature, classical or vernacular. Starting in the mid-seventeenth century, a small handful of dissenting academies such as Newington Green and Northampton Academy started to teach their pupils completely in English instead of Latin. Richard D. Altick explains that the Latin curriculum came "under heavy fire from the Puritans" for its reliance on pagan authors, as it was "the very denial of Christian piety" and a "waste of time" for "the prospective businessman" to study a curriculum that had little relevance to their future careers.[286] Curricula added more "modern" or "practical subjects," including works from Francis Bacon and John Locke.[287] However, modern texts furthered not literary study but rather "pragmatic objectives" to help students practice spelling and pronunciation.[288] Similarly, in Scotland, some middling-rank male students studied classical

[284] Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 42.

[285] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 42.

[286] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 42.

[287] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 43.

[288] Richard Terry, "*Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past, 1660-1781,"* 8.

texts in the vernacular to learn elocution and oratory skills.[289] By the 1730s professors such as John Stevenson and John Taylor at the University of Edinburgh combined the study of translated classical authors alongside contemporary English authors. They included works by Joseph Addison, Mark Akenside, Pope, Milton, and Dryden as part of their syllabi.[290] The shifts in school curriculum for the growing middle class in Scotland and England contributed to the formation of a canon of modern vernacular literature.[291] As the century progressed, schools continued adding English authors. Douglas Lane Patey notes "in the eighteenth century academic specialties change, as there begins to appear the first university chairs of 'poetry,' 'belles lettres,' and 'fine arts.'" In that slow process, "[l]iterature itself becomes a profession distinct from any previous system of academic or social affiliations."[292] As the century progressed, curricula combining classical texts with modern texts became more common and purported to develop the student's taste for polite literature and manners.

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[289] Paul Gregory Bator, Rhetoric and the Novel in the Eighteenth-Century British University Curriculum" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30, no. 2 (1996): 176.

[290] Linda Ferreira-Buckley, "Scottish Rhetoric and the Formation of Literary Studies in Nineteenth-Century England," ed. Robert Crawford, *The Scottish Invention of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998),182; Altick, *The Common Reader*, 43.

[291] A wider discussion of canon formation can be read in the following texts: John Guillory, "Canon, Syllabus, List: A Note on the Pedagogic Imaginary" *Transition*, no. 52 (1991): 36-54; John Guillory, *Cultural Capital : the Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Douglas Lane Patey "The Eighteenth Century Invents the Canon, *Modern Language Studies* 18, no. 1 (1998): 17-37; Robin Valenza, Robin, *Literature, Language, and the Rise of the Intellectual Disciplines in Britain, 1680–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[292] Patey, "Canon," 23.

Like social changes and innovations that shaped eighteenth-century dissenting academies and Scottish universities, female boarding schools in the eighteenth century expanded from a primarily upper-class student-body to include the middle class. The editor's preface to Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778) refers to boarding schools as a class of reader and makes a case for when reading a novel might be harmful rather than helpful. Burney notes,

> Perhaps were it possible to effect the total extirpation of novels, our young ladies in general, and boarding-school damsels in particular, might profit from their annihilation: but since the distemper they have spread seems incurable, since their contagion bids defiance to the medicine of advice or reprehension, and since they are found to baffle all the mental art of physic, save what is prescribed by the slow regimen of Time, and bitter diet of Experience, surely all attempts to contribute to the number of those which may be read, if not with advantage, at least without injury, ought rather to be encouraged than contemned.[293]

Indeed, while boarding schools helped to spread literacy to a rank of women that were previously uneducated or under-educated since hey gave students "superficial instruction" in "fashionable accomplishments," and a taste for novels, they were deemed "useless."[294] The development of the middling rank necessitated a new curriculum to help women balance marriage and motherhood with safe diversions to fill their downtime. Altick explains "[a]s more and more women were relieved of domestic chores, they had time on their hands; and as certain other customary means of occupying it, needlework for instance, were no longer regarded as quite

[293] Frances Burney, *Evelina* ed. Susan Kubica Howard (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2000), 96.

[294] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 45.

genteel, they were forced to fight ennui with books."[295] There was a shortage of good reading material for what Altick called "the literate but uneducated woman,"[296] though thanks to the popularity of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), the general appetite for sentimental moral narratives increased.

Brooke's periodical addressed the growing need for suitable reading material by giving readers articles on moral topics to both help refine their behaviour and offer an antidote to fashionable but dangerous amusements. Mrs. Singleton tells her readers that she will pass criticism "upon fashions, plays, masquerades, or whatever else happens to fall within my observation."[297] She is as good as her word: in subsequent issues of the periodical, Mrs. Singleton critiques the imitation of French follies (their fashion and hairdressing trends), the mixing of social ranks in masquerades, uncouth behaviour in theatres, and false friendships. In so doing, she critiques so-called fashionable pastimes for ones that serve as a substitute or supplemental education to the inadequacies of boarding schools. She also includes a sentimental narrative that depicts the dangers of the marriage market for women with small- or medium-sized fortunes, as a corrective course of moral literature to counteract romantic ideas of marrying above their social rank.

Didactic Lessons on Marriage

Mrs. Singleton provides her readers with a balanced view on marriage. She presents an argument on why spinsterhood can potentially be a better option for women instead of marrying an ill-matched suitor. In doing this, Brooke challenges the immoral associations with

[295] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 45.

[296] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 45.

[297] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 11.

spinsterhood. In what will be the first of many lessons of marriage, Mrs. Singleton explains how she ill-advisedly fell in love with a man who was below her status. She establishes that as one of two daughters "of an honest country justice," the family estate and "eight hundred a year" would be shared "betwixt" Mrs. Singleton and her sister.[298] As such, both of them had a decent dowry for marriage. Her sister married a "neighbouring gentleman," but Singleton fell for a gentleman who was "passionately fond" of her but did not have "a shilling" to his name.[299] Unable to get her father's consent, Mrs. Singleton chose to wait until his death to marry her poor suitor, despite his frequent requests for them to marry "privately."[300] Upon her father's death, she sends a letter to her suitor with the news, telling him they could marry publicly. The suitor, however, replied that his dying uncle had "insisted" he marry his cousin "Miss Wealthy."[301] In her response, she fires back at him stating that she had felt obliged to keep her promise to him, and that his actions showed her the "inside" of his "heart."[302] She consoles herself in her disappointment by travelling the world with her sister and her brother-in-law and is gratified when she learns that her suitor "was half ruined by the extravagance of his wife."[303]

Mrs. Singleton's decision not to marry is then reinforced when her sister dies while giving birth to Julia. The guardianship of her niece "determined" her "to remain single."[304] Larsen explains that "[a]s a woman, she carries no conventional authority. So Brooke produces a

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[298] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 3.

[299] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 3.

[300] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 3.

[301] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 4.

[302] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 6.

[303] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 6.

[304] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 7.

miracle child – [Julia] a daughter born to Mrs. Singleton's sister, who conveniently dies in childbirth while her husband (also conveniently) dies shortly thereafter."[305] As a guardian, Mrs. Singleton writes from a parental position despite her spinsterhood, because of her adoption of Julia as her ward. Mrs. Singleton uses her experience as a jilted lover to urge young women to find husbands who match them in intelligence and rank. Brooke uses her eidolon to challenge negative stereotypes about ineffective or so-called bitter spinsters; Mrs. Singleton is an old maid who uses her own failure in the marriage market to help the next generation succeed in finding a well-matched husband. As Iona Italia observes, "the absence of marital responsibilities has enabled her [Mrs. Singleton] to make observations which qualify her as a writer and her freedom from domestic cares leaves her the liberty to publish a periodical as she wishes."[306] By that projected confidence, Brooke advocates for her readers to change the way they interact with men.

In the second issue of the periodical, Mrs. Singleton comments that Julia's mind is "the seat of every grace and every virtue" and that she is "so gentle that I can make her tremble by a look of anger."[307] She also explains how Julia's "taste for polite literature is admirable, and I am never perfectly satisfied with my own opinion of any work of genius till I have hers [her opinions]."[308] Mrs. Singleton does not specify the kinds of texts Julia reads. However, it is reasonable to assume they are represented by the authors in the mottos at the start of each issue and the literary quotations that are incorporated into the various essays and articles in the periodical. In each case, the quotations are primarily from modern English authors such as

[305] Larsen, "A Text of Identity," 263.

[306] Iona Italia, *The Rise of Literature Journalism: Anxious Employment* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 171.

[307] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 9.

[308] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 10.

William Shakespeare and John Dryden. The mottos model moral behaviour or question immoral behaviour.

By contrast, Mrs. Singleton does not describe Rosara by her education. Brooke describes Rosara but by her physical appearance, dress, and behaviour. She explains that Rosara is "a really fine creature, and has all that vivid youth and health."[309] Further, her "whole dress is perfectly genteel."[310] Rosara has all the advantages of country health and lack of pretentiousness in her dress, which entirely avoids French excesses. Mrs. Singleton does not mention whether, like Julia, Rosara reads polite literature. In her assessment of Rosara's upbringing, Brooke continues her lessons on the moral imperative for a middling-rank woman to be careful in her choice for a husband. Like Julia, Rosara has access to a small fortune; hence, she needs to pick her husband carefully. Part of the lesson lies in the depiction of the role of the mother figure in each girl's life. Mrs. Singleton, with her careful guidance and willingness to listen to her niece, is depicted as an ideal mother figure to Julia, whereas Rosara's mother "is severe to a degree of cruelty" and hence fills Rosara with a sense of "dread which a scholar has of an ill-natured tyrannical master."[311] As a result, Rosara conceals her love for a gentleman of "superior descent" from her mother, a circumstance that potentially exposes her to danger. Moreover, Rosara's country life has left her unaware of the rules of society and specifically the behaviour of men. Mrs. Singleton explains that rural girls who live "in simplicity, and a degree of ignorance, unacquainted with life, and the dangers to which our sex are exposed they fancy the world like the shades of Arcadia; and too often fall a sacrifice to the first military swain who happens to be

[309] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 136-37.

[310] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 138.

[311] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 47.

quartered in the nearest market town."[312] This characterization is not unlike that of Lennox's Arabella in *The Female Quixote* (1752), who, because of her naivety and isolation in the country mistakes badly translated romances as factual representations of historical accounts. In both cases, the characters' lack of exposure to society impinges on their understanding of what type of man is suitable and what type of behaviour is appropriate in courtship.

Mrs. Singleton is confident that under her guidance and tutelage in polite literature, Julia will choose a good husband. Julia enters into a courtship with Mr. Belleville, a respectful and educated man, but he does not have one without a great fortune. She advises Julia to move slowly in her courtship, to ensure the two are a good match. Contrastingly, she worries that Rosara's lack of maternal guidance and education will lead her to choose poorly. Rosara's story also has parallels with Mrs. Singleton's experience of courtship. Like Rosara, she has sought to marry someone who is not of equal social standing. Rosara's love choice is a mirror image of Mrs. Singleton's, as she is courting Mr. Wilmot, who is above her station and who must wait until the death of his father before he can marry her. She warns that the disparity between Rosara and her suitor will lead her to make ill-advised decisions. Mrs. Singleton writes that Rosara feels "obliged to give him [her suitor] meetings," which goes against the rules of decorum and places her in potential danger.[313] This echoes the decision by the young Mary Singleton to wait for two years before marrying her impoverished suitor. In both cases, the women's actions are predicated on their fears of losing their lovers owing to the socioeconomic financial and social inequalities between them. As such, Mrs. Singleton takes on the role of educating Rosara to save her from making further unwise decisions.

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[312] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 46.

[313] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 48.

Mrs. Singleton enlists Julia's beau's aunt and uncle, the Hartingleys, to help prevent Rosara from making a grave mistake by compromising her virtue or wasting her youth waiting to marry an unattainable man. The Hartingleys are a married couple who, having suffered through the deaths of their children, including their youngest daughter, Arabella, are now childless. Though the Hartingleys have limited financial resources they feel morally bound to help young men and women in their studies. Dr. Hartingley is the incumbent of the local Anglican parish, and he and his wife have created "six large Quarto Volumes" of the "most beautifully and correctly written" passages from the "English Classicks," including poetic excerpts and essays. These volumes were originally meant for Arabella, but are now being devoted to the education of Sir Harry Hyacinth and Rosara.[314]

The Hartingleys carefully selected the contents for the volumes, with Dr. Hartingley choosing the literary excerpts and Mrs. Hartingley selecting the companion images. Mrs. Singleton notes that "most" of the images chosen "are emblematical," emphasizing the didactic and religious content of the texts chosen. [315] The result is a rich anthology of polite literature. Mrs. Singleton explains:

> Mrs. Hartingley insists that we shall bring *Rosara* to her, before our amiable guest returns to *Rutlandshire*; and her husband the Doctor is so thoroughly intent upon improving the taste and adjustment of this excellent young lady, that some days before he

[314] Mrs. Singleton explains, "The sight of these volumes brought tears into my eyes, as I remembered them prepared and intended for *Miss Arabella Hartingley*, the Doctor's youngest daughter; but I soon repressed the approaches of my grief, by recollecting the young lady's epitaph, written by her father, as her sentiments and information from another state. Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 235.

[315] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 235.

> left *London*, he made her a present of a six large Quarto Volumes, most beautifully and correctly written, and lettered on the outside, *MSS English Classicks*.[316]

Mrs. Singleton notes that the passages chosen for the each of the volumes include a range of essays whose contents have been screened to exclude innuendo or inappropriate wit, as well as any satire against specific persons — omitting anything, in short that might offend against "religion and virtue."[317]

Mrs. Singleton praises the volumes for including female authors, such as *Lady Winchelsea* [Anne Finch]. She notes, "Lady Winchelsea's poem upon death, defining, *O King of Terrors!*" is included and "is distinguished by several beautiful ornaments in Indian Ink."[318] Moreover, she commends Dr. Hartingley for including a volume dedicated to modern English authors: [319]

> Almost one entire volume is filled with quotations from the living; among whom I particularly remember the names of [John] *Armstrong*, [Mark] *Akenside*, [Samuel] *Johnson*, [Edward] *Young*, [David] *Mallet,* [William] *Mason,* [Thomas] *Gray*, [Richard] *Glover*, [Thomas or Joseph] *Wharton*, [William] *Whitehead*, and which I read with particular pleasure, *Miss* [Elizabeth] *Carter*.[320]

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[316] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 235.

[317] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 236.

[318] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 237.

[319] Many of the authors listed had friendships/acquaintances with Jonathan Swift, Samuel Richardson, and Samuel Johnson. This tracks as both Frances Brooke and Lord Orrery (who wrote the issue that the names appear in) were friends with Swift, Richardson, and Johnson.

[320] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 237.

In so doing, the anthology is a representation of the developing canon of modern literature. Mrs. Singleton explains that the "passages" are "most judicially chosen, from the best poems extant in our language" and that with "every quotation" are "explanatory notes and anecdotes" added by Dr. Hartingley.[321]

The anthology is an exercise in canon formation for Brooke's readers as it gives her readers a curated list of modern English authors to read. The expansion of literary criticism in the eighteenth century coincided with the production of anthologies (often titled, *Beauties of…*) containing excerpts of what the editors deemed the best examples of modern literature. Indeed, by the end of the century, the availability of anthologies that included "virtually every English author of great contemporary repute" gave middle-class readers a "nodding acquaintance" with modern English literature.[322] For example, Joseph Priestley published *Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761), which included extracts from several modern English authors, including Hume, Swift, and Young. These anthologies built on the Roman practice of compiling lists of the "best authors" chosen by the "grammatical criterion" of "correct speech" for "pedagogical purpose."[323] In other words, literary critics categorized and assessed texts according to their structure, clarity, accuracy, believability, imitation of nature, and allusions to Greco-Roman mythology.

Many of the authors Mrs. Singleton lists from the Hartingleys' anthology overlap with authors included in actual eighteenth-century anthologies. The proliferation of anthologies

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[321] One example is, "among the more modern authors I had the melancholy pleasure of reading the name of Gilbert West, Esq. Under it is written his character, by Dr. Hartingley, is these four words: "a gentleman, a scholar, a poet, and a Christian." Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 235.

[322] Altick, *The Common Reader*, 43, 44.

[323] Patey, "Canon," 17.

accelerated discussions about which authors represented the best English literary minds. For example, in 1687, William Winstanley published *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, followed by Giles Jacob's *Poetical Register* in two volumes in 1719-1720, and Samuel Johnson published *Lives of the Most Eminent Poets* in 1779-81. These publications helped to trace "the gradual emergence and triumph of 'correctness' in English verse" and form a canon of modern English literature.[324] Brooke compiles her own lists of poetic excellence, using various editorial devices. The English mottos at the start of each issue (instead of Latin mottos) are one such device, as are correspondent discussions of literature and the detailed description of the Hartingleys' fictional anthology. In this way, Brooke suggests a curriculum for her readers that overlaps with the authors discussed in coffee houses. Brooke adds her voice to the ongoing discussions of which English authors to include in a vernacular canon. Several of the authors in the Hartingleys' anthology also appear in Winstanley's and Jacob's lists of poets and in Priestley's grammar book. [325] Moreover, they anticipate the list of authors Johnson was commissioned (by the booksellers of London) to include in his *Lives of Poets*, which is recognized by scholars as the first authoritative canonical list of modern English authors.[326]

In issue 29 of *The Old Maid*, Mrs. Singleton demonstrates how the Hartingleys' anthology instructs Sir Harry Hyacinth in moral principles that guide his search for a suitable wife. Mrs. Singleton and Rosara find a letter from Sir Harry to Dr. Hartingley slipped between the pages of the anthology. Sir Harry writes to Dr. Hartingley on the topic of marriage, indicating

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[324] Patey, "Canon," 17.

[325] See Appendix B for the overlap in authors of these various works.

[326] Terry notes, "[i]t should be stressed that such issue relating to the book's contents were decided, not by Johnson, but by the cartel of booksellers; of the fifty-six poets eventually included, Johnson himself proposed only five: Watts, Blackmore, Pomfret, Thomson, and Yalden." *English Literary Past,* 216.

that Hartingley (as his tutor) has "politely" pressed him "to marry."[327] Hartingley has impressed upon Sir Harry that the woman he marries "must undoubtedly be happy."[328] Sir Harry asks how he can know whether his wife will be happy. He laments that "young women are not the angels they seem to be. Methinks they are brought out by their friends and parents, as jockeys brings out horses, pampered, smooth, sleek, and beautiful."[329] Here, Brooke is drawing attention to the marriage market that drives parents to have their daughters instructed in superficial accomplishments intended to set forth their physical beauty.

Brooke then critiques the lack of moral male assumptions about marriage with Sir Harry's comment that "it is an established rule of fashion [for men] to be very humble and civil before matrimony, and very imperious and rude afterwards." He continues, "as soon as the prize [the virtuous bride] is gained all but the purchases depreciate it" as the groom "discovers[s] a thousand little flaws" in his bride.[330] However, Sir Harry demonstrates his moral education by stating that the woman he is "to marry, although ever so beautiful, will not satisfy me: I must see her mind: I must see it, if I may be allowed the expression, in various attitudes."[331] The letter provides Brooke's readers with a lesson in the importance of education for those middling-rank women who seek a morally upright husband and a less superficial marital bond. Sir Harry's letter warns female readers away from superficial men who see them merely as a "beautiful" "prize," and invites them instead to seek a man who has been tutored in polite literature and wants to marry a woman with a cultivated mind. Sir Harry ends the letter by stating his "scheme… will

[327] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 240.

[328] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 242.

[329] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 242.

[330] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 243.

[331] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 244.

take up time," but he has "already beheld the *person* of a woman I [he] wish[es] to marry" and he will "lose no opportunity" to be "acquainted with her *mind* [emphasis is Brooke's]."[332] Indeed, the Hartingleys' anthology in combination with Sir Harry's letter represents how a curriculum in polite literature can help men and women find a suitable spouse with whom marriage will be a substantive meeting of the minds.

The lessons of the sentimental narrative of Julia and Rosara are twofold: first, mothers/guardians should be kind mentors to their daughters; second, women should not marry rashly or outside of their rank. Mrs. Singleton warns that "MARRIAGE, where the disproportion of rank and fortune is very great, especially if the disadvantage is on the woman's side, seldom turns out happy" and that "[e]quality is necessary to friendship; and without friendship marriage must be at the best insipid but oftener a state of perfect misery."[333] Brooke includes Mrs. Singleton's narrative on marriage to highlight the need for women to read polite literature to gain a moral grounding in knowledge. Her position as a jilted old maid makes Mrs. Singleton unique. Brooke recasts her status as spinster narrator in a positive light: she is not someone to be pitied or scorned like Christopher Smart's Midwife. Mrs. Singleton wrote to cultivate a "town" of female readers who are not only knowledgeable in modern English literature but also comfortable articulating this knowledge in conversation with potential suitors and are thereby more likely to form substantive marital partnerships. The subsequent discussions of literature help to demonstrate how a morally educated woman like Julia can participate in mixed-gendered discussions. Moreover, the correspondent letters from jilted wives underscore why uneducated

[332] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 245.

[333] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 53.

women like Rosara need to gain an informal education in polite literature to avoid being betrayed or abandoned.

Mrs. Singleton also illustrates a counter argument for why women should not marry. In issue 21, she describes a dream that gives Mrs. Singleton an opportunity to re-live her youth. In the dream, she is "restored to all the bloom of eighteen; and commanded to make my immediate choice for life, of *Marriage* or *Celibacy* [emphasis is Brooke's]."[334] She describes that at first, she revelled at the idea of choosing marriage. Mrs. Singleton explains that in the dream, the path to marriage was "embosomed in a shade of myrtles and oranges," with doves and beautiful flowers.[335] The inviting visuals and aromas of marriage illustrate how eager young women see marriage based on their parents' and societal expectations. Mrs. Singleton describes how she is led down a path to the temple of marriage with Cupid and Plautus at her side. In the temple, there is "the God of Riches" who is "seated on a throne of myrtle inlaid with gold."[336] It is at first explained as magnificent, but upon closer examination, Mrs. Singleton sees a place where the gold has rubbed off to reveal the gritty "reality of iron," a metaphor for the truth of marriage behind the pretty facade.[337] She notes, "*Love*, *Honour*, *Respect*, and *Wealth* stood on each side of him [God]; and *Posterity* at a little distance, with a group of boys and girls lovely as the son of *Venus* [emphasis is Brooke's]."[338] However, behind the throne Mrs. Singleton sees the so-called "fantoms" of "*Discord*, crowned with scorpions; *Jealousy*, stung the furies; *Furies*, and *Slavery* bearing a yoke that loaded with chains, most of which were of gold, and the rest of flowers in the

[334] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 177.

[335] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 178.

[336] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 178.

[337] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 178.

[338] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 178-79.

form to festoons" which she is invited to put on [emphasis is Brooke's].[339] Mrs. Singleton is "assured" by *Prudence* that the phantoms are "accidental attendants on *Marriage*" and that they can be avoided [emphasis is Brooke's].[340] The phantoms illustrate the uncensored truth of marriage, the potential of unhappiness for women who rush into marriage to conform to familial and religious expectations.

Disturbed by the representations of marriage, Mrs. Singleton chooses to leave the temple and go back to the path to celibacy. Interestingly enough, the path to celibacy is not as visually stunning or aromatic. She describes the path as "composed of evergreens, which cast a gloomy and melancholy shade; the way was rough and thorny, and covered with plants of the most unpleasing aspect."[341] The plants represent the hardiness in contrast to the fleeting blooms in the temple of marriage. In the temple, looks continue to be deceiving. Mrs. Singleton explains,

> I entered with reluctance, which was not lessened by the appearance of the Goddess: she was seated on a throne of Ebony, her countenance was severe her complexion pale and unanimated; she wore a loose robe of the purest white, a garland of willow on her head, and held in her hand a branch of barren yew: *Chastity* and *Pride* supported her train; before her stood *Neglect, Contempt*, and *Derision* [ridicule] but as her port was majestic and haughty, she overlooked them, and kept her eyes fixed upon a very beautiful personage at her hand, who, from her easy composed mien, I rightly guessed to be *Tranquility* [emphasis is Brooke's].[342]

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[339] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 179.

[340] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 179.

[341] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 179.

[342] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 180.

Indeed, the description of celibacy, unlike that of marriage, is not inviting. However, the temple of celibacy has an "air of serenity" which becomes "more pleasing" as Mrs. Singleton is led to the male youth "Liberty." Mrs. Singleton sees the promise of autonomy as more enticing for her than marriage. The dream ends with Mrs. Singleton led by Liberty to the temple of "Happiness" that stands at "equal distance" between Celibacy and Marriage.[343]

Through the dream, Brooke makes a claim that happiness is represented as possible through marriage or spinsterhood. Both temples represent the potential challenges a young woman would need to overcome in order to achieve personal happiness. In the temple of marriage, the phantoms represent challenges from *within* the marriage, whereas in the temple of celibacy, the phantoms represent the challenges from *outside*, such as overcoming the perceptions of others (family and society). Mrs. Singleton confesses the dream re-affirmed her decision in choosing spinsterhood. K.J.H. Berland argues, "Mary Singleton's vision is an allegory of liberty in single or married blessedness. Brooke incorporates the Christian doctrine of individual duty to use God's gifts wisely – as taught by the parable of talents – into a model of society and life in which marriage or celibacy is a matter of free choice, not market necessity."[344] Mrs. Singleton makes a case that her choice to remain single made her "the best humoured creatures breathing" and that unlike "most" of her "sisterhood" she does not lament her decision, but instead puts herself in "service" for the "amusements of fellow citizens."[345] Thus, Mrs. Singleton's letters demonstrate how spinsters could become useful members of society by

[343] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 180-81.

[344] K.J.H Berland, "A Tax on Old Maids and Bachelors: Frances Brooke's *Old Maid*" Women and the Arts, eds. Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch (New York: *Greenwood Press*, 1998), 34.

[345] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 182.

providing guidance to young women on the marriage market and by giving guidance to unhappy married women on how to deal with their unfaithful husbands.[346]

Developing a Canon of Modern Literature

The use of vernacular mottos at the start of each issue of *The Old Maid* celebrates modern authors, as well as translations of ancient authors by modern English authors.[347] Brooke opens the periodical with an ironic quotation from Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*: "But earthlier happy is the rose distill'd, / Than that, which withering on the virgin thorn, / Grows, lives, and dies, in Single Blessedness."[348] The motto represents Shakespeare as one of the foremost English authors. It is noteworthy that seven of the mottos in the periodical are from Shakespeare's plays as it illustrates how *The Old Maid* participates in the great eighteenth-century project to make Shakespeare into a classic author despite him not writing in Latin. In issue 2, Mrs. Singleton tells her readers, "I shall always have English mottos to my papers, though I am under no necessity of so doing; for to the honor of the age, there are poor scholars enough in town that would be glad to give me a scrap of Latin for a dinner."[349] However, the phrase "to the honor of the age," is clearly intended ironically, signaling how threadbare and impoverished the cultural practice of Latin mottos and catch-phrases has become. Whereas prominent periodicals such as *The Tatler* (1709-1711), *The Spectator* (1711-12), and *The Rambler* (1751) customarily included Latin mottos at the start of each essay, Brooke modifies this practice to illustrate her periodical's commitment to modern English authors, such as

[346]Brooke, *The Old Maid,* 117- 20.

[347] All but three of the mottos are by English authors.

[348] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 1.

[349] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 12-13.

Shakespeare, Donne, Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Gray.[350] Mrs. Singleton claims, "[w]e have now Poets who in lyric, elegiac, didactic, and dramatic compositions, have shewn that they are capable, if properly encouraged, of rivalling ancient Greece and Rome."[351] Brooke offers a solution, by actively encouraging current and future authors by foregrounding beautiful excerpts of English poetry. In this way, Brooke sees periodicals as playing a crucial role in defining the English canon.

The history of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century is central to canon formation and Frances Brooke makes this part of her discussion of modern authors and of forming the canon in using Shakespeare so often in the mottos of her periodical. Various collected editions of Shakespeare's work became more readily available for the literate. Marcus Walsh explains, "in the textual editing and explication of Shakespeare's writing, principles were contested and methodologies established that have had the most fundamental effects not only on Shakespeare studies, but also on literary studies in the academy and beyond."[352] From the early eighteenth century onward, Shakespeare was increasingly revered as a playwright and poet. However, his eighteenth-century poetic reputation is based on his plays, not on his sonnets. For that reason, Brooke pays tribute to Shakespeare's impact on the developing field of English literature as poet by selecting eight (of the fifty-three) mottos in *The Old Maid* from six of his plays – *Midsummer's Night Dream*, *Winter's Tale*, *Hamlet*, *Henry IV* (part one), *Henry V* and *Julius Caesar* – the largest number of mottos chosen from a single author.

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[350] There is a full listing of authors in Appendix B.

[351] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 17.

[352] Marcus Walsh, "Editing and Publishing Shakespeare" *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21.

Shakespeare's plays were a major part of the English stage repertoire from 1660 to 1835. Eighteenth-century playwrights sought to amplify the original by in effect "translating" the allegedly barbaric Renaissance idiom and structure of Shakespearean drama to meet modern English aesthetic and critical standards. Gillespie notes, "the stage was... a place where attitudes towards the emergent central icon of English literature, Shakespeare, were being consolidated in the eighteenth century, offering an example of the relevance to the canon-formation of translations of 'non-creative' works such as literary criticism."[353] As such, the eighteenth century saw Shakespeare's popularity rise as a *playwright*, and notably, as an *author*. No formal edition of Shakespeare's plays was printed in his lifetime; the first folio was printed in 1623. Subsequent folio editions were printed in 1632, 1663, and 1685.[354] Then, in 1709, Nicholas Rowe is credited as publishing the first critical edition of Shakespeare's collected works. He was the first editor to provide readers with textual analysis of the plays and an account of Shakespeare's life, based on information gathered from actor Thomas Betterton.[355] Rowe's account of the Bard's life was reprinted and augmented by subsequent authors. After Rowe, thirty-four edited collections of Shakespeare's works appeared in the eighteenth century.[356] Editions were published by distinguished authors and critics, such as Pope, Johnson, and Samuel Edward Malone. In addition, authors such as Dryden published critical editions of single plays. By the end of the century, the popularity of Shakespeare as an author reached celebrity status and arguably canonical status, as there were numerous critical editions of Shakespeare's collected plays to

[353] Gillespie, *English Translation*, 95.

[354] Walsh, "Editing and Publishing Shakespeare," 21.

[355] Walsh, "Editing and Publishing Shakespeare," 23.

[356]The University of London Senate House Library has a list of eighteenth-century editions available in its library: https://shakespeare.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/resources/18th-century-editions.

read.[357] While Shakespeare is not mentioned as one of the authors in the Hartingleys' anthology of *English Classicks*, Brooke's use of eight mottos from Shakespeare's plays, and Mrs. Singleton's review of Barry's performance of *King Lear* represent the Bard as a notable modern English author.

The proliferation of classical authors in the eighteenth century is a symptom of how the canon shifted in order for many readers to have access to the classical canon to be able to read it in translation. Letters in periodicals such as *The Spectator* debated whether translations helped or hindered the comprehension of readers unacquainted with Latin and Greek to understand Greco-Roman texts. Thomas P. Miller explains, "[c]lassical rhetoric had been concerned with the art of persuading the public to follow the leadership of the educated, but with the blurring of the boundaries between the educated and the public, the 'New' rhetoric became more concerned with maintaining polite taste and usage than the more explicitly political applications of rhetoric."[358] Indeed, critics argued that general readers were primarily interested in the content of poems and narratives, but in some cases, they used the translations as models to improve the rhetorical effectiveness of their own writing and conversation. Abigail Williams explains,

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[357] There is a large body of scholarly work on the adaptation of Shakespeare of in the eighteenth century. Some of the sources include Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-169* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Pamela Bickley, *Studying Shakespeare Adaptation: From Restoration Theatre to YouTube* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021); *Reinventing the Renaissance: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in Adaptation and Performance*, ed. Sarah Annes Brown, Robert I. Lublin & Lynsey McCulloch (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2013); Jean Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Michael Cains, *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[358] Miller, "The Rhetoric of Belles lettres,"4.

"rhetorical culture shaped the early modern period, and is key to understanding education, intellectual history, political culture, and literary form, the ways in which men and women thought, wrote, and acted – but most importantly, sounded."[359] However, the translations on offer were uneven in quality and often departed in various ways from close renderings of the classical originals. The translations served various purposes: utilitarian cribs for pedagogical use, translations as "commentar[ies]" to the original, and "stylistic experiments" that focused on creating models for modern English verse (such as Pope's political satires).[360]

Brooke acknowledges the impact of translations by including seventeen mottos that are translations of Greco-Roman texts, with seven of them from different vernacular versions of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The popularity and number of translations became a kind of criticism barometer of the original text. In translating, authors not only analyzed the original work but also amplified (or improvised on) the original text. Dryden is a key example of an amplifier. His translation of Virgil drew upon several other "English Virgils," condensing what he deemed were the best parts of each Virgil translation to create a modern standard.[361] Mary Helen McMurran points out that eighteenth-century translators often took liberties to amplify ("*amplificatio*") or shorten texts ("*brevitas*") depending on their intended audience [emphasis is McMurran's].[362] For example, what Gillespie calls free translations amplified the lessons of the classics by putting them into

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[359] Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books*: *Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 11.

[360] Gillespie, *English Translation*, 12.

[361] Gillespie, *English Translation*, 11.

[362] Mary Helen McMurran, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* Translation/Transnation (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2009), 74.

modern-day contexts and by substituting contemporary names and places for classical ones.[363] The dissemination of Greco-Roman classics through translation helped modern authors to emulate the aesthetic qualities of classical literature basis for models of excellence in writing modern English literature.

The Old Maid addresses how the everyday use of Latin put middling-rank women and men at a disadvantage. Periodicals invited the rising middle class to read English translations of the classics, which provided readers with a passing familiarity and ability to allude to Classical sources in the vernacular. Learned men would often use Latin words interchangeably with English in their conversation and writing. Brooke represents this conflict between the ranks in a correspondent's letter that includes several Latin words.[364] The letter, published in issue 16, asks the help of "celebrated Old Maids" to persuade young English women to change how they dress their hair.[365] As a young poet, the correspondent complains that weekly dressings of women's hair with "pins, paste, and pomatum" are unnatural, unsanitary, and distinctly unappealing.[366] A poem he has written on female beauty, in which he praises the natural appearance of Miss Fanny's tresses, has been undercut by Fanny's adoption of a grotesquely artificial French hair-style. He laments, "if this fashion continues, we bards must either throw aside our pens, or provide ourselves with a new set of epithets, and where to look for them is the question."[367] He

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[363] Gillespie, *English Translation*, 12.

[364] The correspondent is unnamed, signing the letter "with the most sincere respect, your real admirer." Lord Orrery did not indicate in his annotations who wrote issue 16, but the use of Latin words suggests it was either Lord Orrery or Gifford.

[365] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 126.

[366] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 129.

[367] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 132.

sums up by parodying Milton's translation of Horace's *Ode* 1.5, "for whom bindst thou / In wreaths thy golden hair / Plain in thy neatness,"[368] as a critique of the French style of hair dressing: "For whom, with *triple* filth defil'd,/ Dost thou thy stony tresses build? [emphasis is Milton's]"[369] Mrs. Singleton uses Milton's translation of Horace's ode as a testimonial to the importance of translation of texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by English authors, set in contrast to a handful of Latin words that are not translated in the letter. This captured the attention of Martha English, who replied to the correspondent's letter in the next issue. She reviews his use of Latin, arguing that the Latin words used in the poem, "*coma, crinis*, and *capillus*," are unimportant in themselves, since they are "so many different names for the hair [emphasis is Brooke's]."[370] The significance, however, is in what the words represent: women unable to participate in a discussion because they are confused by the use of a language to which they have no access.[371] The other Latin words in the letter, "*Carmina Quadragesimalia,"* which are translated as "exercises in Latin verse," are noteworthy as they represent the exclusive curriculum of public schools and the two ancient English universities, to which women had no access [emphasis is Brooke's].[372]

Martha reminds Mrs. Singleton that her periodical is "directed chiefly to the females" and that "it gave me and others no little perplexity to meet with so many Latin words in it unexplained." She suggests, accordingly, that "as you give us English mottos, pray don't puzzle

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[368] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 133.

[369] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 133.

[370] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 145.

[371] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 145.

[372] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 145.

us with Latin text."[373] Martha critiques the use of Latin words without the provision of English translations because it prevents her from properly understanding and responding to the insult in the correspondent's letter: "I should have sent you a very angry letter, if my curiosity had not been unexpectedly gratify'd by a visit from a relation, a student of *Christ-Church, Oxford*; who informed me" of the meaning of the words.[374] Her letter makes the point that reading Latin texts in translation is not enough for women to be able to partake in public discussions with men. There are two possible solutions to this problem: either women are given access to an education in Latin or society moves away from the study and use of Latin and focuses on the study of modern literature. The exchange of letters illustrates the continuing tension generated by gendered and rank-based education and the injustice of starkly differing levels of access to classical (and vernacular) literature.

Brooke's periodical invites women to become patronesses and protectors of English literature writers. Mrs. Singleton makes a claim that women "are as good judges of polite literature, at least as most men; and I advise all poets for the future to seek patronesses instead of patrons."[375] Indeed, she urges her female readers, to mimic their French counterparts who "adorn" their minds with taste. She explains to her readers, "a French woman of distinction would be more ashamed of wanting a taste for the Belles Lettres, than of being ill dressed."[376] So, while Mrs. Singleton critiques English women for mimicking French fashion trends, she does encourage her readers to take after the French's reading habits.

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[373] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 144.

[374] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 144-45.

[375] Brooke *The Old Maid*, 20.

[376] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 19.

Brooke offers her readers' minds "never [before] published" compositions for the town to judge.[377] In issue 3 Mrs. Singleton introduces an ode from an author of her "own sex." She tells her readers, "the author of it never yet appeared in print, and with great reluctance and fear consented to suffer this to be conveyed to me for that purpose. Whether it ought to have been published or not, the town must determine; for I shall never take upon me to give my opinion on any thing which may appear in this paper."[378] As such, Mrs. Singleton is asking her readers to judge an ode from a new female poet. Then in issues 9 and 17 she includes two more odes from the same author. What makes this interesting is the fact that the three odes are written by Brooke herself. She initially publishes them under the guise of anonymity to gain encouragement from her readers before publishing them in 1756 in a collection of her works, *Virginia a Tragedy: with Pastorals, Odes and Translations.* In the preface of the collection, Brooke claims that she was "great[ly] encouraged" to take credit for the poems and re-publish them because of "the favourable Reception the three Odes" received in "a weekly paper called *The Old Maid*" and that by reprinting them they "may possibly come into the Hand of Persons who are Strangers to the Paper."[379]

In issue 4, Mrs. Singleton acknowledges the "struggle" that authors have "with their first appearance in the world," the vulnerability of putting their work on display at a time when poets were not adequately celebrated or appreciated for their work. She comments, "those who think themselves judges, are often cautious of giving their opinions, lest they should not coincide with the voice of the town, not considering that they themselves make that Town which they are

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[377] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 20.

[378] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 20.

[379] Frances Brooke, "Preface to Virginia a tragedy: with odes, pastorals, and translations*" The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure Ed. William Jewell* (London: John Crosley, 1612), 167.

afraid of."[380] Mrs. Singleton encourages her female readers to express their honest opinions about the poetry they read. The periodical also includes new compositions from real or imagined correspondents in issues 6, 11, 23, and 31. *The Old Maid* claims to provide a space for new authors to publish and for women in particular to take their first steps toward partaking in public conversations on contemporary English literature.

Hybrid Periodical

The Old Maid enables mixed-gendered discussion and debate by publishing correspondence from both male and female authors. This is significant because (currently) no scholarly evidence indicates Haywood or Lennox had actual correspondents (let alone male correspondents), and hence Brooke's periodical is unique in this regard. The first issue invites readers to correspond with the editor: "Mrs. Singleton hopes for the correspondence of all the ingenious of both sexes; and promises to insert all such letters as she shall find proper for her purpose, with the strictest impartiality; only she begs leave to show a little favor to ladies of her own order."[381] Subsequent issues invite correspondents to submit letters "to Mrs. Singleton, frank'd or post paid."[382] It is unknown whether any *real* correspondents sent in letters. Kathryn King points out, "over its two-year run, the *Old Maid* relied increasingly on letters from subscribers—whether actual or concocted it is impossible to know" and that "many appeared

[380] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 22-23.

[381] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 8

[382] Frances Brooke and John Boyle, Lord Orrery, *The Old Maid*, 6.

over men's names."[383] Modern-day scholars have been able to determine who wrote several of the issues, thanks to a first edition of *The Old Maid* annotated by John Boyle, Earl of Cork (now known as Lord Orrery).[384] His marginalia reveals that Brooke is the only known female contributor and that she served the dual role of contributor and general editor of the periodical. Orrery attributed seventeen issues to Brooke, three to Gifford, one to Rev. Brooke (Frances Brooke's husband), seven issues to himself, and three issues that he co-wrote with Brooke. He left issues unidentified: issues 6, 15, 16, 23 and 25. Two of these unattributed issues end with the identifying initial B., increasing the likelihood that they were written by Brooke, since the majority of the issues credited to Brooke [B] and Lord Orrery [L.C.] end with their initials. Issue 23 contains the unknown initials J.R., which, according to Kathryn King's research, could stand for James Robertson.[385] Finally, there is no evidence (thus far) that supports the existence of any (factual) female correspondents other than Brooke herself, but there are plenty of representations that position (fictional) women as regular correspondents to the periodical.[386] Thus, Brooke's periodical is hybrid because of its dual audience as evidenced by the actual *and* imagined mixed-gendered correspondence that was edited by a woman.

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[383] Kathryn King. "Manuscript, Print, and the Affective Turn: The Case of Frances Brooke's The Old Maid" *After Print: Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Cultures,* ed. Rachael Scarborough King, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 180.

[384] The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto has the Lord Orrery annotated edition in its collection. They have scanned the pages of the edition and made it available to public on The Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/oldmai00broo/page/n11/mode/2up?q=Tom.

[385] Kathryn King, "Frances Brooke, Editor, and the Making of the Old Maid (F1755-56)" *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s: The Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 342, 349, 351 & 354.

[386] See Appendix A for a table that details who contributed to each issue according to Orrery's annotations.

In this way, we can call Mrs. Singleton a multi-penned and multi-gendered eidolon; Brooke is confirmed as writing only sixteen of the twenty-five Mrs. Singleton letters. Lord Orrery, Gifford, or Rev. Brooke most likely wrote the rest. Orrery's annotations reveal gender distinctions between the different representations of Mrs. Singleton. The letters by Brooke focus on discussions of courtship, decorum, appearance, and female behaviour in public, together with reviews of theatre performances. Conversely, the letters by Lord Orrery focus on supposedly masculine topics such as the merits of higher learning and the celebrated Greco-Roman poets. Finally, the two letters accredited to Rev. Brooke are on religion. As such, the gender performance of the eidolon directly correlates with the didactic content of the issue.[387] What makes Brooke's Mrs. Singleton unique is that she is both a woman in *reality* and a man in *drag* because of the shared female and male authorship of the Mrs. Singleton letters. She does indeed complain about masquerades and the uncouth behaviour of audiences in theatres, but she also engages in conversations on literature and politics with Mr. Rambler and Mr. Spectator. In doing so, Mrs. Singleton defies stereotype to speak to a dual audience of men and women with a singular "mouthpiece" of a female eidolon.[388] Brooke supervises the multi-penned eidolon to create a strong voice that transcends gender by offering her readers knowledge of both masculine and feminine subjects.

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[387] Manushag N. Powell notes, "Women authors who performed upon the periodical stage both in 'reality' and in drag were presumed to have a more-than-usually strained relationship with periodical writing. When the feminine is invoked in discourses of periodical authorship, it is most often a vehicle for complaint." *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Plymouth: Brucknell University Press 2014), 134.

[388] Powell argues, "a successful female author must, like Brooke, know how to employ irony to disarm the stereotype she cannot avoid, and must be exceedingly careful about how she characterizes her mouthpiece." *Performing Authorship*, 135.

Mrs. Singleton invites women to access the intellectual space of the coffee houses from the safety of their own homes. Representations of a virtual "town" and feedback-loops between subscribers and contributors promote a print-mediated version of women engaging in conversation with men on public topics. In issue 18, for example, a perceived male correspondent with the initials S.P. depicts the uncouth behaviour of several coffee house patrons. He writes,

> As I am your constant reader and zealous well-wisher to your undertaking, I must acquaint you, that I was the other day in a coffee-house, where a knot of them was assembled about a file of your papers, and like witches round a conjuring cauldron, every one throwing in his invidious ingredient, as the malice of his heart, or the phrenzy of his head, suggested.[389]

S.P. satirically draws attention to the allegedly dismissive assessment that Brooke's periodical receives in coffee houses because Mrs. Singleton is perceived as an "old woman."[390] By effeminizing the coffee house attendees as witches, S.P. turns the gender critique around. He criticizes the behaviour of the men as petty, bigoted, and unworthy to contribute to intellectual discussions. As S.P. explains, Tom Noisy claims that Mrs. Singleton "pretends to write, but can't spell: every succeeding paper has a long list of corrections, of the mistakes of the past, and tell us that such and such words should have been so and so, if Mrs. Singleton had but known it."[391] S.P. reports further that "Tom's criticism was crown'd with a loud laughter of applause" by his fellow coffee-house hacks.[392]

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[389] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 151.

[390] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 151.

[391] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 151-52.

[392] Brooke, *The Old Maid,* 152.

The letter represents the double disadvantage female periodical editors were under. First, they were not able to defend their periodical in person, as women were generally not allowed in coffee houses, and second, women's education was deemed inferior to men's because they did not attend public schools or university. The correspondent's letter attempts to overcome some of that disparity. Mrs. Singleton adds an editorial response to S.P.'s letter, thanking him for his support. She defends the errors, stipulating that "errors of press" happen to all writers, no matter their rank or gender. She gives an example from a recent issue of *The World* (1753-1756), edited by the "very correct" Mr. Fitz-Adam, that had "*Tiberias*, instead of *Tiberius*" as proof that misprints were not gender-specific [emphasis is Brooke's].[393] She goes on to list several more examples from newspapers of "misprints" or misspelled words made by the printers.

Brooke's experienced, confident, articulate, and worldly-wise eidolon operates as a mentor and guide for younger women wanting to participate in a male-dominated polite society. Mrs. Singleton argues for her niece to use her knowledge of polite literature to make a prudent marriage based on equality. She critiques Julia's "propensity to be silent in company, which is very disagreeable" to Mrs. Singleton, who is "remarkably talkative."[394] She uses her role as guardian to help Julia find her voice and become more assertive in expressing her opinions in the presence of men. She also uses her experience to evaluate the suitability of Julia's suitor. Berland explains, "[a]lthough she respects her niece's intelligence, [Mrs.] Singleton worries that Julia's trusting nature may expose her to danger in the marriage market; therefore she endeavors to examine the opinions of Belleville, Julia's suitor."[395] In issue 20, Mrs. Singleton shows how

[393] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 155.

[394] Brooke, *The Old Maid,* 10.

[395] Berland, "A Tax on Old Maids,"33.

women such as Julia can take part in discussions with men: first by listening, second by indicating their interest, third by acknowledging their lack of knowledge in the classics, and finally by asking for access to further knowledge on the topic. She observes that learned men need encouragement to engage with women, though they will readily converse with men on serious subjects when women are present. She explains, "when [Belleville's friend] the doctor, who is often enticed to our tea-table, finds himself encompassed, as he expresses it, by a formidable circle of ladies, without a colleague of his own sex to protect him, he seldom chuses to display his sentiments upon any higher branches of learning, than such as seem within our reach, and most suitable to our sex and education."[396] However, when other men join the tea table, he will speak, but in a way that excludes the women from taking part in the conversation. Mrs. Singleton mitigates women's exclusion in one instance by politely intervening in a discussion between the doctor and Mr. Bellville on the battles of Julius Caesar, occasioned by current news about the war with France.

Mrs. Singleton asks Belleville for "some particulars" from the "memoirs and anecdotes that had never fallen into my [her] hands."[397] He responds that he would find the source and send her extracts from it. A letter follows from Belleville with an extract from the book as promised, demonstrating how Mrs. Singleton's successful navigation of a mixed-gender dialogue improves her access to the learning that she seeks. This differs from Hume's social road map, which guides women to a role as passive cue for male self-censorship. Mrs. Singleton's letter provides a road map for courteous sociability, one that leads a female reader to feel confident

[396] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 165-66.

[397] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 168.

enough to contribute to public discussions and that invites male readers to include women in future public discussions.

The Canon of Frances Brooke

The Old Maid represents male and female correspondents participating in debates on whether studying the Greco-Roman classics (in Latin and Greek or the vernacular) was relevant to the middling ranks in mid-eighteenth century. As part of that discussion, Brooke's periodical emphasizes the genius of modern English writers who both translated classics and wrote vernacular literature. The slow movement toward the legitimacy of textual analysis in the vernacular increasingly gave non-classically trained men and women access to the works of Greco-Roman poets and philosophers. Their continued interest in learning led to the development of a new discipline in the analysis of modern literature that helped shift the focus from the classics to modern belles lettres and the liberal arts, which were more accessible to general readers of both genders. In this chapter, I have argued that Brooke advocated the reading of English literature in order to furnish women with topics of enlightening conversation with potential suitors, as well as models of moral behaviour that lead to lasting happiness in marriage based in equality and friendship.

Brooke incorporates the sentimental narrative of Julia and Rosara to demonstrate the dangers of middling-rank women choosing a suitor above or below their status. Through the narrative, she demonstrates how a course of polite literature can correct the potentially immoral behaviour of a young woman on the verge of marriage. The fate of Julia's courtship with Belleville and the outcome of Rosara's education in polite literature are left unresolved as the sentimental narrative was left unfinished. In issue 29, Julia accompanies Rosara to see her sick mother, causing Rosara to put a hold on her reading of the Hartingleys' manuscript of *English*

Classicks. Then, in issue 35, Mrs. Singleton tells her readers that Rosara's mother, "Mrs. Montague is so much better" and that the girls will return to Hartingley-Hall.[398] Finally, in issue 37, dated July 24, 1756, Mrs. Singleton writes, "I cannot but imagine, the world will be very inquisitive to know the reason of my postponing this paper, which it is my intention to do for two or three months from the date of this."[399] She explains that the political turmoil of the Seven Years' War has led her to conclude that readers will not want to read sentimental narratives or participate in discussions of literature. She explains, "I apprehend every literary work, at least every periodical one, to be rather ill-timed; and am not so unreasonable as to expect the world will employ their time listening to an old woman's prate, when the enemy is at our gates." She points out further that she is "tired of the confinement of writing every week."[400] Shortly after Brooke completed the first run of *The Old Maid*, she moved to Quebec to be with her husband. Brooke did not return to writing the periodical, as she indicated she would; however, when she returned to England briefly in 1764-65 Brooke published a revised and collected edition of the periodical based on Lord Orrery's editorial notes.

The periodical was Brooke's first publication. The claimed success of the periodical led her (as previously mentioned) to re-print three of the odes, and to re-visit the characters of the sentimental narrative. A year before the second edition of *The Old Maid*, Brooke published her first novel, *The History of Lady Mandeville* (1763). The novel reuses several of the character names from the sentimental narrative. The main character is named Julia Mandeville and is the daughter of Lord Belmont. Her best friend, Lady Anne Wilmot, is courting Colonel Bellville.

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[398] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 283.

[399] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 298.

[400] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 302-03.

Julia is in love with Sir Harry Mandeville, but her father wants her to marry Lord Melvin. Sir Harry has a dual with Melvin and dies before he is able to reunite with Julia. In turn, Julia dies of a broken heart. While the plot differs, Brooke re-used the names Julia, Wilmot, Sir Harry, and Belleville in the novel. Furthermore, Brooke's next novel, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), re-uses the name Arabella and the surname of Rosara Montague. As such, the characters of Brooke's sentimental narrative live on in her subsequent novels.[401]

The idea behind Brooke's narrative, to teach young middling-rank female readers to use their intellect and morals to find a suitable husband, lives on in Lennox's serialized novel, "The History of Harriot and Sophia," first published in *The Lady's Museum*. Lennox's novel makes an argument for middling-rank women to study topics in the field of history to gain an advantage in the marriage market. Both Brooke's and Lennox's stories describe women who have small fortunes and for that reason, ~~they~~ need to be careful whom they decide to marry. The heroines of both stories, Julia and Sophia, use the knowledge they obtain from their reading to find husbands, whereas Rosara and Harriot are attracted to unsuitable lovers who encourage them to compromise their virtue without a guarantee of marriage. Thus, we can see a progression from Brooke's desire for women to read polite literature in order to give them confidence to *enter* into mixed-gender public conversations, to Lennox's claim that women can *lead* intellectual discussions with men by studying the field of history. In both cases, the periodical authors are seeking for women to enter the marriage market cautiously, and to look for a husband who fits their moral and intellectual standards.

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[401] See Michaela Vance "Antagonistic parents in Frances Brooke's *The Old Maid* and *The History of Julia Mandeville*" in *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andreas Hellersteadt (Holand: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 253-80.

Chapter Four: The History of Charlotte Lennox's Didactic Women

On the first page of Charlotte Lennox's periodical *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61), the "Author" promises her readers in a short preface that she "will always be as witty as I can, as humorous as I can, as moral as I can, and upon the whole as entertaining as I can." [402] The next page begins the first of several essays entitled "The Trifler," and here the periodical's eidolon introduces herself. She explains that at age eighteen she has "a taste for many of the fashionable amusements" but that as a daughter of a "gentleman" she is careful to divide her time between social amusements and her "favourite amusement" of reading. Her "fondness for reading" has been inspired by the books her brother left behind when he went to university.[403] The first Trifler letter sets the premise for the periodical: to entertain and instruct women with a curriculum of subjects that will enable them to avoid coquetry and navigate the marriage market to their advantage. Susan Carlile argues, "Lennox created a virtual salon in her *Lady's Museum*, an informal university in which women could study on their own time and in the comfort of their own homes, without the strictures of polite sociability to inhibit them."[404] I propose to explore Carlile's idea of the "virtual salon" or "informal university" by considering how Lennox participates in her periodical in debates about women's education. The Trifler acts as a mentor who guides readers through a curated collection of articles in the field of history. In so doing, ~~I contend~~ that Lennox encourages women to broaden their reading interests, moving away from

[402] Charlotte Lennox, *The Lady's Museum, By the author of The Female Quixote* (London: J. Newbery and J. Coote, 1760), 1.

[403] Lennox, *Lady's Museum*, 4-5.

[404] Susan Carlile, *Charlotte Lennox: An Independent Mind* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 176.

so-called problematic romances to a more balanced curriculum of fictional and historical narratives.

Using the persona of the Trifler, Lennox offers her periodical as a didactic tool to give her female readers an intellectual education that goes beyond the more traditional amusement-based accomplishments such as dancing, piano playing, and painting. Instead, she offers a curriculum of informal education in the field of history suitable for women of the emergent middle classes. This chapter examines how Lennox represents and critiques, both textually and visually, the hierarchy of the developing sub-genres in the proto-discipline of modern history as outlined by Hugh Blair in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1759-1783).[405] Lennox's curriculum in history contains narratives on ancient peoples, fictional narratives describing historical figures (based loosely on memoirs, biographies and autobiographies), and an original fictional history ("The History of Harriot and Sophia") that depicts sisters whose educations are radically different from one another. Along with these three sub-genres of history the periodical also contains excerpts from two educational treatises that discuss the benefits of women learning manners and morals in a course of articles in history and natural philosophy.

The Lady's Museum celebrates women who complement or substitute their polite education with a "genteel" education. Lennox uses the term "genteel" to describe Sophia's informal education. Johnson defines genteel as "polite; elegant in behaviour; civil" and the first definition of the word in the *OED* is "belonging to or included among the gentry; of a rank above the commonality." I employ the second *OED* definition of the word genteel in this chapter: "of employments, education, income: Suited to the station of a gentleman or gentlewoman. Of

[405] Hugh Blair's discussion of historical sub-genres is found in *of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres,* vol. 3 (1783) in "Lecture XXXVI" for historical writing and "Lecture XXXVII" for fictitious history.

manners, habits of life, etc.: Characteristic of persons of quality; resembling what prevails in upper-class society." Lennox represents this definition of genteel through the education of both the Trifler and Sophia reading the books they respectively received from their brother and Mr. Herbert. The information they obtain from those books gives them the manners, morals, characteristics, and knowledge of a gentlewoman. In the case of Sophia, the manners and morals she learns help her to resist the temptation of Sir Charles. Her resolve prompts Sir Charles to propose marriage to Sophia, despite her lack of wealth. This is put in stark contrast to Harriot's polite education that helps her to look like a gentlewoman with her appearance and collection of consumable objects to display in her abode but does not give her tools to resist temptation herself, putting her reputation and livelihood in jeopardy. [406]

I read "genteel education" to mean an intellectual education in that both aim to provide an individual of middle rank with information from a field of study suitable to their vocation or social standing. Jennie Batchelor observes that "the *Lady's Museum* sought to make… mental accomplishments more attractive to its readers by painting them as analogues, rather than counterpoints, to physical accomplishment."[407] Accordingly, I show how Lennox's periodical gives women opportunities for mental accomplishments and thereby challenges the misconceived notion that they lacked the capacity or interest to study history. The articles about fictional and factual historical women in the *Lady's Museum* urge readers to advance their

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[406] Samuel Johnson, "genteel" *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755-1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/views/search.php?term=genteel; "genteel, adj., n., and adv.". *OED Online*. March 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www.OED.com/view/Entry/77636.

[407] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire, Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 92.

education beyond a polite, gendered curriculum of female accomplishments by inculcating a genteel historical knowledge of modern history and doing so informally, intermittently during the day, one entertaining article at a time.

Lennox's didactic writings supported middling-rank women who wanted to expand their education beyond the traditional feminine amusements of reading romances, playing the piano, and needlework. Lennox contends that the proto-discipline of modern history will help women stave off boredom and amuse their minds. Lennox expands Mary Astell's proto-feminist argument for women to spend time devoted to expanding their education in *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694) by writing about heroines such as Arabella and Sophia who devote time to their studies (with varying success), to critique the importance and the limitations of eighteenth-century female education.[408] However, Lennox's writings also challenge Astell's negative opinion of romances and plays as suitable reading for women. Astell argues:

> [t]here is a sort of Learning indeed which is worse than the greatest Ignorance: A Woman may study Plays and Romances all her days, and be a great more knowing but never a jot the wiser. Such a knowledge as this serves only to instruct and put her forward in the

[408] Lennox added her pedagogical theories to the existing debates on how to expand women's education, building on the pivotal work of Astell's *Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, one of the first texts to inspire the century's ongoing debate over the content of women's education. Astell makes a case for women to go beyond a polite education of languages and accomplishments, and she advocates a more practical education suitable for their daily lives as wives and mothers. Astell argues, "[t]he Cause of the … defects we labour under is if not wholly yet at least in the first place to be ascribed to the mistakes of our Education which like an Error in the first Concoction spreads its ill Influence through [out] our Lives." Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, ed. Patricia Springborg (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002), 6.

> practice of the greatest Follies, yet how can they justly blame her who forbid, or at least won't afford opportunity of better?[409]

Lennox's writings counteract Astell's anti-romance argument in several ways. In *The Female Quixote* (1752) she softens the supposedly deleterious effects of reading romances by replacing them with didactic romances.

Lennox proposes that reading about history not only gives women enlightening topics for conversation that go beyond gossip, but also allows for respectable conversations with men, whether with potential suitors or one's husband. Lennox builds on David Hume's recommendation that women study history as "an occupation . . . best suited both to their sex and education, much more instructive than their ordinary books of amusement."[410] She proposes a diverse curriculum in history to alleviate boredom by enriching women's minds with tales of ancient battles, secret love affairs, and tales of civilizations distant in time and place.

Before turning to an analysis of Lennox's historical offerings, I begin with an outline of the field of history and the developing discipline of modern history. An increased interest in historical narratives and a growing diversity in the readership of history paved the way for a hierarchy of sub-genres that helped informal learners acquire historical knowledge. Lennox contributes to this development, offering her didactic novel *The Female Quixote* and her periodical *The Lady's Museum* as ways for women to move beyond prejudiced and reductive views of women as no more than coquettes, uninterested in or incapable of responding to serious subjects.

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[409] Astell, *Serious Proposal*, 19-20.

[410] David Hume, "Essay 6: Of the Study of History" *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (New York: Cosimo Classics, 1987), n. p.

As will appear, in *The Female Quixote* Lennox portrays Arabella, and her two suitors, Selvin and Glanville, as flawed students of history to counteract the gendered notion that only women were incapable of studying history. I then show how *The Lady's Museum* follows up on the lessons of Arabella's misguided reading of romance as history by giving the periodical's primarily female readers a curriculum in history conducted by an eidolon who, as a self-reformed coquette, acts as an educational ambassador. Through the figure of the Trifler, Lennox shows her readers how to balance their amusements with intellectual stimulation for a more fulfilling leisure time. In particular, the Trifler uses "The History of Harriot and Sophia," a serialized fictional narrative as a vehicle to encourage women to study the field of history. I expand on Jennie Batchelor's assertion that "[w]e should read the narrative in its original context to unlock its full range of meaning" by showing that the serial's textual and visual representations are essential to its didactic lessons on the behavioural and educational differences of the sisters.[411] The periodical's articles and visual representations of the sisters, in juxtaposition with the fictional narrative, represent the possible outcomes of a polite and genteel education. Finally, I reveal how *Sophia*, as the 1762 monograph stand-alone version of the novel (re-titled and reprinted outside of the periodical) loses its didactic impact when it is abstracted from the accompanying images and articles, requiring Lennox to rewrite key passages in the novel.

Historicizing a Discipline: The Creation of Modern History

Unlike natural philosophy or English literature, history was an established discipline in the eighteenth century, taught in grammar and public schools as part of the humanist classical

[411] Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire,* 93.

curriculum in Latin.[412] The subject focused on Roman or Greek political and military leaders, whose lives and actions were presented as models for elite boys to emulate, thereby preparing them for a public life as members of the aristocracy and landowning gentry, and as future leaders. Philip Stephen Hicks explains that

> "History was the literature of the elite, ideally suited for a princely audience. It enjoyed a privileged place in the prince's curriculum because it offered him impartial counsel as an alternative to corrupting flatterers, and the prospect of his being included in a future history was supposed to inspire him to do good and avoid evil in his present."[413]

By mid-century, however, the academic audience for history expanded to dissenting academies. Teaching ancient history in the vernacular was the first step toward the development of the new proto-discipline of modern history.

Similarly, the translation of classical literature into the vernacular was a contributing factor in the gradual creation of the proto-discipline of English literature.[414] The interest in reading translated classical history for "leisure" dates back to the sixteenth century, but the increased rates of literacy and print publications in the eighteenth century intensified that

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[412] John Wallace writes, "Oxford had its first lectureship in ancient history… in 1622." *The Golden & The Brazen World: Papers in Literature and History*, 1650-1800 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 197.

[413] Philip Stephen Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture; from Clarendon to Hume; Studies in Modern History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 8.

[414] See Stuart Gillespie, *English Translation and Classical Reception: Toward a New Literary History* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2011.

interest.[415] Moreover, Britain's involvement in international wars and colonization fuelled a broader curiosity about history among members of the public not directly involved in political affairs. John Feather explains, "[a]part from the vast corpus of political literature generated by a comparatively open system of government, public affairs in the broader sense ... created a demand for information."[416] This helped stimulate the production of newspapers, but it also included an interest in "books of voyages and travels" as they "were among the most popular of the century" because "history, both domestic and foreign was ... in heavy demand."[417] However, this new market for modern history did not lead to a change in the curriculum of grammar schools, public schools, or mainstream universities until much later.[418] Devoney Looser notes, "'Modern history' in the long eighteenth century designated accounts of the distant as well as the recent past and was, of course, opposed to ancient history – the former being accessible to readers without a classical education and the latter being the only history legitimately taught at university."[419] Modern history was read for entertainment and for informal instruction, but it was

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[415] John Feather explains that the most popular books in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (before the rise of the novel) were religious texts, translated classical texts of literature, and accounts of historical wars. *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge 1988), 96.

[416] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 96.

[417] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 96.

[418] John Wallace stipulates that although universities such as Cambridge and Trinity College appointed Chairs of Modern History in the eighteenth century that "one cannot be certain that history was taught by the professor [appointed as chair], either because he may not have taught at all or because he taught something else." There was a growing interest in the discipline of modern history, but it was not until nineteenth century that classes were taught in the subject in Britain. *The Golden & The Brazen World*, 197-198.

[419] Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and Historical Discourse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 10.

not formally studied until the nineteenth century, which meant that the field was to some extent open to autodidacts of both genders keen to learn history outside of their official studies.

There was a cultural divide in the contrasting forms and subjects of modern and ancient history. Many elite critics wanted to maintain the neoclassical style of emulating the ancient writing that they read in school while others desired a more accessible, narrative-based history.[420] However, historians were limited to the elite class because there were no national archives; they were often retired military or political leaders who wrote about their careers and experiences serving their nation (a classic example is *The History of the Rebellion* (1702-04) by Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon). On the other hand, the British middle ranked were increasingly inquisitive about the human interest of historical figures, rather than the heroic acts of political and military leaders, further complicating historians' attempts to emulate the classical historical template. Noelle Gallagher contends that "the disparities between theory and practice in classically-modelled writing often led to lasting divides among those who sided with the 'ancients' and those who sided with the 'moderns."[421] For these reasons, history as a genre was unstable in the eighteenth century until it evolved in the nineteenth century into the discipline of modern history.

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[420] Noelle Gallagher argues, "While many different writers published histories of England or Britain during these decades, the vast majority of these texts were judged as 'failures' by the elite critical standards of their time; as a result, the Restoration and early eighteenth century has itself come to be regarded as a period of 'weakness in English historical writing,' and the works that populate the landscape of English historiography in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have slipped from view." "The Beginnings of Enlightenment Historiography in Britain*" A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, ed. Sophia Bourgault and Robert Sparling (Boston, Brill, 2013), 344.

[421] Gallagher, "The Beginnings of Enlightenment Historiography in Britain," 346.

To meet a growing demand for history from a larger and more diverse readership, writers of history began experimenting with new forms of historical writing. Hugh Blair, in *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (based on his lectures at the University Edinburgh from 1759-1783), notes, "the general idea of History is, a record of truth for the instruction of mankind. Hence arise the primary qualities required in a good Historian, impartiality, fidelity, gravity and dignity."[422] He described three different genre types of "Historical Composition" in order of their didactic relevance. In lecture 36, he discusses first-person account (orations, memoirs and biographies). He acknowledges that for historians to be successful in their craft they must have "a thorough acquaintance with human nature, and political knowledge, or acquaintance with government." [423] At the top of the hierarchy were two types of first account of histories, written by men who were themselves witnesses to or participants in the events. He also specifies that "antient" historians were more "limited and circumscribed" than modern historians because "they wrote for the own countrymen," whereas the latter write for a broader audience (foreigners) who are interested in world history.[424] For both ancients and moderns, Blair notes that history should be both entertaining and educating. Hicks explains that in the eighteenth century, boys in school learned "history in the grand manner, a majestic, authoritative narrative of political and military deeds often containing the character sketches, political maxims, and invented speeches for which classical historians were famous."[425] The participant in events balanced their own eyewitness accounts with other primary accounts from their military or

[422] Blair "Lecture XXXVI," 28.

[423] Blair "Lecture XXXVI," 29.

[424] Blair "Lecture XXXVI," 28-29

[425] Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture, 1.*

political peers who wrote these histories.[426] Blair praises the French for their historical writing and professes the view that England was "not eminent for its historical productions."[427] He uses the example of Lord Clarendon as an example of an English historian "most considerable."[428] He was a "professed apologist" for the Royalist side, and was "more impartial" than one might expect. He had the "dignity" required for an Historian.[429]

Next, there were historians who wrote down their personal memoirs or drew from their own experiences. These, along with the ancient tradition of orations, are examples of historical narration.[430] Blair notes that these were "inferior kinds" of historical composition (along with annals and lives), as there is not "the same profound research, or enlarged information."[431] The memoirist's knowledge can be more biased as it solely focuses on an individual's personal role in historical events. Hicks comments, "[the memoirist] was not as ambitious as the historian: he told only a limited part of the story; he was not expected to explore the deeper causes of events; he was allowed a less formal prose style."[432] Blair, however, establishes that some memoirs transcend the limitations of the form to approach "the dignity of a full legitimate history." He points to the example of "The Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, [which] in the state in which they

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[426] Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture,* 8.

[427] Blair, "Lecture XXXVI," 50.

[428] Blaire, "Lecture XXXVI," 51.

[429] Blair, "Lecture XXXVI," 51.

[430] Blair explains, "Orations are entirely of the Author's own composition, and that he has introduced some celebrated person haranguing in a public place, purely that he might have an opportunity of showing his own eloquence, or delivering his own sentiments, under the name of that person." "Lecture XXXVI," 43.

[431] Blair, "Lecture XXVI," *Lectures*, 52.

[432] Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture*, 11

are now given to the Public, have great merit, and deserve to be mentioned with particular praise."[433] This is worth mentioning, as Blair was most likely referring to Lennox's English translation of the Duke of Sully's memoirs, which she uses to write "The History of Dutchess Beaufort," which I discuss below. Next, Blair discusses biographies. He sees them as a "useful kind of Composition" as they can be "less formal" than "stately" history and are thoroughly researched by a historian.[434] Unlike a memoir, a biography, what Blair calls "a Writing of Lives," was a type of history that required a historian to conduct research.[435] Blair notes that biographies are "less formal and stately than History" but "no less instructive" as they give readers an "intimate acquaintance" with an historical figure.[436]

Then in lecture 37, he addresses fictitious history (romances and novels) as "a very insignificant class."[437] He sees them as useful for engaging a reader's imagination, and for learning about the moral behaviour of heroism and gallantry. He considers novels, such as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747), as an extension of romances, as they draw upon the lessons of fictitious heroes and heroines.

Lennox and other contemporary female writers of history used the sub-genres of historical composition such as narratives and romances to draw in female readers. In fact, both

[433] Blair, "Lecture XXXVI," 53.

[434] Blair, "Lecture XXXVI," 54.

[435] Blair, "Lecture XXXVII," 75.

[436] Blair, "Lecture XXXVII," 75.

[437] Blair, "Lecture XXXVII," 74.

male and female authors wrote works in the sub-genre of fictitious history.[438] Authors such as Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift wrote fictional travel narratives, and Mary Wortley Montagu wrote a combination of factual and fictional travel narratives.[439] Lennox aspired to write her own literary history, "The Age of Queen of Elizabeth," in 1759.[440] While this factual narrative history was not commercially successful, Lennox actively wrote in several of the sub-genres of modern history throughout her career. She builds on Hume's claim that women had an "aversion" to any histories that were not "secret history," by giving women entertaining articles in history that they *could* engage in and that "excite[d] their curiosity."[441] Her novels emphasize the benefits of women reading history and her periodical gave women various types of literary history to read in the form of memoirs, biographies, narrative history, and secret histories.

Learning from Arabella's Historical Missteps

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[438] As Gallagher notes, "history's dramatic narratives and character sketches were likely to have the primary area of interest for leisure readers, including women and children." "The Beginnings of Enlightenment Historiography in Britain," 354.

[439] Montagu wrote (and published anonymously) fictional travel narratives in her periodical, *The Nonsense of Common Sense* (1737-38) and the factual narrative in *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1716-1718) based on her own travels and read by her coterie of female friends. Some other notable authors were David Hume's *The History of England* (1754-61), Lord Bolingbroke's *Letters of England* (1770) and Catharine Macaulay's *History of England from the Accession of James I* (1763-83) and T*he History of England from the Revolution to the Present Time: In a Series of Letters to a Friend* (1778). Macaulay was not alone in her writing of factual literary history, as the example of Charlotte Cowley, who wrote *Ladies History of England* (1780).

[440] Looser notes that Lennox sought the advice of historiographer William Robertson about her manuscript. He suggested that Lennox turn to Hume's and Bolingbroke's works as examples. *British Women Writers*, 89.

[441] Hume, "Of the Study of History," n. p.

In the next section, I show how *The Female Quixote* investigates the effectiveness of three informal ways to study history: reading translated texts, reading interpretations of ancient history, and listening to conversations about history. In *The Female Quixote*, Lennox critiques the notion that women were only interested in fictional romance histories by showing that a woman could learn to distinguish between fact and fiction if given access to a curriculum of books that included modern history. Arabella first receives a polite education of "useful knowledge" consisting of the arts, science of dress, and languages, and she then continues her education through her "fondness for reading" (the same words used to describe the Trifler) by reading the books in her father's library.[442]

However, her family library has a mixture of both classics and a "great store of badly translated French romances" that her mother had left behind, and it is these books that she actually reads.[443] In her zeal to learn history, she is inadvertently distracted by romances because she is not able to distinguish between factual accounts of the past and fictional history.[444] Arabella conflates the fictionalizations of female figures in history with the factual telling of ancient history, because her mother's romances are the first versions of history that she reads. Throughout the novel she remains convinced that the books give her a wealth of historical knowledge, and she becomes frustrated when her friends and family do not share the same so-called knowledge. For example, in a moment of aggravation with her cousin she asks him,

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[442] As a Marquis (a member of the nobility), Arabella's father received a private education, unlike the Trifler's brother as a member of the gentry who received a public-school education.

[443] Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

[444] I surmise Lennox is not simply commenting on women reading romances, but rather on the bad translations of romances that contain inaccurate fictionalizations of history.

> For Heaven's sake, Cousin (…) how have you spent your Time; and to what Studies have you devoted all your Hours, that you could find none to spare for the Perusal of Books from which all useful Knowle[d]ge may be drawn; which give us the most shining Examples of Generosity, Courage, Virtue, and Love; which regulate our Actions, from our Manners, and inspire us with a noble Desire of emulating those great, heroic, and virtuous Actions, which made those Persons so glorious in their Age, and so worthy imitation in ours?[445]

Arabella is so sure that the French romances she is reading represent historical fact that she corrects all those who question her false beliefs about decorum and courtship. Her lack of interest in factual history is not the problem; rather a lack of guidance and discernment in her reading choices leads her to the ill-advised romances.

Arabella's suitor, Selvin, by contrast, claims to be "deep-read in [ancient] History," but he is no more than a coffee-house hack who overhears bits and pieces of knowledge.[446] Selvin pretends to have read the ancient histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plutarch. However, his knowledge comes from scraps of "superficial Knowledge in History" that he overhears, writes down "in his Pocket-Book," and then memorizes to "retail them again in other Company."[447] His pieces of history, learned by rote, are without context. Like Arabella, Selvin is unable to discern the quality of the information he gathers. However, his error is not rooted in his naivety about the quality of the history that he learns, but in his lazy tendency to borrow snippets of other's knowledge, rather than reading for himself. When Selvin meets Arabella, he sees her as a

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[445] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 48.

[446] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 264.

[447] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 273.

conundrum because she appears to be better versed in history than he claims to be. Here Lennox critiques the claim that studying history is an exclusively masculine interest. Selvin challenges Arabella's accounts of history, based on his own guise of historical knowledge in the ancients. He at first contests Arabella's knowledge of antiquity, but her conviction of her own "extensive" understanding of so-called historical facts far outweighs his own scraps of knowledge. The narrator explains, "*Mr. Selvin*, [is] not daring to contradict a Lady whose extensive Reading had furnish'd her with Anecdotes unknown almost to any Body else."[448] Selvin's acceptance of Arabella's version of history echoes Mr. Rambler's opinion that to "adopt the sentiments of another, whom he has reason to believe wiser than himself," is an acceptable form of secondary knowledge.[449] Selvin's acceptance of Arabella's version of history, however, reveals the inadequacy of his own rote memorization of little pieces of history. Looser notes, "Selvin treats history as one might a good joke, whereas Arabella treats laughably inaccurate romances like grave history."[450] Indeed, Arabella's meticulous readings of romance lead her to acquire an impressive volume of knowledge about a fictional version of antiquity. Arabella is what Selvin only claims to be, "deep-read in History," but hers is a factually incorrect version.

Lennox also critiques the deficiencies of Mr. Glanville's historical knowledge. Glanville, who is Arabella's cousin and eventual husband, does not initially come to Arabella's defence, but he also does not join in his father's concerns over his cousin's reading material. His lack of action enables Arabella not only to continue to read her romances, but also to share her inaccurate historical knowledge with others. Glanville refuses to read the romances by virtue of

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[448] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 273.

[449] Samuel Johnson, "*The Rambler* no. 121, May 14, 1751" in Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson vol. 4, 281.

[450] Looser, *British Women Writers,* 100.

the sub-genre's negative reputation as being salacious. He also has no interest in learning history as proven by his missteps in historical knowledge when later defending Arabella. Early in the novel, the Marquis arranges for his nephew to marry his daughter, but her initial reaction to Glanville is less than ideal. The narrator explains that Glanville thinks his cousin's disdain for him is based on "the difference of their Rank and Fortune," when in fact it is his lack of interest in her historical romances.[451] Arabella presents her cousin with "the most valuable Part of [her] library," but Glanville "tremble[s] at the apprehension" of the "voluminous Romances" and refuses to read them.[452] She considers his refusal to read the books as a betrayal, although he defends her and protects her books from being destroyed.[453] In doing so, he perpetuates Arabella's obsession with the inaccurate romances in translation.

In contrast, Sir Charles, in the presence of Glanville, challenges Arabella's historical knowledge, equating her romances with the fairy tales that he read as a boy.[454] In defence of her beloved romances, Arabella argues, "I question, if any other Historian, but himself [Scudery], knew that *Cleopatra* was really married to *Julius Caesar*; or that *Caesario*, her Son by this Marriage, was not murdered."[455] Arabella thinks French historian and political figure, Georges de Scudery, wrote the romances. Looser notes, the romances were actually written by

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[451] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 33.

[452] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 49.

[453] Both the Marquis and Sir Charles tell Glanville that the romance novels are corrupting Arabella's mind. The Marquis notes, "these foolish Books my Nephew talks of have turned her [Arabella's] Brain!" He then professes to destroy them: "Where are they? Pursued he, going into her Chamber: I'll burn all I can lay my hands on!" Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 55.

[454] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 62.

[455] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 62.

seventeenth-century novelist Madeline de Scudery, who routinely published under her brother's name.[456] Sir Charles calls them "improbable tales" but does not correct the error in Madame Scudery's rendition of Cleopatra and Caesar. Historically, they had a love affair that produced a child, Caesarion, but were never married. Madame Scudery's romance attempts to moralize Cleopatra by erasing her role as a fornicator. Sir Charles tells Arabella, "I shall be very easy about this slight Matter; tho' I think a young Lady of your fine Sense (for my Son praises you to the Skies of your *Wit*) should not be so fond of such ridiculous Nonsense as these Story-Books are filled with [emphasis is Lennox's]."[457] Arabella stays steadfast to her belief that Cleopatra is a virtuous woman. Several chapters later, Edward, another of Arabella's suitors, asks her, "*Cleopatra* was a Whore, was she not Madam?" Arabella responds by remarking "Hold thy Peace, unworthy Man... and profane not the Memory of that fair and glorious Queen, by such injurious Language: The Queen, I say, whose Courage was equal to her Beauty; and her Virtue surpassed by neither."[458] Arabella embarrasses herself by sticking to her claim that Cleopatra was moral. In doing so, Arabella opens herself up to the implication that she is a loose woman. Thus, Arabella requires guidance, not because of a lack of mental faculties to discern fact from fiction or right from wrong, but because her first lessons in history are badly translated romances.

Through Arabella, Lennox represents women's capacity for reason and logic but also their potential naivety because female education excessively focused on polite rather than

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[456] Looser notes, "some critics have theorized that Lennox herself did not realize the Madeline Scudery rather than Georges wrote romances, because Madame Scudery is referred to several times in *The Female Quixote* as 'he'" *British Women Writers*, 106.

[457] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 61.

[458] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 105.

intellectual subjects. Arabella's doctor, who acts as a figure of rationality, gives her the critical awareness she needs to discern the accuracy and quality of the history she reads. Arabella recognizes the errors in her judgment and acknowledges "That these Histories you condemn are Fictions. Next, that they are absurd. And Lastly, that they are Criminal."[459] The Doctor then questions Arabella about why the version of events in her romances differs from all other historical sources. Arabella answers "That she found his Questions very difficult to be answer'd; and that though perhaps the Authors themselves could have told whence they borrowed their Materials, she should not at present require any other evidence of the first Assertion: But allow'd him to suppose them Fictions, and requir'd now that he should shew them to be absurd." [460] Lennox softens the supposedly harmful effects of reading romances by showing that Arabella's errant reading does not morally corrupt her; she is *factually* wrong, but not *morally* wrong. Arabella demonstrates her propensity in the thoroughness with which she studies her romances, despite the fact that these texts leave her with inaccurate historical knowledge and an education in antiquated morals and manners that ironically lead her to be cautious in her interactions with suitors. Therefore, the critique of Arabella's ill-conceived knowledge is not a critique of Arabella's having used translations to learn history, but of the *quality* of the translations she used on the *quality* of the translation.

Lennox's critique on translations is reminiscent of a correspondent's letter in number 23 of *The Tatler* (discussed in more detail in chapter 3) that blames the "corruption" of the native English tongue on informal learners reading poor translations of classical literature.[461] Lennox's

[459] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 374.

[460] Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 375.

[461] Richard Steele, *The Tatler* ed. D. F. Bond, Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 3 no. 230 September 27, 1710: 191.

critique of bad translations operates in a similar fashion, but the emphasis is on the poor material, not the learner. As such, Lennox makes an argument for men and especially women to read works in translation. Both fictionalized and romanticized versions of history were sub-genres of history, but their reputation as poor interpretations or translations of history called into question their value. Christine Roulston explains that "[i]n the mid-eighteenth century, romance, more so than the novel, was considered to have a negative and corrosive effect on the female imagination."[462] However, Lennox critiques this notion by having the cause of Arabella's "corruption" not be the lack of her mental faculties, but rather the poor judgement of her father, who allows the romances of his deceased wife to be added to his library and then fails to guide his daughter's reading.[463] Eight years after publishing *The Female Quixote*, Lennox expanded her critique of women's education with the representation of the outcomes of the contrasting educations of two middle-ranked sisters.

Examining the Layers: Textual Representations of Lennox's Learned Ladies

Lennox's name does not appear on the title page of *The Lady's Museum*; instead, the attribution, "By the Author of the Female Quixote," informs readers of the author behind the

[462] Christine Roulston, "Histories of Nothing: Romance and Femininity in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*" *Women's Writing*. *Women's Writing*: *the Elizabethan to Victorian period* 1, no. 2 (1995): 28.

[463] Arabella reads the romances in isolation, which furthers the threat of her "corruption." Arabella is not accustomed to the social conventions of eighteenth-century British society and therefore mistakes the codes of conduct of the fictional societies she reads about as factual representations of current day society. Sharon Smith Palo explains that Arabella's cousin Miss Glanville also enjoyed reading romances, "but her acquaintance with the world and her direction toward other studies saved her from becoming like Arabella." "The Good Effects of a Whimsical Study: Romance and Women's Learning in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*" *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 18, no. 2 (2005-2006): 216.

eidolon.[464] This clue serves as peritextual as it links the periodical to the previous publication of Charlotte Lennox.[465] Connecting *The Lady's Museum* to *The Female Quixote* puts Lennox somewhere between anonymity and onymity (to use Gérard Genette's term), as the publisher of the periodical relies on the popularity of Lennox's previous novels to garner interest and sales for the periodical.[466] After the success of *The Female Quixote* and *Henrietta* (1758), Lennox decided to publish her next novel in periodical form, likely because, as Norbert Schürer explains, in the 1760s "periodical publication could be relatively lucrative, at least more so than novels."[467] Lennox was the first female author to serialize a novel, second to Tobias Smollett; *The Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves* (1760-62) may have been the first, as the serialization of his novel began in *The British Magazine* (1714-1775), two months before the serialization of Lennox's novel, but it ended in 1762, a year after the *Lady's Museum* ceased publication.[468]

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[464] Following on the attribution on the title page, a correspondent in the first volume of the periodical asks if the "Trifler is not written by the same moral pen that has given us so beautiful a picture of female virtue, in the History of Henrietta," referring to Lennox's other novel *Henrietta*. This reference to *Henrietta* serves a dual purpose, not only to give the eidolon authority by connecting her to Lennox, but also to advertise the forthcoming second edition of the novel, which was published in 1761.

[465] Genette states, "a paratextual element can communicate a piece of sheer information – the name of the author, for example, or the date of publication. It can make known an intention, or an interpretation by the author/published. *Paratexts*, 10-11.

[466] Genette explains that "Onymity is sometimes motivated by something stronger or less neutral than, say, the absence of a desire to give oneself a pseudonym, as is evident when someone who is already famous produces a book that will perhaps be successful precisely because of his [her] previously established fame." *Paratexts*, 40.

[467] Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer (Toronto: Broadview Press 2008), 20.

[468] Scholars cannot say for sure whether Lennox knew about Smollett's serialization at the time she was serializing her own novel, but archives reveal that Anthony Walker created the illustrations for both of the publications. This

Robert D. Mayo argues that, "unlike Smollett, Mrs. Lennox made no effort to adapt her work to the special conditions of serial publication. It is (one imagines) simply her latest novel, written without the benefit of chapter divisions, and parcelled out in accordance with her needs as editor of an eighty-page essay-miscellany."[469] I disagree; "The History of Harriot and Sophia" is the core of the curriculum of *The Lady's Museum.* The articles and the correspondence in the periodical are paratexts to the serialized novel as they help the reader gain a deeper understanding of the dichotomy between the two sisters.[470]

Readers of the periodical who had also read *The Female Quixote* might well have recognized similarities between the periodical's eidolon (the Trifler) and Arabella. Lennox's previous novel serves as a public epitext for *The Lady's Museum*. Arabella and the Trifler represent women who want to pursue an education through their reading. Both characters lose their mothers at a young age: Arabella's mother dies shortly after giving birth, and the Trifler loses her mother as a child. The Trifler characterizes her deceased mother as "a well bred-woman" but an ineffectual educator because she grew up "not only without any taste, but with a

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suggests that Lennox potentially knew of Smollett's work through Walker, but it could also just be coincidence, as he was a very well-known book and periodical illustrator of the period. Either way, Lennox was ahead of her time, since the serialization of original novels in periodicals did not become common until the nineteenth century. Robert D Mayo suggests, "more likely it was a spontaneous effort, predicated on similar assumptions regarding the new-advanced state of general taste." *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 277.

[469] Mayo, *The English Novel*, 290.

[470] In his forward to Gerard Genette's *Paratext* Richard Macksey's defines paratextuality as "liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (*peritext*) and outside it (*epitext*), that mediate the book to the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords. *Paratexts*, xviii.

high contempt for reading."[471] The Trifler's own "fondness for reading" in fact causes tension with her mother.[472] Upon her mother's death, the Trifler reads schoolbooks that her brother left behind when he went to university. The contents of these books give the Trifler an education in the topics that boys traditionally learned in public school or from tutors.

Lennox expands on her satirical critique of a young woman's misinterpretation of romances as factual history to demonstrate the benefits of a balanced intellectual education for girls, including helping them find a well-matched husband. The story of Arabella provides the reader with a negative example of what can happen when a woman, unguided by a competent tutor, reads fiction as if it were fact. Lennox's serialized novel provides a positive example of a female autodidact in Sophia. Both Arabella and Sophia are eager to learn and to apply their studies to finding suitable husbands. The difference in their informal education is in the guidance or lack thereof from parents or guardians. Arabella's father grants her unsupervised access to the family's library, whereas Mr. Herbert, by contrast, handpicks books for Sophia written by "the best authors" and "best calculated to improve her morals and understanding."[473] Her reading list includes Robert South's *Twelve Sermons* (1694),[474] Francois VI, Duc de la Rochefoucauld's *Moral Maxims* (1660),[475] Conyers Middleton's *The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*

[471] Lennox*, The Lady's Museum*, 5.

[472] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 5.

[473] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 19.

[475]Schürer notes that Sophia read Robert South (1634-1716), *Twelve Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions: The Second Volume* (1694). Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 86n1.

[475] Schürer notes that Sophia read François VI, Duke de la Rochefoucault (1613-1680), Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 96n.1.

(1741),[476] Francis Atterbury's sermons,[477] and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's poems.[478] With Sophia's selection of texts by both male and female authors, Lennox models an idealized informal intellectual education with lessons in morals, religion, art, and modern interpretations of ancient history. Like Arabella, Sophia is an autodidact in that she reads on her own, but the titles she reads have been chosen and vetted by an informed mentor.

Sophia and Harriot start with the same intent to please, but their different educations respectively help or hinder their aims to marry and thereby establish their own households. As the first-born child in the Darnley family, Harriot receives a formal polite education, which gives her an unhealthy appreciation for so-called refined amusements such as the consumption of beautiful clothing, jewellery, and ornaments for the home. [479] In comparison, autodidactic Sophia's genteel education focuses on her intellect with an aim to make a suitable intellectual match. The narrator explains, "[w]hile Harriot was receiving the improvement of a polite education, Sophia was left to form herself as well as she could; happily for her a just taste and solid judgment supplied the place of teachers, precepts, and example. The hours that Harriot

[476] Schürer notes that Sophia read Conyers Middleton *The History of the Life of Marcus* Tullius Cicero. Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 96n2.

[477] Schürer notes that Sophia read Francis Atterbury's Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (1706). Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 112n.

[478] Schürer notes that Sophia read Mary Wortley Montagu "The Reslove" (1724). Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 138n.

[479] Mr. Darnley's place in the court allowed for his family to live nobly until his death. As the first-born daughter, Harriot was educated to marry a noble man to secure the family's status as gentry, rather than middle class.

wasted in dress, company, and gay amusements, were by Sophia devoted to reading."[480] The differences in their educations help to lay the groundwork for their future prospects.

However, the sisters are both hindered from finding a suitable partner by the limitations of their financial circumstances. The death of the family patriarch leads to the loss of the family's income and status at court, and the necessity to pay back the debts Mr. Darnley accumulated in mismanaging the family's finances. Mr. Herbert steps in as the sisters' guardian. An eligible bachelor, Sir Charles Stanley acts as their benefactor, providing them with a place to live. The sisters begin an unlikely competition in vying for Sir Charles's affections and eventual hand in marriage. When faced with this competition Harriot takes the immoral path of becoming a mistress to Lord L, a "young nobleman" who is of higher rank than Sir Charles. At first, Harriot had hoped her relationship with Lord L would make Sir Charles jealous. However, his "thoughts were full of Sophia."[481] As such, Harriot settles for Lord L. She willingly accepts his lavish gifts without a promise of a ring. Contrastingly, when Sophia is unable to rebuff the immoral advances of Sir Charles she leaves the family home until he proposes marriage.

Lennox's portrayal of the rural Lawson family, with whom Sophia stays, underscores the lessons on the benefits of women obtaining a genteel education. The Lawsons are of a lower rank than the Darnleys, but they give their daughters a genteel and practical education to help them prepare to be the "best houses-wifes [sic], and the most accomplished young women in that [their] part of the country."[482] Mr. Lawson, a clergyman, gives his daughters "a taste for useful knowledge," and their mother teaches them "economical duties suitable to their humble fortunes,

[480] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 18.

[481] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 31.

[482] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 254.

[and] formed them to those decencies of manners and propriety of behaviour," which she had learned from her own "genteel education and [in] conversation with persons of rank."[483] The Lawsons employ Sophia in exchange for room and board to further educate their daughters in morals and manners. In doing so, Sophia learns humility and hope for her situation and sees how the Lawson daughters use their genteel educations to achieve social mobility, using their intellects to find respectable middling-rank husbands who value more than superficial female beauty.

Lennox's periodical includes excerpts from two educational treatises to help contextualize the didactic lessons of "Harriot and Sophia." The excerpts from the two treatises "Of Proper Studies" and "of Importance of Education" in the periodical serve as a basis for Lennox's argument that women should find a healthy balance between amusements and education. According to Susan Carlile, the excerpt from "Of the Studies Proper for Women" is the second chapter of Pierre-Joseph Boudier de Villemert's treatise *L'Ami des Femmes* (1759). Carlile notes, "it appeared in English for the first time in the *Lady's Museum*."[484] The excerpt argues that women should study the "amiable" fields of history and natural philosophy because they "will banish languor from the sober amusements of the country, and repair that waste of intellect which is caused by the dissipations of the town."[485] Sophia represents the type of woman the treatise champions, whereas Harriot represents a "dissipate[ed]" woman who exhibits

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[483] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 254.

[484] It is unknown who translated the version in *The Lady's Museum*. At the top of the instalment, the phrase "Translated from the French" is included. It is possible that Lennox translated the excerpt herself. ECCO has five copies of this book, four of them English translations, but they are not the same as Lennox's translation. Carlile, *An Independent Mind*, 197.

[485] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 12.

the "waste of intellect" arising from indulgence. The treatise warns readers that "the only means of charming, and of charming long, is to improve their minds; good sense gives beauties which are not subject to fade like the lilies and roses of their cheeks, but will prolong the power of an agreeable woman to the autumn of her life."[486] This warning foreshadows a later instalment of "Harriot and Sophia": an episode in which Harriot is described as feeling severe "vexation" over losing her rich suitor Lord L, which throws "her into a distemper very fatal to [her] beauty."[487] Patricia Meyer Spacks explains, "when Harriot loses her beauty, she loses her power, and her freedom; the loss of beauty provides not only cause, but also [a] symbol of these […] losses."[488] Indeed, when Harriot loses her only asset she can no longer manipulate men into giving her money and material possessions. Left with no other skills to fall back on, she has no way to make a livelihood.

Excerpts from the second treatise, "Of the Importance of the Education of Daughters" by François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, similarly underscores the didactic lessons of "Harriot and Sophia."[489] The excerpt from Fénelon in the ninth issue of *Lady's Museum* serves to

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[486] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 16.

[487] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 824.

[488] Patricia Meyer Spacks, "Sisters," in *Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 143.

[489] Lennox excerpts eight out of the thirteen chapters from Fénelon's *Traite de l'education des filles* (1687). The first instalment is prefaced with the sentence "The following Treatise on the Education of Daughters is written by the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray and translated by a Friend of the Author of the Museum" (294). It is not known who the "friend" is, but Clair Boulard Jouslin contends that Lennox did not use translation by George Hickes (*Instructions for the education of a daughter, by the author of Telemachus. To which is added, a small tract of instructions for the Conduct of Young Ladies of the Highest Rank. With Suitable Devotions Annexed. Done into English, and revised by Dr. George Hickes,* 1707) and suggests that Lennox could have translated the text herself.

define Sophia's role as the novel's heroine on account of her capacity for reason and her openness to education and instruction: "[o]f all the qualities of children, there is but one to depend on, that is, a good reasoning faculty; this grows up with them, provided it be cultivated."[490] By contrast, Harriot is epitomized in Fénelon's disapproving comment, "that of all the pains of educating none is comparable to that of bringing up a child who is deficient in sensibility."[491] Harriot's selfishness and vanity prevent her from understanding that her desire for material possessions puts an unfair pressure on Mrs. Darnley, Sophia, and Mr. Herbert. Boulard Jouslin argues that Fénelon's treatise is "the periodical's backbone" because it provides the periodical's readers with a "pedagogical approach" to become teachers to their own children.[492] I would point out, however, that de Villemert's and Fénelon's treatises are just two of the many components of Lennox's "learning salon" that complement the lessons of "Harriot and Sophia." The excerpts from Fénelon's treatise focus on the value of teaching women by what Boulard Jouslin describes as "indirect instruction" or informal learning, with the use of narratives such as fables that are applicable to their daily lives.[493] For this reason, she argues that Fénelon's treatise is the core of the periodical. I do not agree with his assessment. Fénelon's treatise does

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"Conservative or Reformer?: The History and Fortune of Fénelon's Traite de l'Education des filles in Eighteenth-Century England" *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 4 (2012): 50.

[490] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 688.

[491] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 687.

[492] Boulard Jouslin, "Conservative or Reformer," 71.

[493] The concept of indirect instruction is also integral to John Locke's pivotal educational treatise, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). In the treatise, he advocates for mothers to use *Aesop's Fables* (620-564 BC) as early educational tools for young children. Thus, while I agree that Lennox uses indirect instruction method as part of her pedagogy, there is no proof whether she based its use on Locke or Fénelon's treatises. Boulard Jousin, "Conservative or Reformer," 52.

not appear in all eleven issues of *Lady's Museum*. Of the two educational treatises, the excerpts from Fénelon's treatise do not appear until much later in the periodical, with instalments from the fourth to the final issue. The instalments of "Harriot and Sophia," however, appear in each issue of the periodical, they serve as the real focus of Lennox's curriculum and thus, the backbone of the periodical. While ~~I agree that~~ both de Villemert's and Fénelon's treatises are important components of Lennox's curriculum, I hypothesize that as an established novelist, Lennox built her periodical on "The History of Harriot and Sophia," using various pedagogies to complement the didactic lessons in the novel, making it the *raison d'etre* of the periodical, and the natural follow up to her previous didactic novels.

Lennox demonstrates the difference between a merely entertaining text and an educational text that entertains. In doing so, she undercuts opposition to women's reading of romances. The secret history "The History of Dutchess of Beaufort" combines the lessons of *The Female Quixote* with "Harriot and Sophia," for the romance serves as both "excitement "for the reader's "curiosities" and as an education in factual French history. The narrator explains, "[t]o avoid being misled by those lively authors, I shall extract the history of the dutchess of Beaufort solely from the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, prime-minister to Henry the Great, one of the wisest and most virtuous men of his age; and the reader will have the pleasure to see many passages in the words of that admirable writer."[494] With this stipulation, Lennox demonstrates that historical fact, combined with romance, can indeed educate and entertain the reader; this outcome is a mirror opposite of the effects that Arabella's reading of "historical" romances has

[494] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 50.

on her.[495] As such, "The History of Dutchess Beaufort" represents what Samuel Johnson recommends in the preface of *The Preceptor* (1749), "to decorate the Nakedness of Science, by interspersing such Observations and Narratives, as may amuse the Mind and excite Curiosity."[496] The memoir is entertaining because it contains gossip, but it does not corrupt readers because it reveals the real-life consequences of immoral and courteous behaviour: her discourteous behaviour as the long-term mistress to King Henry IV who hoped that the King would leave his wife and make her Queen of France. After bearing him two sons, the Duchess took on airs of a Queen, assured that the King would dissolve his marriage to legitimize his two sons. Looser explains, "false gossip that satirizes or damages reputations is useless history; 'true' gossip that teaches a lesson may be permissible as it contains useful historical material. A history without personalities or manners may be unable to excite admiration, engage esteem, or influence practice."[497] Lennox thus urges readers of *The Lady's Museum* to compare the two texts and set the Duchess of Beaufort's misconduct next to Harriot's immoral choices. Both characters seek out men who will give them money in exchange for their affection. Like the excerpts from "Of the Proper Studies for Women," the secret history of the Duchess illustrates the potential consequences of Harriot's prolonged risky behaviour as a mistress.

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[495] According to Noelle Gallagher in the Restoration and early eighteenth century "historians increasingly delved into the public figures' personal idiosyncrasies and scandalous private lives." "The Beginnings of Enlightenment Historiography in Britain,*"* 346.

[496] Samuel Johnson "Preface" *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education. Wherein the First Principles of Polite Learning are Laid Down in a Way Most Suitable for Trying the Genius, and Advancing the Instruction of Youth,* ed. Robert Dodsley, (Dublin: George Faulkner,1749), xii.

[497] Looser, *British Women Writers*, 111.

Lennox's *Lady's Museum* uses the overlapping narrative styles in the different types of history articles to demonstrate the didactic uses of narratives of factual figures. Lennox includes a series of articles on ancient people that serves as "investigations" into the history of "different countries" under the subtitle of "The Lady's Geography."[498] The articles explore the "natural" and "civil" histories of three countries, giving the reader "some idea" of the appearance and behaviour of the "original" inhabitants of Aboyna, Britain, and Ceylon.[499] These articles are interspersed between the factual and fictional narratives on men and women in the periodical, echoing Johnson's advice to combine "naked science" with narratives. The articles function as in a sense paratexts to the serialized novel because they resemble the type of genteel knowledge that Sophia obtains from the books she has received from Mr. Herbert. "An Essay on the Original Inhabitants of Great Britain," for example, covers figures from the first Roman invasion in 699 BC to the rule of Egbert, King of Wessex. This serialized history of the ancient "Britons" is in seven parts and serves as a point of moral comparison to the so-called "savage" inhabitants of Aboyna and Ceylon: lands colonized by Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another essay, "The Lady's Geography," includes the Roman historical figures Julius Caesar and Marcus Tullius Cicero. The reader can link the article's description of these Roman figures with Sophia's reading of Middleton's *History of Cicero* (1741).

In the fourth instalment of the serialized novel, Harriot becomes angry about Sophia's decision to leave home to work for the Lawsons in the country and attempts to challenge Sophia by turning genteel knowledge against her. Harriot declares, "as I read in one of your books just

[498] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 145.

[499] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 146.

now, Virtue would not go so far, if pride did not bear her company."[500] Harriot misquotes from Duke de la Rochefoucald's *Moral Maxims* (1665) by confusing "pride" with "vanity."[501] In doing so, Harriot inadvertently demonstrates her misunderstanding of *Moral Maxims* and reveals her own moral flaw, vanity. In response, Sophia tells her sister, "no woman is envious of another's virtue who is conscious of her own," which is a quotation from Middleton's *The History of Cicero*.[502] The novel demonstrates the correct application of the moral lessons on ancient people that can be learned by reading the factual literary-historical narratives in the periodical. Moreover, the periodical reader familiar with *The Female Quixote* could obtain more accurate accounts of some of the historical figures Arabella's romances inaccurately represent, deepening the lessons of her missteps in learning history by badly translated romances.

Lennox touts the benefits of women learning and discussing modern history and invites her readers to consider why "a woman of knowledge is no object of request." *The Lady's Museum* offered a variety of correspondent letters, like issue 9's from "Parthenissa," that question the relevancy of women reading literature and learning history:

> Indeed, my dear, you entirely mistake the point; a woman of knowledge is at present no object of request, and I am afraid literature, like virtue, is insufficient for its own reward -- so well satisfied is the whole tribe of Triflers of this maxim, that there is not one of them who would not rather endanger their health and impair their sight by needle-work, than read ten pages of English history."[503]

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[500] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 248.

[501]Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 96n1.

[502]Lennox, ed. Nobert Schürer, *Sophia*, 96n2.

[503] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 642.

The letter demonstrates the difficulty proto-feminist authors faced in convincing politely educated readers that reading history is more beneficial amusement than needlework, piano playing, or dancing. Lennox includes the letter to emphasize the bravery of Sophia's auto-didacticism and to provoke the reader to consider whether Sophia's or Harriot's education (or a combination of the two) is most suitable for women of their rank and financial situation.

Lennox represents the paratextual and generic connections between factual and fictional history by using the same parageneric identifier, "History of," in the titles of her serialized novel and three of her serialized memoirs: "The History of the Dutchess of Beaufort," "The History of the Count de Comminges," and "The History of Bianca Capello."[504] In doing so, she gives weight to her secret histories and matches current trends in the print market. Anna K. Sagal notes it was a common eighteenth-century convention to start the title of an amatory or sentimental novel with "The History of" to suggest a guise of sincerity or truth.[505] I would add that Lennox also takes advantage of the broad applicability of word *history* in the eighteenth century to disguise the division between fact and fiction in *Lady's Museum.*[506] Johnson's *Dictionary* gives three definitions for the word history: "A narration of an event and facts delivered with dignity,"

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[504] Genette explains that "genres, particularly the novel, avoided flaunting a status Aristotle had never heard of, and contrived to suggest their genre status more indirectly way of parageneric titles in which the words *history, life, memoirs, adventures* [and] *voyages*" were placed at the start of the title to indicate the type of story [emphasis is Gennette's]. *Paratext*, 95.

[505] Sagal, "Constructing Women's History," 53.

[506] Genette explains that titles have several audiences, including the reading public, the publisher, and the financial backers of publications. He states,"[t]he title is directed at many more people than the text, people who by one route or another receive it and transmit it and thereby have [sic] a hand in circulating it. For if the text is an object to be read, the title… is an object to be circulated – or, if you prefer, a subject of conversation." *Paratexts*, 75.

"narration; relation," and "the knowledge of facts and events."[507] In Lennox's periodical, the memoirs of historical figures fall under the first definition, novels under the second, and articles on ancient civilizations under the third. Thus, the paratextual articles are an integral part of the didactic lessons of "Harriot and Sophia"; without them, the novel changes from a key component of a curriculum in history to a straightforward moral tale about two sisters. When Lennox published the novel on its own in 1762, she changed the title of the stand-alone novel to *Sophia*, removing both "History" and "Harriot." In the process, Harriot becomes a foil to Sophia rather than a central character in the text. I would argue that Lennox renamed the text because without the paratextual content of the periodical, there was no longer a need to blur the lines between fact and fiction. The novel shifts from a narrative with a didactic focus on education to a more conventional marriage narrative.

Visual Representations of Lennox's Historical Lessons

Alongside the articles, several images strengthen the didactic lessons of the periodical and the serialized novel. Lennox's periodical was one of the first to include a number of images in the publication – thirteen in all.[508] Eighteenth-century periodicals often included frontispieces,

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[507] Samuel Johnson, "History" *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Ed. Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. 2021. https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/history/.

[508] An earlier example of images in a periodical is John Newberry's periodical for children, *The Lilliputian* (1752), which contains several images to enhance the didactic tales. As the publisher of *The Lady's Museum*, Newberry most likely encouraged Lennox to include images to augment the didactic lessons of her periodical's articles and serialized novel. To see images from the 1752 volume of the periodical through the British Library collections online go to, "The Lilliputian magazine*,"* The British Library, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-lilliputian-magazine.

but it was not until the end of the century that periodicals such as *The Lady's Magazine* frequently included images.[509] The images of Harriot and Sophia (figures 4.1 and 4.2) are the most intricate images in the periodical; they are mini-narratives unto themselves.[510] They lend necessary depth to Lennox's serialized version of the novel, as they instruct readers on the differences between polite and genteel educations.

Lennox uses the visual representations of the sisters, partnered with the paratextual articles, to depict a didactic lesson. In the serialized version of the novel, the illustrations provide the reader with a detailed physical representation of the sisters. As such, the serialized text teases the reader with aspects of the sisters' behaviour rather than specific aspects of their appearance:

> The striking sensibility of her [Sophia's] countenance, the soft elegance of her shape and motion, a melodious voice in speaking, whose varied accents enforced the sensible things she always said, were beauties not capable of striking vulgar minds, and which were sure to be eclipsed by the dazzling lustre of her sister's [Harriot's] complexion, and the fire of two bright eyes, whose motions were as quick and unsettled as her thoughts.[511]

The images provide readers with missing specificity their descriptions lack. It gives the reader in-depth representations of the differences between the sisters' appearances and temperaments. The images also place the sisters in starkly different surroundings, which helps to visualize the contrast between Harriot's volatile, selfish behaviour and Sophia's sensible, selfless behaviour.

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[509] For details on the various types of images in the periodical, see Jennie Batchelor, "The Lady's Magazine (1770-1818): Understanding the Emergence of a Genre," https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/ladys-magazine/

[510] There are four detailed diagrams of animals that complement the natural philosophy articles: three images of ancient peoples depicting the landscape and behaviour of the inhabitants, a detailed map of Britannia Saxonica that accompanies the history articles, and a portrait of the Duchess of Beaufort that supplements the secret history.

[511] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 18.

In Harriot's image, the reader sees how her polite education has taught her to appreciate the aesthetics of fashion, and her lavish surroundings represent the higher status of the gentry. Conversely, Sophia's image represents her genteel education with her more reserved dress and the peaceful settings of the countryside, a less flashy and more accurate representation of the Darnleys' status. In the following section, I will show how Lennox uses the two images as part of her lesson on the dangers of middling-rank girl learning through a course of rank-inspiring formal education in comparison to a more suitable (for a lesser social rank) informal education.

The 1762 stand-alone novel did not include the illustrations of the sisters; to compensate for this, Lennox altered the text to include detailed descriptions of their behaviour and their appearance.[512] In the novel, the description of the sisters is expanded and altered to include more specific details in their appearances and demeanours:

> There was diffused throughout the whole person of Sophia a certain secret charm, a natural grace which cannot be defined; she was not indeed so beautiful as her sister, but she was more attractive; her complexion was not as fair as Harriot's nor her features so regular, but together they were full of charms: her eyes were particularly fine, large, and full of fire, but that fire tempered with a tenderness so bewitching, as insensibly made its way to the heart. Harriot had beauty, but Sophia had something more; she had graces. [513]

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[512] Schürer specifies that the "two illustrations [were only] included in its initial release in her journal" and a search of ECCO has confirmed that the 1762 edition did not contain the illustrations. In the appendix of the 2008 Broadview edition of *Sophia*, Schürer included a chart with the textual variants between the serialized novel and the solo print text. The most substantial variant is the physical description of sisters. "Appendix A: Textual Variants", Lennox, *Sophia*, 201-204.

[513] Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer "Introduction," *Sophia*, 53.

As Schürer notes, the added text describing the sisters replaces the visual representations of the sisters in the periodical.[514] Without the didactic overtones of the surrounding articles, the differences between the sisters are thus realized in their descriptions. The revised version describes Sophia as "not indeed as beautiful as her sister" but having "a secret charm" that was her "grace."[515] The *OED* defines grace "as a quality of God: benevolence towards humanity, bestowed freely and without regard to merit, and which manifests in the giving of blessings and granting of salvation."[516] Comparatively, Johnson's *Dictionary* defines grace as "Favour; kindness."[517] In both definitions, grace depicts the behaviour of an individual. The stand-alone novel depicts Sophia's behaviour, her grace, as "more attractive" than her sister's appealing complexion and features. In doing so, the novel stresses that beauty alone does not define attractiveness, and that Harriot's outlandish behaviour (as depicted in the outburst over Sir Charles's preference for Sophia) decreases her overall attractiveness.

The revised textual descriptions of the sisters represent good behaviour triumphing over bad behaviour, which creates a limited, two-dimensional representation of the girls. The narrator goes on to explain that "Harriot's charms produced at the first sight all the effect they were capable of; a second look of Sophia was more dangerous than the first, for grace is seldomer found in the face than the manners; and, as our manner is formed every moment, a new surprise

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[514]Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer, *Sophia*, 201.

[515] Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer*, Sophia*, 53.

[516]"grace," *OED Online*. March 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www-OED.com/view/Entry/80373.

[517] Samuel Johnson, "grace," *A Dictionary of the English Language*. 1755, 1773. Edited by Beth Rapp Young, Jack Lynch, William Dorner, Amy Larner Giroux, Carmen Faye Mathes, and Abigail Moreshead. 2021.https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/grace/.

is perpetually creating."[518] Sophia's is characterized as more appealing because her intellectual attractiveness has a lasting effect in comparison to Harriot's physical beauty, which will fade over time. The textual and visual descriptions of the sisters in the periodical, however, create a more entertaining and educational three-dimensional representation of the differences between them.

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Figure 4.1: "Saying this, she flung out of the room, leaving her mother divided between grief and anger, and Mr. Herbert motionless with astonishment," *The Lady's Museum* © By permission of the British Library Board General Reference Collection C.175.n.15, 45.

[518] Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer *Sophia*, 54.

[519] Images are thanks to Jess Banner, who took pictures of the British Library's copy of original *The Lady's Museum* from 1760-61.

Harriot's beauty is her best attribute and her Achilles' heel; it causes her to act petulantly when her looks do not land her a rich husband. In the final excerpt of "Treatise on Education of Daughters," Fénelon warns readers, "[t]here is nothing we ought so much to guard against as vanity in young ladies. They come into the world with a vehement desire to please: finding themselves excluded from those paths by which men arrive at authority and glory, they endeavour to balance that loss by all the captivating qualities of wit and person."[520] The image of Harriot illustrates this warning against vanity. Fénelon also cautions that "[b]eauty is sure to be pernicious unless it is instrumental to an advantageous match --- But how can it be so unless supported by merit, and by virtue?"[521] Lennox portrays Harriot as a woman fixated on displays of wealth rather than on building a meaningful life. The treatise provides a running commentary on Harriot's and Sophia's behaviour. Readers, of the stand-alone novel, however, would not have the benefit of Fénelon's treatise to complement the lessons of the sisters' contrary educations.

The image of Harriot with Mrs. Darnley and Mr. Herbert (figure 4.1) appears at the end of the first instalment of the serialized novel, with the text on the left side and the visual depiction of the scene on the right side. The scene takes place in a dining room with Harriot, her mother, and Mr. Herbert. The elegantly furnished room has framed paintings and elaborately ornamented doorways. Harriot is moving hurriedly away from the table ("she flung out of the room") whilst Mrs. Darnley and Mr. Herbert sit ("motionless with astonishment"), making Harriot the focal point of the image.[522] The dress Harriot wears reflects the latest fashion: the

[520] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 840.

[521] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 842.

[522] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 44.

front of the dress has an open bodice, with an adorned stomacher; it is open breasted and slightly off the shoulder to emphasize cleavage and neckline.[523] The dress has the aesthetically pleasing details of a sack (back gown) and treble laced sleeves.[524] The dress mirrors Harriot's priorities in life, as set forth by her polite education. In school, Harriot would have learned how to be meticulous in her appearance to attract male suitors.[525] As such, her appearance is crucial for her, as it is the key to her livelihood. Harriot's polite education initiates her cultivation of external appearance over intellect, which becomes her downfall. After her father's death, Harriot continues to emulate the higher classes but cannot afford to do so without help. The Darnleys were never wealthy, but Mr. Darnley set a precedent for his family by projecting the family as affluent members of a higher social stratum than they actually occupied. Their social transgression is enabled by Mr. Darnley's decision as patriarch to allow the family to live beyond their means, but Mrs. Darnley continues the transgression after his death by encouraging Harriot

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[523] Iris Brooke, *Dress and Undress: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), 93-114; and C. Willet Cunnington & Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Plays Inc., 1972), 266-405.

[524] W. Cunnington and P. Cunnington explain that in the 1750s to early 60s dresses had the "distinctive features" of "stomacher-front bodices, when the robings crossed the outer edge to the shoulders necessitating very broad stomachs." *Handbook*, 266-67.

[525] Harriot's behaviour reflects social pressures that had deleterious effects on young women, Josephine Kamm explains: "the emphasis on deportment and dress, the balls and the dramatic performances of sentimental plays did nothing to raise the general tone; and since marriage was the aim and object of every parent the girls were forced into maturity before their time." *Hope Deferred: Girls Education in Early Modern Period* (London: Methuen, 1965), 94.

to keep up the appearance of wealth to secure a rich husband raising the family's social level.[526] Schürer remarks on the disjunction between appearance and reality in the family's social positioning: there "is the discrepancy between money and class: the Darnleys behave like members of the gentry, but they can only afford to live like members of the middling rank."[527] The illustration conveys how Harriot's desire for social climbing drives her to act unethically; she agrees to be Lord L's mistress to keep up her guise of an upper-class woman. The narrator observes that Harriot "found resources of comfort in the exalted ideas that she had of her own charms; and having already laid it down as a maxim, that poverty was the most shameful thing in the world, she formed her resolutions accordingly."[528] Harriot's priorities are "to make a shewy appearance," lay "baits for admiration," and to get her "a great number of lovers."[529] Contrastingly, the illustration also shows Mrs. Darnley as struggling to keep up the appearance of wealth after the death of her husband, thus representing the family's actual slippage in status. Mrs. Darnley wears a simple indoor cap and dress; this reflects the fashion from the 1740s, which hints at both her age and her financial restraints. Therefore, Harriot's elaborate dress stands out, as it does not accurately depict her family's status in society.

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[526] Harriot's behaviour signifies a "visible culture" that became important in the eighteenth century, as it represented the status and rank of families. Mary Hilton argues, "[t]he owning and using of material goods such as clothes, jewellery, buildings, pictures, books, and gardens became an important part of self-presentation at nearly all levels in society where self fashioning was vital to social mobility in the new money economy." *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain, 1750-1850* (London, Routledge Press, 2016), 22.

[527] Lennox, ed. Norbert Schürer "Introduction," *Sophia*, 28.

[528] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 20-21.

[529] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 25.

Through Harriot's behaviour, Lennox comments on how women's formal, "polite" education gives precedence to the cultivation of appearance over a more solid cultivation of manners and morals. Harriot's stance in the image dramatizes her emotional outburst. When placed beside the text, the illustration underscores the emotional febrility of the scene between Mr. Herbert, Mrs. Darnley, and Harriot. It intensifies Harriot's outburst over Sir Charles's infatuation for Sophia by adding a sense of urgency and movement. The text reads, "Harriot, no longer able to suppress her rage and envy, was thrown so far off her guard as to burst into tears. 'I cannot bear to be thus insulted,' cried she; 'and I declare if Sir Charles is permitted to go on with his foolery with that vain girl, I will quit the house.'"[530] On the right side, the image captures Harriot's anger, as she expresses her complaints about Sir Charles's decision to her mother. Her stance and her body language capture her anger in the moments before she storms out. There is a sense of motion, or potential motion, with Harriot's extended arms with one hand outstretched and the other making a fist. In response to Harriot, Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Darnley both have shocked looks on their faces. Mrs. Darnley looks at Mr. Herbert, rather than her daughter. This represents her ineffectiveness as a mother, as she is waiting for his response before she reacts.

The Darnley family assumes that Sir Charles's "gallantry" means he is not interested in marrying either sister, but Mrs. Darnley cannot ask Sir Charles to stop visiting, as he is the owner of the house in which they live. He gifts Sophia books and Harriot small material objects. Sophia is hesitant to receive the books, whereas Harriot takes pleasure in Sir Charles's gifts. She does not understand the moral implications of a man giving lavish gifts to a woman. The best Harriot can wish for is to be Sir Charles's mistress, as his rank and gallant behaviour suggest he would

[530] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 44.

not marry her. Harriot's uncontrolled anger demonstrates how her unrefined mental faculties and lack of empathy limit her capacity to understand why Sir Charles is attracted to her sister. The scene ends with Harriot's melodramatic exit: "Saying this, she flung out of the room, leaving her mother divided between anger and grief, and Mr. Herbert motionless with astonishment."[531] The illustration is a freeze frame, depicting the chaotic moments before Harriot storms out of the room in protest. The image encapsulates Harriot's desperation, which leads her to maintain a semblance of status, to the extent that she is willing to become the mistress of a well-to-do gentleman. The outcome of her immoral behaviour drives Harriot into a marriage, in order to mend her tarnished reputation, with a young ensign, who is given a commission in "one of the colonies."[532] While she is successful in getting married, Harriot remains unhappy. And yet, Lennox's tale suggests that had Harriot pursued a genteel education, she would have learned that moral and intellectual knowledge leads to a lasting connection with a husband.

[531] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 44.

[532] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 824-25.

Figure 4.2: "Come, my dear,' said Sophia, leading her to the root of a large tree, 'let us sit down here, we shall not be called to supper yet, you have time enough to give me some account of this young man" *Lady's Museum* © By the permission of the British Library Board General Reference Collection C.175.n.15, 45.

By way of comparison, the image of Sophia (figure 4.2) evokes calm. The representation shows Sophia's reading has shaped her character; it illustrates the benefits of an informal education when grounded in lessons on morals and manners. Her education is reflected in both her simple dress and her mannerisms. The scene takes place later in the novel, at the end of the fourth instalment. Sophia has left her home to live with the Lawson family in the country in order to escape the temptations of Sir Charles. The Lawson family has two daughters, Dolly and Fanny. In the illustration, Sophia and Dolly sit together against a tree, with a river and a house in

the background. The caption of the illustration reads, "Dolly relating her story to Sophia."[533] I surmise that Dolly is on the right, as her dress is less intricate, representing her lesser social rank. Dolly is shown with what appears to be a hankie in her lap (indicating she is upset over her father's dislike of her lover, William). Dolly's dress has an open bodice and a stomacher. It also has a piece of lace to augment her décolletage. Dolly's sleeves are not trebled; they stop with a cuff at the elbows. There is no sign of a sack or a long train in Dolly's (or Sophia's) dress.[534] They would be too impractical in the country; trains would get muddy or stuck on branches. Sophia's dress is comparatively more intricate to illustrate her middling rank but nonetheless socially superior; it has lace details in the skirt and ruffled sleeves. However, her chest is more covered, with a fur fastener to represent Sophia's moral and reserved behaviour. Unlike Dolly, she does not want to attract the male gaze. She has come to the countryside to escape Sir Charles's advances and work as a governess. As such, Sophia's entire appearance is more practical than it is fashionable.

Sophia's appearance demonstrates the modesty and practicality of her behaviour, which is starkly different from the coquetry of her sister. In the previous image, Harriot was talking, but in this image, Sophia is listening. On the facing page, the narrator describes the scene: "Come, my dear, said Sophia…, let us side down here, we shall not be called to supper yet, you have time enough to give me some account of this young man, whom I should be glad to find worthy of you: tell me how your acquaintance began, what are your father's reasons for forbidding your

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[533] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 261.

[534] The dress of the "country folk and the poorer classes" was "generally speaking the material was coarser and the gown plainer than its contemporary 'fashionable' [,] though it was in the style of its period." C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook*, 324.

correspondence."[535] The image illustrates Sophia's careful attention to Dolly. Her body is turned toward her friend, and she is looking into her friend's eyes. This forms a contrast with Harriot's posture of turning violently away from Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Darnley. The illustrated episode is of Sophia listening to Dolly's story of William's courtship of her and her father's refusal to grant her beau's permission to marry his daughter and Sophia, despite her own troubles, listens to her friend and offers advice. She becomes a maternal figure to her friend, a substitute for Dolly's deceased mother. Sophia comforts her and negotiates a solution that allows Dolly and William to marry. Eve Tanor Bannet explains, "the Matriarchal heroine is herself a better parent, guardian, and governor than any she may encounter: she is her own – and everyone else's – parent, guardian and governess."[536] Indeed, Sophia surpasses her mother's effectiveness as matriarch, as the latter lacked the ability to govern her family. The images and text represent the different forms of education the sisters received. The illustrations reinforce Lennox's didacticism, in particular, her lesson on the benefits of Sophia's intellectual attractiveness. Sophia's "graces," in combination with her genteel education, enable her to avoid the temptation of Sir Charles's initial advances until he proposes, which leads her to lasting happiness in a marital partnership.

The visual representations of the sisters help the reader to understand better the physical appearance and temperament of the girls. Their choice in dress and the setting of the images help guide the reader's vision of Harriot and Sophia. The illustrations are not necessary to understand the text, but serve as enhancements to the textual descriptions. In my reading, I have come to the conclusion that as a stand-alone novel, *Sophia* feels empty, lacking depth. However, as part of

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[535] Lennox, *The Lady's Museum*, 260.

[536] Eve Tavor Bannett, *The Domestic Revolution: Enlightenment Feminisms and the Novel* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 84.

the curriculum in the didactic periodical, "Harriot and Sophia" is much richer and benefits greatly from its proximity to didactic articles. As Mary Anne Schofield's asserts, the novel "falters" on its own and is "an allegory" because of the simplified "black or white identities."[537] Indeed, it reverts to a straightforward story of good triumphing over bad behaviour.

While the novel is more edifying in serialized format, we do not know what the overall reception of the stand-alone novel was in Lennox's lifetime. Both Betty A. Schellenberg and Carlile have found archival evidence that the novel was to be included in a proposed anthology of Lennox's work titled *Original Works* in 1775, sold by subscription and promoted by Johnson, but the collection did not pre-sell enough to go to print.[538] Carlile explains that while the novel received "many favourable reviews," some reviewers felt "Sophia was not a better novel than those Lennox had previously published."[539] The periodical's articles and images help to build a stronger contrast between the sisters by providing the readers with the distinct differences between a polite education that encouraged women to focus on the maintenance of their appearance and a more practical education that taught women intellectual knowledge in order to become wives and mothers. When it was re-printed as a stand-alone novel, *Sophia* in 1762, without the images and supplementary articles, the impact of the novel's educational framework dramatically decreased. In the twenty-first century readers have access to visual representations of the sisters and some of the paratextual content from the *Lady's Museum* in Norbert Schürer's preface and appendices to the 2008 Broadview edition of the novel. This re-inclusion of the

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[537] Mary Anne Schofield, *Masking and Unmasking the Female Mind: Disguising Romances in Feminine Fiction, 1713-1799* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 142.

[538] See Susan Carlile, *Independent Mind*, 254-255; Betty A. Schellenberg, *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), 110.

[539] Carlile, *Independent Mind*, 214.

visual and textual paratext introduces today's reader to the significance of Lennox's participation in the ongoing debate about women learning in the eighteenth century. Her periodical's curriculum helped further the argument that middle-class women should pursue an intellectual education, rather than simply a polite education, to better prepare them for the marriage market.

The History of Lennox's Curriculum

The different types of articles in Lennox's periodical give depth to the textual representations of Sophia and Harriot as middling-rank women facing challenges in the marriage market. Each article helps to illustrate how women can apply knowledge acquired through their reading of histories to help them find suitable husbands. The historical articles on ancient civilizations give women readers an overview of antiquity. The secret histories entertain them with "true gossip," and educate them in factual history and inform them of potential consequences of immoral behaviour. Finally, the excerpts from the treatises by Villemert and Fénelon offer readers a justification for why women should further their education genteelly with history and natural philosophy.

Lennox's periodical was one of many proto-feminist writings that promoted education for middle-class women. Lennox's inclusion in Richard Samuel's painting "Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo" (1778) visually represents the impact of her career as a literary activist. She is represented as one of nine celebrated modern British muses, along with Anna Letitia Barbauld, Elizabeth Carter, Elizabeth Griffith, Angelica Kauffmann, Catharine Macaulay, Hannah More, and Elizabeth Sheridan.[540] Each of them fought for women

[540] To view painting go to "Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo" National Portrait Gallery, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00328/Portraits-in-the-Characters-of-the-Muses-in-the-Temple-of-Apollo.

to be recognized as having intellectual potential equal to men. Lennox and other proto-feminists participated in the broader discursive shifts that laid the foundation for subsequent activists for women's education such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Jane Austen, and Mary Shelley.

Coda: Digital Counterpublics of Knowledge

Twenty-seven years after Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* (1760-61), Sarah Trimmer published *The Family Magazine* (1788–89). Trimmer's periodical did not include articles about intellectual topics. Instead, it was geared toward middling- and lower-ranked women and mothers with didactic essays about domestic conduct. For example, the inaugural issue from January 1788 included articles on "A Morning Prayer for a Family," "The Dutiful Daughter and Grand-Daughter," "On the Pernicious Effects of Dram Drinking," and "On the Management of Children." As the article titles indicate, the magazine focuses on the moral behaviour of all members of the family. Indeed, we can envision families reading The *Family Magazine* aloud together, since it provides what Abigail Williams refers to as a type of "wholesome exercise" in the eighteenth century.[541] On the title page of the periodical, Trimmer offers her magazine as a remedy "to counteract the pernicious Tendency of immoral Books. &c.[,] which have circulated of late Years among the inferior Classes of People."[542] In the preface Trimmer critiques "servants and others" as "wasting their leisure hours over immoral books and ballads" instead of reading the Bible and books that "would improve their minds in virtue and goodness."[543] As a mother and an author, Trimmer was primarily concerned that middling and lower ranked families had access to moral and religious literature. She published her subsequent periodical, *The Guardian of Education* (1802–06), in the format of an encyclopaedia as a pedagogical tool for

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[541] Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books*: *Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 104.

[542] Sara Trimmer, *The Family Magazine; or, a Repository of Religious Instruction, and Rational Amusement* (London: John Marshall and Co. Aldermary 1788-89), n. p.

[543] Sarah Trimmer, *The Family Magazine*, iv.

mothers. Its aim was to inventory and review all printed educational literature – theoretical treatises, manuals, didactic novels, and moral tales, among others – from authors such as John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Maria Edgeworth.

Trimmer, along with the earlier three female periodical editors that I have analyzed in this thesis, join the likes of Mary Wollstonecraft and Hannah More in their fight to bring education to men, women, girls, and boys, no matter their gender or rank. Although the focus shifted in these women's periodicals from educating them for marriage to educating them for parenthood, the underlying message remained the same: to give women access to an informal education that substituted or supplemented their formal education, geared to their specific interests and roles in life. Indeed, this thesis has signaled how female-penned periodicals in the second half of the eighteenth century sought to offer women a course of informal education with articles on proto-disciplinary topics. As I discussed in chapter two, Chico argued that "intellectual beautification" required a crucial balance of cultivating middling-ranked women's minds and bodies to help them find the best-suited husband.[544] The three periodicals I focused on illustrate how women could balance the shallow pursuits of coquetry with informal learning in natural philosophy, modern history, and vernacular literature. I have demonstrated that the three periodicals by Eliza Haywood, Frances Brooke, and Charlotte Lennox function as representations of knowledge networks or counterpublics that sought to increase women's intellectual prowess. Moreover, these virtual communities compare themselves to in-person communities of knowledge in public meeting places. These authors helped to promote concepts of women's learning and their discussion of so-called masculine topics.

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[544] Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 71.

In this coda, I should like to consider briefly how twenty-first century digital humanities projects have helped to make the case for the importance of female-penned periodicals in forwarding England's movement toward universal education in the nineteenth century. Along the way, I should like to suggest the larger importance and applicability of my argument by considering how digital texts and open-access digital editions in the present-day offer parallels between eighteenth-century auto-didacticism and the formation of counterpublics, on the one hand, and twenty-first century web-based learning communities, on the other. Michael Warner has argued that "a public is a space of discourse organized by nothing other than discourse itself. It is autotelic; it exists only as the end for which books are published, shows broadcast, Web sites posted, speeches delivered, opinions produced. It exists *by virtue of being addressed* [emphasis is Warner's]."[545] Although Warner's conceptualization of publics and counterpublics in 2002 barely touches upon the impact of the internet, his theories have applicability to online learning communities, because they mirror in the present day the types of public and counterpublics that the eighteenth-century periodicals represented.[546]

Within the past ten years, developments in scanning technology, optical character recognition (OCR) tools, and online platforms (to name a few) have helped form digital or virtual learning communities. In *A New Culture of Learning* (2011), Doug Thomas and John Seely Brown discuss the formation of learning collectives through online forums. They argue that changes in media technology, especially the expansion of the World Wide Web, are spawning new kinds of community and learning. I am interested in how digital editions of

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[545] Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 67.

[546] Warner notes publics include all types of circulated in print or "electronic media." *Publics and Counterpublics*, 29.

eighteenth-century texts have likewise fostered learning communities. In exploring the development of digital scholarly editions, Ray Siemens observes a progression from the static digitized text (scanned documents) to a dynamic text that includes electronic resources for readers, to a hypertextual edition, which gives readers access to static supportive materials. Siemens does not define the term hypertext, but Krista Stine Greve Rasmussen explains, "Hypertext literature makes the hyperlink into an organising principle, so that the plot, action and progression of the literary work are determined by the reader's choice among various links." [547] Siemens reflects on how scanned texts in the early days of the internet allowed for larger audiences to access texts that were previously locked away in limited-access archives.

Digital scanned texts were made possible in part due to a Text Creation Partnership (TCP) formed in 1999. The partnership pooled the archival resources of University of Michigan library, the Bodleian libraries of Oxford University, ProQuest, and the American Council on Library and Information Resources.[548] The TCP scanned thousands of historical texts, which formed the initial content of such online literature databases as Gale Digital's Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO), first launched in 2003. Since their initial release, these databases have had a significant impact on modern-day archival research. The first iteration of ECCO was an example of a dynamic text: it allowed users to complete Boolean searches in the overall database and in individual entries. Its functionality, however, was limited. The second

[547] Krista Stine Greve Rasmussen "Reading or Using a Digital Edition? Reader Roles in Scholarly Editions" *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories and Practices* ed. Matthew James Driscoll and Elenea Peirazzo (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016), 129.

[548] "Welcome" Text Creation Partnership, https://textcreationpartnership.org/.

iteration of ECCO included additional support material, such as links to subsequent volumes or editions of texts, making it more of a hypertextual edition.

However, users have commented on how ECCO is unable to replicate the experience of seeing and touching the print edition of a historical text. Cassidy Holahan notes the digitized texts in ECCO include

> The book and pamphlets [that] have not only been converted into binary code – stored in remote, unseen servers – but also dismembered, the codices cut up into isolated single pages that require a website reload, rather than a flip of the page, to peruse. The manila colors of the eighteenth-century pages have been bleached white, the red-lettering of the title pages turned black, and the cover and binding removed, giving way to digital reproductions that are jarringly distinct from the look, feel, and weight of the original eighteenth-century editions.[549]

From Holahan's description, we can see that online databases like ECCO dramatically changed the way scholars experienced the archive. Online users are limited to seeing the versions of texts that librarians have scanned. In some cases, scans are accidentally missing pages, are wrongly ordered, or contain unreadable pages.[550] There are also scanned versions of texts that are abridged or revised versions, leaving out crucial text or images.

For example, ECCO has the revised version of *The Old Maid* from 1764 from the British Library, not the first edition of the periodical from 1755-56 (also housed at the British Library).

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[549] Cassidy Holahan, "Rummaging in the Dark: ECCO as Opaque Digital Archive" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54, no. 4 (2021): 803.

[550] Gale addressed this problem at ASECS 2022 announcing plans to re-scan all their primary documents for ECCO and their digital databases. They said that due to advances in technology, they should be able to correct many of the issues users have complained about.

For a scholar specializing in periodical research, these changes are significant. For example, the 1764 edition leaves out evidence of a real (not imagined) feedback loop. In the 1755-56 version, in issue 2, Mrs. Singleton responds to a letter written by Mr. Town published in issue number 95 of the periodical *The Connoisseur* (1745-55).[551] Mrs. Singleton claims that Mr. Town attacked her decision not to marry. She calls out Mr. Town for "attacking a woman unprovoked."[552] In the revised version of *The Old Maid*, the entire three-page response to Mr. Town is left out.[553] In its place is the following editorial note: "*The remaining part of this paper alluding to a passage in the Connoisseur, which is omitted in the last edition, would now be unintelligible; the Editor with pleasure destroys all traces of the dispute.*"[554] According to WorldCat, the British Library and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (University of Toronto) are the only libraries that hold copies of the first edition of *The Old Maid*. Scholars may ask why did librarians choose to only scan the 1764 rather than in addition to 1755-56 version of Brooke's periodical? Indeed, there are several versions of Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator* on ECCO. Contrastingly, there

[551] The specific number of *The Connoisseur* is provided by an annotation from John Orrery on his edition of *The Old Maid*, made available online by the librarians at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (Toronto) that have posted scans of the edition on the Internet Archive: "The Old Maid: Brooke, Frances" https://archive.org/details/oldmai00broo/page/6/mode/2up.

[552] Frances Brooke and Lord Orrery, *The Old Maid* (London: A. Millar, 1755-56), 10.

[553] For further discussion on Mr. Town's essay see Kathryn King "Manuscript, Print, and the Affective Turn: The Case of Frances Brooke's The Old Maid" in *After Print: Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Cultures*, ed. Rachael Scarborough King (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022), 175-194.

[554] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 13.

are only select numbers of *The Connoisseur* available through *British Periodicals* and *American Antiquarian Society* online databases (number 95 is not included).[555]

Another problem has been the lack of accessibility to the ECCO database, as it resides behind a very expensive pay-wall and was as such accessible only through wealthy institutional consortiums.[556] In 2014, Gale made the ECCO-TCP available to the public. The TCP is explained as "a proof of concept rather than a completed project."[557] It uses the raw data generated from the OCR. *18thConnect* (a site that brings together digital versions of primary eighteenth-century texts) collaborated with ECCO to launch a "crowd-source correction" of the TCP. The corrected TCP offers users a free-of-charge searchable plain text (without images such as printer ornaments or frontispieces) version of ECCO texts. Moreover, it paved the way for the creation of open-access digital editions of historical texts that offer users more functionality and hypertextuality, such as *The Lady's Museum Project* (2021) co-created by Kelly Plante and me.[558] We decided to launch our own modern edition of Charlotte Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* in order to centre and make available the works of an eighteenth-century female periodicalist. *The Lady's Museum Project* participates in the current trajectory of providing open-access digital

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[555] For further discussion on the challenges with researching with digital editions of eighteenth-century periodicals see James E. Tierney, "The State of Electronic Resources for the Study of Eighteenth-Century British Periodicals: The Role of Scholars, Librarians, and Commercial Vendors" *The Age of Johnson*, 21 (2011): 309-XIV.

[556] See Laura Mandell and Elizabeth Grumbach "The Business of Digital Humanities: Capitalism and Enlightenment" for further discussion of the "benefits" of scholars and libraries partnering with companies that digitally house "data" of historical texts. https://src-online.ca/index.php/src/article/download/226/448?inline=1.

[557] "Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) TCP" Text Creation Partnership, https://textcreationpartnership.org/tcp-texts/ecco-tcp-eighteenth-century-collections-online/.

[558] Kelly Pante and Karenza Sutton-Bennett, *The Lady's Museum Project* (June 2021) www.ladysmuseum.com.

editions, including scholarly and pedagogical contextual apparatus and resources. It builds on Oxford University's TCP transcription of the periodical's text from ECCO editions, contextualizing the periodical by categorizing and tagging articles for increased navigability, adding images from this visually stunning publication, and adding footnotes and introductory, contextual and scholarly essays. The site includes sample syllabi for instructors, with suggested assignments that will ask students to critically annotate articles and images from the periodical. It is a comprehensive site used by scholars researching and instructors teaching undergraduate and postgraduate students. Its aim is to provide users with a dynamic platform that provides readers side-by-side comparisons of the original text and the modernized edition.[559]

Projects like *The Lady's Museum Project* that utilize the corrected ECCO-TCP are what Siemens imagined as a "social edition" that invites users to edit and contribute content.[560] Our site is an example of a social edition as it demonstrates how users can participate in knowledge-building communities by inviting students to contribute to the site's scholarship by annotating articles and publishing critical essays. We have groups of volunteers that are submitting critical essays on topics covered in *The Lady's Museum,* recording audio versions of the periodical's issues, and providing glosses for the articles that are akin to the type of footnotes included in scholarly printed editions of eighteenth-century texts. Siemens envisioned "the *social edition* [as] process-driven, privileging interpretative changes based on the input of many readers; text is fluid, agency is collective, and many readers/editors, rather than single editor, shape what is

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[559] To learn more about the TCP partnership go to "FAQ" Text Creation Partnership, https://textcreationpartnership.org/faq/.

[560] Ray Siemens, M Timney, C Leitch, C Koolen, and A Garnett, "Toward Modeling the Social Edition: An Approach to Understanding the Electronic Scholarly Edition in the Context of New and Emerging Social Media." *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 27, no. 4 (2012): 476.

important and, thus, broaden the editorial lens as well as the breadth, depth, and scope of any edition produced in this way [emphasis is Siemens's]."[561] In this way, social editions echo the format of eighteenth-century women's periodicals that claimed to print contributors' letters, essays, and poems. In recent years, digital social editions have indeed become a reality, and they have helped facilitate a media shift from print to digital. Rasmussen notes that in contrast to the "locked in" print scholarly editions, "digital scholarly editions are seemingly incomplete, ambiguous objects; certainly, they can be frozen in the form of archived copies of the entire website, but in practice they are open to alteration in a much easier way than printed editions."[562] Indeed, digital scholarly editions can be more easily updated than printed ones. Collaborative editors (or volunteers, in the case of a social edition) can do routine updates to ensure digital editions reflect the latest scholarship.

I argue that social digital editions are a new type of counterpublic. They serve as alternative learning communities giving scholars, instructors, and general readers – without admittance to institutional consortiums – access to digitized historical texts. In this vein, they allow for instructors from smaller universities to teach undervalued historical texts in their classrooms.[563] As such, open-access digital humanities projects like *Lady's Museum Project*, *The Poetry of Gertrude More* (2020) and *The Pulter Project* (2021) re-emphasize the textual authority of marginalized female authors. Like eighteenth-century periodical readers, users of

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[561] Siemens, "Toward Modeling the Social Edition," 483.

[562] Rasmussen "Reading or Using a Digital Edition," 124.

[563] See Karenza Sutton-Bennett's and Susan Carlile's discussion in "Teaching the *Lady's Museum* and *Sophia* Imperialism, Early Feminism, and Beyond*"* in *Aphra Behn Online* (Spring 2022) on teaching Charlotte Lennox's *The Lady's Museum* using the ECCO-TCP and the new open-access edition of the periodical (*Lady's Museum Project*) at a Hispanic-serving institution without access to ECCO (California State University, Long Beach).

these sites have a shared interest in a historical text(s) of a specific author and can learn and share their knowledge with each other and future users.[564] Creators of these sites help to re-centre marginalized women authors by making their texts available to wider audiences and by encouraging readers to become contributors. These sites use feminist textual editing practices to recuperate the significance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century female authors and their texts. Digital sites provide instructors with supplementary material to encourage students to engage with the site in question, such as assignments that encourage students to participate in editorial annotation exercises. For that reason, social digital editions play a role comparable to that which eighteenth-century periodicals claimed to play in educating informal learners of the middling and lower ranks, which in turn helped to de-centre the elite academies by opening up who had access to intellectual information.

Social digital editions can also encourage the breakdown of gender stereotypes and emphasize the varied representations of women.[565] *The Warrior Women Project* (2020) is a digital critical edition that works in collaboration with English Broadside Ballads Archive (EBBA). The site is a result of a partnership between the EBBA and the English Department at Wayne State University. The site digitally archives 113 "Warrior Women" ballads that were part of a catalogue Diane Dugaw culminated for her book, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry: 1650-1880* (1989). The book examines different illustrations of "Warrior Women" – defined as

[564] As Warner notes, "a public is always in excess of its known social basis. It must be more than a list of one's friends. It must include strangers." *Publics and Counterpublics*, 74.

[565] See also Laurie E. Maguire "Feminist Editing and the Body of the Text," in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dympna Callaghan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 59-79; Valerie Wayne, "The Gendered Text and its Labour," in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Blackwell, 2015), 549-68.

women cross-dressed as military men – in several genres of early-modern literature (such as ballads, plays, and chapbooks). In 2020, a team of Wayne State graduate students mined Dugaw's "typewritten" archive to assemble and digitally publish the ballads that represent English "Warrior Women."[566] The archive includes ballads from England, Ireland, the North American colonies, and Imperial military sites around the world.[567] The project uses feminist textual practices to celebrate women, queer women, and gender performing women as warriors to dispel the stereotypical notion that to be a warrior was to be masculine.[568] Kate Ozment labels this practice "feminist bibliography," which she defines as "the use of bibliographic methodologies to revise how book history and related fields categorize and analyze women's texts and labor."[569] The practice of feminist bibliography is crucial because it helps to emphasize the importance of eighteenth-century female authors such as Charlotte Lennox and Frances Brooke beyond academic audiences. In so doing, it displays the significance of women as authors and editors of influential periodicals. It enables their work to be studied alongside or instead of male-penned periodicals.

Social digital editions echo the representations of the knowledge networks in eighteenth-century periodicals.[570] They use what Rasmussen identifies as three roles that readers can model

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[566] Simon Chess, "The Warrior Women Project." June 2020. https://s.wayne.edu/warriorwomen/.

[567] Chess, "The Warrior Women Project."

[568] For more information about the collaborative and social approaches that were used to build the digital critical edition see "Building the Warrior Women Project: Digital Humanities and a Broadside Ballad Archive" YouTube video, 25:51. Posted by "Mike Liffey" August 31, 2021. https://youtu.be/9V0x0JLxwJw.

[569] Kate Ozment, "Rationale for Feminist Bibliography" *Textual Cultures* 13, no. 1 (2020): 151.

[570] Eighteenth-century female-penned periodicals modelled a community-based approach in their editing practices. As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, Haywood represents *The Female Spectator* as being written by the

and play: a "reader, user, and co-worker."[571] First, the "reader" sees these digital edition sites "as reliable academic versions of literary works," just as in the eighteenth century, a middle-ranked reader of a periodical might have seen it as a reliable way to gain an informal education in intellectual or political topics. Second, the "user" of a digital edition is interested in the "intertextual context" of the site, clicking on the hyperlinks to understand "the relation between the work's numerous texts and versions, or on the relation between the work's own texts that explain or relate to the work."[572] This activity is not unlike that of the eighteenth-century "user," who read articles that contain cross-references to periodicals. For example, Brooke's *The Old Maid* (1755-56) replies to Johnson's *The Rambler*'s (1750-52) discussion of Virgil's the *Aeneid*. Mrs. Singleton tells her readers, "I look upon [*The Rambler* papers] as a model of writing, which does honor to our nation, and which must be always acceptable to the virtuous and the wise."[573] As such, a user may have read *The Rambler*'s letters on the *Aeneid* alongside *The Old Maid* to gain a deeper appreciation of Mrs. Singleton's comments. Finally, the "co-worker" of a digital edition wants to "contribute actively to the scholarly enterprise" by submitting a critical essay or glossing one of the edition's articles.[574] We can trace the role of "co-worker" back to the practices of eighteenth-century periodicals like *The Old Maid* and *The Lady's Magazine* (1770-1834) that called upon correspondents to send in essays, letters, and poems to be published in

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Female Spectator Club (Mira, Euphroysne, Widow of Quality and Mrs. Spectator). She describes them as "several members of the same body." (*Female Spectator*, 19). In the second issue, Mrs. Spectator describes bi-weekly meetings at which each member of the club plays a role in getting issues of the periodical produced.

[571] Rasmussen, "Reading or Using a Digital Edition," 126.

[572] Rasmussen, "Reading or Using a Digital Edition," 127.

[573] Brooke, *The Old Maid,* 54.

[574] Rasmussen "Reading or Using a Digital Edition," 127.

future editions. The role of the "co-worker" of a digital social edition or an eighteenth-century periodical aligns with Warner's theory that in publics, "strangers can be treated as already belonging to our world. More: they *must* be. We are routinely oriented to them in common life. They are a normal feature of the social [emphasis is Warner's]."[575] Indeed, we routinely interact with strangers through online communities and thereby gain the potential to learn from one another.[576]

Furthermore, an individual can be all three – reader, user, and co-worker – depending on what their intent is for reading a periodical or digital edition. In issue 14 of *The Old Maid*, for example, a "*constant reader, servant, and admirer, Johannes Amatissimus*" replies to a letter in the previous issue from Mrs. Singleton on the *Rambler*'s discussion of *Aeneid* [emphasis is Brooke's].[577] In so doing, Amatissimus enacts all three roles: he is first a "reader" of the Old Maid, then a "user" when he reads the corresponding *Rambler* essays, and finally a "co-worker" when he submits his own assessment of *Aeneid* to be published in the *Old Maid*. Comparatively,

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[575] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 75.

[576] Examples include Discord or Twitch, social media apps like Twitter, Instagram or TikTok, and in the no longer "imagined" digital social edition. A discipline-related example is the group Aphra Behn Online (ABO) that started "Write with Aphra" (WWA) in May 2020. Through Twitter, ABO invited academics of all levels within the long eighteenth-century field to support one another through the Covid-19 pandemic. A group of strangers shared resources, read each other's work, and held webinars on various research-related topics. Members within the WWA group organized a co-writing group that welcomes "strangers" to join. See Ashley Bender, Daniella Berman, Jenny Factor, Elizabeth Giardina, Catherine Keohane, Bénédicte Miyamoto, Kelly J. Plante, Elizabeth Porter, Bethany E. Qualls, Susannah B. Sanford, and Karenza Sutton-Bennett, "WWA Reflection: Continuing to #WriteWithAphra: A Year of Collegiality and Compassion," *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830* 11, no. 2 (2021), article 17. http://doi.org/10.5038/2157-7129.11.2.1285.

[577] Brooke, *The Old Maid*, 117.

a student who uses a digital edition can first read it as an assigned text for a class. They can then decide to become a user if they decide to click on the hyperlinks to start researching for an essay on the digital text. Finally, they can become a co-worker by submitting their essay for publication on the site. A real-life example is the use of co-workers in *The Pulter Project.* The editors of the site encourage its readers to submit "curations" that offer cultural or historical context for Hester Pulter's poems.[578]

The social digital editions discussed in this coda offer users ways to participate and gain professional experience by publishing their contextual, introductory, or scholarly essays, like eighteenth-century periodical editors' calls for reader submissions. The represented communities in eighteenth-century periodicals such as the ones discussed in the chapters of this thesis are thus realized in the present-day learning communities of digitized editions of historical texts. My work on this thesis is just one step on the path to emphasize the relevance of eighteenth-century female-penned periodicals. In the *Lady's Museum Project*, Kelly and I are among the many feminist scholars who are practicing intersectional feminism when studying the work of proto-feminist authors to help get them recognized and added to the canon of literature studied in twenty-first century classrooms.[579]

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[578] Leah Knight and Wendy Wall, gen. eds., "Curations" The Pulter Project: Poet in the Making (2018), https://pulterproject.northwestern.edu/#poems.

[579] See Susan Carlile, *Charlotte Lennox: An Independent Mind* (2018); Jason Farr, *Novel Bodies: Disability and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century British Literature* (2019); Caroline Koegler, "Deadly Desires, Dubious Pleasures – Grievability, Status, and the Subjection of Female Autonomy in Eliza Haywood's Love in Excess (1719)" *Women's Writing* 28, no. 1 (2021); Tonya L. Howe, "WWABD? Intersectional Futures in Digital History," *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830* 7 no. 2, (2017), Elizabeth Losh and Jacqueline Wernimont, *Bodies of*

Appendix

Fig. 1: Author of Issues (based on Lord Orrery's Annotations)[580]

Issue #	Author	Eidolon/Fictional Correspondents	Author Signature	Notes
1	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Background of Mrs. Singleton/ marriage
2	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Introduction of niece Julia
3	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	In defence of English authors and their poetry
4	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton, Stentor, T.S.	B.	Coffee house discussion over reception of *Old Maid*
5	Brooke	W.T., Mrs. Singleton	B.	Earthquake in Lisbon
6	Brooke?	Virginius, Tom. Bumper, Mrs. Singleton	B.	Masculine "Old Maids"
7	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Introduction of Julia's friend Rosara and story of Sylvia and Amoret, two sisters unlucky in love
8	Lord Orrery	Mrs. Singleton	L.C.	*Aeneid* in translation
9	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton, Cana Grepate, Marian Doubtful	B.	An old maid studying belles lettres and discussion over women marrying
10	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Discussion of sentiments in relation to the Romans and Greeks
11	Lord Orrery & Brooke	Hebe	L.C., B.	Value of sons over daughters, cautions about masquerades
12	Brooke?	T.W.	B.	Discussion of Milton borrowing from Beaumont and Fletcher
13	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton		Mrs. Singleton visits Foundling Hospital with Julia. Discussion on charity & parenting

Information: Intersectional Feminism and the Digital Humanities (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

[580] I collected data from Lord Orrery's annotations in his edition of *The Old Maid* (1755). The highlighted cells are my hypotheses of who wrote the issues based on my own examination of texts.

14	Lord Orrery	Johannes Amatissimus	L.C.	Correspondent responding to *Aeneid* letter in issue #7 and discusses the death the un-honourable death of Dido and Queen Amata
15	Brooke?	Mrs. Singleton, M.C.Thalestris, A Spectator	B.	Discussion on the reversal of gender roles in marriage
16	Gifford?	Your Real Admirer		Hair dressing trends
17	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton & Martha English	B.	Moral behaviour or women and discussion of the use of Latin in issue 16 as an impediment for many readers
18	Lord Orrery & Brooke	Mrs. Singleton, S.P.		Discussion of Tate's *King Lear* with Barry and comparison of his acting to Garrick & coffee house discussion on typos in periodical and who is to blame, editor or printer
19	Brooke	Well Wisher, Mrs. Singleton	B.	Discussion of Saracen History
20	Lord Orrery	Mrs. Singleton, Charles Bellville	L.C.	Letter on how women can engage in discussion with men in topics of history and politics
21	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Julia and Rosara narrative and discussion of marriages
22	Mr. Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Discussion of religion: Catholic versus Anglican
23	James Robertson?[581]	Abigail Easy	J.R.	Gender relations & singleness
24	Lord Orrery	Sarah Whispercomb	L.C.	Reading and education "ruined" a young lady
25	Rev. Brooke?	A.D., Mrs. Singleton		Praise for *Old Maid* in coffee houses, concern for starving/under appreciated clergy
26	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Praise for *The Rambler* and theatre reviews (including Shakespeare's Henry VIII)

[581] Based on Kathryn King's hypothesis that James Robertson was a possible contributor to the periodical. "Frances Brooke, Editor," 342, 349, 351, 354.

27	Gifford	an Antigallican		History lessons of the Romans in the context of the current French/English war
28	Orrery	Mrs. Singleton,	L.C.	Julia and Rosara narrative continued
29	Lord Orrery	Mrs. Singleton,		Julia and Rosara narrative continued
30	Gifford	An Antigallican		French/English war and women's role in the fight continued
31	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Critique of education for English children and lack of liberal arts taught
32	Brooke	F.S.		Discussion of a new Christian religion for tradespeople and old maids
33	Gifford	An Antigallican		French/English war and women's role in the fight conti.
34	Lord Orrery	Elenora Hartingley	L.C.	Response to Antigallican with further encouragement for women to join in the fight against the French
35	Brooke	Mrs. Singelton	B.	More discussion of the Seven Year's War
36	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton, Jack Eitherside, T. Lyric	B.	Ancients vs. Moderns
37	Brooke	Mrs. Singleton	B.	Suspending paper because of the Seven Year's War

Fig. 2: Developing Canon of Modern English Authors[582]

First Name	**Last Name**	**Birth**	**Death**	**Author Time Period**	***MSS English Classicks***	***Old Maid's* Mottos**	**William Winstanley *Lives of the most Famous English Poets (1687)*** [583]	**Giles Jacob *Poetical Register* (1719-20)** [584]	**Samuel Johnson *The Ephemeral Lives of Poets* (1779-81)** [585]
Joseph	Addison	1672	1719	Rest/ Geo		x		x	X
Mark	Arkenside	1721	1770	Geo	x	x			X
John	Armstrong	1708	1779	Geo	x				
Francis	Bacon	1561	1626	Ren		x			
Samuel	Butler	1613	1680	Rest		x			X
Elizabeth	Carter	1717	1806	Geo	x				
William	Congreve	1670	1729	Rest/ Geo		x		x	X
John	Donne	1572	1631	Ren	x		x	x	
John	Dryden	1631	1701	Rest	x	x	x	x	X
Anne	Finche	1661	1720	Rest/ Geo	x				
Philip	Francis	1708	1773	Geo		x			
Richard	Glover	1712	1785	Geo	x				
Thomas	Gray	1716	1771	Geo	x	x			X
Samuel	Johnson	1709	1781	Rest/ Geo	x				
David	Mallet	1701	1765	Rest/ Geo	x				X
John	Mason	1706	1763	Rest/ Geo	x				X
John	Milton	1608	1674	Ren/ Rest		x	x	x	X
Thomas	Otway	1652	1685	Rest		x		x	X

[582] Time period of authors are as follows: Ren = Renaissance (1554-1642), Rest = Restoration/Stuarts (1660-1713), Geo= Georgian (1714-1830).

[583] William Winstanley, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, or, The Honour of Parnassus in a Brief Essay of the Works and Writings of above Two Hundred of Them, from the Time of K. William the Conqueror to the Reign of His Present Majesty, King James II* (London: Printed by H. Clark for Samuel Manship), 1687.

[584] Giles Jacob, *The Poetical Register or, the Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets. With an Account of Their Writings (*London: printed for E. Curll, in Fleetstreet, 1719).

[585] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of Poets,* ed. W. J. Ed. John H. Middendorf (Three Volumes) (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

Alexander	Pope	1688	1744	Rest/ Geo		x		x	X
Matthew	Prior	1664	1721	Rest/ Geo		x		x	X
Nicholas	Rowe	1674	1718	Rest/ Geo		x		x	
William	Shakespeare	1564	1616	Ren		x	x	x	
Thomas	Warton	1728	1790	Geo	x				
Gilbert	West	1703	1756	Geo	x				x
William	Whitehead	1715	1785	Geo	x				
Edward	Young	1683	1765	Rest/ Geo	x	x		x	x

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