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University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of English

**Criss-Crossing the Channel: Women's Educational Discourse in Britain and France,
1750-1820**

by

Alastair Ebenezer Dawson

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2021

University of Southampton

Abstract

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Women's writing and education in the eighteenth century have received extensive critical attention in recent decades, particularly in Anglo-American literature and criticism, but also increasingly in Europe. Indeed, it can be argued that the field of women's literary studies in the period is now moving beyond recovery, and into territory that raises new questions. Placing itself at the moving edge of this field by interrogating new and recovered material, this thesis addresses a gap in the current body of academic work on women's educational literary output, exploring the connections and discourses between women writers of the period in the context of cross-Channel exchange and migration (whether books, ideas, language, or people). While current scholarship has made the case for women-led and women-centred educational debates, in this thesis I claim that these discourses are influenced – implicitly and explicitly – by the cross-Channel dialogue between such women. Structured by way of a series of case studies of British and French authors and works, I demonstrate the active and serious engagement of these women with both domestic and foreign instructive publications. Often used as a foil to contrast differing national attitudes to education, particularly in the tumultuous political context at the turn of the century, these women were able to use reception and translation as effective tools to influence the direction of the education debate.

The corpus for this thesis – pedagogical non-fiction, periodical publications, moral tales, and personal manuscripts – deliberately places my arguments outside of the more common academic engagement with novels. I consider women's pedagogical productions under four headings: texts for educators, texts for educatees (explicitly not always children), private educational writing, and women's involvement in periodical publication networks. An examination of contemporary reception, both at home and abroad, underpins the thesis argument. Made possible precisely because of the foreign nature of the target texts, I use close readings of translated educational work, especially that of Maria Edgeworth, Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, and Louise d'Épinay, to demonstrate how women's engagement with a cross-Channel publishing industry provides them with the means to address, alter, and adjust the output of their contemporaries to fit within national or gendered discourses. I also explore the creation of an international discourse resulting directly from such cross-Channel engagement. In my consideration of manuscript material in particular, I claim that women's engagement with cross-Channel debates on pedagogy is as intensive as it is extensive, that documentary evidence reveals a considered response to pertinent foreign publications as much as it does a wide-ranging yet cursory one.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Alastair Ebenezer Dawson

Title of thesis: Criss-Crossing the Channel: Women's Educational Discourse in Britain and France, 1750-1820

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: Date:.....

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Note on the Text

French Language

In pursuit of accessibility, I have provided English translations for all French quotations used in pursuit of my argument. Unless otherwise stated, such translations are my own. Original French text is reproduced either in square brackets within the body, or in footnotes, depending on the length of quotation. Where translations are particularly subjective or open to interpretation, I have given the French word immediately following my translation. In rare cases I have left words in the original French where a direct translation is not possible, or might be misleading; an explanation for these can be found in the accompanying footnote. In the case of titles of works in French, I have provided an English translation immediately following the first reference where comprehension is important.

Quotations

I have preserved eighteenth-century spelling and punctuation in quoted material, noting discrepancies only where a spelling is not a common eighteenth-century variant.

Introduction

I have made some alterations since Mr Addison did me the honour of a visit; I am now advanced further into the vale of life, and have discarded most of my romances, with all my male authors. [...] You fancy my library must be reduced to a small compass; but look round and tell me, for the honour of our sex, whether there are not female publications sufficient for a female's perusal. ¹

Writing to the editor of the *Lady's Magazine* (1771-1832) in 1778, 'Pratilla' describes a dream-vision of a Ladies' Library modelled on that which she has read about in Joseph Addison's *Spectator* (1711-12). The key distinction of this library compared to its initial incarnation is the revised contents based on the taste of a more mature woman. Far from the empty shelves that removing male authors is imagined to occasion, Pratilla finds an abundance of women writers who meet with approval. Although the name 'Pratilla' is clearly a pseudonym – as yet unidentified – this imagined library contains an extensive list of female authors living and dead, including Catharine Macaulay (1731-91), Elizabeth Griffith (1727-93), Sarah Pennington (d. 1783), Hester Chapone (1727-1801), Anna-Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), Hannah More (1745-1833), Mary Pilkington (1761-1839), and Jane Seymour (1803-89) (among others), many of whom are considered in the course of this thesis. Thus 'Pratilla' begins the work that this thesis continues, placing disparate women in conversation with one another, with their readers, and highlighting the connections between them. With well-stacked shelves emphasising the wealth of female-authored material available for study, 'Pratilla' demonstrates that it is not only modern readers who sought to collect, connect, and curate a corpus of women's writing.

This dream reminds the present reader that creating a woman-centred library is part of a venerable tradition of proto-feminist and feminist projects. One might think here of work by Mary Astell (1666-1731) and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97) at either end of the eighteenth century, Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles (1647-1733) (better known as the Marquise de Lambert) or indeed Olympe de Gouges (1748-93) in France, or more recently Virginia Woolf's (1882-1941) *A Room of One's Own* in 1929. It has been the stated aim of the feminist recovery project across the past several decades. As a result of this extensive work, scholarly publications on women writers of the eighteenth century are now commonplace. Their own works have been

¹ 'To the Editor of the *Lady's Magazine*', *Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Female Sex* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1778), ix, pp. 20-23 (pp. 21-22).

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made widely available through scholarly editions, and there are many scholarly monographs, edited collections of essays, and journal articles on their writings.

Work in the latter half of the twentieth century by scholars such as Ellen Moers, Elaine Showalter, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, and – for the eighteenth century – Margaret Ezell, did much of the heavy lifting of the early recovery movement, placing an explicit emphasis on early British women writers as a collective group worthy of study.² The current project seeks to extend this effort beyond British women and into France, where feminist criticism has developed with what Toril Moi terms a “‘heavy” intellectual profile’ that focuses on the theoretical, and only rarely dips into feminist literary criticism.³ Thus, Anglo-American criticism has stepped in to fill some of these gaps, as in Joan DeJean’s exploration of the women and the origin of the novel in France, and Joan Hinde Stewart’s work on French women writers.⁴ Accordingly, critics sought to create a feminist theoretical framework in which literary criticism might occur, acknowledging that feminist critique or reading is essentially a ‘mode of interpretation’ that would benefit from structural parameters.⁵ The resulting framework permitted a gradual expansion of research. Later work could then branch into more specific studies such as Kathryn Shevelow’s consideration of print culture, Cheryl Turner’s examination of women making a living from their writing, or George Justice and Nathan Tinker’s edited collection on women’s involvement in manuscript circulation.⁶ Other work has focussed variously on poetry, such as Paula Backscheider’s interrogation of women poets and agency, or on the reality of women’s lives in Amanda Vickery and Olwen Hufton’s work, while Elizabeth Eger’s edited collection takes women’s participation in the public sphere for its subject, and Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch explore women’s connections to

² Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (London: W. H. Allen, 1977); *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*, ed. by Elaine Showalter (London: Virago, 1985); Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women’s Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

³ Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics*, New Accents (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 96.

⁴ Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Joan Hinde Stewart, *Gynographs: French Novels by Women of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Joan Hinde Stewart, *The Enlightenment of Age: Women, Letters and Growing Old in Eighteenth-Century France*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 9 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010).

⁵ Elaine Showalter, cited in Moi, p. 77.

⁶ Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992); *Women’s Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550-1800*, ed. by George L. Justice and Nathan Tinker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

social progress.⁷ Interim studies like that from Susan Staves, and Vivien Jones' anthology, have revised the work of those early scholars, re-evaluating the state of women's literary studies after the millennium.⁸ Indeed, the field has expanded to encompass writing in genres of more questionable (less literary) contemporary and modern status; life writing in particular is the subject for Daniel Cook and Amy Culley's collection, with Catriona Seth's *La Fabrique de l'Intime* [*Creating Intimacy*] (2013) providing the French counterpart.⁹ The increasing acknowledgement of the extensive role women played in publishing, first seriously considered almost half a century ago by Alison Adburgham, is newly interrogated in both Paula McDowell's London-centric monograph and Jennie Batchelor and Manushag Powell's recent volume exploring women's involvement in periodical print culture.¹⁰ Scholarship of women's writing has advanced so quickly that Susan Staves' 2006 publication considering women's writing in Britain between 1660 and 1789 appears again in 2015 under an almost identical title, but this time as a collection of essays edited by Catherine Ingrassia.¹¹

In such a crowded and diverse field, more recent work has begun to ask questions about the future of the recovery movement. 'Women's writing' is, perhaps, no longer a sufficiently narrow category of distinction – certainly, it can only ever be an umbrella term in modern scholarship. While the early interventions of Moers and Ezell participated in a discussion on a smaller scale where the distinction of gender was a sufficient departure from the mainstream, the academic landscape has now shifted, allowing (and encouraging) a flourishing of more specialist studies, some of which I mention above. A defence of the field, and some pertinent thoughts on

⁷ Paula Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, Yale Nota Bene (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (London: Fontana Press, 1997); *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere: 1700-1830*, ed. by Elizabeth Eger and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, ed. by Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, *Women and Men in History* (London: Pearson Education, 2000).

⁸ Susan Staves, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *Women and Literature in Britain: 1700-1800*, ed. by Vivien Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁹ *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship*, ed. by Daniel Cook and Amy Culley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Catriona Seth, *La Fabrique de l'Intime: Mémoires et Journaux de Femmes Du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2013).

¹⁰ Alison Adburgham, *Women in Print: Writing Women & Womens Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1972); Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, *The Edinburgh History of Women's Periodical Culture in Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

¹¹ *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1660-1789*, ed. by Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

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its future, are the subject of Devoney Looser's article in 2009 – a demonstration of the difficulties still facing the study of women's literary history.¹² What, then, and where, is the future for the women's recovery movement? Two edited collections, that from Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow, and from Robin Runia, make this question a central theme of their scholarship; both titles refer to future(s) explicitly.¹³ These publications also begin to address a previous lack of internationality in studies of women's literatures. Whilst not the primary subject of either collection, Kate Parker's essay considers recovery in the context of Anglo-French translation and Gillian Dow takes a pan-European approach in her essay on women's biography.¹⁴

However, this internationalisation remains largely an Anglo-American endeavour – French women have not benefitted in the same way as their British counterparts. Some attention has been paid to the link between Britain and France in considerations of the famous Bluestocking Circle, and their debt to, or influenced status from, their French *salonnière* counterpart and predecessors, such as in the work of Sylvia Harcstark Myers and, more broadly, Lawrence Stone, among many others.¹⁵ Despite recent publications with an international focus among French scholars – indicated in the literature review below – there are still very canonical approaches to French literature being published that remind the reader of the teaching anthologies Lagarde et Michard of the mid-twentieth century. Brian Nelson's *Cambridge Introduction to French Literature* lists only one French woman in its chapter titles, [Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne] Madame de Lafayette (1634-93).¹⁶ Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis (1746-1830), Jeanne-Marie LePrince de Beaumont (1711-80), Louise d'Épinay (1726-83) and Germaine de Staël (1766-1817) are all significant omissions from his survey of eighteenth-century literature and thought, and there are many other absentees from earlier and later periods. While the text's introductory nature offers some protection against this oversight, the disregard for female authors in France betrays the

¹² Devoney Looser, 'Why I'm Still Writing Women's Literary History', *Minnesota Review*, 71–72, 2009, 220–27.

¹³ *Women's Writing 1660-1830: Feminisms and Futures*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *The Future of Feminist Eighteenth-Century Scholarship: Beyond Recovery*, ed. by Robin Runia (New York: Routledge, 2018).

¹⁴ Kate Parker, 'Recovery and Translation in Cross-Channel Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing', in *The Future of Feminist Eighteenth-Century Scholarship: Beyond Recovery*, ed. by Robin Runia (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 131–48; Gillian Dow, 'The "Biographical Impulse" and Pan-European Women's Writing', in *Women's Writing 1660-1830: Feminisms and Futures*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Gillian Dow (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 203–23.

¹⁵ Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, abridged and revised edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979); See also *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738-1785*, ed. by Gary Kelly, 6 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999).

¹⁶ Brian Nelson, *Cambridge Introduction to French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

state of the field more generally. Indeed the reference to Lafayette as ‘Madame de’ reveals the larger problems apparent in much French criticism. Lamenting precisely this issue in 1991, Joan DeJean noted that ‘unsuspecting readers would miss a good number of [a] library’s holdings’ in searching only for a ‘Madame de’, further complaining that ‘in all Western traditions, great writers are known by family name alone; dominant usage in French suggests that women writers are ladies first.’¹⁷ Despite advances on a great many fronts for studies on women’s writing since the 1990s, Isabelle Brouard-Arends’s 2006 edition of *Adèle et Théodore* still refers to the author as ‘Madame de’ Genlis.¹⁸ Giving her full name only on the first page of the introduction, Brouard-Arends then lapses into French convention, prefixing all subsequent references with the feminising title. In this thesis, I adopt the Anglo-American convention of referring to authors solely by their surname, regardless of gender, whilst recognising that this convention is still not universal.

There are, nonetheless, some early works that do consider women’s writing from an explicitly European angle, extending back almost twenty years. Two such early examples are Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever’s *The Literary Channel* (2002) and Mary Helen McMurrin’s monograph, *The Spread of Novels* (2010), though both focus primarily on novels, and their consideration of women’s writing is limited.¹⁹ More extensive examinations are found in Suzan van Dijk et al.’s exploration of female-authored publications crossing the Dutch border, while Alessa Johns offers a reading of Anglo-German interactions, and Hilary Brown gives a detailed account of the German writer Benedikte Naubert’s (1756-1819) engagement with British culture.²⁰ Indeed, Johns gives a powerful example of the potential for transnational approaches to the study of eighteenth-century figures in her consideration of the Bluestocking circle.²¹ A gradual broadening of the geographical interest in early women’s writing is noted in Anke Gilleir and Alicia Montoya’s introduction to *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back* (2010). While this increasing interest is welcomed, the authors lament that despite the re-evaluation of a number of authors and works occasioned by such attention, these works ‘often remain traditional

¹⁷ DeJean, pp. 2; 3.

¹⁸ *Adèle et Théodore*, ed. by Isabelle Brouard-Arends (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006).

¹⁹ *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel*, ed. by Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Mary Helen McMurrin, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

²⁰ ‘I Have Heard about You’. *Foreign Women’s Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf*, ed. by Suzan van Dijk and others (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004); Alessa Johns, *Bluestocking Feminism and British-German Cultural Transfer, 1750-1837* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Hilary Brown, *Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) and Her Relations to English Culture*, MHRA Texts and Dissertations (London: Maney Publishing for the MHRA, 2005), LXIII.

²¹ Alessa Johns, ‘Bluestocking Studies 2011-2017: The Transnational Turn’, *Literature Compass*, 14.11 (2017) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12426>>.

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in the sense that authors are almost always considered within the limits of a single nation or language area.²² In this thesis I actively work to expand that tradition beyond the confines of monolingualism and monoculturalism.

Encouragingly, as interdisciplinarity becomes more popular within the academy, studies with European foci are gradually becoming more common. Diego Saglia's 2019 monograph, *European Literatures in Britain, 1815-1832* draws attention to the extensive cross-cultural interactions between Britain and continental Europe in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, with a particular interest in translation.²³ Gillian Dow's edited volume, *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators* (2007), explores the role of women writers as cultural mediators, with essays on writers from right across Europe.²⁴ A further, subsequent, publication in the same series expands this examination of women's role to explore the networks they created to facilitate discussion and cross-cultural exchange, though its date-range is much wider than my thesis.²⁵ In France and Switzerland, two other collections consider women writers as agents 'at the crossroads' of languages, and as authors with varying degrees of (in)visibility who deserve consideration.²⁶ These studies provide a valuable contextual and theoretical framework in which this thesis is situated, but they do not themselves offer insights into writings on women's education.

Reconsidering, then, the state of the field from an educational viewpoint rather than a women's writing one, the pattern remains rather similar – problematic attempts to move to a female-centred corpus, or single-nation approaches. Considerations of education in the eighteenth century are almost always dominated by references to men such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) or John Locke (1632-1704).²⁷ Where women are considered, they frequently appear alongside, or only in comparison to, these men.²⁸ There are exceptions to this, of course.

²² *Women Writing Back / Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era*, ed. by Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk, *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 2.

²³ Diego Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain, 1815-1832: Romantic Translations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

²⁴ *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*, ed. by Gillian Dow, *European Connections*, 25 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007).

²⁵ *Readers, Writers, Salonnières: Female Networks in Europe, 1700-1900*, ed. by Hilary Brown and Gillian Dow, *European Connections*, 31 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011).

²⁶ *Femmes Écrivains/Women Writers: At the Crossroads of Languages, 1700-2000*, ed. by Agnese Fidecaro and others (Genève: MetisPresses, 2009); *Fémin|in|visible: Women Authors of the Enlightenment*, ed. by Angela Sanmann, Martine Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère, and Valérie Cossy (Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire de Lausanne, 2018).

²⁷ I refer here predominantly to Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'Éducation* (1762).

²⁸ See, for example, the discussions in Mary Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment: Women Writers Read Rousseau* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997); Eileen Hunt Botting, *Family Feuds: Wollstonecraft, Burke, and Rousseau on the Transformation of the Family* (Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 2006); Simon Swift, *Romanticism, Literature and Philosophy: Expressive Rationality in Rousseau, Kant, Wollstonecraft and Contemporary Theory*, *Continuum Literary Studies* (London: Continuum,

Building on important work by Marilyn Butler, Susan Manly, and Janet Todd (among others) on women writers like Maria Edgeworth and Mary Wollstonecraft, Rebecca Davies' book on written maternal authority in Britain convincingly argues that women's status as mothers was an important foundation on which to build further authority on education.²⁹ Dena Goodman has written extensively on the centrality of women to France's Republic of Letters, noting the tensions between the recognition of their necessity and discomfort with that recognition, while Clare Brant explores letter writing in a British cultural setting.³⁰ More recently, Emmanuelle Chapron's new book on school books and children's literature in eighteenth-century France eschews author-based categorisations, though it retains a single-nation approach.³¹ I must clarify these statements with a caveat; though the first few works I reference here do not attempt to omit these men from their discussions, this is not a failing of those projects. It is not my intention to criticise their inclusion of the masculine. Rather, I use them as evidence of a wider phenomenon, noted thirty years ago by Janie Vanpée. Taking Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'Éducation* [*Emile, or on Education*](1762) as her subject, Vanpée argues that 'the controversial work that originally sparked violent debate has slipped instead into the quiet realm of history.'³² Going further, she writes

Today we tend to read *Emile* as a fundamental document in the history of pedagogy or of literature, to trace the sources and influences of Rousseau's pedagogical and literary ideas, to mark the work's place in his philosophy, or to situate it in the philosophical tradition of the period. The work has been reduced to a cultural artefact, important to

2006). See also Stephen Bygrave, *Uses of Education: Readings in Enlightenment England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009) though it is noteworthy that a full chapter is devoted to an exploration of women's writing on education. Equally, these men are not to be found in *Femmes Éducatrices Au Siècle Des Lumières*, ed. by Isabelle Brouard-Arends and Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007) but Rousseau still appears in two of the essays herein by dint of his connections to Louise d'Épinay. In the second instance, he arrives only in the final paragraph, an afterthought whose omission, I suggest, could have allowed the women considered to stand alone. This is also true in Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780-1832*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), where the fourth chapter, explicitly on women, immediately pits Wollstonecraft against Rousseau.

²⁹ Rebecca Davies, *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain; Educating by the Book* (Farnham: Routledge, 2014). Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); Janet Todd, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Revolutionary Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000).

³⁰ Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009); Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

³¹ Emmanuelle Chapron, *Livres d'école et Littérature de Jeunesse En France Au XVIIIe Siècle*, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2 (Oxford: Liverpool University Press, 2021).

³² Janie Vanpée, 'Rousseau's *Emile* Ou de l'éducation: A Resistance to Reading', *Yale French Studies*, Reading the Archive: On Texts and Institutions, 77, 1990, 156–76 (p. 158).

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be sure in the history of ideas, but denied its continuing power as a text to affect its audience.³³

Can, then, modern scholars be held accountable for such frequent evocations of Rousseau and his *Émile* if it is the fundamental document Vanpée suggests? Well, actually, I think the answer is yes. One of the aims of this thesis is to divest the male voice of its primacy in the eighteenth-century education debate, to privilege the female discourse above its masculine counterpart. This begins by altering the starting point for the consideration of texts, acknowledging that a 'fundamental document' is not the same as a factual account, that tracing 'sources and influences' is an inexact art, and that modern visibility is not synonymous with contemporary dominance. While Vanpée is not, here, arguing for a removal of Rousseau from educational discourse, merely a restoration of his work to its status as a text, her argument does provide a useful springboard. Rousseau's influence on eighteenth-century educational discourse is significant, as a wealth of scholarship demonstrates, but it is not the only influence. The ramifications of this critical position I discuss under my section on methodology.

I turn now to the work on women's educational writing that does privilege women's voices in a multi-nation context. Though I noted the pitfalls of male comparison in Isabelle Brouard-Arends and Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval's edited volume above, it nonetheless devotes a five-essay section to a consideration of French-European educational transfer.³⁴ Wollstonecraft's pedagogical theories are examined by Helje Poreé, Katherine Astbury looks to French women educators in London during the French Revolution, and Gillian Dow explores the French connections in the works of Maria Edgeworth.³⁵ One of the most extraordinary discoveries in the field is the extensive correspondence between Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis and the Englishwoman Margaret Chinnery (1764-1840), collected and edited by Denise Yim.³⁶ Barely a handful of accounts exist detailing attempts to implement the educational precepts of contemporary authors, and the Chinnery-Genlis exchange remains almost unique in providing evidence of a

³³ Vanpée, p. 158.

³⁴ Brouard-Arends and Plagnol-Diéval, pp. 319–78.

³⁵ Helje Porré, 'Que La Raison Règne - Les Théories Éducatives de Mary Wollstonecraft', in *Femmes Éducatrices Au Siècle Des Lumières*, ed. by Isabelle Brouard-Arends and Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), pp. 357–64; Katherine Astbury, 'Les Éducatrices Françaises à Londres Pendant La Révolution', in *Femmes Éducatrices Au Siècle Des Lumières*, ed. by Isabelle Brouard-Arends and Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), pp. 347–56; Gillian Dow, 'Maria Edgeworth, Éducatrice, et Ses Gouvernantes Françaises', in *Femmes Éducatrices Au Siècle Des Lumières*, ed. by Isabelle Brouard-Arends and Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), pp. 333–46.

³⁶ *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery: And Related Documents in the Chinnery Family Papers*, ed. by Denise Yim, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003).

literary correspondence between the writer and the devotee. Taking a wider view of cross-Channel education is Christina de Bellaigue, whose monograph gives an extensive account of women's educational practice post-1800. Largely eschewing fictional representations of women's education, Bellaigue offers a compelling counter to preconceived notions of women educators as 'inexperienced and untrained amateurs', marshalling state rulings, national census data, advertisements, and memoirs to evidence her argument.³⁷ In *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France* (2007), Nadine Bérenguier engages with prescriptive and proscriptive literature for young women; here, the work is cross-Channel not by consideration of British authors, but by consideration of French authors in exile during or after the French Revolution.³⁸ This is an important distinction, outlined more fully in my theoretical framework below. Cross-Channel women's educational discourse is not confined solely to books and their translations, though this is, undoubtedly, one of the most significant elements of that cultural transfer. The movement is one of people – authors, yes, but also readers – personal connections, influences and inspirations, historical events; the methods of transfer are many.

This thesis, then, imagines a new iteration of the Ladies' Library that is able to encompass this variety; it is explicitly international, and collects the work of women writers working across linguistic and cultural borders. Focussing on publications that deal with women's education in Britain and France – the area of scholarship in which I have identified a gap – this library encompasses theoretical treatises and practical guides, periodicals and reviews, and manuscripts and correspondence. Choosing authors and texts with clear cross-Channel connections and influences, it evidences an extensive female-centred network revolving around Anglo-French women's pedagogical discourse. In support of this broad imagining of a network, I employ key concepts from social network theory – outlined below – which underpin the connections which this thesis brings to light.

Theoretical Framework

Constructing a Network

The network considered by this thesis is highly varied. It covers obvious connections through translation and correspondence, but it also seeks to uncover less visible connections and comparisons that might be made due to mutual influence, similar contexts, or other less-

³⁷ Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 231.

³⁸ Nadine Bérenguier, *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

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quantifiable features. To do so, I turn to the field of social network theory to provide a framework in which I situate the case studies which follow across this thesis. Indeed, social network theory has already been used by scholars of the eighteenth century to great effect. A comprehensive overview of the evolution of the field is found in the introduction to Ileana Baird's edited collection *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries* (2014), and the third part of this collection is dedicated to Pan-European and Transatlantic networks.³⁹ Key to my conceptualisation of a cross-Channel network is the idea of influence, a slippery term that requires immediate definition. Here, I turn to Peter Marsden and Noah Freidkin's work on network studies of social influence. Under their usage,

Influence does not require face-to-face interaction; indeed, the only precondition for social influence is information (which allows social comparison) about the attitudes or behaviours of other actors. Influence does not require deliberate or conscious attempts to modify actors' attitudes or behaviours.⁴⁰

I am conscious here that, initially, I have defined influence by what it does not entail or require, rather than what it does. What forms, then, might influence take? Marsden and Friedkin offer 'relations of authority, identification, expertise, and competition' as a non-exhaustive list of possibilities, all of which appear across my corpus.⁴¹ Two key processes of influence that I wish to add in my own conceptualisation of the network are mediation and transformation, both largely realised through translation (linguistic and/or cultural).

However, there remains a question here about causation. Influence, as used above and in this thesis, may not require face-to-face interaction, but there must still be a demonstrable causality, or some level of active participation. Charles Kadushin offers a useful way to think around this issue, suggesting three possible models of personal influence:

(1) The recipient solicits the influencer(s) for advice; (2) the influencer actively attempts to persuade the recipient to take the action or make the decision or simply informs the recipient; (3) the influencer serves as a model – uses the product or has an opinion about it but is not directly connected to the recipient.⁴²

³⁹ Ileana Baird, *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

⁴⁰ Peter V. Marsden and Noah E. Friedkin, 'Network Studies of Social Influence: Research in the Social and Behavioural Sciences', in *Advances in Social Network Analysis* (London: Sage, 1994), pp. 3–25 (p. 4).

⁴¹ Marsden and Friedkin, pp. 3–4.

⁴² Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 141.

Providing a typology of influence based on the first two possibilities, Kadushin gives four outcomes: passive, informed, persuaded, and convinced. Each of these four possibilities represents a different form of influence, and would imply a variation in the recipient's response. Responding to his criticism that studies on diffusion and personal influence are often unclear on which of these situations has taken place, I attempt to make this distinction in my own analysis as a way of partially categorising the readers and writers I consider. In line with my requirement for a level of active participation, I am less concerned with the passive influence Kadushin defines, where neither party makes an active effort in the exchange. However, this passive influence often leads to the active pursuit or creation of a network, and thus such instances do appear across the breadth of my case studies.

Influence, then, is the primary concept through which I build a network in this thesis. Defined broadly, this theoretical framework nonetheless places specific requirements on its actors in the form of participation or mediation. Importantly, this framework also permits the linking of numerous smaller networks through central, shared figures – figures who are *not necessarily* a central part of either group. A particularly prominent example is found in Sarah Trimmer, whose accepted authority and expertise, combined with her mediation of educational texts, places her in a position of influence in reader and writer networks alike. While Trimmer's periodical is considered in detail in chapter four, I highlight her case here to demonstrate the obvious synergy between concepts of social network theory and the eighteenth-century periodical – in essence, a constructed social space in which networks are both formed and transformed.

Moreover, Trimmer (and many other periodical editors) serves a crucial role in the concept of weak ties, famously explored by Mark Granovetter in his 1973 article, 'The Strength of Weak Ties'.⁴³ Focussing on holes in a network, weak ties permit the linking of two otherwise disparate networks through a shared figure – a figure central to the primary network, but a mere acquaintance in the connected network. This connection can be reciprocal, and information can flow in both directions along such a tie. The clearest articulation of Granovetter's theoretical concept is found in his decade-later reprise:

The overall social structural picture suggested by this argument can be seen by considering the situation of some arbitrarily selected individual – call him Ego. Ego will have a collection of close friends, most of whom are in touch with one another – a

⁴³ Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78.6 (1973), 1360–80; Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited', in *Social Structure and Network Analysis*, ed. by Peter V. Marsden and N. Linn (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1982).

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densely knit clump of social structure. Moreover, Ego will have a collection of acquaintances, few of whom know one another. Each of these acquaintances, however, is likely to have close friends in his own right and therefore to be enmeshed in a closely knit clump of social structure, but one different from Ego's. The weak tie between Ego and his acquaintance, therefore, becomes not merely a trivial acquaintance tie but rather a crucial bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close friends [...] These clumps would not, in fact, be connected to one another at all were it not for the existence of weak ties.⁴⁴

Evidentially, weak ties help to integrate social systems and structures; they have the power to connect networks that would otherwise be impeded by differences of race, ethnicity, geography, or other characteristics (language, for instance).

However, a few caveats are needed to avoid an over implementation of this theoretical approach. Firstly, while weak ties provide the possibility of information flow, Granovetter is quick to stress that 'this does not preclude the possibility that most weak ties have no such function'. Secondly, under this definition something must flow through these ties – the bridge between the two networks must provide 'information and influence to groups they otherwise would not get', and thirdly, such information must be of relevance, or 'play some important role in the social life of individuals, groups, and societies.'⁴⁵ Finally, as the name weak ties suggests, the flow of information must not be so costly that a stronger tie would be more effective in making the bridge. By way of an example in an eighteenth-century educational context, if a mother knows of a good governess looking for employment, but does not need her services for her herself, then there is very little cost to her passing along the information to an acquaintance (along a weak tie). Were she to be looking for a governess herself, a much stronger tie would be required to pass on information that might cause her to lose the governess's services.

Implementing the theoretical framework I have outlined here, this thesis is able to build a picture of a network that connects many of the female educational writers of the late eighteenth century, connections that facilitate the flow of information between each other, and toward their readers. A particularly prominent example of a well-known and well-studied network is found in the Bluestocking circle. Elizabeth Eger, for example, notes Elizabeth Montagu's pride upon seeing the *Nine Living Muses of Great Britain* contained within the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book for 1778*, an act of active network building that brings the Bluestocking circle

⁴⁴ Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited', pp. 105–6.

⁴⁵ Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited', p. 130.

into view of other women's networks connected through their use of pocket books.⁴⁶ The networks I depict in this project frequently interlink, some substantially so, while others are connected only by their presence under the larger umbrella of cross-Channel exchange. In order to contextualise these networks, one needs to understand a key part of their facilitation: translation activity.

What is an Eighteenth-Century Translation?

Translation in the eighteenth century bears only a passing resemblance to its modern-day counterpart. Here, then, I want to explore some of the important translation contexts that underpin this thesis: primarily the translation process in the eighteenth century. These are linked in interesting ways, and indeed the publishing milieu of Britain and France were not the same; many French-language publications were printed abroad to avoid the French censor, and the relative popularity of translation in both countries is not a stable constant. Indeed, for Susan Bassnett, English seems to have a 'double standard' when it comes to translation, encompassing a literature both 'steeped in the literature of other cultures' and 'intimately inter-related to other literatures', yet suffering from an 'uneasiness about translation that is reflected in the low status of translations today and the poverty of discussion about translation and its complexities.'⁴⁷ Bassnett's comments are, perhaps, not quite as true today as they were just before the millennium – much recent work that I have indicated in this introduction has taken up the challenge of addressing the paucity of conversation around translations.

Yet, there is a resonance to Bassnett's comments in the way in which translations were viewed in the eighteenth century. Sherry Simon notes in the initial chapter of her book on gender and translation that this low status for translation is intricately linked with their perceived femininity – 'translators and women have historically been the weaker figures in their respective hierarchies: translators are handmaidens to authors, women inferior to men.'⁴⁸ Though Simon herself goes on to challenge this view by asking whether translation 'condemned women to the margins of discourse or, on the contrary, rescued them from imposed silence', the historical trope of translation as a second-class or subservient genre remains prevalent.⁴⁹ My own interpretation of women as translators in the eighteenth century aligns with neither of these binaries. Rather, I

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 59.

⁴⁷ Susan Bassnett, 'Intricate Pathways: Observations on Translation and Literature', in *Translating Literature, Essays and Studies*, 50 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 1–13 (p. 11).

⁴⁸ Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 1.

⁴⁹ Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, p. 46.

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argue that the choice of translation as a writing genre was an active one that permitted a form of engagement with, or simply a voice within, discourses and fields that might otherwise have been more elusive. I acknowledge a counterpoint here from Julie Candler Hayes, who has shown that translation in the eighteenth century was ‘a zone of the literary marketplace where not only a female presence, but also many female names were quite visible’, though she also notes the ‘strong association’ between women and the novel.⁵⁰ To contextualise the discussions that follow in this thesis, however, I offer here one answer to the question ‘What is an eighteenth-century translation?’

Interest in the methods and means of translation is not a phenomenon constrained to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Many in the eighteenth century were also asking what made a ‘good’ translation, and what methodology ought to be applied in the process – none, perhaps, more so than Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747-1813) who wrote an *Essay on the Principals of Translation* in 1791. Importantly for this study, Tytler’s introductory comments make note of two French pieces on translation – Jean le Rond d’Alembert’s (1717-83) *Mélanges de Littérature, de philosophie et d’histoire* (1764) and [Abbé] Charles Batteux’s (1713-80) *Principes de la Littérature* [*Principles of Literature*] (1774). In the first half of the eighteenth century, Fredrick Burwick writes, the role of translation was ‘not simply to adapt the original to the target language, but also to meet the cultural expectations of stylistic form and aesthetic appeal.’⁵¹ This type of translation is embodied in the French phrase *les belles infidèles* [roughly translated as *the unfaithful beauties*]. The late eighteenth-century conception of translation, then, is explicitly born of a cross-Channel inter-lingual discourse between Britain and France. Posing a strategy between two extremes of opinion, Tytler offers the following description of a ‘good’ translation:

That, in which the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language, as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country to which the language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work.⁵²

Translation, subsequently, is generally defined as 1) giving a ‘complete transcript’ of the ideas of the original work, 2) possessing the same ‘style and manner of writing’ as the original, and 3) having ‘all the ease of original composition’.⁵³ As general precepts,

⁵⁰ Julie Candler Hayes, *Translation, Subjectivity, and Culture in France and England, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 144.

⁵¹ Fredrick Burwick, ‘Romantic Theories of Translation’, *The Wordsworth Circle*, 39.3 (2008), 68–74 (p. 68).

⁵² Alexander Tytler, *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1791), p. 14.

⁵³ Tytler, p. 15.

Tytler's rules leave a great deal to individual interpretation and the subjective concept of taste, an opening that was seized upon by a great many contemporary translators.

Tytler is not concerned with what Kevin Windle and Anthony Pym term 'more utilitarian forms of translation', by which they mean translation efforts outside of the classics of Greek and Latin verse.⁵⁴ That is, his rules are not explicitly aimed at women translators, who were (bar a few notable exceptions such as Elizabeth) not engaged in translating from classical languages. Nonetheless, Tytler's precepts embody a much larger translation practice, leaving open the possibility for translators to add material to their works, and in so doing 'assume [...] the character of an original writer' – precisely the shift of authority that makes translation such a powerful tool for eighteenth-century women writers.⁵⁵ Whether translating male- or female-authored texts, and notwithstanding that Tytler places strict limits on the addition and deletion of ideas, translators are able to assume the place of their source author, rewriting their words in their image. Early in the nineteenth century, Priscilla Wakefield (1751-1832) uses this reasoning in a letter to her publishers on her current translation project, writing that while it is 'certainly very much abridged and some new material introduced I believe in three places', the work still 'cannot be said to be a new book.'⁵⁶ I consider this translation in detail (and the question of Wakefield's (non)authorship) in chapter two. Here, I use the letter to point out that originality appears to have been Wakefield's chief aim in her efforts. In pursuing the third of Tytler's principles, she appears to have forgone the first by removing large sections of the original and replacing some with her own contributions. Elsewhere, translators undertook their role with a directness that was more likely to confuse the reader than enable their understanding. Sarah Pennington's *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Absent Children* was translated so literally in 1786 that the phrase 'French you ought to be as well acquainted with as English' is directly transposed without a change of languages.⁵⁷ If the work were intended for French readers, it would, perhaps, have been more logical to swap the two languages

⁵⁴ Kevin Windle and Anthony Pym, 'European Thinking on Secular Translation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 7–22 (p. 11).

⁵⁵ Tytler, p. 39.

⁵⁶ Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, MS 2774, p.83.

⁵⁷ Sarah Pennington, *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to Her Absent Daughters, in a Letter to Miss Pennington*, 5th Edition (London: Printed by J. and H. Hughs, 1770), p. 42; Sarah Pennington, *Les Avis d'une Mère Infortunée a Ses Filles. Ouvrage Nouvellement Traduit de l'Anglois, & Intéressant Pour Les Jeunes Demoiselles Destinées à Entrer Dans Le Monde. Suivi de Fables Morales, Aussi Traduites de l'Anglois* (Paris: Chez Serviere, 1786), p. 30.

What these incidents serve to demonstrate is the wider phenomenon of translation in the period – that a purported translation is not always what it appears, and that many alleged originals are in fact translations of foreign works.⁵⁸ In the absence of international copyright laws, what might appear to the modern reader as stealing – the frequent publication of a translation of an author’s work abroad with no recognition or compensation – was in fact common practice. Translation was both a medium to attack and to defend, to agree and to disagree, to exaggerate and to downplay, to expand upon and to abridge, the ideas of both domestic and foreign authors. It is, one might argue, the most versatile of all literary forms, encompassing often contradictory or paradoxical dualities and juxtapositions. Yet, because the hierarchy of translation in the eighteenth century was largely rooted in the primacy of the classics, languages to which women had little recourse, gender remains at issue. Modern scholarship continues this trend. Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinnsson’s *Translation – Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader* (2006) presents itself as an ‘exhaustive’ survey of translation material, yet women translators from the sixteenth to eighteenth century are given a mere sixteen pages of consideration out of the one hundred and forty that cover the Reformation to the eighteenth century.⁵⁹ Other modern critics, particular the work of Barbara Godard and Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood have taken up the call to consider women translators, but their particular focus rests within the women’s negotiation of masculine space and discourse through engagement with, and translation of, the male word.⁶⁰ While this overview shows that gender is still at issue for women translators, regardless of the gender of the source text’s author, this thesis is primarily concerned with women translating other women within a pedagogical publishing milieu, a space in which women’s involvement is already significant and one that required a different form of authorial negotiation.

Such an oversight of women translators is, in part, due to their greater engagement with the practice over the theory; many women of the eighteenth century were involved in translation activity, but fewer were producing work on the process itself outside of the translator’s preface, a

⁵⁸ Gillian Dow has explored this phenomenon in relation to the novel in ‘Translation, Cross-Channel Exchanges and the Novel in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Literature Compass*, 11.11 (2014), 691–702; see also McMurrin.

⁵⁹ *Translation – Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader*, ed. by Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinnsson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). A single subsection of six pages is also given to Anne Dacier (1654–1720).

⁶⁰ See, for example, Barbara Godard, ‘Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation’, in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevre (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 87–96; Barbara Godard, ‘The Translator as She: The Relationship between Writer and Translator’, in *In the Feminine: Women and Words/Les Femmes et Les Mots*, ed. by A. Dybikowski and others (Edmonton: AB Longspoon, 1985), pp. 193–98; Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, *Re-Belle et Infidèle: La Traduction Comme Pratique de Ré-Écriture Au Féminin/The Body Bilingual: Translation as a Re-Writing in the Feminine* (Montréal: Éditions du Remue-ménage, 1991).

form I consider in the following section. In many respects, translation was the ideal vehicle for women writers to expand their literary prospects. While methods of translation among women writers were not codified in the same way as Tytler and others had offered in the predominantly masculine world of translation theory, modern critics have drawn comparisons between these women, uncovering similarities in approach. For Hilary Brown, translation served as a form of ‘literary apprenticeship’ that could help writers to ‘hone their style before embarking on their own compositions’.⁶¹ This apprenticeship is not confined to the traditionally feminine; translation gave eighteenth-century women access to precisely the masculine forms of writing from which they were otherwise excluded. It could act as the bridge towards their own individual and original writing, but remained an endeavour with intrinsic merit because it provided a space to think and write on topics that expanded their knowledge. This, perhaps, is what one sees in Maria Edgeworth’s unfinished translation of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis’ *Adèle et Théodore* (1782) – a literary undertaking that made use of her interest in education and provided a perceived model of writing to imitate through translation.

These models were not, however, Europe-wide. Brown further notes that women in Britain were to be found on the literary marketplace earlier than their German counterparts, suggesting that one of the major factors in this discrepancy lies in the existence of an ‘obvious cultural centre’ in London.⁶² Paris served a similar function for the French cultural élite but, importantly for my purposes here, there was a not inconsiderable movement between these cities. Such movement was not confined to a single category; people, books, letters, and ideas all travelled across the Channel. Indeed, books travelled in a multitude of ways: physically through trade or as items carried by travellers themselves, in both original and translated forms, or even as extracts in periodical publications with an interest in foreign works.

Against a backdrop of such significant cultural exchange, translation offers insight into the elements of transfer deemed important by contemporary authors. By questioning who, as well as what, was translated, quoted, or otherwise referenced, networks begin to emerge that criss-cross the narrow strait that separates Britain and France. The true scale of these networks, and their unexpected interconnectivity, would appear almost enough to knit the two landmasses together, despite the gulf of difference between them. Translation, and the language learning it required, mainstays of a woman’s education in both countries, provided the vital skills and knowledge to facilitate these networks of exchange.

⁶¹ Hilary Brown, *Luise Gottsched the Translator* (New York: Camden House, 2012), p. 192.

⁶² Brown, LXIII, p. 11.

Prefaces and Patronage: Women's Power through Paratexts

Because this thesis makes key distinctions between types of paratext, and because different types of paratext exist with varying intentions for their readers, I begin here with an exploration of the different types of paratexts that I go on to consider. In his landmark study, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987), Gérard Genette boldly asserts that 'a text without a paratext does not exist and never has existed.'⁶³ While he acknowledges the important caveat to this claim, namely that the presence of a paratext in no way obligates a reader to engage with it, the fact that they are always present *should* obligate an examination in literary analysis. For this reason, my second chapter explores much of the prefatory material concerning the works of its authorial case studies, but my aim here is to give a broader view of the power of paratexts within the parameters of women's writing on education. In other words, I explore how paratexts empowered women's engagement with a pan-European dialogue on pedagogy.

Genette's paratexts comprises two main categories (peritext and epitext), placed upon three continuums: time (prior, original, later, and delayed), privacy (public, private, and intimate), and authority (official, semi-official, and unofficial). This thesis is primarily interested in official, public, and original paratexts – that is, peritexts and/or epitexts that accompany the original publication, largely (although not exclusively) with the permission of the author, and appear in the public domain. While I explore some private and later paratexts (correspondence, diaries, and letters) in chapter three, often in isolation from their parent texts, I restrict this introductory exploration to the broader concepts. Individual paratexts offer information of varying significance, but a larger consideration of a corpus of paratexts, separated from their parent text but not divorced from its contexts, offers evidence of women writers systematically using these peripheral elements of publishing to enact a considerable array of ideas, motivations, and authority that might otherwise be closed to them.

The two most important paratexts that underline this thesis, however, are factual. A paratext consisting of an immutable fact whose very existence 'if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received.'⁶⁴ To adapt a quotation from Genette, 'do we ever read "a [text] by a woman" exactly as we read "a [text]" plain and simple, that is, a text by a man?'⁶⁵ The sex of the author, then, is the first key factual paratext that permeates this thesis; the authors it considers are nearly all female or anonymous (with

⁶³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin, *Literature, Culture, Theory*, 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 3.

⁶⁴ Genette, p. 7.

⁶⁵ Genette, p. 7. Where Genette writes 'novel', I have substituted 'text'.

varying degrees of confidence in either distinction), with all of the associated connotations that sex brings to the text's reception. The second characteristic of importance to this thesis is nationality – a translated text, or a text by a foreign author, is not read in the same contextual framework as its original, nor is a text received abroad as it is in its native country. Much of this thesis explores precisely these distinctions in reception between Anglo-French writers on each side of the Channel. Perhaps most interestingly concerning these two factual paratexts, neither effects a continuous or static response across the timeline of writing I consider. A woman writer of the 1750s operated in a much different publishing milieu than her 1820s descendent; a French woman writing before the French Revolution dealt with different prejudices in her English readers to one writing after the Napoleonic wars.⁶⁶

Translated texts involve more paratexts than other publications, and it is these that I am especially interested in here. After the factual paratexts that accompany these works, the first item a reader comes into contact with is usually the title. The title of a translated text frequently – though certainly not always – alerts the reader to the translated nature of the piece, but does so in a plethora of different terms. Thus, while the most obvious and common phrase is 'translated from the French', or simply, 'from the French', there is a huge range of other terms that betray the mediating processes that translation entails. The novelty of a translation might be advertised by words such as 'newly translated', 'a new translation', 'the first translation', or 'a new edition (from the French)'; alterations to the length or depth of a book might use terms like 'abridged' or 'enlarged'; the numerous changes made by a translator could be flagged by the indicators 'altered', 'with alterations', 'adapted', or even 'improved', which holds an implicit value judgement from the author; the varying sources for a text might be revealed by the publication being 'taken' or 'extracted' from the French; and some words, such as 'done', 'published', or 'rendered' from the French might simply be other ways of alerting readers to the fact that a mediation process of some form has occurred.⁶⁷ Indeed, earlier work in the eighteenth century even used the name of the language itself, describing works as 'English'd'.⁶⁸ Such microanalysis of titular syntax and vocabulary holds the inherent risk of attributing value to constructions intended to have none. However, the relative infrequency of these terms ('translated from the French' is

⁶⁶ For a historical overview, see James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 2007); Richard De Ritter, *Imagining Women Readers, 1789-1820: Well-Regulated Minds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

⁶⁷ This data is compiled from my own searches in the English Short Title Catalogue for works published between 1750 and 1800 whose titles contain the words 'from the French', a data set of several thousand entries. I have not provided the relative frequencies of each instance – some are much more common than others – as I cannot definitively link the prevalence of a particular phrase with the respective prevalence of those texts in circulation.

⁶⁸ See the translation of the Abbé de Vertot's *The history of the revolutions that happened in the government of the Roman Republic* (London, 1720), which is 'English'd by Mr. Ozell and others'.

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the most common phrase by a considerable margin) strongly suggests that these deviations from the norm were deliberate. As a corpus, the collection demonstrates that writers of the eighteenth century were, at a minimum, acutely aware of the potential for translation to alter the content of a publication. Readers, alert to the potential for alteration, might perhaps be more likely to engage with the second paratext unique to work in translation: the translator's preface.

Peritexts, none more so than the translator's preface, offer a significant opportunity to influence the reception of a text across multiple contexts. The translator, like others working on pedagogical publications, writes both for their reader – the child, adolescent, or adult reading the text – and for the purchaser – who may or may not be the eventual consumer of that text. What makes the translator's preface particularly resonant here, however, is its existence across linguistic boundaries; it takes a text previously conceived for (and received in) one language, and provides the crucial framework of caveats, explanations, and protestations that allow the new readership to navigate the translated text. Indeed, that translation itself takes many forms, as I explored in the previous section. While one translator might adapt the language *and* the cultural, geographical, and political references within the narrative, another merely provides a linguistic transformation, offering no contextual framework to the foreign nature of the work's contents. The translator's preface, then, is as much about telling a reader what kind of translation they are being offered as it is about influencing their reception of the text.

The phrase 'what kind of translation' raises a further question, recently asked by Douglas Robinson, 'What kind of literature is a literary translation?' Robinson's argument, that a literary translation is 'a *different kind of literature* from an original' is rooted in the idea that translated texts are not just an '*inferior imitation of a great text* but a *great imitative text* that is qualitatively different from its model.'⁶⁹ Objecting to the model Genette poses in *Fiction and Diction* ([1991] 1993), Robinson's arguments attempt to break new ground in creating a new genre of literary translation. While the qualifying 'literary' before translation causes some confusion here, and the assertion that the inferiority of a translated text is the 'standard assumption' deserves to be robustly challenged, I find Robinson's thesis compelling.⁷⁰ Many of the women that I consider across this thesis would not consider themselves mere imitators of the work they translated, nor their productions inferior to the original. Rather, their translations were the result of a complex array of literary and mediatory processes, designed variously to alter, repress, emphasise, exaggerate, or curtail elements of the original; I have noted some of these processes above, and

⁶⁹ Douglas Robinson, 'What Kind of Literature Is a Literary Translation?', *Target*, 29.3 (2017), 440–63 (p. 441). Original emphasis.

⁷⁰ Robinson, p. 440.

give numerous examples throughout the thesis. Here, I want simply to emphasise the power of thinking about translation as its own literary genre, one that might productively be considered as ‘a form of reading and writing that creates new work, new conversations’, rather than a ‘sad bilingual photocopier’.⁷¹ This is the starting point for considering texts in this thesis, reading translations as active participants in a conversation between translator and author, as bridges and links between one culture and another.

Returning, then, to the translator’s preface as an example of precisely this conversation, I take the case of Radagunda Roberts, a woman who undertook translation in a number of different genres from French originals, and recently unmasked by Jennie Batchelor.⁷² Roberts’ first three publications, *Select Moral Tales. Translated from the French, by a Lady* (1763), *Sermons written by a Lady, the translatress of four select tales from Marmontel* (1770), and *Elements of the history of France, translated from the Abbé Millot, [...] by the translator of Select Tales from Marmontel, and Author of Sermons by a Lady* (1771), appeared anonymously under the simple guise of ‘a Lady’, a ‘translatress’, and the ‘author’ of the previous successful publications. It is not until her fourth foray into translation, that of Françoise de Graffigny’s (1695-1758) *Lettres d’une Péruvienne* (1747) entitled *The Peruvian Letters, translated from the French. With an additional original volume* (1774), that Roberts feels secure enough to write in her preface ‘[having] already three times offered my works to the Public, and met with a favourable reception, I have ventured to prefix my name to this.’⁷³ That Roberts uses her fourth venture in publication to put her name not only to this, but to all her previous work as well – the title page lists all three works under her name – is significant, notwithstanding the fact that she remains only partially identifiable as ‘R. Roberts’. Roberts’ role in this work is a good example of the conversations that translation enables. This work is not a sad imitation; in adding an additional, original volume, Roberts stakes a claim to authorship beyond that of a translator working with the words of others. The words of this translation are partially Graffigny’s, but by adding her own original creation, Roberts muddies the waters in distinguishing her extension of the narrative in the new volume from her translation alterations and additions in the first. Anonymity for women authors and translators was common, affording a level of public protection from critics. Louise d’Épinay, in France, wrote

⁷¹ Jena Osman et al., cited in Robinson, p. 460; Robinson, p. 460; Notably, the idea of translation as a dual process of reading and writing is not new. See Bassnett, ‘Intricate Pathways: Observations on Translation and Literature’.

⁷² Jennie Batchelor, ‘Searching for “R”: A Collaborative Identification’, *The Lady’s Magazine (1770-1818): Understanding the Emergence of a Genre*, 2016 <<https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/ladys-magazine/2016/02/29/searching-for-r-a-collaborative-identification/>> [accessed 4 December 2020].

⁷³ *The Peruvian Letters, Translated from the French. With an Additional Original Volume*, trans. by R. Roberts, 2 vols (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1774), iii; see also Marijn Kaplan’s recent edition of Roberts’ text in *Translations and Continuations: Riccoboni and Brooke, Graffigny and Roberts* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

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anonymously for the *Correspondance Littéraire*, and her initial publication of *Les Conversations d'Émilie* in 1774 appeared without a name, Épinay having learned from a previous misadventure in publishing regarding her son. However, after the success of the *Conversations*, she did affix her name to the second edition, though the two English translators of this work did not put their own names alongside hers. What makes Roberts interesting here, is that she uses a success built primarily on anonymous translation to support her dual translation and original publication.

Complicating this view are the final two paragraphs of the preface. Roberts informs her reader that the 'first sheets from the press of this little work were corrected by Dr. [John] Hawkesworth [1715-73]', but subsequent to his death, 'that task has been performed by myself' such that the last letters were written without any such male oversight.⁷⁴ She ends with a dedication to his 'revered memory', and her 'eternal gratitude for innumerable obligations received'.⁷⁵ These somewhat curious lines seem to switch back and forth between two versions of authorship; a woman keen to demonstrate the restraint required and expected of her by social convention, competing with the more radical female author attempting to throw off the shackles of masculine literary oversight. It must also be remembered that this publication is the first to which Roberts is affixing her name, something that surely makes her careful manoeuvring both unsurprising, and all the more noteworthy. The mere 350-odd words of Roberts' preface enable a reader to come to the text with a vastly different contextual knowledge than those who do not read it; they enable Roberts to establish herself as a named author rather than one 'lady' among an ever-increasing multitude.

Roberts' evocation of Hawkesworth is also indicative of the second element of paratexts that I wish to explore in this introduction: patronage. A complex system of cultural economics, the many forms of eighteenth-century patronage are explored in detail by Dustin Griffin, who emphasises that, despite a 'disproportionate' focus on monetary assistance, literary patronage might confer a large array of other more, or usually less, tangible benefits.⁷⁶ Occasionally, a publication might display elements of being both benefactor and beneficiary in this system, as is the case for Erasmus Darwin's *Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (1797). The apology for the work, an introduction or preface of sorts, outlines that Darwin wrote the plan for two of his illegitimate daughters, Susanna and Mary Parker. He purchased a house at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, and provided its use to the Parkers, a benefit bestowed in a form of paternal patronage. The two women, then, are the beneficiaries of their father's patronage, but

⁷⁴ Roberts, v.

⁷⁵ Roberts, vi.

⁷⁶ Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 18.

Darwin is himself also a recipient in this system, ending his apology with his ‘most grateful acknowledgements’ for the improvements occasioned by the observations of ‘many of the ingenious of both sexes’ who saw the manuscript.⁷⁷ This acknowledgement is not merely conventional or platitudinous; instead it is the accepted commercial exchange in the cultural economy of favour and patronage. Returning to Elizabeth Eger’s examination of Elizabeth Montagu, she notes the range of texts offering thanks to Montagu as a patron. Indeed Montagu’s patronage of women authors is particularly well documented in the case of Anne Yearsley, though she aided a great many other women and many men.⁷⁸

What makes Darwin’s text noteworthy here is not its content, which is less radical than it might have been at mid-century, but rather an additional peritext found at the end of the book: a ‘Catalogue of Books’ for children’s education. He prefaces the list with the following comment:

I beg leave to apprise the reader, that I have inserted a great part of the following catalogue of books for the younger children, because they were recommended to me by ladies, whose opinion I had reason to regard, and not from my own attentive perusal of them; which has been prevented by my other necessary occupations. Some of them therefore, as are less generally known, a parent or governess will please to read, before they put them into the hand of their children. And I can only add, that if I had myself been better acquainted with them, the collection would probably have been less numerous.⁷⁹

Tentative though this tacit support of the works listed appears – Darwin neatly divests himself of personal responsibility and authority in the case of a ‘great’, yet somehow unspecified, part of the catalogue – the list remains a significant publicity boost to some of its authors. Of over three hundred texts listed, nearly a quarter are by female authors.⁸⁰ Some of these names are less obscure than others. Mary Wollstonecraft features once, Hannah More, Anna Laetitia Barbauld,

⁷⁷ Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (Derby: Printed by J. Drewry; for J. Johnson, 1797), p. 127.

⁷⁸ Eger, pp. 81–82; for a further exploration of women’s engagement with patronage, see Harriet Guest, ‘Luck Be a Lady: Patronage and Professionalism for Women Writers in the 1790s’, in *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730-1830*, ed. by Elizabeth Eger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 254–76.

⁷⁹ Darwin, pp. 118–19.

⁸⁰ Darwin, pp. 118–26. There are 315 named entries in the catalogue; however, this figure should be taken within a margin of error due to the following factors: (1) duplicate entries under different headings; (2) translations of texts which appear as both single items and duplicates; (3) some entries refer to serial publications or collections, which I have counted as a single text; (4) a number of subject sections end with qualifications and caveats to items listed – I have included all these in my count. The figure I use for female-authored works (72) includes texts signed by a female pseudonym or moniker, and does not exclude either anonymous texts or those I could not find listed in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) from the total; the true proportion may therefore be marginally higher.

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Charlotte Smith (1749-1806), Hester Chapone, and Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849) too. French names (some fifteen per cent of the total) such as Stephanie-Félicité de Genlis, Louise d'Épinay, Isabelle de Montolieu (1751-1832), Françoise de Graffigny, Marie Elizabeth de LaFite (1737-94), and Jeanne-Marie de Beaumont also all appear as recommendations. But the interesting names are those who are less well known to their contemporaries and less well represented in modern scholarship, texts by Louise d'Épinay's translator Ann Phillips, Ellenor Fenn (1743-1813), Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), Dorothy Kilner (1755-1836), Priscilla Wakefield, and Elizabeth Pinchard (1791-1820). Not all of these women's names appeared alongside their works in Darwin's catalogue (about a third are listed without an author – usually, although not exclusively, the lesser-known women), but the range of female authors included in his list is extensive – thirty-five individuals are given a place. Lists of recommendations were not uncommon, and I explore the interesting cross-over between published iterations like that here and in Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore*, as well as the privately created lists of Charlotte Jane St Maur, in chapter three, but the breadth of women authors here is unusual.

Peritexts, and the many and varied systems of patronage, then, provided women writers with the tools to dramatically increase the reach of their pedagogical ideas and influences. What the combination of the foregoing extracts and examples demonstrates, I propose, is a deliberate, concerted, and systematic attempt from a wildly disparate and often unconnected group of women to participate in national public discourses, discourses which might directly impact their lives and the lives of women across the country. That the close of the eighteenth century sees thirty-five women, women with few physical connections, most of whom were still alive and publishing their own work at the time of Darwin's publication, collected under a single banner of books for children speaks to the success of that attempt. Moreover, the move from anonymity to specified authorship, embodied in the publication journey of Radagunda Roberts and many others, increases the prevalence of that all-important paratext: the author's name. Remarkably simple though this change might be, its significance is, I think, difficult to overstate. The addition of an author's name to her work, aside from the reclamation from potential unscrupulous imposters that such an action entails, allows that work to converse and debate with its peers in the name of its (female) writer.

Methodology and Corpus

This thesis is both a literary analysis of cross-Channel publications on women's education by female authors, and an attempt to revise the predominant historical narrative of their education. It responds to Ian Jackson's dual concerns with these two fields, that literary theory is 'inclined to ignore the contexts of reading', while social history, whose insistence on reading as solely a

‘social, educational, or leisure activity [risks] downplaying the impact of the content of the text itself.’⁸¹ Thus my method here endeavours to chart a course between these extremes, offering close analysis of the literary texts I explore, while maintaining an awareness and appreciation of their wider contextual existence. In practice, this means that I am often as interested in the life and context of an author as I am in their work, both of which inflect the other.

This interest also extends beyond a monolingual examination of the content of a book. The thesis is necessarily transnational and interdisciplinary in order to respond to the gap in scholarship left by single-nation and single-discipline responses to much of the work it considers. Making use of book history and comparative studies, I am able to appraise the judgements and associated commentary made by a translator by a dual comparison of their text in two languages and variant editions. Reception studies also feature in my work, particularly in the discussion of Louise d’Épinay’s *Conversations d’Émilie*, as a valuable method of accessing contemporary responses to publications in differing national and temporal contexts. Thus, I am able, in this case, to give a comprehensive view of the reception of Épinay’s text across a near fifty-year period, though the benefits of analysing reception go much further than a single author.

The corpus for this study is equally as diverse as its methods; it encompasses published material from the 1750s to 1820, and unpublished manuscripts from the 1770s to 1824. Both fictional and non-fictional texts are present, though my focus is significantly skewed to the latter, scholarly work on the educational novel being plentiful in both Anglo-American and French circles, as well as more recently in a cross-Channel context. By including a range of other genres, from letters and treatises to periodicals and reviews, I take a much broader view of cross-Channel discourses on education.

(Re)Constructing a Historical Narrative

One of the primary aims of this thesis is to offer an alternative historical narrative of women’s education, evidenced through the numerous inter-connected networks it explores and uncovers. History, or perhaps more accurately *history*, as a vast overarching account is largely constructed around ‘politics, high culture, and elite men, telling a tale of steady progress’, creating what Judith Bennett terms a so-called ‘master narrative’.⁸² Such ‘steady progress’ is, itself, somewhat a fallacy. Even where critics have attempted to redefine historical narratives to place women more

⁸¹ Ian Jackson, ‘Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2004), 1041–54 (p. 1054).

⁸² Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 130; an interesting account of the changes in the field of history can be found in Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Arnold, 2000).

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centrally, they remain committed to the master narrative's insistence on steady progress. However, as Harriet Guest has argued, a 'simple linear narrative of cause and effect' is ill-suited to explorations of women's history.⁸³ In constructing a network of women's writers' female contemporaries, rather than masculine responses to their work, I attempt to explore progress from a different standpoint. Nonetheless, the concept of progress itself provides its own challenges. The fallacy of progress from the oft-labelled 'dark ages' to some imagined emancipatory golden era is deeply rooted in a male-centred discourse – where such progress is more easily charted as a result of masculine privilege – which fails to distinguish between important categories of change, or indeed to account for any progress (up or down) for those outside of a narrowly defined, privileged man.⁸⁴ Even if a narrative must incorporate a number of peaks and troughs along the way, the overall trend is still of upward progress. Bennett provides some useful terminology to navigate this undulating narrative, outlining a difference between changes in women's *experience* and transformations in their *status*.⁸⁵ Guest, too, invites a focus on small changes across a range of discourses and genres. Applying traditional theories of progress to women's history imbues historical female figures with an agency that credits them with advancing the female cause, and thus contains the implicit promise of future advancements. This definition of progress reminds the reader of the words of J B Bury a century ago (albeit in reference to men), that 'civilisation has moved, is moving, and will move in a desirable direction.'⁸⁶ The temptation to write such narratives – for feminism in particular – is clear, but Bennett invites her readers to consider histories that privilege change over transformation, narratives that are 'more historically plausible but less positive and self-referential'.⁸⁷

These histories, Bennett argues, should reject the chronology of the masculine master narrative, but rather than arguing for a separate, women's historical narrative, she advocates 'a sort of artisanal marriage between women's history and master narratives', a plan Bennett calls the 'best deal we can get'.⁸⁸ I disagree. In the same sentence where she calls for compromise,

⁸³ Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 14. Here one might also usefully consider Joan Landes' exploration of the French Revolution's place in histories of feminism. See Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988); and *Feminism: The Public & the Private*, ed. by Joan B. Landes, Oxford Readings in Feminism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁸⁴ For a convincing rebuttal to the narrative that women's trajectory has been downward at the expense of men's rise upward, see Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993), 383–414. On the enduring presence of progress narratives, see David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990). See also the early work of J B Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (London, 1920).

⁸⁵ Judith M. Bennett, 'Confronting Continuity', *Journal of Women's History*, 9.3 (1997), 73–94 (p. 74).

⁸⁶ Bury, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Judith M. Bennett, 'Forgetting the Past', *Gender & History*, 20.3 (2008), 669–77 (p. 672).

⁸⁸ Bennett, *History Matters*, p. 137.

Bennett acknowledges the 'enduring power of master narratives', whose patriarchal authority is able to 'shift a bit, adjust here and there, and endure untransformed'.⁸⁹ This thesis, while acknowledging the influence of masculine interventions in women's educational discourse, attempts to demonstrate the power of a comparative women's narrative that explicitly excludes male discourse, and makes no attempt to compromise. Barbara Caine's more recent critical intervention takes up this topic in the study of biography, writing that

As the pre-eminence of class division gave way to concerns about categories which often cut across class boundaries [...] so too the large-scale theories and analyses of historical and social change which had been widely accepted across the twentieth century were called into question and seen as 'grand narratives' which privileged the views and perspectives of particular dominant groups while silencing or suppressing those of subordinate ones.⁹⁰

Caine's 'grand narratives' echo Bennett's 'master narratives', as both critics search for methods to rewrite 'subordinate' classes into history. Indeed, both argue for a more detailed approach to historical narrative construction; Bennett for an exploration of women's changing experiences, Caine for the inclusion of individual lives in the framework of historical analysis. While Caine rightly goes on to draw attention to the fact that 'many ordinary people have now also become the subjects of biographical interest', widening the scope of historical narratives beyond simply the privileged, she falls foul of the same problem that faced Bennett. In tracing the emergence of these everyday biographies, Caine does not examine the motivation behind the change in selection criteria – a change that probably bears the hallmarks of Bennett's enduring, untransformed patriarchal authority. It is this generalised blindness from critics and historians, their willingness to allow manufactured distinctions to pass as 'quasi-natural', that Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona Ó Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton single out for censure in their own discussion on histories of women's place in the public sphere.⁹¹

In light of this, only a concerted de-masculinising of such narratives, combined with a scrutiny of their underlying assumptions, will allow space for a discussion of a female-centred history. Thus, while he appears in the works I cite, both primary and critical sources, Rousseau is a notable male absence from this thesis. This omission, a deliberate critical experiment, is not intended to dismiss the undeniable influence of Rousseau on women's educational discourse in the period. He continues to occupy a central position in the European discussion on pedagogy in

⁸⁹ Bennett, *History Matters*, p. 137.

⁹⁰ Barbara Caine, *Biography and History*, Theory and History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 2.

⁹¹ Eger and others.

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my alternative narrative, but this narrative chooses instead to engage with women's connections with other women, the subject of significantly fewer critical interventions. A female-centred historical narrative of pedagogy does not need to deny the influence of texts such as *Émile*, nor remove it from chronologies of philosophy, and indeed Rousseau might usefully be considered as a point of connection between a number of disparate women's networks. Women could, and did, disagree with him, forging links in the process, but more importantly, they also participated in discussions that did *not* involve him, particularly discourses which focussed on the practicalities of educating women and children.⁹² By evidencing the networking activity of women writers across the Channel, I offer an alternative historical narrative of women's education that sits alongside its contemporaries not as a replacement, but an enhancement that can complement, caveat, and challenge the assumptions of others.

Thesis Structure

My thesis is divided into four chapters, each of which takes a different genre or form as its focus in the exploration of cross-Channel educational discourse. This introduction has outlined many of the mechanisms and methodologies that women writers used in their translation undertakings. It further discussed the value and importance of prefatory material in translated literature, and more widely in educational publications, as a means of mediating male authors, priming and adjusting audiences, and pre-emptively addressing criticism.

My first chapter begins with texts and authors that travelled across the Channel, making the case for an alternative historical narrative of women's educational discourse – one that runs parallel to its better-studied male counterpart. It makes an initial engagement with Mary Wollstonecraft's work in the context of her contemporaries, before moving to two case studies of eighteenth-century women writers who enjoy a place in the canon: Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis and Maria Edgeworth. Both extensively read in English and French, the two were also heavily involved in tracking the cross-Channel reach of their educational productions. These women were writing to very different audiences, brought to a middle ground of sorts in my comparison with the work of Elizabeth Appleton. I give an analysis of these women's pedagogical publications, drawing links between their educational aims for children, with reference to Genlis and

⁹² Genlis, for example, is unequivocal in her assertion that Rousseau knows nothing about the practicalities of educating. On learning to draw, she writes that he 'speaks here of what he does not understand', while later lamenting that he proposes a 'plan of education as defective, as the one he objects to.' See *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, ed. by Gillian Dow (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), pp. 28; 60–61.

Edgeworth's real-life interactions. Such texts are predominantly acting as examples for others to follow – they are central nodes in the network from which innumerable readers fan outward.

In my second chapter I make a shift from the predominantly theoretical writings considered in chapter one to an extended study of the content and reception of more practical works. Beginning with an examination of the differing cross-Channel definitions of childhood, and in particular women's relationship to the term in English and French contexts, I then move to further case studies. Primarily a consideration of Louise d'Épinay (and her translator, Ann Phillips) that focuses on the reception of her pedagogical work *Les Conversations d'Émilie* (1774) I also draw links to an anonymous French manuscript with distinct similarities in style and structure that I consider in chapter three. This is followed by close readings of the work of a British author, Ellenor Fenn. Fenn, an author dismissed in much scholarship as a hack, provides an illuminating example of the treatment of French characters and attitudes in British works on education, while also allowing me to make the case for a more indirect form of cross-Channel dialogue between English and French texts and authors. In contrast to my first chapter, the network here is much more multi-directional. While the model exemplar definition is still applicable to Épinay's work, Fenn is engaged in a network that attempts to link French authors to British readers and encourage greater engagement between the two groups.

Introducing the bulk of newly discovered material, my third chapter considers two primary manuscripts on education – one British and one French. Prefaced with an exploration of shorter pieces that lay the groundwork of my subsequent examinations, I give an account of Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur (the Jane Seymour of Pratilla's opening epigraph), a remarkable example of a British aristocratic education that contains an extensive engagement with French texts. Comparing the reading lists she includes at either end of her journal with that of Adèle in Genlis' work allows me to draw direct comparisons between British and French reading practice and recommendations across a diverse temporal and political landscape. The chapter is closed with an analysis of an anonymous French manuscript, written in 1771, three years before Louise d'Épinay's seminal work. This piece permits the creation of a dialogue between educational literature and educational experience; it is as much a record of an education as it is a plan to follow, and thus bears many similarities to the work of Maria Edgeworth in *Practical Education* (1798). Unlike my case studies elsewhere in this thesis, those considered in this chapter are largely the recipients of information and influence in their respective networks. However, in St Maur especially, there is a degree of reciprocity between the real experience of her own reading, and that of Adèle's fictional counterpart.

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The fourth and final chapter of this thesis broadens the scope of the project to include the publishing and review journal networks in which women writers on both sides of the Channel played an integral role. Divided once again into discrete case studies, the chapter returns to Louise d'Épinay, this time in her role as contributor and sometimes co-editor of *La Correspondance Littéraire* (1748-93), a French-language periodical publication with a very select manuscript circulation. I further consider the role of other magazines such as the *Lady's Magazine* (1771-1832) in shaping a female-centred literary network that offered access to both domestic and foreign publications. Finally in this chapter, I study Sarah Trimmer's *Guardian of Education* (1802-06), including a reading of her educational treatise contained therein, demonstrating the powerful authorial role Trimmer played in shaping the discourse around children's education in Britain. Combined, these publications demonstrate the links between various women writers of the period, revealing an intricate lattice of connections that span the Channel, specifically linked to education. Indeed it is in this chapter that the breadth of eighteenth-century networks are most easily visible. Linked by key players such as Trimmer, and key periodicals which brought together similar readers, these networks extend beyond those they create externally, and into the created and curated space of the periodical itself.

1. Education Theory: Cross-Channel Alternatives

The first two chapters of this thesis make an important distinction between two modes of writing on education: theoretical and practical. This opening chapter concerns itself with the former mode, examining work that can be considered as an educational treatise or publications aimed at the educator – parent, guardian, governess, mother – rather than the child. Importantly, not all of these treatises were read as such by their contemporaries, and my second chapter will complicate the definition of a child in relation to women’s education. There were significant differences in the conception of women’s education in Britain and France, and I use this introductory section here to contextualise the new directions taken by the women in my case studies. I begin, then, with a broad approach that considers Mary Wollstonecraft’s writing on female education, the involvement of Erasmus Darwin with his daughters’ school, and Mary Hays’ *Female Biography* (1803) to set the stage for a more detailed examination of three key women. Two of these women, Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis (1746-1830) and Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), produced work that was quickly translated into English and French respectively. The third woman I include is Elizabeth Appleton (c.1790-1849), whose pedagogical treatise provides a detailed counterpoint to Genlis. An analysis of these women’s work, and their cross-Channel connections, provides evidence for my final argument in this chapter, the importance and advantage of building an alternative historical narrative of women’s educational history – specifically, one that emphasises the Anglo-French connections that underpin it. Challenging a traditionally patriarchal, single-nation, *history* of educational progress and debate, the alternative I present makes a concerted effort to internationalise, and de-masculinise, that narrative.

Early criticism by Mireille Magnier in 1977 suggested that, until Maria Edgeworth and Erasmus Darwin enter the scene at the turn of the nineteenth century, ‘no-one had cared about methodical female education’.¹ Recovery work over the intervening decades has shown that this is not an entirely fair assessment, indeed in the face of these recovery efforts it is simply false.²

¹ Mireille Magnier, ‘Locke, Rousseau, et Deux Éducateurs Britanniques Au XVIII^e Siècle’, *Bulletin de La Société d’études Anglo-Américaines Des XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles*, 5, 1977, 59–78 (p. 63).

² For a discussion of late eighteenth-century contemporaries, see Hilton and Hirsch; for insight into the increasing role of female writers and European networks, see Brown and Dow; and Dow, *Translators*,

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After all, Mary Wollstonecraft published *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* in 1787, and *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792; Genlis had published *Adèle et Théodore* a full decade before in 1782, not to mention the Marquise de Lambert, and Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* even earlier in 1694. Catharine Macaulay published her *Letters on Education* in 1790, and Françoise d'Aubigné, Madame de Maintenon established the *Maison royale de Saint-Louis* in 1684 – a school for impoverished noble daughters – among a host of interventions by other women (and indeed many men) across the eighteenth century. Wollstonecraft provides an interesting starting point for my analysis for two reasons. Firstly, she seeks to engage with contemporary political debate on equal terms with her (male) contemporaries. Using the professional titles of 'philosopher' and 'moralist', she claims an equal footing with other writers in the public arena, defining herself with the same terminology, as a fellow writer producing work concurrently with theirs rather than in opposition to, and as a response to, their work. Without the condescending gender qualifier, the 'female philosopher' at which male contemporaries sneered, Wollstonecraft stakes her claim to a neutral intellectual space, one hitherto masculine by default. By entering this space as a philosopher and moralist rather than a female one, she attempts both to omit and emphasise her femininity. On the one hand, it is precisely the femaleness that excludes her that she wishes to be noticed in making such a claim; it is this that marks her out as new, as bold, a potentially radical model for others to follow. On the other hand, Wollstonecraft's sex offers an easy target for her critics (male and female) and so her claim to neutrality might be read as protective rather than provocative. Wollstonecraft's life and authorial voice have been the subject of numerous studies that I will not attempt to expand on here.³ Rather I will highlight the implications of this authorial posturing in Wollstonecraft's translation work, sometimes relegated to an afterthought, but examined in detail by Laura Kirkley.⁴ In an examination of Wollstonecraft's translation of Christian Gotthilf Salzmann's work,

Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900; for discussion on European female educators, see especially Brouard-Arends and Plagnol-Diéval.

³ See Barbara Taylor, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Todd, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Revolutionary Life*; Lyndall Gordon, *Vindication: A Life of Mary Wollstonecraft* (London: Virago, 2006).

⁴ See, for example, Fiore Sireci's article, in which all of Wollstonecraft's works are given their full titles except for her 'book-length translations in two languages'. Fiore Sireci, "'Writers Who Have Rendered Women Objects of Pity': Mary Wollstonecraft's Literary Criticism in the Analytical Review and A Vindication of the Rights of Woman", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 79.2 (2018), 243–65 (p. 244); Laura Kirkley, "'Original Spirit": Literary Translations and Translational Literature in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft', in *Literature and the Development of Feminist Theory*, ed. by Robin Truth Goodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 13–26; Laura Kirkley, 'Elements of the Other: Mary Wollstonecraft and Translation', in *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*, ed. by Gillian Dow, European Connections, 25 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 83–98; Laura Kirkley, 'Rescuing the Rights of Woman: Mary Wollstonecraft in Translation', in *Femmes Écrivains/Women Writers: At the Crossroads of Languages, 1700-2000*, ed. by Agnese Fidecaro and others (Genève: MetisPresses, 2009), pp. 159–71.

Kirkley demonstrates how, perhaps increasingly confident in her translation activity, Wollstonecraft chooses to speak 'to women, of women, as a man', a 'shuttling between gender roles' that involves 'questioning what those roles involve and proscribe.'⁵

Yet this 'shuttling' between roles is not confined to Wollstonecraft's translation work; it also appears early in her *Rights of Woman*. 'It is time', she writes, 'to effect a revolution in female manners – time to restore them to their lost dignity – and make them, as part of the human species, labour by reforming themselves to reform the world.'⁶ Wollstonecraft's gender role is unclear here. Is she speaking as a woman to other women? The use of 'them' implies a distance that suggests otherwise. Is she speaking from the male point of view? Her opening claims to 'plead for my sex', with the explicit possessive determiner, ought to contradict this. Wollstonecraft, then, has shifted role from a woman speaking *for* women, to someone else speaking *to* women. However, in contrast to her translation work, I do not here think that someone is male. Rather, I argue that Wollstonecraft employs the higher category of human, either absent the biological distinction of sex, or under which sex is merely a sub-category, in an attempt to circumvent the biological determinism that underpins much of the work of her contemporaries. Marshalling this argument for social and educational purposes, she writes

I still insist, that not only the virtue, but the *knowledge* of the two sexes should be the same in nature, if not in degree, and that women, considered not only as moral, but rational creatures, ought to endeavour to acquire human virtues (or perfections) by the *same* means as men, instead of being educated like a fanciful kind of *half* being. [...] I, therefore, will venture to assert, that till women are more rationally educated, the progress of human virtue and improvement in knowledge must receive continual checks.⁷

Wollstonecraft is not, it should be noted, arguing that boys and girls should study precisely the same things – although she does write to this effect later in her work – but she does demonstrate her commitment to the superior category that all men and women fall under: human. So-called 'natural' differences between men and women are confined to the physical, and not permitted to encroach on the mental or the social. It is this that allows Wollstonecraft to speak from a future enlightened position as a 'human', to insist on the acquisition of knowledge and human virtue by identical means. In other words, Wollstonecraft, in common with others of her time such as

⁵ Kirkley, 'Elements of the Other: Mary Wollstonecraft and Translation', p. 94. Original emphasis.

⁶ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. by Deidre Shauna Lynch, 3rd Edition (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), p. 49.

⁷ Wollstonecraft, pp. 42–44. Original Emphasis.

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Catharine Macaulay, Clara Reeve, and indeed Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, sees the physical distinction of sex as wholly apart from the lesser, possibly absent, distinctions of a sexed mind.⁸ However, as Karen O'Brien has noted, Wollstonecraft's speculation on the 'educational and social preconditions for women to participate on an equal footing in male intellectual culture' ultimately concludes, as did many of her contemporaries, that her enlightened future position really was a distant one.⁹

Despite her advocacy for an unsexed education, Wollstonecraft wrote explicitly on the rearing of girls in *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787). Clearly written for a well-moneyed family rather than with any pretence to universality, it is interesting that many of the maxims contained within refer to women rather than girls, women who were destined solely for marriage and motherhood. The conflation of women of all ages is explored in chapter two of this thesis, both in relation to linguistic definition and literary production. In a system where marriage is the end goal for aristocratic women, Wollstonecraft chooses to emphasise education – cultivation of the mind – as the key to happiness: 'in a comfortable situation, a cultivated mind is necessary to render a woman contented; and in a miserable one it is her only consolation.'¹⁰ In *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters*, that education is expressly a domestic one; boarding schools are defective for employing a governess who 'cannot attend to the minds of the number she is obliged to have.'¹¹ Katie Halsey explains this viewpoint by pointing out that many eighteenth-century writers 'simply [take] for granted that the class of young women who will be educated at all will be educated at home.'¹² However, five years later when the subject reappears in *Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft acknowledges a shift in her own opinion noting that, while she had 'formerly delivered [her] opinion rather warmly in favour of private education [...] further experience has led [her] to view the subject in a different light.'¹³ Consequently, she advocates for a form of education that combines public and private, a course that shares the pitfalls of most

⁸ For a consideration of the similarities between Wollstonecraft and Macaulay, see Elizabeth Frazer, 'Mary Wollstonecraft and Catharine Macaulay on Education', *Oxford Review of Education*, 37.5 (2011), 603–17.

⁹ Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 18.

¹⁰ Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, with Reflections on Female Conduct in the More Important Duties of Life* (Clifton: Augustus M. Kelly Publishers, 1972), p. 101.

¹¹ Wollstonecraft Godwin, pp. 58–59.

¹² Katie Halsey, 'The Home Education of Girls in the Eighteenth-Century Novel: "The Pernicious Effects of an Improper Education"', *Oxford Review of Education*, 41.4 (2015), 430–46 (p. 432).

¹³ The most likely reason for this change in opinion is Wollstonecraft's own experience of working as a governess to the oldest daughters of the Viscount Kingsborough in County Cork, Ireland. The first-hand experience of a female domestic education crystallised its chief failings in her imagination. Wollstonecraft, p. 167; for a contextual account of the events surrounding Wollstonecraft's employment as a governess, see Jenny McAuley, 'From the Education of Daughters to the Rights of Woman: Mary Wollstonecraft in Ireland, 1786-7', *History Ireland*, 24.1 (2016), 22–25; and Janet Todd, *Rebel Daughters: Ireland in Conflict 1798* (London: Viking, 2003).

compromises in fully satisfying neither side of the argument. Even a cursory survey of publication titles at the turn of the century reveals countless references to public versus private educations, whether plans, treatises, essays, or defences. For Wollstonecraft, a co-educational day-school model offers the surest method to avoid the significant vices she sees cultivated in children kept apart based on sex. ‘Were boys and girls permitted to pursue the same studies together,’ she writes, ‘those graceful decencies might early be inculcated which produce modesty without those sexual distinctions that taint the mind.’¹⁴ The ramifications of Wollstonecraft’s observations here are not fully realised until well into the nineteenth century as the British state developed an increasing involvement in education.¹⁵

Yet, as historical biography shows in Mary Hays’ *Female Biography* (1803), educated women of the previous centuries nearly always arose from particularly advantageous circumstances. Taking an indicative sample from the six-volume work, mention is made of the ‘amiable and select society’ who met at Madame Bontems’ (1718-1768) house, Catharine Macaulay’s father’s ‘well-furnished library’, and, more pointedly, Lady Dorothy Pakington (1623?-1679?) and Margaret Roper (1505-1544) are both used to underline the ‘fashion to give women a learned education’ and ‘greater attention paid to the culture of the female mind’ in previous centuries.¹⁶ Such fertile beginnings in these women’s upbringings and acquaintances leads Hays to praise Bontems’ ‘mental endowments’ and Macaulay’s ‘enquiring mind’, while recalling in Pakington’s entry, somewhat ruefully, that ‘in no period were there more numerous examples of female excellence and worth’; Roper’s entry is almost verbatim – ‘at no time has there existed a greater number of amiable and respectable women.’¹⁷ The common thread across the *Female Biography* is its insistence on a rational education for the female mind that permits self-improvement, but there is little recognition of the privileged position of the women concerned. Women’s intellectual improvement, despite the rejection of manipulation, concealment and subterfuge as methods, remains deeply rooted in the education of the upper classes.

Hays and Wollstonecraft are not alone in their views here. Mary Pilkington opens her *Mirror for the Female Sex* (1798) with a disappointed commentary on the lack of ‘taste for mental excellence’ in female education, while Elizabeth Appleton writes in the early nineteenth century

¹⁴ Wollstonecraft, p. 174.

¹⁵ See, for example, Michèle Cohen, ‘Language and Meaning in a Documentary Source: Girls’ Curriculum from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868’, *History of Education*, 34.1 (2005), 77–93; on the difference in Anglo-French schooling in the early nineteenth century, see Bellaigue; on the use and purpose of education, see Bygrave.

¹⁶ Mary Hays, *Female Biography: Or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries*, 6 vols (London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1803), vol. 2, p. 26; Hays, vol. 5, p. 289; Hays, vol. 6, p. 38; p. 90.

¹⁷ Hays, vol. 2, p. 26; Hays, vol. 5, p. 289; Hays, vol. 6, p. 38; p. 90.

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of the 'noble mental qualities of women'.¹⁸ Combine these remarks with another of Pilkington's comments later in her work, that 'wherever a young lady of fortune appears to possess a genius and inclination for learned pursuits, she ought to be permitted to indulge it', and one begins to see the underlying classism.¹⁹ Pilkington's qualifier to women's mental fortitude, ladies of *fortune*, neatly demonstrates a wider phenomenon in society, further evidenced by schools that advertised themselves to ladies of rank, or of fashion.²⁰ That is, education was designed for, and only open to, a distinct subsection of society: those who could pay for it. Even Wollstonecraft's radical suggestions to reform schooling split children at the age of nine into those 'intended for domestic employments, or mechanical trades', who are to be 'removed to other schools', and those 'of superior abilities, or fortune' who are to be taught elsewhere.²¹ Once more, ability is conflated with fortune, and there appears almost an attempt – thinly veiled – to tinker with the educations of those who have the means to pay for learning (but not necessarily the capacity) at the expense of a superficial reconstitution of the same constrictive processes for those who do not.

Indeed, Isabel Pinto has suggested that, across the Channel in France, Genlis pursues a similar aim in her *Théâtre à l'usage des Jeunes Personnes* [*Theatre for the use of Young Persons*] (1779-1780), arguing that her plays for tradesmen and merchants are 'an attempt to shape and, at the same time, to undermine the educational development of pre-revolutionary France.'²² Pinto's comment, focussing on tradesmen and merchants, is clearly aimed at Genlis' attitude to male education. Nonetheless, as will become apparent in my examination of *Adèle et Théodore* which follows, Genlis' educational treatise makes few allowances, if any, for a family of modest means. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons Wollstonecraft has little praise for her French counterpart. Crediting her with 'several useful hints, that sensible parents will certainly avail themselves of', Wollstonecraft ultimately and summarily dismisses Genlis' work as possessing views that are 'narrow', and prejudices 'as unreasonable as strong'.²³ In the context of the French

¹⁸ Mary Pilkington, *A Mirror for the Female Sex. Historical Beauties for Young Ladies. Intended to Lead the Female Mind to the Love and Practice of Moral Goodness. Designed Principally for the Use of Ladies' Schools* (London: Printed for Vernor and Hood in the Poultry, 1798), ix; Elizabeth Appleton, *Private Education; or A Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies.*, 3rd Edition (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1816), p. 232.

¹⁹ Pilkington, p. 62.

²⁰ See, for example, the listings in the following early nineteenth-century directory of schools, which distinguished based on precisely these attributes. *The Boarding School and London Masters' Directory, Etc. 1828* (London, 1828).

²¹ Wollstonecraft, p. 117.

²² Isabel Pinto, 'The Comtesse de Genlis' *Théâtre à l'usage Des Jeunes Personnes* (1779-1780): Educating for Order and Prejudice in Pre-Revolutionary France', *Children's Literature in Education*, 48 (2017), 214–29 (p. 220).

²³ Wollstonecraft, p. 111.

Revolution, critics have frequently ascribed English dismissiveness of French texts and ideas to anti-French sentiment.²⁴ Yet, as Arden Hegele has usefully shown in her work on Maria Edgeworth, there was a ‘historical transformation in girls’ education at the turn of the nineteenth century’, brought about by the influx of French aristocratic émigrés fleeing persecution, which complicates this view.²⁵ Thanks to this new class of native French speakers, British families could engage a better-qualified teacher to educate their daughters in foreign languages. However, though such émigrés were no doubt more fluent and authentic in their representations of French than their British counterparts – even those boasting French acquired in France – their qualifications to teach remain located in their gentility rather than in any superiority of intellect or education. To answer the question of how aristocratic French education was depicted, I turn to Genlis and her educational work, *Adèle et Théodore*, widely read in both France and in translation in England.

A French Woman’s Education: Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis’ *Adèle et Théodore*

To suggest that a French education is fundamentally different to a British one is a generalisation that oversimplifies an inescapably complex issue, regardless of the historical period in question. Nonetheless, although Christina de Bellaigue’s research has shown that, for a girl being educated post-1800, ‘on both sides of the Channel, the dominant conception of the purpose of female education was broadly the same’ – namely motherhood and domesticity – there remain notable differences in the discourses, if not always the practices, of pre-Revolutionary British and French pedagogy.²⁶ Consequently, Genlis’ foremost pedagogical work, *Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l’Éducation*, first published in 1782 and almost immediately translated into English under the title *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education* (1783), has been subjected to a highly changeable reception history.²⁷ More than perhaps any other text considered in this thesis, Genlis’ treatise warrants the moniker ‘pan-European phenomenon’ with which Gillian Dow describes it in the introduction to her 2007 edition, noting that translations appeared variously in Spanish, Italian,

²⁴ For a discussion of women’s writing at the time of the Revolution, see Harriet Guest, *Unbounded Attachment: Sentiment and Politics in the Age of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁵ Arden Hegele, “‘So She Has Been Educated by a Vulgar, Silly, Conceited French Governess!’ Social Anxieties, Satirical Portraits, and the Eighteenth-Century French Instructor”, *Gender and Education*, 23.3 (2011), 331–43 (p. 332).

²⁶ Bellaigue, p. 2.

²⁷ Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, 3 vols (London: Printed for C. Bathurst and T. Cadell, 1783). An Irish edition was also published in this year in Dublin.

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Dutch, Polish, and Russian.²⁸ In addition to the fervent translation activity that sent Genlis' work across Europe and beyond, her personal reputation also served to make the name 'Madame de Genlis' one that was easily recognised.

The personal context surrounding the life of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis merits some explanation, not least because to read *Adèle et Théodore* without this information is to ignore its many autobiographical influences. In January 1782, Genlis was made 'gouverneur' to the sons of Louis-Phillippe-Joseph Duke of Chartres (1749-93), after a number of years as governess to the family's daughters. The choice of the masculine 'governor' over feminine 'governess' was Genlis' own, and certainly deliberate, a point noted by both Gillian Dow and Isabelle Brouard-Arends in their respective English and French editions of *Adèle et Théodore*. As Ellen Moers underlines, this is 'a change as momentous in French as it is in English, for *Governess* is in the nursery, and *Governor* rules the world.'²⁹ Genlis was not averse to taking on unique positions – she was the first woman to be made governor to royal children – but her involvement with the Orléans family would be the source of many late eighteenth-century rumours referencing her 'boudoir politics', an allusion to her affair with the Duke of Chartres (Orléans after his father's death in 1785). Speculation culminated in discussions surrounding the parentage of two young girls brought into the Orléans household in 1785, Pamela and Hermine. Both were rumoured to be Genlis' illegitimate children, though it was particularly Pamela around whom the allegations coalesced. There is no clear modern consensus on these accusations of impropriety, although Stella Tillyard has suggested that opinions on Pamela's parents are 'dependent more upon attitudes towards Madame de Genlis than upon anything she herself did'.³⁰ Clóna Ó Gallchoir proposes that 'it is impossible that Genlis was Pamela's mother', while Dow argues that the debate is to some extent nation-specific: 'generally speaking, French scholars believe that Pamela was, as Genlis always argued, Nancy Sims, born in Newfoundland, whereas British scholars believe that she was an illegitimate child.'³¹ Such context is invaluable in light of Genlis' ability to blend fact and fiction in her work; one cannot be read without the other, and even where 'factual' accounts do exist, they are frequently untrustworthy. Exploiting the opacity of truth could also prove a profitable enterprise, as in the case of Elizabeth Griffith's *A Series of Genuine Letters between Henry and*

²⁸ Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, ix. I will refer to this edition throughout unless otherwise indicated. Dow's edition is based on the first 1783 English translation of Genlis' original 1782 publication. For details of other translations, see Marie-Emmanuelle Plagnol-Diéval's bibliography *Madame de Genlis* (Paris, Rome: Memini, 1996).

²⁹ Moers; cited in Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, xii; Brouard-Arends.

³⁰ Stella Tillyard, *Citizen Lord: Edward Fitzgerald, 1763-1798* (London: Vintage, 1998), p. 146.

³¹ Clóna Ó Gallchoir, 'Gender, Nation and Revolution: Maria Edgeworth and Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis', in *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere: 1700-1830*, ed. by Elizabeth Eger and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 200–216 (p. 211); Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, xvi.

Frances (1757). The letters were indeed the genuine exchanges of Elizabeth and her husband Richard, and the publication enjoyed a long period in print, with a number of additional volumes across the century. In *Adèle et Théodore* the letters are not genuine, though Genlis does insist on the veracity of a number of the accounts within the work.

Although this chapter elucidates the varied influence of Genlis on Edgeworth particularly, and discusses her work in relation to other women writers of the period, there is little evidence of a contraflow in ideas along these female connections. Indeed, there is no direct evidence that Genlis read Wollstonecraft, despite her continued publishing efforts well after Wollstonecraft's death and widely available French translations of *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, appearing in the same year as its English counterpart as *Défense des droits des femmes*. Isabelle Bour has uncovered a number of reviews of the work across 1792, and Wollstonecraft had already appeared in educated French circles two years before with the publication of her first *Vindication*, although this was not translated.³² As I discuss later in my examination of Maria Edgeworth, Genlis appears to have made no effort to engage with Edgeworth's educational output either. For Bour, Wollstonecraft's prior recognition, coupled with a favourable political reception occasioned by the increasingly radicalised social context of the French Revolution, are the likely motives for the decision to translate the second *Vindication*.³³ Conversely, the radical aspects of Wollstonecraft's educational publications, and indeed those in Edgeworth's work too, are a probable reason for Genlis' disinterest – her own work is decidedly more conservative.

Nonetheless, links between British women and Genlis do exist, none more significant than that with Margaret Chinnery (1766?-1840). Chinnery had read *Adèle et Théodore* in the original French in the year of its publication and later had three children whom she attempted to bring up according to the system Genlis prescribes therein. Denise Yim has published a detailed edition of this correspondence, including an astonishing account of the diary kept by Chinnery to chart her children's educations.³⁴ The existence of the Chinnery correspondence is crucially important to understand the cultural and contextual reception of Genlis' work. For Yim, Genlis differed from her male contemporaries sufficiently to have 'conceivably attracted her own particular following, especially among her female readers.'³⁵ Gabriel de Broglie has noted that, in France, a Madame

³² Isabelle Bour, 'A New Wollstonecraft: The Reception of the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and of *The Wrongs of Woman* in Revolutionary France', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36.4 (2013), 575–87.

³³ Isabelle Bour, 'The Boundaries of Sensibility: 1790s French Translations of Mary Wollstonecraft', *Women's Writing*, 11.3 (2004), 493–506 (p. 495).

³⁴ Yim, *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*.

³⁵ Denise Yim, 'Madame de Genlis's *Adèle et Théodore*: Its Influence on an English Family's Education', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 38.1 (2001), 141–57 (p. 142).

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Pauline Brady also chose to follow Genlis' educational principles, but she did not document the experience.³⁶ Thus, although critics and scholars have so far only identified one Frenchwoman and one Englishwoman known to have implemented Genlis' pedagogical precepts, there are a number of factors that imply the practice might have been much more common than these surviving accounts suggest. There are several accounts, for example, of similar attempts (though seemingly much less successful ones) to raise children according to another French writer's plan – Rousseau's.³⁷ Sticking, however, with women writers, Chinnery may have read Genlis' work in the French original, but *Adèle et Théodore* was serialised in English translation in both the *Universal* and *Lady's Magazine*, the latter of which expressly catered to a female audience.³⁸ The larger role of journals in creating cross-Channel European female networks will be fully discussed in chapter four; here, it is my intention rather to draw attention to the likelihood that Chinnery's experience of educating her children to Genlis' method, while exceptional in its detailed documentation, may not be unusual in itself.

Yim remarks that a 'substantial' number of British people sought introductions and meetings with Genlis, whose acquaintances 'marvelled at her forbearance and grace in receiving them'.³⁹ Chinnery, then, was perhaps either lucky, or sufficiently well acquainted with the right people to achieve an introduction, but she was clearly not alone in her attempts, and at least some of those seeking an audience were probably interested in Genlis' educational principles.⁴⁰ The resulting blossoming friendship provided Margaret Chinnery with an unparalleled access to Genlis' pedagogical ideas, and the two discussed the progress of their respective charges at length. Indeed, upon Chinnery's departure from Paris to return to England, Genlis made the first of a number of literary gifts in the form of a bound manuscript copy of some of her own work.⁴¹ Events would eventually conspire to cause a breakdown in the relationship between the two women, who had adopted an informal mother–daughter bond that took note of their emotional attachment and their twenty-year age gap.⁴² Yet, despite the changing fortunes of the personal relationship between the two women, Chinnery never appears to have lost faith in the

³⁶ Gabriel de Broglie, *Madame de Genlis* (Paris: Perrin, 1985), p. 334.

³⁷ See, for example, the discussion of Henriette in Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment*, pp. 73–94. Equally unsuccessful was Richard Edgeworth's attempt to raise his son by Rousseauvian principles.

³⁸ The *Universal Magazine* serialisation ran in twenty-seven instalments between June 1782 and December 1786, while the *Lady's Magazine* offered its version across forty-nine issues from May 1785 to April 1789. I discuss the latter in chapter four.

³⁹ Yim, *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Yim suggests that the most likely catalyst for Chinnery and Genlis' introduction was Chinnery's friend Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824), the famous violinist and composer. See p. 31 in *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*.

⁴¹ See Yim, *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*, pp. 34–35.

⁴² For an account of the breakdown of their relationship, see Yim, *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*, pp. 42–59.

educational precepts of her French mentor, implementing them to great success in the raising of her own children.

It is to these pedagogical plans that I now turn. In fact, Genlis gives a number of specifics in her work to enable her readers to follow the plan she outlines, including an hour-by-hour account of a standard day while Adèle is six years old. Thirty years after Genlis' work was published, there appears a similarly detailed account in Elizabeth Appleton's *Private Education* (1815), which provides a timetable for her own pupils: Ellen, Ann, and Susan, aged sixteen, fifteen, and ten respectively. The extent of the differences between the two schedules outlined in these works paints very different pictures of girls' education. From the information given in these two authors' descriptions, I have derived an indicative timetable for the girls under their care, which I include in appendix A.

It is important to preface my discussion of these two outlines with a caveat; I am not comparing precisely like with like. Genlis' plan refers to a mother in charge of a sole dependent (her daughter), while Appleton's more complex arrangement arises from the need to educate three young people simultaneously under a single governess. Though Genlis' work is about Adèle *and* Théodore, the large part of the son's education is conducted by his father. The children in Appleton's text are all girls, and thus cannot be passed onto other guardians outside of the governess she includes in her plan. Indeed, although various masters are employed to assist in the education of Adèle, the mother takes absolute precedence, appearing in all elements of Adèle's life outside of her walks. Appleton, however, provides for mothers to take a backseat in education after an initial 'forming' period. *Private Education* gives extensive advice on the proper characteristics of a governess, who must be given time and training to adopt the family system before a mother can commit her children to the governess's care.⁴³ Strikingly, Appleton suggests that if a mother can 'give her the theory', then a governess will 'practice upon your children with success'.⁴⁴ The differences between Genlis and Appleton here, regarding which woman holds the power in education, are placed in stark relief. *Adèle et Théodore* is a work that defies strict categorisation, despite its clear educational treatise, while *Private Education* is an educational handbook with a clear, practical aim. I do not suggest that the timetables presented here are representative of their times and nationalities – either in print or in practice – but I do posit that they are at least indicative on both counts.

⁴³ See particularly Appleton, pp. 1–10.

⁴⁴ Appleton, p. 4.

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Most obviously, the two educational frameworks divide their activities between formal lessons and prescribed recreation – I qualify these terms as it is often difficult to categorise an activity purely as a lesson or recreation. How, for example, ought one to classify ‘amuse ourselves in the saloon with maps, drawing, or conversation’, or ‘Gaultier’s game’, when both combine elements of recreation with an educational purpose or benefit?⁴⁵ This is a question with which Genlis and her contemporaries also grappled, strongly evidenced in the opening chapters of Maria Edgeworth’s *Practical Education*. On toys, she notes that ‘it is surprising how much children may learn from their playthings when they are judiciously chosen, and when the habit of reflexion and observation is associated with the ideas of amusement and happiness’, though in her chapter on tasks she cautions that ‘there is a material difference between teaching children in play, and making learning a task’.⁴⁶ Teaching ‘in play’ is both an attempt to marshal all aspects of a child’s life in pursuit of education, and a reminder of the prevailing ideas of a connection between the value of a skill or piece of knowledge, and its usefulness. Yet looking at the timetables Genlis and Appleton propose, there is a clear distinction between the two types of activity. Perhaps a more useful distinction might be between formal learning (lessons, reading, recitations, etc.) and informal, or incidental learning occasioned through exercise, discussion, or structured games. Despite questions over precisely what each type of activity entails, what is strikingly clear from a comparison between Genlis’ and Appleton’s plans is their complete inversion of each other’s timings. Appleton packs her charges’ mornings with the formal aspects of learning; indeed the girls are ‘to be in the study by seven o’clock’, indicating an even earlier rising time – presumably pre-dawn for much of the year.⁴⁷ All formal elements of education are completed by two o’clock each afternoon, and before dinner, leaving time for walking, recreation, or Gaultier’s game, a range of activity that accounts for differing needs and situations (exercise, or weather, for example). Conversely, Genlis’ places Adèle’s lessons primarily in the evening, with only one hour

⁴⁵ Gaultier’s game was an invention by the French clergyman and educational reformer Louis Gaultier, or Aloïsus Édouard Camille Gaultier (1746-1818), known as l’abbé Gaultier. Appleton makes an explicit reference to Gaultier’s game in geography, whereby pupils selected small balls from a bag, each inscribed with questions on geography that they were required to answer. Correct answers provided them with counters, while an incorrect answer or no answer at all required them to pay a counter to their governess, which led some critics (Appleton included) to object to this element of the game as it might encourage gambling. Gaultier published *Les Leçons de géographie par le moyen de jeu* in 1788, and a translation appeared in 1792 under the title *A Complete course of geography, by means of instructive games, invented by the Abbé Gaultier*. After the success of the original game, Gaultier supplemented his offering with *Le Jeu Raisonnable et Moral pour les Enfants* (1791), translated in the same year and published as *A Rational and Moral Game*.

⁴⁶ *Practical Education*, ed. by Susan Manly, *The Pickering Masters: The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), xi, pp. 20; 40.

⁴⁷ Appleton, p. 260.

of learning by rote before dinner, and only resuming study sometime between four and five o'clock in the afternoon.⁴⁸

Evidently, the two writers subscribe to differing viewpoints on the most appropriate time of the day to conduct educational activity, as well as the quantity a child is expected to learn on any given day. Despite the fact that Susan is older than Adèle (by four years), she has at least one hour less allocated to learning each day. This is perhaps all the more surprising given the general increase in lesson time seen across Appleton's plan as her pupils age; though there is no equivalent child to compare with Adèle, an extrapolation of Appleton's timeline would indicate even less time for learning for a child of six years. Bedtimes in Genlis' plan seem also to appear fairly late when compared to modern standards – few six- and seven-year-olds would be permitted to stay up until 9pm on a daily basis, especially if expected to wake up by seven in the morning. Appleton's plan does not give specifics beyond seven o'clock in the evening, but it is probable that the meal and associated tasks would not take up the two hours required to achieve parity with Genlis. Nevertheless, despite these mechanical differences, the content of Appleton and Genlis' plans is remarkably similar. Adèle and her British counterparts all have a session of reading, a lesson in drawing, and an hour of music. All also engage with 'maps', a method of learning geography that was common in the eighteenth century; I explore an extended use of this method beyond geography in a French manuscript in the third chapter of this thesis. Adèle's evening arithmetic practice also finds its way onto the Appleton girls' list of exercises on Saturdays.⁴⁹ Each day in Appleton's list of studies contains a series of subjects for exercises, new lessons, and reading. Underlining the importance of French to a British woman's education, all three of the girls in *Private Education* have an element of French every day except Sunday, which is reserved for religious education. Notably, here, the girls' education is a seven-days-a-week undertaking; the only concession is a shorter list on Sunday, presumably to facilitate attendance at church.

There is no equivalent, neatly contained list of subjects in Genlis' work, but a number of the themes still come through. Language, for example, is also very important in Adèle's education. The Baroness d'Almane writes of Miss Bridget, an Englishwoman engaged solely to assist in Adèle's learning of the English language. Though comment is passed on her 'long waist, and her stiff stays', a nod to the differing fashions of the two countries, the reader is informed that both

⁴⁸ As indicated in the table, Genlis does not provide enough information to confidently assert the activity that takes place between four and five.

⁴⁹ Appleton proposes a schedule of different subjects for her pupils' lessons based on the day of the week. This list can be found in *Private Education*, pp. 261-266 for Ellen and Ann, and pp. 266-269 for Susan.

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Adèle and her brother speak English ‘as well as’ they speak French.⁵⁰ On both sides of the Channel, here, girls are given a strong foundation in foreign languages, English or French especially, but often also Italian. This foundation, instilled very early, provides the context for Anglo-French exchange. Thanks to their childhood educations, women of the upper classes in England and France, it may be assumed, had a sufficient level of foreign language to read extensively in other languages, reducing their reliance on translations. It is this idea that I explore across this thesis; that, even absent translations of a text, a cross-Channel dialogue remains not only possible, but plausible. Appleton, for example, was certainly aware of her French predecessor, and mentions *Adèle et Théodore* as one of the few French books for young women that is not ‘too lively’ for English taste. Though another of Genlis’ texts is given some consideration, *Les Veillées du Château* (1784), *Adèle et Théodore* appears only as part of a list of French works, suggesting that Appleton did not consider it important enough for greater consideration, or that the text would stand on its own merit.⁵¹

To shed further light on the daily activities of young girls and their educations, then, one might usefully consider another French writer of the period, Louise d’Épinay, who, after beating Genlis to win the first *Prix Montyon* in 1783, was certainly on the latter’s radar.⁵² The prize-winning text, *Les Conversations d’Émilie* (1774), which appears on Adèle’s reading list when she is seven, I consider in the next chapter. Here, I wish to briefly explore another of Épinay’s publications, her earlier work *Lettre à la Gouvernante de ma Fille* [*Letter to my Daughter’s Governess*], first published anonymously in *La Correspondance Littéraire* on 1 October 1756, and subsequently in *Mes Moments Heureux* [*My Happy Moments*] (1758).⁵³ The letter outlines Épinay’s instructions to her daughter’s governess for how she is to be conducted on a day-to-day basis. Less specific on timings than either of the other examples I have given here, Épinay advocates an ‘early’ [*de bonne heure*] start to the day for her daughter that begins immediately with a short prayer, followed by half an hour to get ready and recite her catechism or receive an explanation of some other element of doctrine or Christian morality. Broadly in line with Genlis’ model, the morning consists of an hour or two walking, weather permitting, or a task ‘suited to

⁵⁰ Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, p. 12.

⁵¹ The work was well known thanks to reviews and translations – see chapter four.

⁵² The *Prix Montyon*, first awarded in the year Épinay won (1783) is an annual prize awarded by the *Académie Française* to the French author whose work of literature was considered ‘the most valuable to the mores, and commendable for a morally superior and useful character.’ Original French [aux auteurs français d’ouvrages les plus utiles aux mœurs, et recommandables par un caractère d’élévation et d’utilité morales]. ‘Prix Montyon’, *Académie Française* <<http://www.academie-francaise.fr/prix-montyon>> [accessed 27 February 2018].

⁵³ Épinay’s involvement with the *Correspondance Littéraire*, a small-circulation periodical, is explored in chapter four. Her own daughter, Angélique, was seven years old at the time of the letter’s initial publication.

her sex', namely embroidery or other similar occupation.⁵⁴ The four or five hours after lunch are spent in the company of both governess and mother, an unusual situation that contemporary observers might well believe to be a source of tension. In both England and France, the employment of a governess was, at least in part, designed to free the mother from some of her educational duties, purportedly either to complete her own work, or to pursue leisure activities, depending on the political bent and compassion of the commentator. In England especially, a perceived class difference may also have raised eyebrows, although provided the interaction did not encroach into mealtimes, as it does in Genlis' work, the issue might be passed over.⁵⁵ Épinay's envisaged afternoon divides time between the study of history, geography, and poetry or 'agreeable' prose, all of which are to be tested the following day. Every evening is to end with an account of the day and the daughter is to be in bed by ten o'clock at the latest, even later than the model Genlis proposes. Épinay and Genlis, then, outline very similar models, despite writing them nearly twenty-five years apart; both women front-load the day with exercise and conversation, relegating lessons to the afternoon or evening.

Nonetheless, there are notable differences – both between the French plans, and in comparison to their later English counterpart – in defining the chief educator and the balance of authority between preceptor and child. This is in spite of the similar socio-economic group addressed across all three texts. While certainly Genlis is operating at the highest levels of the aristocracy, Épinay too is situated toward the top of an upper class milieu. Appleton, perhaps addressing a readership slightly lower than her French counterparts, is still working within an upper class framework – not least because the education she prescribes for her female charges was not available below this rank. In Appleton's case, the mother's engagement is gradually withdrawn as the governess gains experience, although it is not suggested that she retires entirely. For Genlis, the involvement of a third party outside of the mother–daughter educational relationship is usually reserved for the acquisition of a particular skill; in both of these cases the governess inherits the mother's authority over the daughter. In Épinay's system, however, the governess's position is much more tenuous. She is required to 'permit [the daughter] to interrupt as much as she wants, especially if it is by questions or observations that relate to the reading',

⁵⁴ Original French [convenable à son sexe: broderie, linge, etc.]. Ruth Plaut Weinreb, *Eagle in a Gauze Cage: Louise D'Épinay Femme de Lettres*, AMS Studies in the Eighteenth Century, 23 (New York: AMS Press, 1993), p. 111.

⁵⁵ Irene Hardach-Pinke has written on the situation of governesses in Germany and notes the potential uneasiness created by the unique position of the governess in the class hierarchy of aristocratic families. She writes that, in Germany, a governess 'did not belong to the servants but had to eat at the table with the family of her charges', a situation replicated in *Adèle et Théodore*. See 'Intercultural Education by Governesses (Seventeenth to Twentieth Century)', *Pedagogica Historica*, 46 (2010), 715–28 (p. 718).

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and is refused recourse to all forms of punishment.⁵⁶ In allowing the daughter – or more accurately the child, for it is the power dynamic that is important here – to interrupt ‘as much as she wants’ while simultaneously denying the governess the ability to issue any reprimand, the child is elevated to a position of relative power over her governess, whose authority is subsequently undermined. Such a confusing array of power imbalances does not occur in Genlis’ and Appleton’s more tightly controlled environments, where the child is always under someone’s authority, even if it is not presently the mother’s.

For Donelle Ruwe, this control is born of the semi-autobiographical nature of Genlis’ text. Much like the Baroness d’Almane, Genlis herself spent ‘twelve to fourteen hours each day writing, monitoring her charges’ progress, supervising their tutors, and consuming every treatise on education available.’⁵⁷ While I take issue with this last assertion – Wollstonecraft and Edgeworth appear two glaring omissions from the ‘every treatise’ proclamation – there is no doubt that Genlis took her educational duties seriously. Indeed, Genlis’ educational endeavours go beyond the narrow confines of the particular set(s) of children she educated herself. Thanks to the blend of fiction and educational treatise in *Adèle et Théodore*, Ruwe suggests that the work ‘disseminated education theory to the novel-reading public’.⁵⁸ Women writers, following in Genlis’ footsteps, produced an increasing volume of this dual-genre work, with the express purpose of making often complex debates between philosophers and educationalists accessible to a female reading public comprising mothers and, more importantly, mothers-to-be. Scholarship has identified *Adèle et Théodore* as the source text for work by a range of British authors, such as Amelia Opie, Ann Radcliffe, and Adelaide O’Keefe, and remarks upon the influence of Genlis on Clara Reeve, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and characters in Jane Austen.⁵⁹ This vital bridge between theory and reality lacks a direct equivalent in male-authored publications; it is a cross-Channel network of *women* writers who are leading efforts to make intellectual discourses available to literate, but not necessarily literary, ladies.

Though Genlis’ text, and indeed the majority of the texts I consider in this thesis are primarily written to educate young women and girls, they also subscribe to a system of education

⁵⁶ Weinreb, p. 109. Original French [Vous lui permettrez de l’interrompre tant qu’elle voudra, surtout si c’est par des questions ou des observations relatives à la lecture].

⁵⁷ Donelle Ruwe, ‘The British Reception of Genlis’s *Adèle et Théodore*, Preceptive Fiction and the Professionalization of Handmade Literacies’, *Women’s Writing*, 25.1 (2018), 5–20 (p. 6).

⁵⁸ Ruwe, p. 7.

⁵⁹ For details of these influences, see Jacqueline Pearson, *Women’s Reading in Britain 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Gillian Dow, ‘Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis and the French Historical Novel in Romantic Britain’, *Women’s Writing*, 19.3 (2012), 273–92; Judith Clark Schaneman, ‘Rewriting Adele et Théodore: Intertextual Connections Between Madame de Genlis and Ann Radcliffe’, *Comparative Literature Studies*, 38.1 (2001), 31–45; Ruwe, p. 6.

that reaps increasing rewards as each successive generation is better equipped to teach the next. In this sense, while the education is directed at girls, it is actually intended for their future selves, as mothers. In an attempt to underline the importance of a well-educated mother, Genlis uses the acquaintance of the Baroness d'Almane to offer an extensive list of children, aged from infancy to nineteen, who experience varied educational journeys, and whose improvement or lack thereof is immediately visible to her readers.⁶⁰ As I have explored here, literary mothers were unequivocally the final authority on their daughters' education, particularly in infancy, though there remain questions about the lived reality of this situation. How, then, might this situation be realised in a non-fictional, and simultaneously non-theoretical, setting? To answer this question, I traverse the Channel and return to the British Isles to examine the educational milieu of the Edgeworth family, and the work of one particular daughter: Maria Edgeworth.

Maria Edgeworth's Theories of Practice

Maria Edgeworth's chief educational offering, *Practical Education* (1798), has little in common with Genlis' work on first inspection; there are no letters from characters, no children whose development can be traced from letter one to a hundred, though plenty of children do feature individually. Rather, Edgeworth's text is more akin to an educational manual or handbook, equipping mothers and parents with the knowledge to bring up their charges through the work's record of a practical education. Serving distinctly different readerships, Genlis' text is designed to educate the few who find themselves at the top of the social structure, while Edgeworth's work is destined for a much larger, decidedly middle class environment. Before my examination of this text, however, I wish to make a few brief remarks on its authorship. Though I choose to refer to *Practical Education* as the exclusive work of Maria Edgeworth, there remains a critical debate surrounding the appropriate distribution of the work between Maria, her father, and her brother Lovell. While the text's own preface assigns a good deal of the work to Maria herself, a perusal of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* provides a disheartening complication. Richard Lovell Edgeworth's entry boldly asserts that 'it is not possible to apportion credit between the "partner" authors', insisting that Maria dealt only with the 'less technical' aspects of the work.⁶¹ Astounding though this wilful omission of Maria's skill and experience in teaching appears – she was heavily involved in the upbringing and education of many of her younger siblings – Maria's own entry in

⁶⁰ See Ruwe, p. 7. Ruwe gives a list of these children, as well as their particular circumstances and the lessons these allow Genlis to elucidate. Of particular note is the Viscountess de Limours, whose first daughter Flora is poorly educated, and serves as a warning and incentive for a better outcome for her second daughter.

⁶¹ Christina Edgeworth Colvin, *Edgeworth, Richard Lovell (1744-1817)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8478>>.

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the *ODNB* is little better. Where her father is given a whole subsection with the title ‘Practical Education’, Maria’s involvement is relegated to an overarching section on ‘Early writings: education and collaboration’, and *Practical Education* is only mentioned once, jointly attributed to her and her father, as a comparison to her longest novel, *Patronage* (1814).⁶² These entries do little to correct the pernicious effects of an enduring patriarchal power structure and over-reliance on novels that has hitherto shaped women’s historical discourses. Even in work that explicitly and extensively deals with the father–daughter relationship, such as Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace’s *Their Father’s Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity* (1991), there is no discussion of *Practical Education* at all.⁶³ In light of this unfortunate capitulation to masculinised history, coupled with Maria’s majority authorship, I do not believe it to be self-serving to refer to the work as hers, but rather a necessary corrective step to reclaim her authorship.

Much critical work on *Practical Education* has highlighted what Anne Chandler terms its ‘triumphalism’, its claim to have steered a course between the ‘regressive errors’ of other publications, and the ‘oppressive tendencies of traditional pedagogy’, to map a road in service to a ‘modern civic ideal’.⁶⁴ But to read Edgeworth’s text purely as a practical guide to parenting is, for Mitzi Myers, to misunderstand its historical context. She argues that Edgeworth uses ‘practical’

In the ordinary dictionary sense of the word, first, concerned with the application of knowledge to useful, workable, and sensible ends, as opposed to theory and speculation; secondly, concerned with everyday activities; and, thirdly and most importantly, derived from actual practice: ‘We have chosen the title of Practical Education, to point out that we rely entirely upon practice and experience,’ all examples and advice included being ‘authorized by experience’.⁶⁵

⁶² W. J. McCormack, *Edgeworth, Maria (1768-1849)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8476>>.

⁶³ Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Fathers’ Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); For further arguments for and against Maria’s authorship and partnership with her father, see Butler, particularly the introduction. See also Michelle Levey’s monograph on the production of work within the family unit, Michelle Levey, *Family Authorship and Romantic Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶⁴ Anne Chandler, ‘Maria Edgeworth on Citizenship: Rousseau, Darwin, and Feminist Pessimism in Practical Education’, *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, 35.1 (2016), 93–122 (p. 94).

⁶⁵ Mitzi Myers, “Anecdotes from the Nursery” in Maria Edgeworth’s *Practical Education* (1798): Learning from Children “Abroad and At Home”, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 60.2 (1999), 220–50 (p. 231); Maria Edgeworth and R. L. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 2nd Edition, 3 vols (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1801), v; ix.

In this sense, then, the text attempts to bridge the gap between theoretical writing on education and a practical application of that knowledge in day-to-day child-rearing, but it is presented primarily as a record of that application, rather than a plan for others to follow, though certainly a degree of didactic intention is inherent in the decision to publish the work. The method champions an approach that rethinks education ‘from the child’s level up’, rather than from the ‘theoretician’s precepts down’.⁶⁶ It is this difference in approach that sets Edgeworth’s publication apart from those of her contemporaries. I suggest this difference lies partially in the need for *Practical Education* to address a much wider audience, and significantly more varied child subject, than that of writers like Genlis, whose aristocratic educations followed more rigid paths than their middle-class counterparts.

While she attempts to maintain her work’s existence outside of the realms of pedagogical theory, Edgeworth is nonetheless keenly aware of other work in the field, both at home and abroad. It may have been Richard Edgeworth’s decision to task the young Maria, in 1782, with translating Genlis’ *Adèle et Théodore* that gave rise to her subsequent engagement with foreign translations and interactions with her own work. Though the translation project was abandoned after a rival edition was published, Edgeworth’s European connections are substantial. Indeed, in March of 1803, Edgeworth and Genlis finally met in person. Maria’s reaction was markedly cool:

I am not famous for judging sanely of strangers on a first visit, and I might be prejudiced or mortified by Madame de Genlis assuring me that she had never read anything of mine except ‘Belinda;’ had heard of ‘Practical Education,’ and heard it much praised, but had never seen it.⁶⁷

The disappointment (and perhaps even a little anger) at Genlis’ apparent disinterest in the educational project outlined in *Practical Education* is understandable. Clearly Edgeworth had expected a much fuller response, and probably a degree of discussion on educational practices with Genlis, whose authority on education she probably considered comparable to her own. This oversight from Genlis is all the more surprising in light of her own educational efforts. If, as Donelle Ruwe’s comments in my consideration of *Adèle et Théodore* attest, Genlis spent ‘twelve to fourteen hours each day writing [...] and consuming every treatise on education available’, why had she not read one of the most prominent publications on the subject?⁶⁸ One possibility is that *Practical Education* is positioned precisely as *not* an educational treatise, despite its clear synergy with that genre. Another might be that she considered Edgeworth’s ideas less relevant to the

⁶⁶ Mitzi Myers, p. 231.

⁶⁷ *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. by Augustus J. C. Hare (Arnold, 1894), vol. 1, p. 139.

⁶⁸ Ruwe, p. 6.

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society in which Genlis was operating – the Edgeworthian method is much more suited to larger domestic settings than aristocratic or royal ones. Nonetheless, the fact that Edgeworth's work appears to be disseminated across Europe from the French translation leaves Genlis' omission a particularly unsatisfactory one. In a letter to Sophy Ruxton in 1802, Edgeworth recounts a chance encounter supporting this claim:

While I was looking out of the window a gentleman came in who had passed many years in Spain; he began to talk to me about Madrid, and when he heard my name, he said a Spanish lady is translating 'Practical Education' from the French. She understands English, and he gave us her address that we might send a copy of the book to her.⁶⁹

Here, Edgeworth demonstrates her desire to encourage the spread of the ideas contained in *Practical Education* as widely as possible, but the anecdote also serves as a reminder of the intimate and personal nature of translation publishing networks.⁷⁰ Access to particular editions and translations of texts might be mediated by the extent of your acquaintance, and their ability to source the appropriate material. Edgeworth's work was being distributed via the French, both linguistically and geographically; the movement of a text from English to French opened up a number of new frontiers. The centrality of France on the continent made it well placed to act as the hub for such literary propagation, while the social and publishing networks that crossed it – explored in chapter four – greased the mechanisms of exchange.

Elsewhere, Maria Edgeworth uses the advertisement to the second edition of *Practical Education*, published in 1801, to comment directly on the French translation published in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* (1796-1815) by the Pictet brothers, with whom the Edgeworths had personal connections.⁷¹ She writes that

[The authors] feel themselves highly obliged to M. Pictet, of Geneva, for such a translation of their Works into French as gives back a faithful and lively image of the Original. They attribute to misapprehension some strictures which M. Pictet has thrown out in his *Bibliothèque Britannique*, No. 93, p. 271. with respect to their silence upon Religion. Children usually learn the Religion of their parents; they attend public worship,

⁶⁹ Hare, vol. 1, p. 118.

⁷⁰ See Hilary Brown and Gillian Dow's edited collection, *Readers, Writers, Salonnières: Female Networks in Europe, 1700-1900* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011). Nine of the thirteen essays in this collection refer to particular authors or connections between women in different countries and three of the remaining articles take *salonnières* or *salons* as their subject, all of which serves to underline that European networks were a highly personal affair based on mutual acquaintance.

⁷¹ Susan Manly notes a visit to Edgeworthstown House in 1801 from Marc-Auguste Pictet in her introduction to *Practical Education*, ix.

and both at home and at School they read the Bible and various religious Books, which are of course put into their hands. – Can any thing material be added to what has already been published upon this subject? – Could any particular system meet with general approbation?

The Authors continue to preserve the silence upon this Subject, which they before thought prudent; but they disavow in explicit terms the design of laying down a system of Education, founded upon Morality, exclusive of Religion.⁷²

Edgeworth's advertisement offers a number of insights:

- (1) In addressing comments to the Pictet brothers, Maria Edgeworth demonstrates her active interest in following the overseas 'lives' of her publications. In this activity, she is remarkably proactive, and certainly unusual, though many authors used the prefatory material in later editions of their work to offer a rebuttal to domestic critical reception.
- (2) Edgeworth makes specific remarks on what she views as the quality of the French translation; it is 'faithful and lively', but importantly also an 'image of the Original', suggesting a degree of adaptation and change, but not a perversion beyond what Edgeworth considered acceptable.
- (3) By providing a reference to the publication *Bibliothèque Britannique*, as well as the particular number and page, Edgeworth makes significant assumptions about her readers. Namely, she provides them the means by which to follow up on, and read, the original comments made on her work, but she also clearly believes that her readers will have the linguistic ability to do so.
- (4) Edgeworth gives a firm rebuttal to Pictet's criticism of her work, appealing to the experience and sensibility of her readers. She makes a clear allusion to the multiplicity of religious beliefs in Britain and Ireland (and by extension, France), and the impossibility of a system of religious education that would be acceptable to all of them. Differences in religious beliefs were a common sticking point for cross-Channel educational endeavours in light of their intractability with morality and virtue. It was on this same religious deficiency that Sarah Trimmer objected to *Practical Education* in her *Guardian of Education* (1802-1806), a publication I consider in detail in chapter four of this thesis.
- (5) In light of the singularity of Edgeworth's authorship, only thinly veiled by the duality on the title page, her refutation of Pictet's claims take on a gendered aspect from which the plurality of authorship provides a shield, or seeks to hide. Her final line, therefore, to 'disavow in explicit

⁷² Edgeworth and Edgeworth, xiii-xiv. Original emphasis.

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terms' conveys a considerable authority that might rely on the veil of dual authorship. Such an overtly commanding tone falls considerably outside of the narrow linguistic range of expression afforded to women writers.⁷³

Edgeworth's appraisal of her work abroad went further than simply tracking its existence in foreign language translations. In a later letter to Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton in 1813, she offers a commentary on the suitability of those translations to their new reading community:

Hunter has sent a whole cargo of French translations – 'Popular Tales,' with a title under which I should never have known them, 'Conseils à mon Fils! Manoeuvring; La Mère Intrigante; Ennui' – What can they make of it in French? 'Leonora' will translate better than a better thing. 'Emilie de Coulanges,' I fear, will never stand alone. 'L'Absent, The Absentee,' – it is impossible that a Parisian can make any sense of it from beginning to end. But these things teach authors what is merely local and temporary.⁷⁴

This commentary is revealing on a number of fronts. Firstly, as evidence of a wide array of mediating phenomena associated with translation – changing titles and repackaging works (*Emilie de Coulanges* was originally published in 1812 as part of *Tales of Fashionable Life*, 1809-12) to disguise their foreign provenance. Secondly, it demonstrates Edgeworth's knowledge of her readers. *The Absentee* (1812) will make little sense to a Parisian because it is based on the struggles of the Irish peasantry living under Anglo-Irish landlords who exploit them in pursuit of fashionable lives in London; it is a 'local' problem of which a Parisian reader will be unaware. Finally, it suggests that Edgeworth sees translation of her work as a chance for personal education, to be taught which aspects of her work have wider relevance and which cannot cross the cultural boundary.

It is clear, then, that Edgeworth has a strong international outlook. Her extensive literary background appears in *Practical Education* by virtue of references to contemporary authors. The sheer range of texts that feature speaks to an exceptionally well-read author. A likely explanation for this is found in Susan Manly's introduction to her critical edition of the work. Describing home life for the Edgeworths', she writes:

⁷³ This is especially true in light of the supposed role women played in civilising men, as Michèle Cohen has outlined in her book Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996). Cohen speaks in a French context; British modes of femininity and masculinity were different from their continental counterparts, but the sense of refinement, delicacy, and grace was common to expectations of women in both countries.

⁷⁴ Hare, vol. 1, p. 230. Rowland Hunter, Joseph Johnson's nephew, was Edgeworth's publisher after Johnson's death, along with his other nephew John Miles.

The family method was to allocate the youngest children to an older sister or adult. All would gather round the big table in the library at Edgeworthstown House, talking, reading, and writing, the smallest children playing around the table, the older ones reading alongside their allocated adult, who would make sure that every word and idea was understood.⁷⁵

The Irish lawyer Charles Kendal Bushe is quoted upon a visit in 1810 praising the Edgeworth's *en famille* system:

There are many young Edgeworths male and female all of promise and talent and all living round the same table...In such a Society you may suppose Conversation must be good, but I was not prepared to find it so easy. It is the only set of the kind I ever met with in which you are neither led nor driven, but actually fall...into literary topics, and I attribute it to this that in that house literature is not a treat for Company upon Invitation days, but is actually the daily bread of the family.⁷⁶

Importantly, here, boys and girls are both educated together, by conversation, and seemingly without great distinction between them. Interestingly, the letter frames literature in other households as a treat, where here it is not only characterised as daily nourishment, but indeed frames the very setting; the family is literally surrounded by the literature of their library.

This literary backdrop, combined with Maria Edgeworth's tracking of foreign engagement with her oeuvre, speaks to the strength of her literary foundation. From the number of texts Edgeworth features in *Practical Education*, I pick out her interactions with Genlis as of particular interest to my cross-Channel endeavour. There are five explicit references to Genlis, or her educational text *Adèle et Théodore*, across the original two-volume edition of Edgeworth's publication, ranging from brief nods to similarities, to more extensive consideration of the flaws Edgeworth finds in Genlis' work. The first of these references appears in a chapter on attention, where Edgeworth likens her ideas of teaching by repetition to the method used by Genlis to teach Adèle the harp.⁷⁷ The evocation of Genlis is short – no comment accompanies it – and as such, she is almost used as support or evidence for the claim that repetition is a worthy method of education. Further support for Genlis' methods is found in the second volume, this time on the subject of geography and chronology. Edgeworth lauds 'a number of adventitious helps [...] for teaching history and chronology', though she cautions that 'such an apparatus cannot be

⁷⁵ Manly, xi, ix.

⁷⁶ Charles Kendal Bushe, letter to his wife, 16 August 1810, cited in Manly, xi, ix-x.

⁷⁷ Manly, xi, p. 54.

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procured by private families'.⁷⁸ The 'apparatus' mentioned here is probably Genlis' *ombres chinoises* [Chinese shadows], a pantomime created by the shadows of miniature figures on a wall or screen. Even if, as Donelle Ruwe suggests, Genlis intended her text to be 'a practical guide for parents' because it gives the prices for her educational tools – '37½ guineas, and coloured prints can be made for 16s' - such a scheme would be prohibitively expensive for the vast majority of families, and therefore quite impractical.⁷⁹ This explains Edgeworth's subsequent comment that 'fortunately the print-shops of every provincial town, and of the capital in particular, furnish even to the passenger a continual succession of instruction.'⁸⁰ Going further still, Edgeworth asks 'might not prints assorted for the purposes which we have mentioned be *lent* at circulating libraries?'⁸¹ Such prints, a large part of the educational system advocated by Lady Ellenor Fenn (1743-1813), considered in chapter two of this thesis, were not so expensive, and provided the visual and physical elements to education that Edgeworth places centre stage. Here, Genlis' ideas and concept are championed, but Edgeworth translates both the language, and the practicality of the scheme to an Anglo-Irish middle-class environment, rather than an aristocratic French one.

Not all of Edgeworth's comments on Genlis are positive, however. The following critique demonstrates her key objection to Genlis' plan:

Part of the *artificial course of experience* in that excellent work on education, Adèle [*sic*] and Théodore, is defective upon the same principle. There should be no moral delusions; no *artificial* course of experience; no plots laid by parents to make out the truth; no *listening* fathers, mothers, or governesses; no pretended confidence, or perfidious friends; in one word, no falsehood should be practised.⁸²

Constraint – physically, emotionally, or intellectually – is at odds with all aspects of Edgeworth's educational mantra. Yet, there is a tension in Edgeworth's comment between the 'excellent work' and the 'defective' artifice that undermines it. Specifics are not forthcoming here, though Susan Manly suggests that the reference is to Genlis' recommendation to test children's resilience through temptation that, if not naturally occurring, should be created by the parent or teacher.⁸³ Whereas Genlis believes this to be the way to improve their reason, Edgeworth suggests it will either confuse children, or cause them to lose confidence in their preceptor. She draws attention to the impracticality of attempting to contrive circumstances for a pupil that must necessarily

⁷⁸ Manly, xi, p. 244.

⁷⁹ Ruwe, p. 14.

⁸⁰ Manly, xi, p. 244.

⁸¹ Manly, xi, p. 244.

⁸² Manly, xi, p. 114.

⁸³ Manly, xi, p. 460.

result from trying to follow a particular system or plan of education not adapted to the pupil. Put simply, Edgeworth believes the education should adapt to the child, rather than forcing the child to adapt to the strictures of an educational system. Her comment, in many ways, highlights the idiosyncratic responses to the two texts; Genlis' text was widely seen as a model for education that could be implemented, while Edgeworth takes pains to assert that her work has 'no peculiar system to support', and warns her readers 'not to expect from us any new theory of education'.⁸⁴ Yet, logic would appear to suggest that Edgeworth's text is infinitely more widely practicable than Genlis', as Maria's criticism makes all too clear.

How, then, is one to interpret Edgeworth's comments on servants, that 'if children pass one hour in a day with servants, it will be in vain to attempt their education'?⁸⁵ Citing the French example of Madame Roland whose daughter learns to swear from servants, Edgeworth advocates for distance between servants and children as soon as the latter have no need of assistance. Surely, however, organising a household around the central idea that children and servants should interact as little as possible (and preferably not at all unsupervised) is a system just as contrived and controlling as the constructed encounters Edgeworth criticises in Genlis? Edgeworth, I suggest, was aware of the potential cry of hypocrisy here; the explicit line I quote above, along with the French reference, is removed from the second edition of 1801, although her general sentiments concerning servants remain consistent with her former remarks.⁸⁶ A wide practicability remains one of the central tenets of Edgeworth's pedagogy. It is worth noting here that Edgeworth is primarily concerned with the early stages of a child's education, chiefly to the age of nine or ten years. She devotes only a short chapter to the public versus private education debate; indeed she suggests that in all cases the best course of action is public and private – cooperation over competition. Edgeworth also goes some way to acknowledging that, absent fortune, station, or time, a public education of some description is a necessity for many middling families, but she does not suggest that this relieves a parent of their educational duties when children are at home. In this, there appear some further stark differences between Edgeworth's and Genlis' modes of education.

In her consideration of Genlis's plan, Denise Yim makes the following assessment of its practicability for mothers:

⁸⁴ Manly, xi, pp. 5–6. Original emphasis.

⁸⁵ Manly, xi, p. 79.

⁸⁶ Interestingly, the first American edition, published in the same year (1801), does reproduce the line, and appears to be based on the first English edition of 1798.

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Even if she were well provided with servants, tutors and funds – all of which were prerequisites for Madame de Genlis' plan – the sheer amount of work to be covered was overwhelming. Madame de Genlis never ceased reiterating throughout *Adèle et Théodore* that her method was within reach of every (upper-class) family, provided that the mother-educator – for it was the duty of a mother to educate her own children – followed a rigorous schedule.⁸⁷

There is no acknowledgement here of education beyond the private, or outside of the uppermost of social classes. It is left to other writers to adapt Genlis' work to other social milieus; Edgeworth as I described above, and women such as Lady Ellenor Fenn who used cheaper, though not cheap, prints to teach grammar. Both Genlis and Edgeworth, I suggest, produce texts with plans that are practicable, but the financial and temporal hurdles in *Adèle et Théodore* mean that only *Practical Education* succeeds in presenting a plan that is practical.

While Mitzi Myers' assertion that Edgeworth uses 'practical' in the sense of derived from actual practice is therefore convincing, it does not address the idea that the title of *Practical Education* itself invites its readership to speculate on the practicability and practicality of its contents, not least because the work falls squarely in the educational handbook genre. As a result, Edgeworth's pedagogical manual was read in a very different context to Genlis' publication, where the blending of fact and fiction defies a strict categorisation of the work as either fiction or non-fiction, narrative or treatise; even the halfway house of didactic fiction fails to account for the clear system that runs through Genlis' text. The consequences of these distinctions for reading audiences are usefully outlined by Carol Strauss Sotiropoulos, who notes that 'shifting from the nonfictional genre of the education handbook to the fictional world of character presentation, a writer faces the challenge of roping in an audience with a different set of expectations.'⁸⁸ Thus, although the audience might be similar for these two texts – caveats on socio-economic class notwithstanding – these audiences are inevitably reading for different purposes. Sotiropoulos continues

In entering a strictly didactic text such as an education handbook, readers consciously decide to expose themselves to theses they will either accept or reject – a rather cerebral operation. In entering didactic fictions [...] the reader anticipates not only an intellectual investment but an emotional one.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Yim, 'Madame de Genlis's *Adèle et Théodore*: Its Influence on an English Family's Education', p. 143.

⁸⁸ Carol Strauss Sotiropoulos, 'Where Words Fail: Rational Education Unravels in Maria Edgeworth's *The Good French Governess*', *Children's Literature in Education*, 32.4 (2001), 305–21 (p. 307).

⁸⁹ Sotiropoulos, p. 307.

While this thesis provides ample evidence to illustrate that women's responses to educational handbooks are rarely so clear cut as to entirely 'accept or reject' them, the distinction between the 'cerebral operation' of reading non-fiction and the dual investment of intellect and emotion in fiction deserves further unpacking.

As I explored in my consideration of Genlis, the reception of her work was dependent more on the nationality of her reviewer than the intrinsic merit of her text. Yet, on both sides of the Channel, the recognition was of an educational plan, if not quite a handbook, rather than a fictional narrative. She appears in the non-fictional work of numerous writers – Gillian Dow lists Mary Wollstonecraft, Catharine Macaulay, Hannah More, and Mary Shelley among others – and I noted further influences earlier in this chapter.⁹⁰ Much of the response to Genlis' work, then, lies decidedly on the cerebral side of Sotiropoulos' schema, while the emotional reaction results from Genlis' personal reputation rather than her work. For Edgeworth, there can be no realistic suggestion that her work is fictional, but as her paratextual material makes clear, she made strong attempts to distance the work from assignation as an educational handbook. Yet some of the response to her work, particularly that born of religious convictions, is decidedly emotional in tone. Though reviewers in France were broadly enthusiastic about the work, and early British reviews did not object to the absence of religion in *Practical Education*, this was not to last. Among the terms Susan Manly uses to describe the nature of subsequent British reviews are 'hostility', 'denounced', and 'viciousness', all three hardly the picture of a measured cerebral response to the work.⁹¹ Edgeworth's contemporary, Elizabeth Appleton, offers a way to think around this issue. She writes:

Of all the agents in education, none are more powerful than books. A book may be the ruin of innocence; the prop of virtue; the comfort of the weak, the terror of the strong; the polisher of a mind, or the depraver of a heart. A book is either the best treasure, or the greatest evil, in the worldly possessions of infancy, childhood, or adolescence.⁹²

Appleton's own descriptions about books are charged with emotional qualifiers that demonstrate the emotive investment of the reader, while only one descriptor, 'the polisher of a mind' refers to any intellectual commitment. The suggestion here, then, is that reading, regardless of fictitiousness, is always a more emotionally involved undertaking than the term 'cerebral process' allows.

⁹⁰ Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, xix.

⁹¹ Manly, xi, xv-xvi.

⁹² Appleton, pp. 240–41.

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Nevertheless, even if reading is always at least partially an emotive process as well as a cerebral one, Sotiropoulos' statement about the expectations of the reader remain pertinent. Approaching *Adèle et Théodore* as a piece of fiction, the imagined reader is more likely to focus on narrative and character than they are the educational precepts that underpin the work. Approaching *Practical Education*, this reader searches for the plan it contains, irrespective of authorial protestation. Of course, the secondary title to Genlis' work complicates this view. *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education containing all the principals relative to three different plans of education of princes, of young persons, and of men*, the full title of the work, is much more clearly positioned as educational text in addition to its fictive elements, although the order of the two phrases suggests a primacy to the fiction.⁹³ Indeed, Isabelle Brouard-Arends emphasises in her introduction to the modern French edition of the work that Genlis was adamant that 'my work is not at all a novel', and goes to some lengths to establish the veracity of the accounts it contains.⁹⁴ Real readers, as opposed to those imagined here, inevitably approached each text as individuals. Personal accounts of reading these texts remain few and far between – the Chinnery correspondence previously discussed being a notable exception – and so one must turn to other methods in order to explore reader engagement with literature.⁹⁵ In this, an author's own assumptions about, and instructions to their readers offer a number of ideas.

Edgeworth provides some help here; *Practical Education* lists a number of practical actions to prepare books intended for a child's consumption. Parents 'anxious for the happiness of the family, or desirous to improve the art of education' are told it is 'their duty to look over every page of a book before it is trusted to their children'.⁹⁶ Such readers approach a text with a significantly intellectual – the comparison here is with emotional – task in mind, one Edgeworth acknowledges as 'arduous' but insists is necessary; 'few books' she argues, 'can safely be given to children without the previous use of the pen, the pencil, and the scissors [*sic*].'⁹⁷ Edgeworth suggests that the task for these preparatory readers is to think about the effects of a text on another reader (here a child), rather than on themselves. Parents or, more accurately, mothers,

⁹³ It is also an evocative reference to Rousseau's *Emile, or On Education* (1762) published earlier in the century.

⁹⁴ Brouard-Arends, p. 14. Original French [mon ouvrage n'est point un roman]. Brouard-Arends points to an example in volume two of the work where Genlis emphasises the truth of her accounts – see p. 250 therein.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of wider reading practices, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); for the nineteenth century see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), which also contains data on circulation, copies, and sales of particularly famous works.

⁹⁶ Manly, xi, p. 185.

⁹⁷ Manly, xi, p. 185.

for it is mothers who Edgeworth envisages as the providers of an early education, are here called upon as editors and mediators. Edgeworth takes her own role as editor seriously, both in *Practical Education* through her indications and advice to her readers, but also more widely in her other publications as Alex Howard has explored.⁹⁸ Significantly, Howard suggests that Edgeworth saw her editorship role as akin to translation, highlighting her English readers' cultural as well as linguistic illiteracy. I consider women's role as editors more fully in chapter four of this thesis concerning Sarah Trimmer's *Guardian of Education* (1802-1806), and the translation aspect of this mediation in my case study of Louise d'Épinay's translator in chapter two. Here, I restrict my observations to those Edgeworth makes in *Practical Education*.

An anonymous mother (who the reader is told is one of the author's acquaintances) serves as the exemplar, while the text undergoing edit is Arnaud Berquin's *The Children's Friend* [*l'Ami des Enfants*] (1782-3, trans. 1783). This mother, in her attentive pre-reading of the work has made a number of marks, corrections, censorships, and excisions ranging from half a page to several sheets. Individual stories have been marked with the ages for which they are appropriate, and additionally the initials of different names. This mother, the reader is told, 'considered the temper and habits of her children, as well as their ages' in selecting appropriate material for their perusal.⁹⁹ This tailoring of education to the individual child is a stark reminder of Edgeworth's initial plans to rethink education from the child up, rather than the teacher down. However, the most interesting part of Edgeworth's engagement with Berquin's work lies in her objections not to his words, but those of the translator. The 'vulgarity of language' she notices in the translation is explicitly linked to the 'wretched translator' rather than to the original French, which is 'remarkably elegantly written', with many stories 'excellent both in point of style and dramatic effect'.¹⁰⁰ In an inversion of the standard accusations levied against translations, here, the translator has taken an unoffending French text, and in translating it, managed to add a degree of offence such that it is no longer suitable without parental mediation. This failure of translation is a double one. The primary failure is linguistic, but the second is editorial, as shown by Edgeworth's hope that 'select parts of *The Children's Friend*, translated by some able hand, will be published hereafter for the use of private families.'¹⁰¹ The translator, then, is called upon to perform more than simply a transfer of language; they must also make active choices as editor and mediator of the text, in part to assist the mother and child for whom the translation is

⁹⁸ Alex Howard, 'The Pains of Attention: Paratextual Reading in *Practical Education* and *Castle Rackrent*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 69.3 (2014), 293–318.

⁹⁹ Manly, xi, p. 186.

¹⁰⁰ Manly, xi, p. 189.

¹⁰¹ Manly, xi, p. 189.

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intended. The ideal translation, Edgeworth suggests, is one that a mother may read without finding a need for her pen, her pencil, or her scissors.

The particular choice of Berquin's text lies in its 'universal popularity'; Edgeworth believes all of the examples she has selected will be either familiar to her readers, or easily referred to, because "'The Children's Friend" is to be found in every house where there are any children.'¹⁰² Such an assumption in Edgeworth's treatise about the prevalence of French literature in British homes is revealing. It is in this context that the final reference to Genlis appears. Edgeworth suggests that the same principles the anonymous mother applied with Berquin may be applied to all books of that class, a category that includes Genlis' *Theatre of Education* [*Théâtre de l'éducation*] (1779-1780) and *Tales of the Castle* [*Les Veillées du Château*] (1784), and the work of Marie Elizabeth de LaFite (1737–1794) in its French entourage. While Edgeworth is not suggesting here that Genlis' work appears in every household, although it did enjoy a number of English editions, she is actively encouraging the (mediated) consumption of educational literature conceived on the other side of the Channel. Recalling that it was her father who introduced Edgeworth to *Adèle et Théodore*, Cliona Ó Gallchoir argues that Maria's interactions with French women writers were 'in some senses formative, and remained significant throughout her career'.¹⁰³ Certainly, French writers (male and female) appear frequently across the whole of *Practical Education*, and receive engagement that is far more than simply cursory. Another text, whose author is no stranger to the difficulties of public presence, Louise d'Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* (1774, 2nd ed. 1781) also appears in Edgeworth's work, specifically as a piece adapted to young people, although strangely placed among a section on natural history, and described as 'elegantly written' with the 'character of the mother and child admirably well preserved.'¹⁰⁴

Edgeworth's role as editor, and its relationship to public presence of female authorship appears most strongly in the changes made to *Practical Education* in its second edition of 1801.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps importantly here, the reference to Épinay remains, while a nod to a British author, Priscilla Wakefield, is removed.¹⁰⁶ This editorship is not simply a question of nationality – English authors are not privileged over French ones – rather it appears to be a genuine question of merit. Wakefield's work, while lauded as containing 'a great deal of knowledge suited to young people' in the first edition of *Practical Education*, is also criticised for having a style that is 'not elegant'

¹⁰² Manly, xi, p. 191.

¹⁰³ Ó Gallchoir, p. 214.

¹⁰⁴ Manly, xi, p. 195.

¹⁰⁵ Susan Manly's edition, used for this thesis, painstakingly catalogues all of these changes. I am indebted to her work here.

¹⁰⁶ See notes in Manly, xi, p. 504.

which, Edgeworth hopes 'perhaps in a future edition [...] may be revised.'¹⁰⁷ In an ever more crowded publication marketplace, selective coverage becomes more important than complete coverage; highlighting good work becomes more important than warning against bad work. *Practical Education's* initial 1798 publication in two cumbersome quartos did not lend itself to a wide readership. Its republication in 1801, this time in three octavo volumes, made the work more accessible; it is perhaps particularly apt that the second edition of *Practical Education* was more practical in its physicality as well as its contents.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the mediating role that women writers implicitly played in their references to other women's work. Here, I suggest that their publications, often as a result of this role, placed these women in a position to forge connections between each other, and thus create a parallel historical discourse on pedagogy. Indeed, this forging need not be an active effort. As I outlined in my theoretical framework, my argument maintains that the decision to engage with other women writers was a deliberate one, but it does not require these references to be explicit. A shared sense of maternal duty (though not identical) among women writers of the period, one that transcends national distinctions, creates a baseline connection that is built upon to greater or lesser extents. Here, I have shown how three women writers of educational theory constructed links between their work across different decades.

The educations offered in the work of Genlis, Edgeworth, and Appleton are firmly under the purview of women: mothers, governesses, and schoolmistresses, with varying degrees of responsibility and acceptability. It is in these diverse accounts that the minutiae of everyday childhood education can be found, on both sides of the Channel, connected here through a shared position as educator. These texts, however, are not written *for* a young audience, although they do place the child at the centre of their arguments. Rather they address the parent or guardian figure, who is encouraged to make an intellectual investment in the ideas they contain. That is, they situate themselves as influencers and as exemplars. While *Adèle et Théodore* has some claim to a dual audience of mother and child in its epistolary form, and therefore engaged in an educational effort as well as an influencing one on *how* to educate, it is the following chapter that explores literature written expressly with a child audience in mind, either alone, or in concert with a parent-educator. That chapter, building on the connections made above, seeks to expand the historical narrative I outlined in my introduction beyond theory,

¹⁰⁷ Manly, xi, p. 195.

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and into practice; beyond the explicit connections and influences embodied by Genlis and Chinnery or Edgeworth, and into the more nebulous territory of indirect influence.

2. Writing for Children: A Practical Implementation of Education Theory

In the previous chapter, I examined female engagements with education theory, largely written by and for adult educators. Although it touched on the practical elements of some of the texts considered, particularly the detailed plans outlined in Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* (1782) and Elizabeth Appleton's *Private Education* (1815), the chapter's primary concern was with adult reader-educators. Here, I move away from texts on educational theory, and instead focus on cross-Channel textual production for child readers; in other words, I explore women's didactic publications for children born of their own consumption of educational theory. Before delving into the content of these texts, however, often along with their reception, I will construct a contextual framework to establish a number of definitions and perspectives relating to this chapter. The purpose of these definitions, namely concerning what it means to be a 'child' reader, an individual reader, or a mother/parent educator, is to provide a series of lenses through which children's literature might be seen in an English and French context.

The subsequent chapter is broken into a tripartite exploration of British and French publications for children, taking two authors, one British and one French, as case studies. These three women writers are not themselves directly connected, nor do they all cross the Channel themselves or through their literary undertakings. They are, however, all actively and extensively involved in pedagogical production that is influenced by the changing intricacies of British-French cultural and literary exchange. I begin with Louise d'Épinay (1726-1783), a mother whose educational work has often been overshadowed by the more salacious aspects of her life and career. Translated into English on a number of occasions, and reviewed in the contemporary periodical press, Épinay is a pertinent example of the changing attitudes towards French pedagogical productions resulting from larger cultural and political shifts on the continent. Next, I move to the other extreme of cross-Channel engagement, Lady Ellenor Fenn (1743-1813), a woman who undertook no translation work herself, and was never translated abroad (although a French translation of one of her works was published in England). Fenn, then, I include for a different reason. A pioneer in publications teaching children (and mothers) grammar, and a teacher herself, Fenn's work bears marked French influences. An examination of these influences, direct from French publications and authors, but also less direct in the form of cultural depictions of Frenchness, offers an alternative view of cross-Channel collaboration. That is to say that, although translation provides the most obvious and traceable instances of Anglo-French

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debate and conversation on education, an exploration of the more lateral connections between English and French women writers is able to complicate, complement, and consolidate this view.

Taken together, these three case studies permit a more rounded picture of cross-Channel discussions and influences surrounding publications for children, particularly young girls. It is, I argue, only in considering this deliberately disparate collection of women that an idea of the fuller picture can be formed. I do not intend my conclusions in this chapter to pretend to universality – they remain specific examples of possible wider practices – but I do suggest that a greater focus on the international stimuli for these women’s literary productions reveals a more prominent cross-Channel network than has been recognised up to this point. Importantly, this network is not always linked to the author and their life – particularly evident in the case of Épinay, whose death largely pre-dates her British reception, and in Fenn, whose French translation is the result of a commercial dispute rather than an international endeavour. What follows here, is an attempt to unite three markedly different women and circumstances in pursuit of the exposure of that network.

The Parent and the Child: Roles and Definitions

As I have briefly outlined, this chapter is chiefly concerned with books produced for children’s education, but I want to begin by exploring the eighteenth-century definition of the child; in other words, for whom were these authors writing? This question is important because it speaks to a progression from dependent readers (children) to independent ones (adults) that was significantly shaped by gender and nationality. Children’s literature – that is literature that expressly catered to an infant audience – was a relatively new phenomenon in the eighteenth century. Matthew Grenby credits the Reading publisher John Newbery (1713-1767) as ‘the first successfully to commercialise books for children’, and certainly there appears to be a much greater enthusiasm for writing children’s books among authors in Britain than among their French counterparts, as this chapter’s case studies will highlight.¹ While I might have chosen any number of British female authors, perhaps due to the emergence of the genre in England, French writers were generally somewhat slower to adopt the new fashion – though important exceptions exist in the early work of Jeanne-Marie LePrince de Beaumont and Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis. In order to properly

¹ M. O. Grenby, ‘The Origins of Children’s Literature’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Children’s Literature*, ed. by M. O. Grenby and Andrea Immel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 3–18 (p. 4); this trend continues into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – see Kiera Vaclavik, *Uncharted Depths: Decent Narratives in English and French Children’s Literature* (Oxford: Legenda, 2010).

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contextualise the 'children' to whom authors addressed their publications, I make a comparison between English and French definitions of words pertaining to childhood in dictionaries of the period, a table of which is included in appendix B. An alternative approach by J. H. Plumb, looking to art, also demonstrates a marked change in attitudes to childhood in the eighteenth century.²

An examination of this table reveals several points of interest. All of the dictionaries agree that an infant or child is a person in the first years of life, but there are immediate discrepancies – definitional and linguistic – across the Channel. While Bailey and Johnson specify that an infant is particularly defined as a child from birth to the age of seven, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (hereafter *DAF*) allows the child/infant (which are both translated as *enfant*) to be up to the age of ten or twelve. Indeed, the syntax of the French definition might be said to suggest that the difference is gendered – boys are children until ten, girls until twelve. Childhood, or infancy, are only loosely defined in English before Johnson's dictionary. While the French have a clear distinction of birth to the age of twelve years 'or so', Johnson defines infancy as the first seven years, and childhood as the period between infancy and puberty. Puberty is held to be remarkably consistent across all the dictionaries: twelve for girls, and fourteen for boys. Somewhat unhelpfully, Johnson does not provide a temporal definition for puberty, and one is therefore left to guess when this might fall in his view. Complicating matters further is the concept of adolescence. Once more, there is broad agreement across three of the dictionaries that this is the period in life from fourteen (male puberty) to the age of twenty-five, although Bailey distinguishes between the sexes (seemingly based on puberty). Johnson, the anomaly, defines adolescence as *between* infancy and puberty. Johnson causes some difficulty here. There is a clear progression to his definitions – infancy, childhood, adolescence, puberty – but there is no clarity in sight to put numbers to his terms past the age of seven. Assuming he places puberty at a similar time to his contemporaries, this would mean that children become adults from the age of fourteen, and leaves both childhood *and* adolescence to fill the period from seven to fourteen.

Part of the issue, here, arises from the absence of the modern concept of a teenager or adolescent. In the eighteenth century, 'teens' are only a grammatically defined numerical concept in English; adolescence exists as a word, but 'adolescent' does not. Intriguingly, the seeds

² J. H. Plumb, *Georgian Delights* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980); see also the conversation regarding defining childhood in Anja Müller, 'Identifying an Age-Specific English Literature for Children', in *Mediating Identities in Eighteenth-Century England: Public Negotiations, Literary Discourses, Topography*, ed. by Isabel Karremann and Anja Müller (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 17–30; both of these works offer caveats and clarification to the tendency to view childhood as an invention of the eighteenth century in the wake of Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

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of this modern construction do seem to appear in the French – in fact the word *adolescent* appears in the very first edition of the *DAF* (1694), with the same definition found in the fourth edition (1762). However, perhaps the most fascinating part of this tale is that the *DAF* provides evidence that the French word, and what it represents, evolved over the second half of the eighteenth century to refer not only to young boys, but *also girls*. The inclusion of girls is significant not solely because it brings gender equality to the term, but because it points to a shift in thinking about women in adolescence. Though the definition of *adolescence* does not change, the discrepancy in its close relative (*adolescent(e)*) demonstrates that French eighteenth-century attitudes to womanhood (and especially male attitudes, as it was men who presided over changes to the *DAF*) might now include a liminal period between childhood and female maturity. A child reader lacks the independence available to older readers; their access to texts is mediated by the person reading to them. The definition of childhood, then, and any period between infancy and adulthood, becomes particularly important to conceptions of reading independence, especially when it is entangled with questions of gender and nationality.

On the British side, one has to look to other contemporary publications to form an idea of the stages of life. These suggest that age might be divided into seven-year periods; the charity school at St. Pancras published rules for admission that stated ‘no child [would] be admitted into the school, under the age of eight, or above eleven years; nor any to continue in the school after having attained the age of fourteen years.’³ Other publications for charity schools concur with these bandings: the girls charity school at Lambeth wrote that ‘the children, to be admitted [...] must not be under the age of eight, or above the age of twelve years; and, at the age of fifteen, they are to be discharged’; the charity school for poor girls in Sheffield that ‘those children only be admitted who are of the age of seven years’, and ‘be allowed to continue there, upon proper behaviour, till the age of thirteen, or fourteen, at the discretion of the trustees’.⁴ Provisionally, then, one can see three seven-year periods of life:

- (1) Infancy – the first seven years
- (2) Childhood up until puberty – from seven to fourteen or so
- (3) Adolescence – taking the contemporary publications in precedence over Johnson’s dictionary, from fourteen to twenty-one (legally), extending to twenty-five nominally.

³ *A Brief Account of the Charity School at St Pancras; for Instructing, Cloathing, Qualifying for Useful Servants, and Putting out to Service, the Female Children of the Industrious Poor* (London, 1791), p. 6.

⁴ *Girls Charity-School, Lambeth, Supported by Voluntary Subscriptions and Benefactions*. (London: Printed at the Philanthropic Reform, St. Georges Fields, 1794), p. 10; *A List of the Benefactors, and Annual Subscribers, to the Charity School for Poor Girls, in Sheffield; Together with the Accounts of the Rev. Tho. Radford, Treasurer to the Charity; from August 28, 1788, to August 28, 1789: A State of the Childrens’ Improvement; the Work Done by Them during That Period; and the Resolutions of the Subscribers, May 21, 1787*. (Sheffield: printed by J. Gales, 1789), p. 15.

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Alternatively, childhood might be seen without specific ages attached, as the period of time in which children of families of means, or those benefitting from charity schools such as those at St. Pancras or Lambeth, might undertake the formal part of their education. It is important to distinguish this formal part of education, which Christina de Bellaigue labels 'schooling', from the larger sense of the term education, which encompasses a much longer timescale for learning.⁵

None of these parameters, however, help to solve the issue of gender raised in defining the child, a necessary prerequisite to understanding how concepts of childhood relate to British and French audiences for children's literature. A number of the definitions allow for women to graduate to the next period of life earlier (puberty in all cases, adolescence to adult for Bailey), or later (child in the *DAF*⁶) than their male equivalents. There is a number of inherent contradictions here between definitions and societal norms. In his work on children's literature, Grenby has suggested that 'for the period from the 1770s to the middle of the nineteenth century, "children's literature" might more accurately be denoted "girls' literature"'.⁷ I will go slightly further. Despite the allowance in definitions for women to become adults earlier in France, where adolescence explicitly refers only to boys, there was a much greater focus on restricting or mediating female reading on both sides of the Channel. In other words, the desire to make women adults is in direct competition with a desire to proscribe their graduation to independent readers. I will give a particular example of the advantages for an author of deliberately conflating children and women in my examination of the work of Lady Ellenor Fenn later in this chapter. The discussion, then, of intended audience for children's literature has slightly different results in France and England, but, importantly for my purposes here, the influence of the missing liminal period in *French* thought is apparent in the *English* writer Fenn.

Books written for children, and girls more specifically, then, anticipated a number of different readers and reading practices. Books, an expensive commodity in the 1750s, and still far from a commonplace purchase at the turn of the century, represent significantly more than just the information contained within. However, reading – or access to reading – was not the only issue at play here; there would be little point in purchasing books without the requisite literacy to read it. Children, perhaps, had an advantage in this, despite their initial lack of skill at reading.

⁵ Bellaigue, p. 143.

⁶ This reading is based on the assumption that the definition for child in the *DAF* suggests a difference in its syntactical construction between the ages at which girls and boys become adolescents. There is an inherent contradiction in the idea that girls should be both children longer than their male counterparts, but also attain puberty – and thus marriageable age – faster than them. This also fits my reading of the descriptions of the *DAF*: girls are children until 12, when they attain puberty – adolescence does not apply to them explicitly. However, this leaves boys with a four-year gap between the end of childhood (ten), and the start of adolescence (fourteen), during which they do not appear to belong in either category.

⁷ M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 60.

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The gradual increase in literacy of past decades allowed for an expansion of opportunities to learn to read, whether at school, or at home from a governess, or a literate mother. The mother educator became an ever bigger presence in the publishing landscape, most prominently concerning books for children, a symptom of the more general increase in female publication outlined by Olwen Hufton.⁸

Mothers were not the only ones in this position; other forms of guardian might be substituted. This sort of reading practice has been documented by a number of scholars, particularly in work by Naomi Tadmor and Mark Towsey. In her account of the reading lives of Thomas and Peggy Turner, Tadmor relates that, though the Turner's own child did not survive, 'it is likely that their servant-maid or nephews, who lived in their house during these years participated in at least some of these [reading] exchanges'.⁹ In her consideration of another household, that of Samuel Richardson, Tadmor sees a similar situation, if one of different means. In the mornings, Mrs Richardson reads aloud to her daughters 'around her in a circle', before the younger ones then read their lessons to her.¹⁰ Another extensive reader (and author) of the period, Elizabeth Rose (1747-1815), is the subject of Mark Towsey's study. In his account of Rose's reading habits, it is clear that Rose was actively engaged in reading with her grandchildren, while undertaking an excerpting exercise that frequently placed young people's education at the fore.¹¹ These three family settings bear little in common, whether across class boundaries (the Turners occupy a much lower social stratum), or geographical location (Elizabeth Rose lived in the Scottish Highlands), but all were engaged in reading processes that actively involved children, often in the presence or company of parents or guardians. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have written usefully on the evolution of childhood in the eighteenth century, particularly with regard to the divergence in treatment between the English middle and upper classes.¹²

Grenby has remarked that 'while the spread of reading to new constituencies (women, the poor) was very often condemned in the later eighteenth century, a widening circle of child

⁸ See especially Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), pp. 419–24.

⁹ Naomi Tadmor, 'In the Even My Wife Read to Me: Women, Reading and Household Life in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by J. Raven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 162–74 (p. 168).

¹⁰ Tadmor, p. 171.

¹¹ Mark Towsey, "'Observe Her Heedfully": Elizabeth Rose on Women Writers', *Women's Writing*, 18.1 (2011), 15–33 (p. 26).

¹² See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, revised edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), particularly chapter 7; for a comparative general view of the French situation see Colin Heywood, *Growing Up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

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readers was, except in a few isolated instances, enthusiastically welcomed.¹³ One possibility, here, is that child readers served as a disguise under which other readers might profit. The blurring of audience boundaries effected by adults reading to or with their young charges – is the book solely children’s literature? – coupled with the definitional difficulties I have discussed above suggests the existence of a further reason for the expansion of reader constituencies, particularly for mothers. If, as I have suggested, there is a lesser distinction between children’s literature and women’s literature than for their male counterparts, then this expansion of child readers was at least partially an expansion also of women readers: mothers, governesses, or older sisters. Certainly mothers in particular served an important role as mediator of the text for the children with whom they read. There is, however, a graduation point in a child’s reading. Inevitably, at a certain point in a child’s reading journey, they will move from a system where the mother/guardian figure reads *to* them, to a system where the two read *together*, and finally graduating to become *independent* readers. From this point in their reading education onward, a child’s access to literature must be mediated by different means. Andrea Immel has written that books are a method whereby ‘the adult shows the child a road that can (or should) be taken’, and thus it is apparent that, here, the parent/guardian figure still exercises some control over their charge by restricting their access to texts.¹⁴ Nevertheless, their mediatory power is diminished by its demotion to a secondary influence; rather than a direct link with their charge, they must now attempt to perform their mediation at one or two steps removed from the reading event. It is Edgeworth’s advice that once again rises to the fore here, in suggesting the employment of ‘the pen, the pencil, and the scissars [*sic*]’ to excise offending sections of text.¹⁵ The role of the mother-educator thus does not end immediately upon the child’s graduation to individual readership. Rather, there is a transition period, largely coinciding with childhood, during which the mother-educator gradually withdraws her mediating hand as the child’s maturity – and crucially their morals and character – develops. Critically, I have attempted to show here that this transition period is conceived of differently on the two sides of the Channel. The existence of a British concept of female adolescence, absent in French, permitted a form of educational literature that was deliberately aimed at both mother and child. While books with this audience were also common in France – I discussed *Adèle et Théodore* in chapter one, and move to *Les Conversations d’Émilie* shortly – these texts are intended only as an educational endeavour for the

¹³ Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840*, pp. 282–83.

¹⁴ Andrea Immel, ‘Children’s Books and Constructions of Childhood’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Children’s Literature*, ed. by M. O. Grenby and Andrea Immel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 19–34 (p. 25).

¹⁵ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, vol. II, p. 88.

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child. Where Fenn's text differs, I will show, is in her attempts to provide a publication to be read by both mother and child, that is also *educational* for both parties.

Writing for the Next Generation: Three Case Studies of Female Educationalists

Thus far in this chapter, I have primarily been concerned with establishing the audience for children's educational literature – defining the terms and vocabulary of childhood and adolescence, and indicating how these concepts were viewed differently on each side of the Channel. The linguistic context for the debate now in place, my emphasis shifts to an interrogation of the educational publications of three women writers. Representative of three differing forms of cross-Channel influence and dialogue, each case study forms part of a larger picture of Anglo-French cultural and ideological debate and exchange.

An (In)Famous Mother's Cross-Channel Conversations: Louise d'Épinay

Turning to the first of my case studies in this chapter, then, I take Louise d'Épinay, a woman chiefly studied among academics for her connections to men of the French Enlightenment.¹⁶ Her weekly *salon* hosted famous men of letters such as Melchior Grimm (leading to her involvement with *La Correspondance Littéraire*), Denis Diderot, Montesquieu, the Baron d'Holbach, Ferdinando Galiani, and Charles Duclos. Known by her friends as a *philosophe* [philosopher], Épinay's own education was severely neglected by her mother during her youth. This negligence of parental duty laid much of the groundwork for Épinay's future publication output. It is, perhaps, this childhood experience that gave rise to the text I will discuss here, *Les Conversations d'Émilie* (1774, 2nd ed. 1781) [*The Conversations of Emily*]. Ostensibly a record of conversations between

¹⁶ For her relationship with Rousseau, see Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment*; Mary Trouille, 'Sexual/Textual Politics in the Enlightenment: Diderot and d'Épinay Respond to Thomas's Essay on Women', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 19.1 (1996), 1–15; Weinreb; Frederika MacDonald, *Jean Jacques Rousseau. A New Criticism* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1906); for her friendship with l'abbé Galiani, see Elisabeth Badinter, *Emilie, Emilie. L'Ambition Féminine Au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983); and Francis Steegmuller, *A Woman, a Man, and Two Kingdoms: The Story of Madame d'Épinay and the Abbé Galiani* (New York: Knopf, 1992); for a discussion of Épinay's participation in the Baron d'Holbach's salon, see Alan C. Kors, *D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); see also Badinter and Weinreb above. for a counter-example that places Épinay apart from her male contemporaries, see Alice Parker, 'Louise d'Épinay's Account of Female Epistemology and Sexual Politics', *American Association of Teachers of French*, 55.1 (1981), 43–51.

Épinay and her granddaughter, Émilie de Belsunce – and at least inspired by them – the *Conversations* offer an example of the common educational practice of teaching through dialogue and discussion. Michèle Cohen has argued for the centrality and importance of dialogue and conversation to children’s education in the period, particularly for young girls, but most importantly signalling that although such educational methods were ‘informal’, they were not ‘haphazard’.¹⁷ Épinay’s *Conversations* are pertinent here, however, due to their notable cross-Channel influence and reception.

First published in 1774, *Les Conversations* remained a relatively obscure text until its republication in an expanded second edition (moving from twelve to twenty conversations) in 1781. This second edition would win the prestigious *Prix Montyon* from the *Académie Française* in 1783, narrowly beating Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis’ *Adèle et Théodore*, which I considered in chapter one. New editions and translations begin to flow with great speed following this accolade. In her modern critical edition of Épinay’s text, Rosena Davison lists third, fourth, and fifth editions with Belin (1782, 1783, and 1788, respectively), as well as editions in both Lausanne and Liège in 1784.¹⁸ The text was reprinted in Liège (1800) and Lyon (1802), before the final editions of the nineteenth century in 1822 which modernised the spelling.¹⁹ My own research has encountered translations (of varying editions) in Germany (1774, 1782, and 1787), England (1787 and 1815 (abridged)), Spain (1797)²⁰, America (1817), and also Russia in 1784 – this last probably as a result of Épinay’s connections to the Russian Empress, Catherine the Great, although Russia generally took a great interest in the French literary scene. It is clear, from this list, that Épinay’s work had a broad reach in multiple languages. Davison has painstakingly evidenced the discrepancies and differences between the first and second editions of Épinay’s work – though some small variations still exist between her text and the copies consulted for this thesis. It is my intention, then, to explore two other aspects of Épinay’s work: identifying her translators and the changes they made, and examining her contemporary British reception – a reception that has helped to define subsequent responses to her work.

¹⁷ Michèle Cohen, ‘“Familiar Conversation”: The Role of the “Familiar Format” in Education in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England’, in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. by Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin, Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 99–116 (p. 101).

¹⁸ *Les Conversations d’Émilie*, ed. by Rosena Davison (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), pp. 39–40.

¹⁹ Davison, pp. 39–40.

²⁰ Mónica Bolufer identifies Ana Muñoz as the translator in Mónica Bolufer, ‘Translation and Intellectual Reflection in the Works of Enlightened Spanish Women: Inés Joyes (1731-1808)’, in *Women Writing Back / Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era*, ed. by Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk, *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 327–46 (p. 334).

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The translator of the first English edition of Épinay's text, that with John Marshall and Co. in 1787, is anonymous. Presented as a woman – for what other figure would be acceptable as the translator of such a maternal text? – the translator claims to work from the 1781 French edition. An examination of the tone and style of the text, however, casts serious doubt on this claim. Although the translation does include the full twenty conversations, the tone is significantly closer to the first French edition of 1774 than its revised counterpart. For Davison, the shift in the French works is from 'imperious and didactic' [impératif et didactique] to 'cheerful and friendly' [enjoué et amical].²¹ Imperious and didactic are Épinay's own words, taken from the advertisement to the second edition of her work – an acknowledgement that the work was imperfect, and a stepping stone on her journey that began with an infamously vicious and public exposition of her son's faults in *Lettres à mon fils* (1758) [*Letters to my son*]. Thus, while in the French editions, the move is from 'obedient' [obéissante] in the first edition to 'docile' [docile] in the second, the first English translation reverses this softening of language, reverting to 'obedient'.²² A list of attributes connected with the figure of a child drops the word innocent [innocent], leaving only the negatives: 'simple, ignorant, giddy, troublesome, [and] thoughtless'.²³ The reputation of a young person, which in French is to be cherished 'like their life' [comme sa vie], is in English to be cherished 'more than life'.²⁴ The severity of tone and style here, reminiscent of the first French edition, suggests a possible blended approach in the translation, using elements of both the first and second French editions. One possibility might be that the translator had already completed a translation of the first edition – such tasks were frequently set for young women to improve their writing and language skills, and older women also engaged in translation for money or pleasure. Upon the publication of the second edition, the translator could, then, have simply expanded their own translation, without making the changes that appear in the French. Translating a work into English was a race in which the number of participants was unknown and there were no prizes for anyone outside of first place. The difficulties this could present become immediately apparent upon considering the second English translation.

The second translator of Épinay's work, the author of the 1815 abridgement with Darton and Co., is also anonymous. However, in their book detailing the output of the Darton publishing houses, Lawrence Darton and Brian Alderman provide evidence of confusion over this particular

²¹ Davison, p. 41.

²² Louise d'Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily, Translated from the French of Madame La Comtesse d'Épigny*, 2 vols (London: John Marshall and Co., 1787), p. 6; Louise d'Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie* (Leipzig, 1774), p. 8; Louise d'Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, second edition, 2 vols (Paris: Humblot, 1781), p. 8.

²³ Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily, Translated from the French of Madame La Comtesse d'Épigny*, p. 10.

²⁴ Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, vol. 1, p. 183; Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily, Translated from the French of Madame La Comtesse d'Épigny*, p. 113, my emphasis.

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text. Both Priscilla Wakefield (1750-1832), a prolific author in the period, and a woman named Ann Phillips, lay claim to the production of a translation of the *Conversations*.²⁵ Whilst Darton suggests that the receipt for payment to Ann Phillips for £15 ‘for a MS translation of Conversations of Emily and of a German [*sic*] work entitled *Gustavus*’, means that it is ‘presumably her version’ which appears in print, there are indications in a letter from Wakefield to her publishers on the subject that warrant a full consideration here. Ann Phillips is a mysterious figure. She appears only three times in the publishers records, now held at the University of Reading Special Collections, once against each of the three pieces she produced for the publisher: the *Conversations* abridgement, a German work *Gustavus; or the Macaw* (1814), and a second translation from French.²⁶ Interestingly, the payment for the German work is twice that of the French pieces, despite the fact that the translation of *Gustavus* is around 100 pages shorter than that of the *Conversations*. One possibility is the lesser availability of German-speaking translators – British girls’ educations tended to focus on French and Italian as foreign languages – and therefore the ability to translate from German may have been of greater value. Nonetheless, the archive regrettably contains no further information on Ann Phillips by which to ascertain her age, occupation, or geographic location. The generic nature of her name has also frustrated my efforts to trace her through public records. Attributing the translation to one woman over the other is important not only because it would be revealing of the contexts and influences under which it was written, but also because it might provide an insight into the connections between original author and translator. It opens the door to an array of extra-textual inquiry concerning the translator’s life, acquaintance, and work, all of which might fill gaps in understanding that the translation itself leaves empty.

How then, might one attempt to uncover which of these women wrote the translation I consider here? The answer lies in two different directions. Firstly, the receipts and other entries in the publisher’s books provide a solid foundation for a fact-based assumption that the work is Phillips’. The second response requires a wider casting of the net to encompass additional information beyond records of financial transactions. Enter, then, Wakefield’s letter to her publishers, which I reproduce below.

Respected Friends, I thought I wrote as explicitly as possible upon the subject relating to the *Conversations of Emily*. I had nearly translated them before I received your letter – they are certainly very much abridged and some new material introduced I believe in

²⁵ Lawrence Darton, *The Dartons: An Annotated Check-List of Children’s Books Issued by Two Publishing Houses 1787-1876* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2004), p. 90.

²⁶ These items are listed as G304, G344, and G402, respectively. Darton asserts that the German work is a translation of G. E. Fischer’s *Gustav oder der Papagey* (1795).

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three places, but still it cannot be said to be a new book – as for the remuneration it was a great deal of trouble to be sure – but I do not expect to be fully recompensed as I think the case a very hard one upon you & I shall therefore be satisfied with whatever you choose to give.²⁷

In the absence of any prior or subsequent correspondence on the subject, it is unclear both what Wakefield wrote in her initial letter and Darton in his reply. One possibility is that the publisher realised their mistake and wrote to ask about the progress of Wakefield's translation, and perhaps even whether it might be published as a 'new book' to compensate for the duplicated translation efforts. Another possibility is that Darton's letter informs Wakefield of Phillips' completion of the translations and the resulting redundancy of her own efforts. The content of the exchange notwithstanding, Wakefield is uncharacteristically understanding here with regards to her remuneration. The Darton publisher's archive contains extensive evidence of Wakefield, either herself or through her husband, chasing and negotiating payments for her work. Thus, while a charitable concession on her own part, the most probable reason for Wakefield's compromise on pay is twofold – an acknowledgement that the work will not earn her money elsewhere, and more importantly an investment in the mutually profitable and long-term relationship with her publisher. A number of elements in Wakefield's letter match with the production in the 1815 abridgement. For example, the work is most definitely 'very much abridged' as the table later in this section shows, and I have identified at least two instances of additional material. Firstly, a brief moral commentary taken from the Bible in the third conversation, and secondly an entirely fabricated tale about the revolutionary government of France in the eighth conversation. It is entirely possible that there is a third addition of which I am unaware – perhaps because it is not dissimilar to previous material, or because the mediation process of translation has made the passage a passable adaptation of the French. Wakefield was also a strong supporter of education as a tool for personal improvement, and published a number of works aimed at mothers teaching their own children. The *Conversations*, then, would fit neatly into the rest of her oeuvre, while the introduced religious bent of the abridgement might easily be explained by her Quakerism. Further complicating the situation is a list of books for youth included at the end of the text, which includes both *Gustavus* (the indisputable work of Ann Phillips), and four works by Wakefield. All of these observations could, in their own right, point towards Wakefield as the translator.

²⁷ Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, MS 2774. This volume is paginated with pasted receipts. This particular letter can be found on page 83.

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However, there are two aspects of the text which, in my view, make Wakefield's authorship less likely than Phillips'. In the first instance, Wakefield is identified by name on nearly all of her literary productions, is a well-established writer by 1815, and is therefore unlikely to have forgone any attribution to her pen. The secondary reason is stylistic, and requires another comparison between the different editions of the *Conversations*. Added in the second edition of Épinay's text is a short section of poetry. Probably taken from book one of Jean de La Fontaine's *Fables*, first published in 1668, but frequently reprinted and still in print today, the tale is itself already a translation of one of Aesop's fables, probably moving from the Greek, through Latin, and then to La Fontaine's French, before arriving in English here (though there are also many other English translations). I reproduce below the three versions of the fable (in fact, it is only the last few lines of the tale) that are present in the French second edition (it does not appear in the first), and both the English translations.

Paris, 1781	London, 1787	London, 1815
Nous nous pardonnons tout, & rien aux autres hommes,	Faults, which in us scarce strike our partial eye,	With ease we can pardon the faults we commit;
On se voit d'un autre œil qu'on ne voit son prochain	Appear in others, crimes of deepest die;	But the faults of a neighbour are never forgiven.
Le fabricant souverain nous créa besacier ²⁸ tous de même manière,	Great <i>Jove</i> to man two satchels has assigned	When first the Creator created mankind,
Tant ceux du temps passé que du temps d'aujourd'hui:	The one before, the other plac'd behind;	Two wallets he gave each sister and brother;
Il fit pour nos défauts la poche de derrière,	Our neighbours faults are in the former shown,	We hide our own faults in the wallet behind,
Et celle de devant pour les défauts d'autrui.	The latter from our view conceals our own.	And the wallet before holds the faults of another.

Immediately, it is apparent that neither English translation is particularly direct or literal – unsurprising, perhaps, given the inherent difficulty in translating poetical compositions. I give my own literal translation in a footnote here, to provide an indication of the distance between the translations and the original French.²⁹ The 1787 edition appears to be a 'better' translation, in

²⁸ *Besacier* is used only in a literary context in modern French. It derives from *besace*, meaning a bag worn on the shoulder that, when closed, forms two pockets. It applies in particular to beggars.

²⁹ We forgive ourselves everything, and nothing in other men/ We see each other differently than we see our neighbour/ The sovereign creator created us all in the same way/ Both those of the past and of the present day/ He made the back pocket for our own faults/ And the one in front for the faults of others.

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that it preserves the flow of the work better than its later English counterpart, though it changes the rhyme scheme, the order of the ideas, and removes the reference to the creation of man entirely. Intriguingly, both English translations refer to *two satchels/wallets* explicitly, while there is no mention of this at all in the French. The lack of polish in the 1815 abridgement, in part due to its likeness to the didacticism of Épinay's first edition, brings down the tone of the whole conversation in which it appears; one that is comedic, doubled in size during Épinay's revisions, and was considered the best and most amusing piece of the work in a letter from l'Abbé Galiani to Épinay.³⁰ Priscilla Wakefield's style in her work, and her command of the written word, while varied in her publication history, does not match that of the abridgement, neither here in the fable, nor in the wider text. Consequently, I am inclined to agree with Darton's initial supposition that the translation published with Darton and Harvey in 1815, was indeed that of Ann Phillips, and not that of Wakefield.

Confusion over authorship notwithstanding, the two English translations of Épinay's work could hardly differ more in approach. The first, published in 1787, remains largely faithful to the tone, style, and pedagogical aims of the French original, though it emphasises the 'Frenchness' of the piece, perhaps as a defence against the increasing revolutionary sentiment on the continent at the time of publication. The second translation, the abridgement of 1815, seeks to do precisely the opposite. It expunges the vast majority of French content, and replaces French geography with British; Paris becomes London, *le Bois de Boulogne* becomes the park, and Saint-Cloud becomes Richmond Hill. Amusingly perhaps, and in a reversal of the overarching methods employed by the two translators, even the dog's name (Rosette) is considered worthy of change in the 1787 translation (becoming Chloe), while it remains unrevised in the 1815 abridgement. The abridgement takes no prisoners – indeed the very size of the book is reduced from octavo to duodecimo – as entire sections of text are removed. The table below demonstrates the scale of this reduction – a staggering seventy-one per cent of the total number of pages across the work.

³⁰ See Steegmuller.

Conversation N°	Pages		
	1 st French edn. (1774)	2 nd French edn. (1781)	London Abr. (1815)
1	26pp	26pp	11pp
2	15pp	15pp	7pp
3	23pp	22pp	13pp
4	30pp	30pp	16pp
5	41pp	47pp	(6) 17pp
6	32pp	41pp	(7) 15pp
7	*	37pp	(5) 15pp
8	(7) 28pp	36pp	10pp
9	(8) 40pp	49pp	18pp
10	30pp	63pp	17pp
11	(9) 49pp	33pp	33pp
12		72pp	
13	(11) 95pp	48pp	15pp
14		109pp	*
15	*	59pp	(14) 17pp
16	(12) 20pp	40pp	(15) 13pp
17	*	50pp	(16) 14pp
18	*	46pp	(17) 11pp
19	*	59pp	(18) 16pp
20	*	51pp	(19) 12pp

Table 1. The table gives the number of pages per conversation in the first and second French editions of the text, compared to the abridged London edition of 1815. The conversation number refers to the 'correct' order (according to the advertisement to the second French edition which advises of an error concerning conversations five, six, and seven). The number in parenthesis refers to the corresponding conversation number present in that edition.

More astounding than this reduction of Épinay's text, is the realisation that the abridgement also contains some *additional* material. Having removed the fourteenth conversation in its entirety,

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which consists of a reproduction of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis' *l'Isle Heureuse*, a tale within her *Théâtre à l'usage des jeunes personnes, ou Théâtre de l'éducation* (1779-80) [Theatre for the use of young people, or Theatre of Education], and nearly every other moral and cautionary tale, the 1815 abridgement adds an account of slavery, revolution, and kingship. Additionally, both English translations of Épinay's work are imbued with a much greater emphasis on religion, underlined in the abridgement by numerous additional references to passages from the Bible. Religion, present but understated in Épinay's original, becomes an integral part of the text, inserted frequently where no religion appeared before.

Other changes are more subtle. The child presented at the beginning of Épinay's *Conversations* is five years old, though there is an assumption that she ages to some extent over the course of the work, and many of the concepts discussed appear well above the comprehension of such a young child. The first translation of 1787 makes no change to this, and indeed makes no effort to remedy the issues of complexity that must arise from reading with so young a pupil. The 1815 abridgement, on the other hand, removes the reference to the Emily's age and transfers a number of the mother's lines to Emily herself. Consequently, the reader is presented with a more mature Emily – still young and impressionable – but not so young as to always be reading in the company of a parent or guardian. In some respects, this change is a plausible outcome of differences in translation. As I explored in the opening section of this chapter, French and British definitions of childhood and adolescence differed considerably – the choice to translate *enfant* as child rather than infant has ramifications for the age a reader associates with that character. Nonetheless, the idea of a more private and personal readership is also supported by the smaller physical size of the book, duodecimo, indicating that, perhaps, this was a book to keep in one's pocket for perusal in an idle moment, or perhaps on daily walks. This, combined with the religious and political contexts addressed in the abridgement, points to a difference in intended audience between both Épinay's French originals and the first English translation, compared to the later abridgement. There is a shift in focus from the mother imparting knowledge and wisdom to the child, toward a more self-sufficient learner, one who utilises the knowledge of the mother, but is less guided by her.

The significance of this shift should not be understated. An example from the fifth conversation encapsulates this shift across the four editions I discuss here. I reproduce all four editions as an indication of the importance of such a change in emphasis.

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That is why it is so essential to do nothing, absolutely nothing without my permission.

That is why I do not let you read every book, & why I do not leave you to converse with all sorts of people.³¹ (First French Ed., 1774)

That is why I direct the selection of your reading, and do not let you to read every book without distinction; and that is why I do not wish you to converse with all sorts of people.³² (Revised French Ed., 1781)

You see the reason of my directing the choice of your books; and of not allowing you to read indiscriminately all books; and why I do not choose you should converse with all sorts of persons.³³ (First English translation, 1787)

Therefore you may perceive why I direct the choice of your books.³⁴ (English Abridgement, 1815)

The removal of the first line from the original French edition, and the softening of tone apparent in the second edition, are variously morphed in the English translations. The authoritative opening is absent in the 1787 translation, but the tone recalls the first edition's strict control – 'do not choose' conversing with certain people rather than 'do not wish', although this last might also be translated 'do not like' [*aimer*]. The abridgement, true to form, removes most of the content from the phrase, leaving out the opening, but also eliminating the reference to conversation with others. This omission, presumably, is primarily about space, but it might also be suggested that, due to Emily's maturity in the abridgement, instruction on the company she keeps is less important than a continued direction of her reading material. Notably, that choice of books is 'directed', in common with the move away from explicit proscription in the first French edition.

There appears, to some extent, a pattern in the differing English translations of Épinay's work, in the paradoxical sense that there is very little rhyme or reason in the faithfulness (or otherwise) of Phillips and her earlier English counterpart to Épinay's text. I have already explored the difference in the works regarding the importance of reputation to a young person, but there is an additional change in the first translation of 1787 explicitly to gender the phrase. Where all

³¹ Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, pp. 113–14. Original French [Voilà pourquoi il est si essentiel de ne rien faire, absolument rien sans ma permission. Voilà pourquoi je ne vous laisse pas lire dans tous les livres, & pourquoi je ne vous laisse pas causer avec toutes sortes de personnes].

³² Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, p. 147. Original French [Voilà pourquoi je dirige le choix de vos lectures, et ne vous laisse pas lire dans tous les livres indistinctement ; et voilà pourquoi je n'aime pas que vous causiez avec toutes sortes de personnes].

³³ Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily, Translated from the French of Madame La Comtesse d'Epigny*, p. 85.

³⁴ Louise d'Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily. Abridged from the French*, trans. by [Ann Phillips] (London: Printed for Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 1815), pp. 69–70.

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French editions and the abridgement speak of a 'young person', the first English translation writes specifically of a 'young lady's reputation'. Arguably an innocuous alteration – the text is, after all, about a mother and her daughter, and the French word *personne* is feminine which might predispose a translator in their choice of words – the change in emphasis underlines an otherwise inconspicuous omission in the work: an almost complete absence of men. This is all the more intriguing in light of Leslie Tuttle's observation that between 1760 and 1790, the interval in which both editions of Épinay's work were published, the French royal government was actively involved in shaping the public image of 'good fatherhood'.³⁵ Against a backdrop of increased concern with what good fatherhood entailed – significantly a commitment to provide education – Épinay's decision to relegate any paternal figure to the fringes of her work, or omit them completely, merits brief consideration. A participant in the contemporary vogue for mother-daughter conversational publications, it is likely that Épinay's decision to avoid discussions of fatherhood stems from her own experiences of childhood and marriage, and betrays some of the autobiographical elements of her *Conversations*. Her own father died when she was ten, depriving her of paternal oversight during her adolescence, and her marriage transpired to be an unhappy one – certainly not conducive to an orchestrated two-parent education for her children.

One might legitimately ask, then, whether Épinay's work, and its English translations, are aimed purely at mothers and daughters (almost explicitly alone), or intended to have a wider application among children of both sexes. At first glance the answer appears to lean to the former supposition; the first French edition bore an alternative title of *Conversations between a Mother and her Daughter* [*Conversations entre une Mère et sa Fille*], the dialogues are Emily's rather than an unnamed 'child' or 'infant' (almost certainly a deliberate reference to Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'Éducation* (1762)), and there are no significant interactions with male siblings or young male acquaintances in the work. However, Épinay did have a son, and had written previously on his education. The *Conversations* represent an evolution in Épinay's pedagogical undertakings from that initial misjudged foray in *Lettres à Mon Fils*, and I suggest that they are intended for an unsexed audience. The Emily of all but the 1815 abridgement is young enough that few contemporary educationalists would have made a distinction between her early education and that of a male counterpart. Genlis, Edgeworth, and indeed Wollstonecraft too, make little distinction in the education of male and female infants. It is interesting, then, that the 1787 translation genders the phrase, while maintaining Emily's youth, while the 1815 abridgement keeps the gender neutral but matures Emily to an age where her education would

³⁵ Leslie Tuttle, 'Celebrating the *Père de Famille*: Pronatalism and Fatherhood in Eighteenth-Century France', *Journal of Family History*, 29.4 (2004), 366–81.

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probably have diverged according to her sex. One would more likely expect the reverse to be true. The simplest explanation – that the translator of each text did not consider the distinction important – I discount immediately. Dismissing them as hack work – as so many scholars have done – seems to me to be doing the work of translation a disservice; translators frequently made deliberate word choices and alterations that result from a careful consideration of original and target audiences. However, the public preoccupation with girls and young women’s education in particular, might equally point to a calculated decision to make the text more relevant to current debate. If one takes the change to be a deliberate act, I suggest this reveals national differences in late-century attitudes to femininity and virtue, differences that are apparently somewhat reconciled by the early nineteenth century, where the reference is no longer to reputation, but ‘character’; no longer worth ‘more than her life’, simply ‘her most valuable possession’.³⁶

Changes such as those I have explored above, it will be remembered from my consideration of translation practice in the introduction, are entirely commonplace. Pinpointing what has been changed is an important first step, but an exploration of the reasons for that change, and similar changes elsewhere, provides much more interesting results. Where they wrote them, translators were forthright in their introductory prefaces; they made no attempt to hide the ‘many liberties’ they took with the texts upon which they worked. As I noted in my introduction, not all translations were presented as such by their authors and publishers, a process that one might consider an attempt to hide such liberties. Here, however, I am concerned with texts whose foreign provenance was known – it is these texts which elicit the networking endeavours this thesis seeks to detail. Nonetheless, it is less clear what contemporary readers understood by the phrase ‘many liberties have been taken’ – even less whether they had an appreciation of the extent to which these liberties might be utilised. While the role of translators, along with their methods, have been the subject of considerable academic interest, responses to translations have tended to remain confined to studies of particular authors and texts, rather than larger comparisons across these boundaries.³⁷

Having established the differences in translation, and posited the likely authorship of the later translation of Épinay’s work, I now turn to her reception in Britain.³⁸ I give reviews and periodical publications – and their extensive role in facilitating cross-Channel dialogue – a fuller

³⁶ Épinay, *The Conversations of Emily. Abridged from the French*, p. 82.

³⁷ See, for example, work in Dow, *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*; and Deborah Uman, *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012).

³⁸ Authorial attribution matters here largely due to Wakefield’s public presence – had she been the translator, the reception of Épinay’s text would likely have been different, whether in printed responses, or in private reading a correspondence.

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examination in the final chapter of this thesis.. Here, I confine my exploration to the reception of Épinay's pedagogical work. While *Conversations* was widely reviewed in France upon its initial publication, and the second edition gave rise to a flurry of new interest in the work, in Britain only the *Critical Review* made note of the 1774 edition, in a brief review in 1775. A mere two lines remarked on the work as 'twelve easy and instructive dialogues between a sensible mother and her infant daughter, containing a system of practical education'.³⁹ Predating Épinay's rise to fame (or perhaps infamy), it is unsurprising that her work was not given greater consideration in the British periodical press. Nonetheless, the short lines given in the *Critical Review* do provide some nuggets of information. The adjectives chosen indicate approval of the text: the dialogues are 'easy and instructive', the mother 'sensible', and the child is an 'infant', allowing the reader of the announcement to surmise the intended age for Épinay's pedagogy. This is all the more important given the changes (omission) made to Emily's age in the 1815 abridgement. The description of the dialogues too, embraces the tone of the text itself, applauding the ease of reading, while benefitting from their instructive purpose.

There follows a twelve-year interlude in the British reception of Épinay, during which time I have found no reviews of her work. Once again, the *Critical Review* – always more interested in translations than its main rival the *Monthly* – picks up on the work, this time reviewing the first English translation of 1787. In the intervening period, much has changed for Épinay. The first edition of Épinay's work was truly anonymous – and unlike other writers of the period, her identity was known to very few indeed – but she laid claim to the second edition and put her name to it. The English translation, then, also bears her name (though misspelled or translated as Epigny), making an extra layer of interpretation possible in reviews. Épinay herself had also died by then (in 1783, shortly after the award of the *Prix Montyon*), ruling out the possibility of both rebuttals to a review, and future work addressing any reported shortcomings. Indeed the *Critical Review* also makes clear that its opinion follows that of French reviewers, noting that the work 'has been in general well received on the Continent'.⁴⁰ Consequently, the *Critical Review* devotes almost a page – some forty-six lines – to this review, roughly half of which is a reproduction of the 'very able' translator's words in their preface.⁴¹ In so doing, however, the *Critical Review* finds itself at odds with its previous consideration of Épinay's work. Where their 1775 review had insisted that the work contained 'a system of practical education', their reproduction of the translator's words in 1787 asserts that the *Conversations* 'do not form one of those systems of education offered to the examination of learned men and philosophers, though the book has

³⁹ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature* (London: Printed for A. Hamilton, 1775), xL, p. 320.

⁴⁰ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature* (London: Printed for A. Hamilton, 1787), LXIII, p. 237.

⁴¹ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, LXIII, p. 236.

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received from both the most flattering testimonies of approbation'.⁴² The work cannot simultaneously be and not be an educational system. The problem here is partially of the *Critical Review's* own making – it is their endorsement of the translator's assertion that places them at odds with their previous review. Importantly, the second review is of the second (expanded) edition, and a translation rather than a French original. Consequently, there are material differences between the two reviewed texts, as I have explored above. The difficulty lies, in my view, in the problematic question of genre – how does one categorise Épinay's text? Part epistolary fiction, part autobiographical record, part amusement, and – most certainly – part educational treatise, the work defies confinement to a single literary genre. Épinay herself declares the work to offer neither a system, nor a plan, of education, but like many of its contemporary productions, it does not logically follow that this means the text is devoid of pedagogical purpose. It is curious, then, that the *Critical Review* goes on in its review to place mother and daughter in an explicit teacher–student power dynamic, and emphasises the privileging of an education whereby 'the young pupil gives her opinion, and is led to find that it is not indisputably proper, or strictly just', over one following 'didactic dogmatic rules'. This is, surely, by most definitions precisely a system of education, even if it is one that does not follow a strictly defined set of rules. A symptom of the larger question that occupied many moralising genres of eighteenth-century literary output, the *Critical Review* buys into the discussion, explicitly a cross-Channel one here, about what might constitute a 'system' of education, rather than merely educational writing. Their suggestion, it seems, is that a 'system' of 'dogmatic rules' is less suited to a child's education than an educational text that 'leads' a pupil by so-called 'slow steps'.⁴³ Épinay's contribution to this debate is not particularly original – Jeanne-Marie de Beaumont had popularised the conversational mode decades before, as the scathing 1784 French review in *l'Année littéraire* made a point to observe – but it is one of only a few similar French pieces to make the crossing over the Channel, and thus participate in that Anglo-French conversation.⁴⁴

However, the *Critical Review* was not the only British reviewer of Épinay's work in 1787. They were joined by their contemporary, the *Monthly Review*, who took a different approach. The most immediate discrepancy between the two reviews lies in their differing classification of Épinay's work. Where the *Critical Review* placed the review under the category 'Miscellaneous', the *Monthly Review* designates the work under the section 'Education' (indeed it appears

⁴² *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, xL, p. 320; *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, LXIII, p. 237.

⁴³ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, LXIII, p. 237.

⁴⁴ *L'Année Littéraire* (Paris, 1784), pp. 73–96.

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immediately before the review of an English work by Ellenor Fenn, whom I consider later in this chapter). Importantly, the latter publication contains a much longer list of new productions in its catalogue, subdivided into fifteen categories, where the *Critical Review* offers only six distinctions. A survey of even a single volume of this periodical, however, reveals that these categories were far from fixed, and extended as far as 'Controversial' and as specific as 'Test and Corporation Acts'.⁴⁵ This, combined with the fact that a review of a new translation of Genlis' *Theatre of Education* is also classified under 'Miscellaneous' suggests that the decision is a deliberate one, perhaps born of the complexities of 'systems' of education discussed above. The *Monthly Review* has no such qualms about how it defines the work, writing that the *Conversations of Emily* 'seem intended to convey instruction, blended with amusement'. Intriguingly, there is also an explicit link to Genlis in this review – she is credited with paving the way for Épinay's work:

The approbation and success which have attended the literary productions of the Comtesse de Genlis, have, we suppose, given birth to the translation of the performance before us. We think so, the rather, as the *Conversations of Emily* seem intended to convey instruction, blended with amusement, which was the chief design of Madame de Genlis.⁴⁶

Épinay, I think, might have had a few objections to this characterisation of her work as so derivative of that of Genlis. The first edition of Épinay's *Conversations* (1774) pre-dates Genlis' *Theatre of Education* (1779-80) by five years, though I have already noted the debt to another French writer in Beaumont, and the early stage productions of Genlis' work (which do predate that first edition) may have had an influence on Épinay. In fact, Épinay and Beaumont appear side by side in the preface to Marie-Elisabeth de La Fite's *Entretiens, Drames et Contes Moraux, Destinés à l'Éducation de la Jeunesse* (1778) as some of the only French authors to produce work suited to young children.⁴⁷ It is nevertheless the case that British reviewers and critics were much more familiar with Genlis' work, and had a tendency to read other French – and indeed British – writers through her lens.

Nonetheless, the *Monthly Review's* appraisal of Épinay's work does not give all of the credit to her French colleagues. Though the translator is admonished for some 'very literal

⁴⁵ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, LXIII, pp. 301; 312.

⁴⁶ *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal* (London: Printed for R. Griffiths, 1787), LXXVI, p. 261.

⁴⁷ Ineke Janse, 'Traveller, Pedagogue and Cultural Mediator: Marie-Elisabeth de La Fite and Her Female Context', in *Women Writing Back / Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era*, ed. by Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk, *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 309–26 (p. 312).

renderings of the French expressions', and despite the fact that books on education are now deemed 'exceedingly numerous', Épinay's work is assigned, 'at least, a middle rank in that class; and will prove, no doubt, acceptable and useful to those for whom the publication is intended.' Not quite the award for the 'most beneficial work to humanity' that the review notes Épinay was awarded in France, the review nevertheless affords her work a place in British educational publication. Equally important in this assignation is the review's overt admission that their commentary is a result purely of reading the translation, 'without seeing the original'. If my examination of the translations of Épinay's work above imparts only one piece of information, my hope is that it must be that to base the opinion of a work and its importance purely on a translation of that work is wilfully to ignore the transformative mediating processes that translation entails. In reality, the opinion of the reviewer in the *Monthly Review* is based on four predominantly extra-textual factors. Firstly, the quality of the translation; secondly, Épinay's friendship with and encouragement from Rousseau; thirdly, the prize of the *Académie Française*; and finally, the esteem conferred upon Épinay by the Empress of Russia. Hyper-aware of the power of such 'illustrious testimonials', the review is convinced that the 'due influence' of these recommendations will be of greater force than anything they might say in the book's favour.⁴⁸ I highlight these reasons here, because they all remain explicitly cross-Channel influences, despite the review's lack of engagement with the original French text. It is this contextual Anglo-French discourse that will go on to define the future response to Épinay's work in Britain.

The events of the French Revolution, occurring during the interval between the two English translations of Épinay's work, caused a change in cross-Channel relations. A healthy suspicion already attended many pre-Revolution French works, and thus an 1815 review of Épinay's work – again in the *Critical Review*, and this time of the translation abridgement – is clearly marked by its links to pre-Revolution France. I reproduce the one-paragraph review below:

A very decorous Bourbonish little thing, and admirably adapted for the *Angoulême* Nursery of Hartwell – which will, shortly, we suppose, recover the presence of its *amiable* patroness. Its *praiseworthy* object is to imbue the minds of infants with most delightful insensibility to the virtues of patriotism, and to train them into notions favourable to a system of sober slavery, and dull submission to the laughable *old regime*.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, LXXVI, pp. 261–62.

⁴⁹ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, 5 (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1815), II, p. 219.

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There is a clear mockery in the review here, and a dismissiveness of the French ideas in the work, in particular a pointed jab at the *old regime* [*ancien regime*] comparing it to slavery. However, the review is also somewhat contradictory; this is an English translation of the French work, and an extensive abridgement at that. As I explored at the start of this case study, the 1815 translation removes most of the French references and content – it is a domestication of the work, adapting it for an English audience. Moreover, given the removal of the references to Emily's age in the abridgement, and the allocation of many of the mother's words to the daughter, the comment that the work is adapted for a nursery also seems out of place. The specificity of the review – the 'Angoulême' nursery, in 'Hartwell', is a reference to Hartwell House, the abode of Louis XVII during part of his exile in England, while the Duchess of Angoulême was his niece. The review is dated around a year after his return to the France to resume the French throne. For the *Critical Review*, the domestication of Épinay's work in this case is not sufficient to disguise its French origins, and thus their distaste in its method. While both the *Edinburgh Review* and *British Review* noted the 1815 publication in their lists of new publications (the former noting that it is 'freely translated'), neither offers a review of the work.⁵⁰ Importantly from my cross-Channel perspective, Épinay's name, which she took pains to include in the second edition of her work and did appear in the title of the first English translation, is no longer associated with the text. Merely translated or abridged 'from the French', the advertisement notes the 'great celebrity' of the work, and its accolades, but still neglects to inform the reader of the name of its author. Despite Épinay's appearance in a number of review journals, her lack of other publications and the absence of the British personal connections enjoyed by Genlis suggests that it is unlikely the anonymous work would be recognised as hers.

A further review of the 1815 translation in the *Monthly Review*, differs markedly in its approach. Unlike the reviews of the first English translation, and the one point of commonality with the response in the *Critical Review*, there is no mention of Épinay's name, her accolades, or her acquaintance. The text is presented wholly on its own (dubious, according to the review) merit. The *Monthly Review* is exceedingly pedantic in its review. Rather than merely noting that 'some passages in this translation are rather too much in the French taste to meet the approbation of English mothers', no fewer than three specific quotations with page references are given to demonstrate the 'French idiom', and one case of 'ungrammatical' language.⁵¹ The specificity of the complaint here is unusual – nearly half of the review is made up of such remarks, leaving less space for other commentary. While referenced quotations from pages 60, 218, and

⁵⁰ *The Edinburgh Review, Or, Critical Journal* (Edinburgh: Printed By D. Willison, 1815), xxv, p. 554; *The British Review and London Critical Journal* (London, 1815), vi, p. 509.

⁵¹ *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal* (London, 1816), LXXIX, p. 326.

236 are, perhaps, an easy way to indicate that the text has been read in its entirety for the review (although in no way a guarantee of that fact), the review would not have been unduly short or out of place without such comments. This, I argue, speaks to a more probable reason for their inclusion, a need to draw distinctions between the British and the French in as many areas as possible.

English mothers are presumed to object to Emily's permission to 'talk too frequently of her dress and personal appearance', a long-standing criticism of French fashion and vanity.⁵² More curiously, there is a comment that Emily's 'governess is made to endure the treatment and perform the offices of a nursery-maid.'⁵³ It is unlikely, I think, that the writer in the *Monthly Review* has the contextual knowledge of Épinay's history (indeed without her name, it is possible the reviewer does not know the provenance of the text before them). Were this information available, they would be aware of Épinay's (apparently non-fictional) *Letter to the Governess of my Daughter* (1756, 1758) [*Lettre à la Gouvernante de ma Fille*] which divested the governess of much of her authority over her young charge. Nonetheless, there is sufficient trace of this letter in the *Conversations*, and even in the abridgement, to support the reviewer's notion that the governess, in Épinay's work, is deliberately and significantly sidelined in favour of direct education from the mother. This, the reviewer seems to feel, is a poor use of a governess – why employ someone, at no small expense, if their knowledge and experience is not to be used? It is, then, surprising that after such pointed criticisms the reviewer chooses to end by praising Emily's speeches as 'naïve and lively', and her mother's observations as 'sage, like those of most mammas in such little books.'⁵⁴ The diminutive 'little books' conjures an image of books for children, and runs contrary to the picture of an older Emily that appears in the abridgement. What emerges from this review is not so much a criticism of the ideas in Épinay's work (though differences between English and French ideas are noted), but rather a denunciation of the translator's work in rendering them into English – it is specifically their perceived failings that occupy half of the review. Possibly a wider comment on the quality of translation work, the review throws into sharp relief the complex backdrop against which translations were frequently viewed or judged. In preserving the spirit of the original, the translator falls foul of accusations of their work appearing too French, while at other points they are admonished for failing to emphasise the Frenchness (or non-Britishness) of characters and places; the translator walked a narrow line between languages and cultures.

⁵² *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, LXXIX, p. 326.

⁵³ *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, LXXIX, p. 326.

⁵⁴ *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, LXXIX, p. 326.

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Épinay, as an author, nonetheless appears to have made some small penetration into the British educational debate and its readers through the first translation of her work. References to the *Conversations* in private correspondence, as with other texts, are notoriously difficult to find. In the course of my research using the British and Irish Women's Letters and Diaries database and the Reading Experience Database, I have found only a single contemporary reference to the work, in a letter from Dorothy Wordsworth in 1787 to her friend Jane Pollard. She writes that she is 'much obliged to you for your literary intelligence', remarking that 'I do not remember having heard of the conversations of Emily'.⁵⁵ Pollard's letter is not to be found in print, but Wordsworth's reply indicates that the *Conversations* was recommended for perusal, presumably after Pollard had read the work herself. Indeed, Wordsworth might even be said to embody a key audience for the educational precepts Épinay imparts. Aged sixteen at the time of the letter, and thus benefitting from both memories of her own childhood, and looking forward to future children of her own (though she would not, in fact, go on to have any), Wordsworth's age makes her uniquely placed to draw comparisons between her own upbringing and any plan she might make for the education of children.

Fading from the limelight after 1790, Épinay's work resurfaces in 1815 with the English abridgement, but it is not until 1818 that her name once again sees prominence. Attached, this time, to *Mémoires et Correspondance de Mme d'Épinay* (1818), a divisive, explosive, and deeply unfaithful rewriting of her semi-autobiographical work *l'Histoire de Madame de Montbrillant* (not published under this title). The work tainted Épinay's name to such a degree that it could, in my view, account for her complete disappearance in print between 1822 and Rosena Davison's modern edition of the *Conversations*. The scandal of the publication, unfairly attributed to Épinay herself rather than as a product of her editors, led one British contemporary – Melesina Trench – to write in July 1818 that Épinay 'is a clever, amusing French woman, with so little idea of candour and truth that she cannot even assume them, so as to deceive us in telling her own story'.⁵⁶ The reception of *l'Histoire de Madame de Montbrillant*, both in France and in Britain, provides evidence of the strong ties between name, reputation, and influence that affected writers in the eighteenth century, and indeed women writers more so.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ William Wordsworth and Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt and Chester L. Saver, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), vol. 1, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Melesina Chevenix St George Trench, *The Remains of the Late Mrs. Richard Trench, Being Selections from Her Journals, Letters, and Other Papers*, ed. by Richard Chevenix Trench (London: Parker, son & Bourn, 1862), p. 383.

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion of the fortunes of Épinay's text, see Evelyn Simha, 'An Eagle in a Cage of Gauze: Mme d'Épinay's "Histoire de Madame de Montbrillant"' (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1968).

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Épinay is a slightly unusual case. Much less well known than many of her contemporaries in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the double translation of her work into English before her rise to infamy ought, perhaps, to speak to the originality or superiority of her ideas. Yet, as I have stated here, neither the form she chooses for the *Conversations*, nor the ideas contained within them, significantly differ from other publications of the period. I have suggested that the combination of her acquaintance and her accolades may, in some part, explain the interest in her work on both sides of the Channel. However, it is the depiction of her two characters that enables Épinay's work so easily to traverse the gap between the countries. Three of the initial French reviews make note of the mother's tenderness [*tendresse*], while *Le Mercure* make particular note of the 'very wise and cultured' woman who conducts the education.⁵⁸ This mother figure, ascribed the adjective 'sensible' in the first English review, becomes directly comparable in the second review of 1787, where she is described with the same term as in the French: 'tender'. On both sides of the Channel, the reviews are equally concerned with the mother–daughter partnership. In particular, the reviews give praise to Épinay's idealised mother-figure. Aside from her tenderness, the work is lauded in France as that of 'an excellent mother & a women who, born with a just spirit and a sensitive soul, wanted to consecrate the one & the other to the education of a child.'⁵⁹ In England, the similarly described 'great object of the author is to improve the young mind', and Épinay's method is deemed 'not only the most pleasing, but also the most salutary mode of instruction.'⁶⁰ Part of this method, I suggest, is in Épinay's revisions to her work to give agency to the daughter in her text and demonstrate her growth. Thus the reworked fourth conversation allows Émilie greater freedom to ask questions, and the second edition changes many phrases in an attempt to soften the tone or emphasis Émilie's faculties. The fifth conversation, for example, follows the daughter's line of reasoning, supported by facts and cross-references to earlier conversations, and leads the mother to conclude that her intervention is unnecessary.⁶¹ The form, the genre, even the ideas may not be new, but what Épinay appears to achieve where others do not, is a sufficiently genuine characterisation of idealised mother–daughter education by conversations to meet with almost unanimous approval in a cross-Channel context.

⁵⁸ *Le Journal de Savans*, November, 1775, p. 722; *Les Affiches de Province*, June, 1775, p. 99; *Bibliothèque Des Sciences et Des Beaux Arts*, April-June, 1776, pp. 423–29; *Le Mercure de France*, May, 1775, p. 116. Original French [très sage & très cultivé]

⁵⁹ 1775, p. 130.

⁶⁰ *The Critical Review: Or, Annals of Literature*, LXIII, p. 237.

⁶¹ Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, vol. 1, pp.171-76.

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Lady Ellenor Fenn (1743-1813)

Ellenor Fenn, dismissed by her earlier critics as a ‘prolific but well-intentioned hack who had little influence on later writers’, has been the subject of intense recovery efforts over the past twenty years.⁶² Extensive work by David Stoker, Carol Percy, Andrea Immel and Joyce Whalley has helped to rewrite Fenn’s history as one of innovation and female advancement.⁶³ Less overtly cross-Channel than the other two writers considered in this chapter (Fenn neither translates, nor is her work translated abroad to my knowledge), critics have still noted a French influence on her work. In particular, the influence on her *Set of Toys* (c.1780) from Noël Antoine Pluche’s (1688-1761) work, *Spectacle de la Nature* (1732) is noted in both Stoker and Percy’s work. Honoured with an obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, which wrote of her work as the ‘lasting monuments’ of her ‘labours’ focussing on her life’s work ‘doing good’, Fenn clearly had some social standing in contemporary society.⁶⁴ Though Fenn was related to two prominent men of the century, her husband Sir John Fenn (1739-1794) and her brother, John Frere (1740-1807), who was a Member of Parliament between 1799 and 1802 – connections that might explain her own appearance in the magazine’s obituaries – the epitaph focuses largely on her extensive body of work. My own exploration of this corpus concentrates on understanding how Fenn’s publications for women and children’s education fit into the cross-Channel discourse on pedagogy, and the extent of the French influence on her work. Indeed, contrary to many of her peers, the students in Fenn’s literature are usually referred to with female pronouns rather than male. A simple detail, Fenn’s decision to write her work with a girl in mind demonstrates her commitment to a subtle yet constant undertone that challenges the masculine-centric educational discourse of her period.

Fenn published all her works (Stoker writes of fifty or more small books, and about a dozen games and teaching schemes) anonymously under two pseudonyms – Mrs. Teachwell and Mrs. Lovechild.⁶⁵ The switch from Teachwell to Lovechild coincides with her split from John Marshall

⁶² Andrea Immel, “‘Mistress of Infantine Language’: Lady Ellenor Fenn, Her *Set of Toys*, and the “Education of Each Moment””, *Children’s Literature*, 25 (1997), 215–28 (p. 215).

⁶³ David Stoker, ‘Ellenor Fenn as “Mrs. Teachwell” and “Mrs. Lovechild”: A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children’s Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist’, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 68.3 (2007), 817–50; David Stoker, *Fenn [Née Frere], Ellenor (1744-1813)* (Oxford University Press, 2005) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9279>>; Carol Percy, ‘Disciplining Women? Grammar, Gender, and Leisure in the Works of Ellenor Fenn (1743-1813)’, *Historiographia Linguistica*, 33.1/2 (2006), 109–38; Immel, ‘Mistress of Infantine Language’, (cited above); Joyce Irene Whalley, *Cobwebs to Catch Flies: Illustrated Books for the Nursery and Schoolroom 1700-1900* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

⁶⁴ Cited in Percy, p. 109.

⁶⁵ Stoker, ‘Ellenor Fenn as “Mrs. Teachwell” and “Mrs. Lovechild”: A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children’s Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist’, p. 817.

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as a publisher and subsequent move to Elizabeth Newbery. As I recounted earlier in this chapter, Elizabeth's late husband, John Newbery is credited by Matthew Grenby as the first publisher successfully to commercialise books for children.⁶⁶ Fenn's move to a new publisher is, then, also a tactical move to capitalise on the reputation of the Newbery name in children's publications. Yet, in an example of the problems caused by the lack of copyright enforcement in the eighteenth century, there ensued a tit-for-tat battle between the publishers in which Marshall published his own versions of Fenn's new texts with identical titles, and Newbery retaliated with a French-language version of *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* (1783), Marshall's best-seller.⁶⁷ No copy of this French-language version has been discovered to examine its contents but, as was common in the publishing business, here translation was employed as a deliberate tactic to circumvent potential legal issues and undermine sales.⁶⁸ Published in London, the translation does not appear to have penetrated the French market – indeed, it may not even have been intended to do so, being a retaliatory instrument designed to disrupt British sales of the work. But perhaps the most important aspect of the change in publishers was that by this point in her career, Ellenor Fenn's identity was an open secret. Stoker quotes from a dedication in Henry St John Bullen's work to demonstrate this: '[W]hether you choose to vary the mode of concealment under the title of a Teachwell, or a Lovechild, [...] every parent or tutor [...] feels due sense of gratitude to Lady Fenn, for having greatly facilitated the means of instruction.'⁶⁹ Anonymous in name only, indeed, working within a carefully constructed brand, Fenn is able to enjoy an authoritative position on education under either of her two pseudonyms.

The magnitude of Fenn's publishing career is demonstrated in a list, titled 'The Child's Library' that prefaces one of her productions, *A Spelling Book, Designed to Render the Acquisition of the Rudiments of Our Native Language Easy and Pleasant* ([1787]):⁷⁰

Mrs. Trimmer's Spelling Book +*The Histories of a great many* **The Female Guardian*
little Boys and Girls

⁶⁶ Grenby, 'The Origins of Children's Literature', p. 4.

⁶⁷ Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs. Teachwell" and "Mrs. Lovechild": A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist', p. 841; the French-language edition can be found listed in S. Roscoe, *John Newbery and His Successors, 1740-1814* (Wormley: Five Owls Press, 1973), item ID J129. French title: *Toiles d'Araignées pour Attraper les Mouches, ou Courts Dialogues pour l'instruction des enfans, depuis l'âge de trois ans, jusqu'à celui de huit.*

⁶⁸ Roscoe notes that Newbery's edition was 'rather dreary' in comparison to Marshall's, so the success of her attempts to steal business seems fairly unlikely. See pp. 111-12.

⁶⁹ Henry St. John Bullen, cited in Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs. Teachwell" and "Mrs. Lovechild": A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist', p. 842.

⁷⁰ The list appears after the preface of Ellenor Fenn, *A Spelling Book, Designed to Render the Acquisition of the Rudiments of Our Native Language Easy and Pleasant* (London: John Marshall and Co.).

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*Mrs. Teachwell's <i>Spelling Book</i>	Mrs. Barbauld's <i>Lessons</i>	*[?] <i>Filial Duty recommended and enforced</i>
* <i>Cobwebs to catch Flies, vol. 1</i> [...]	*Mrs. Teachwell's <i>Fables</i>	<i>The Governess, or little Female Academy</i>
* <i>Fables in Monosyllables</i>	<i>Series of Prints – and the Descriptions</i>	<i>A Course of Lectures for Sunday Evenings</i>
* <i>Cobwebs to catch Flies, vol. 2</i> [...]	<i>Nursery Conversations</i>	<i>Sunday Improvement</i>
* <i>Master Meanwell's Rules</i>	<i>Tête à Tête Conversations</i>	<i>Short Lectures for Sunday Schools</i>
+ <i>The Good Child's Delight</i>	* <i>Juvenile Correspondence</i>	<i>Birth Day Present</i>
+ <i>Short Conversations</i>	* <i>Rational Sports</i>	<i>Hymns in Prose</i>
<i>Familiar Dialogues</i>	* <i>School Occurrences</i>	<i>Aikin's Calendar of Nature</i>
+ <i>The Histories of more Children than One</i>	* <i>School Dialogues for Boys</i>	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>
+ <i>Little Stories for Little Folks</i>	* <i>Rational Dame</i>	<i>The Children's Friend [Ami des Enfants]</i>

The title page informs the purchaser that these books are recommended for children between the ages of three and twelve, and a significant number of the texts mentioned are by Fenn herself, although this is not necessarily evident – I have marked these with an asterisk. Alongside those written by Fenn (at least twelve of those listed), a large proportion (five) of the works featured are attributed to Dorothy Kilner (1755-1836), a close contemporary of Fenn's; I mark these with a plus. The remaining titles are from a variety of authors, and, significantly, this list is distinctly woman dominated.⁷¹ It is also notable that Fenn chooses to place Sarah Trimmer's work at the head of this list. Though she has not yet embarked on her most important pedagogical work, the *Guardian of Education* (1802-1806), discussed in chapter four of this thesis, Trimmer still enjoyed a formidable reputation as a judge of educational works. Her inclusion at the front of this list is then both in deference to that reputation and station, and an appropriation of her standing to imply tacit approval of the works appearing beneath. Indeed, the partnership between authors included in the list goes further than lip service. The *Spelling Book* in which this list appears is

⁷¹ Though I have not been able to ascertain the authorship of all of the items listed – indeed some of the items listed appear to be no longer extant – known female authors account for around two thirds of the total number, and it is likely that the actual number is higher.

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explicitly designated (by the advertisement) an introduction to both Fenn and Kilner's work. On the one hand, it is circumstances such as this that leave Fenn open to the charge of producing work to satisfy the commercial interests of her publisher – Kilner's work was also published through John Marshall. However, Trimmer's works, along with Anna Laetitia Barbauld's, were published by Johnson, and Sarah Fielding's with neither, leaving little commercial incentive for the cross-references, but leaving the educational or gender-sympathies intact. French work, too, makes a brief intrusion in the form of Arnaud Berquin's *Ami des Enfants* (1782-3, first translated 1783-4), and possibly *Tête à Tête Conversations*, although I have been unable to trace this text in either an English or French original.

Fenn did not restrict herself, however, to conventional publications in the form of books. As a final page of advertisements to a later version of the same text tells us, this time titled *A Spelling Book: with Easy Reading Lessons, beginning with Words of Three Letters, and Proceeding Gradually to those of as many Syllables* (1805), and published with J. Harris, the successor to Elizabeth Newbery, Fenn also produced 'Schemes for Teaching'.⁷² These included the 'Spelling Box', the 'Figure Scheme', and 'Douceurs, in a Box; sold also under the appellation of 336 Cuts by Mrs. Lovechild, with a Mother's Remarks'. Though not listed here, there was also a 'Grammar Box'; the spelling, grammar, and figure boxes, together with the *Art of Teaching in Sport* (1785) would have cost a guinea – an eye-watering sum for many families. These physical cuts, dice, tables, and other assorted box contents are not the focus of my discussion here – others have covered this ground.⁷³ Nevertheless, there is a connection worth exploring here in the relationships with Maria Edgeworth and Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, considered in chapter one. Fenn follows in Genlis' footsteps with a focus on using physical surroundings, in Fenn's case her *Set of Toys*, as educational aids in teaching youngsters. In fact, Fenn might also be said to take her French inspiration from Genlis concerning Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature*, which appears in Adelaide's course of reading in *Adelaide and Theodore* (1783) at age fourteen.⁷⁴ Edgeworth too, devotes attention to physical learning in a chapter on toys in *Practical Education* (1798). While Edgeworth's consideration of toys ranges much more widely than Fenn's mostly grammatical

⁷² Ellenor Fenn, *A Spelling Book: With Easy Reading Lessons, Beginning with Words of Three Letters, and Proceeding Gradually to Those of as Many Syllables* (London: Printed for J. Harris, 1805), final leaf of advertisements.

⁷³ See especially Immel, 'Mistress of Infantine Language'; also Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs. Teachwell" and "Mrs. Lovechild": A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist'; Percy; and Jill Shefrin, "'Make It a Pleasure Not a Task": Educational Games for Children in Georgian England', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 60 (1999), 251–75.

⁷⁴ Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, pp. 473-477 (p. 475). Interestingly, Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* (1774, 1781) and La Fontaine's *Fables* contained therein, also feature in this list, when Adelaide is aged seven and sixteen respectively.

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interest, she does advocate the use of prints as a method for teaching, as well as lauding an educational system born of physicality for young children.⁷⁵

Particular about her publications down to the appropriate size of font used in works for very young children, Fenn was well aware of the way in which society viewed the productions of women's pens. Deemed 'our first Teachers, as well as Nurses', women were nonetheless imbued with a specific knowledge on education that a sardonic Fenn cannot help but chide her male counterparts for ignoring: 'even learned Doctors, who twenty years since smiled disdainfully at the works of their sister Labourers, now condescend to adopt their methods, and even to insert in their own, the prattle which they then viewed with contempt.'⁷⁶ This awareness, however, also extends to a national and international context. In her 1783 publication (Fenn's first), *School Occurrences: Supposed to Have Arisen among A Set of Young Ladies Under the Tuition of Mrs. Teachwell; and to be Recorded by One of Them*, Fenn stakes her claim to innovation and forward-thinking. Representative of the humour that pervades her work, Fenn's preface to this work professes 'without a claim to any title, but such as my wish to lead little folks, to wisdom may confer, I venture to set the example, and write to children in the character of a child. Such an author may hope to escape all severity of criticism; - for who would be severe in scrutinizing the work of a child?'⁷⁷ Showing a wonderful self-awareness in a publishing milieu that placed enormous value on the opinions of reviewers, Fenn pre-empts and challenges her critics to find fault with her experimental example. In reality the work is not as innovative as Fenn claims; or rather, the commentary in the preface might be innovative in its sarcasm, but the content of the work is fairly commonplace. Though Fenn professes to write 'in the character of a child', the complexity of vocabulary, the dual register to engage adults as well as children, and the not-so-subtle moralising throughout the work point to an adult writer with the benefit (or hindrance) of life experience. Take, for example, the case of Miss Sprightly, who addresses one of the other young women thus: 'No, my dear girl, you meant this kindly, and I thank you; (*weeping*) but you have distress [*sic*] me greatly: indeed you have!'⁷⁸ The patronising tone of 'dear girl' is closer to that of a parent than a fellow student – indeed it is largely this role that Miss Sprightly embodies.

The innovation, to my mind, lies in Fenn's reference to translation as an important part of learning a *native* tongue. In *The Rational Dame: Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*

⁷⁵ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, vol. 1, pp. 1-56 (pp. 17-21).

⁷⁶ Fenn, *A Spelling Book: With Easy Reading Lessons, Beginning with Words of Three Letters, and Proceeding Gradually to Those of as Many Syllables*, iv.

⁷⁷ Ellenor Fenn, *School Occurrences: Supposed to Have Arisen among a Set of Young Ladies under the Tuition of Mrs. Teachwell; and to Be Recorded by One of Them*. (London: John Marshall and Co., 1783), xi.

⁷⁸ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, p. 55.

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(c. 1793), Fenn annotates an extract from another publication with the line ‘where the style is above the comprehension of the little one [...] a mother will doubtless have pleasure in *translating* it into easy, familiar language’.⁷⁹ It is interesting, if perhaps unsurprising, that mothers are the ones called upon to translate for their offspring. Just as a translator of French into English would need a knowledge of both languages, there is an implication that mothers speak two native tongues: adult and child. Moreover, a mother’s mediation of her child’s access to literature – accepted and even encouraged in prescribed eighteenth-century gender roles and the conduct literature that underpinned it – has wide-ranging implications for their linguistic and educational development. An over-zealous maternal ‘translator’ of literature might inadvertently prevent an expansion of vocabulary, knowledge, or logical reasoning by her wish to render complicated text in a child’s language. An unengaged mother might equally cause harm to her child’s education by failing to adapt texts to their understanding, or damaging their moral and character development through exposure to improper material. The question, then, as with most eighteenth-century maxims, is one of balance. Underlined by Edgeworth in *Practical Education* (1798), it is the parent’s ‘duty to look over every page of a book before it is trusted to their children’, something taken seriously by many contemporary mothers.⁸⁰

One particular instance of a parent’s investment in their child’s education can be found in a copy of Fenn’s text, *The Rational Dame*. The parent or guardian has, in this case, made pencil annotations throughout the book which track their charge’s progress in reading by date.⁸¹ Matthew Grenby has shown in his own work that this practice is a relatively common occurrence in the eighteenth century, and there are numerous examples of similar markings in library holdings across the United Kingdom and beyond; however, the examples I have uncovered are nonetheless more revealing than one might expect.⁸² Each mark consists of the date when the reading was completed, something that gives a remarkably detailed picture of the reading habits of the child in question, and occasionally there is also some supplementary information. For example, on the 3rd April there is a note to say the child was ‘very idle’, (although the child read a similar number of lines to other occasions, suggesting that perhaps the session took longer than usual), while earlier in the year the note simply reads ‘hesitation’.⁸³ The whole book takes nine months to read which, given its relatively short length of 114 pages, might appear a significant

⁷⁹ Ellenor Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, Third edition (London: John Marshall, 1793), p. 20. Original emphasis.

⁸⁰ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, vol. II, p. 87.

⁸¹ Ellenor Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, Third edition (London: John Marshall, 1793), British Library (Shelf mark: General Reference Collection 1578/6202).

⁸² See Matthew Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁸³ Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, p. 69; p. 60.

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amount of time. Yet looking at the markings one can see a pattern in the reading; sessions occur at relatively regular intervals, and each session usually entails reading a single entry. It is also almost certain that this was not the only book the child was reading at the time. Looking back to the timetables for children's daily activities explored in chapter one reveals that there is regular time set aside for reading, but Appleton also stipulates the subjects to be studied, of which there are two or three variations each day of the week.⁸⁴ It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty that parents and their children stuck to such a schedule without documentary evidence, but there are two key factors that suggest it is likely. Firstly, research by Mary Trouille, Gabriel de Broglie, and Denise Yim, among others, has uncovered evidence of members of the public who attempted to live life as dictated in both Rousseau's *Émile*, and Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore*, as in the case of Edgeworth's elder brother (educated by Rousseauvian principles).⁸⁵ Secondly, Appleton's publication is both more explicitly and more practically directed to enable parents to follow the plans contained within its pages.

Returning, then, to *School Occurrences*, Fenn adopts a common practice in fiction of the period; the characters of the tale all bear names revealing their dominant personality, a possible precursor to a great many books popular with children and adults alike, from Kinglsey's *The Water Babies* (1862-63) to the Mr Men and Little Miss series of the 20th and 21st centuries. Here, Fenn gives her readers Mrs. *Teachwell* (the governess), Miss *Friendly* (her assistant), Misses *Sprightly*, *Pert*, *Cheat*, *Pry*, &c. (pupils), and Mrs. Clare, the housekeeper, who is given the descriptor 'Well born, and reduced to Service by Misfortunes' in lieu of an adjectival name.⁸⁶ References to France, French, and French literature are all in attendance in this work, at varying degrees of acceptance. The rather discouragingly named Miss *Simpleton*, for example, 'had the rest of her education from a *French* governess, who enabled her to jabber a little unintelligible jargon, which the family (perceiving it was not *English*) agreed to call French.'⁸⁷ The large influx of French émigrés fleeing persecution in the French Revolution has not yet occurred, so Fenn's pointed critique of French governesses must be based on those who made the journey earlier in the century, and on stereotypes surrounding the superficial learning of French more generally. Linda Colley's work on the British character and nation provides explanation here. The British, she writes, primarily defined themselves against what they were not, an Other who, for much of the

⁸⁴ Appleton, pp. 261–69.

⁸⁵ Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment*; Broglie; Yim, *The Unpublished Correspondence of Mme de Genlis and Margaret Chinnery*. One might also include, here, Thomas Day's attempts to raise two girls he had adopted to be his wife.

⁸⁶ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, p. 13.

⁸⁷ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, p. 18.

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period, was French.⁸⁸ The ‘invention’ of British character, ‘superimposed’ on other national identities such as English, Scottish, and Welsh which, in other circumstances might create conflict, was primarily driven by the hostile confrontation of war with France that characterised much of the period.⁸⁹ Before giving a possible explanation of her description here, I will draw attention to another character in the work, Mr *Papillote*. Brought in to style the girl’s hair, his speech is written to demonstrate a heavily accented English: ‘O, qu’oui! Yase, I undertande you vare well [...] I knoe vat becomes each face, it ees my beesiness.’⁹⁰ Unimpressed, Miss *Pert* remarks ‘A Puppy! If you were to pinch him he would scold in plain *English*; but he must have a foreign accent to dress hair.’⁹¹ Maligned for their focus on outward and superficial beauty, the French were nonetheless the leading light of fashion in the eighteenth century.⁹² The suggestion here, then, is that Mr *Papillote* is not French. Rather he is imitating a Frenchman to borrow the cultural authority on fashion for financial benefit. In much the same way, it is implied that Miss *Simpleton’s* ‘*French*’ governess has somewhat shaky French credentials, which might account for her inability to teach her charge the language. It was not unheard of for English women running schools to adopt French names, or the French address ‘Madame X’ in order to capitalise on the social demand for a knowledge of French that had become a marker of class and accomplishment by the end of the century. Indeed, this was a topic for much satire in the period. Importantly, a knowledge of French in the reader is important here, because it is Mr *Papillote’s* name, like the other characters of the tale, which defines his person. A ‘*papillote*’ referred to the fabric or paper wrapped around hair before it was curled, while the verb ‘*papilloter*’ variously translates as ‘flutter’ or ‘blink’, but also referred to a (writing) style that was too ornamented or dazzling.⁹³ An example of Fenn’s dual-audience writing, I suggest that this more complex reference was intended for the parent (mother) – a child’s French vocabulary, while recognizing Mr *Papillote* as French, would be unlikely to make the requisite connections to understand the wider social

⁸⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994), p. 5.

⁸⁹ Colley, p. 5.

⁹⁰ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, pp. 95–96.

⁹¹ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, p. 96. ‘Puppy’, as well as a young dog, is listed in Johnson’s dictionary as a ‘name of contemptuous reproach’. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language; in Which the Words Are Deduced from Their Originals and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, a History of the Language, and an English Grammar*, 2 vols (London: Printed by W. Strahan, 1755), p. 1604.

⁹² For a discussion of fashion in eighteenth-century Britain and France, see particularly the work of Aileen Ribeiro in Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1984); Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). See also the British Library’s collection of satirical prints from the period, a selection of which can be found at <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/satirical-prints-on-fashion-and-hairstyles-in-the-late-18th-century>> [accessed 17/02/2021].

⁹³ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*, Fourth edition, 2 vols (Paris: Vve B. Brunet, 1762); *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française, Revu, Corrigé et Augmenté Par l’Académie Elle-Même*, Fifth edition, 2 vols (Paris: J. J. Smits, 1798).

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commentary at play. The mother might be called upon, here, to make some translation herself to explore the idea in a way suitable to the age of her charge – a translation as much of tone and register as one from the French.

However, Fenn also underlines the importance of translation work to young girls in this text, with a discussion between three of the students and Mrs. *Teachwell*. The three girls act out a scene from a translation of Racine's *Athalie* (1691) on which Miss Sprightly is working, but has not yet finished. Miss *Sprightly* laments that she 'long[s] to make a great deal more into *English*,' but Miss *Pert* (the usual objector) retorts that she must not 'dignify it with the name of translation', with *Teachwell* (Fenn) forced to intervene by remarking that 'it is literal and plain, fit for this dear little creature.'⁹⁴ 'Literal and plain', the hallmarks of a beginner's translation, are put at odds with the dignity of translation. As a task, Fenn suggests it is certainly worthy of attention, but Miss *Pert*'s comment smacks of a form of elitism in producing translated work – possibly speaking to a wider question of the value of a translation, particularly compared to the nuances of the original. On the one hand, one might see this comment as an indication of Fenn's own view on what constitutes good translation – nuance and style. Alternatively, it might be read as a commentary on the need for nuance in discussions where translation is at issue. That Fenn believes in translation as a task becomes more significant when combined with the knowledge that she herself helped to found one of the first Sunday schools in the country at East Dereham, where she even taught one of the girls' classes.⁹⁵ Her writing in *School Occurrences* makes explicit reference to Genlis' *Théâtre d'Education* (1779) as containing nothing improper, and designating it a worthy acquisition for a school to offer its pupils as reading material. In this, her writing takes a small step toward the fuller examination of appropriate children's reading material undertaken by Sarah Trimmer at the turn of the century – my own exploration of this periodical is found in chapter three.

Outside of teaching at schools, Fenn's educational aims encompassed a much larger age range. I have already alluded to the dual audience that pervades much of her work, but I want briefly to explore two texts in which this approach is particularly evident – and important. The first of these, *The Child's Grammar, Designed to Enable Ladies Who May Not Have Attended to the Subject Themselves to Instruct Their Children* (1799), contains an indication of that duality in its very title. Ostensibly intended for mothers, the primary title is *The Child's Grammar*, not *The Mother's Grammar*, a possessive that betrays the subtitle's attempts to shift the focus. The book

⁹⁴ Fenn, *School Occurrences*, pp. 85–86.

⁹⁵ See the *Norwich Mercury*, 30 December, 1786, 2, for an account of the school, cited in part in Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs. Teachwell" and "Mrs. Lovechild": A Pioneer Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Writer, Educator, and Philanthropist', pp. 837–38.

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might be designed to educate mothers, but it remains a book for teaching children; mothers here, then, are implicitly coded as children in need of education. For Carol Percy, this strategy is about addressing mothers' anxieties surrounding the teaching of grammar – a traditionally much more masculine subject that had been instilled in young boys via the physical violence of the cane.⁹⁶ It is this image that Fenn seeks to convey in her character names of Mr *Birch* and Mr *Snarl*. Her own work, then, tries to open up grammatical tutoring to mothers through texts that simultaneously teach both mother and child – or, perhaps more realistically, teach the mother and child in quick succession. And it is mothers specifically that must provide this education. Another of Fenn's publications serves to demonstrate this, and provide an example of a mother-reader taking the advice of Fenn's dual-address to heart.

The opening of Fenn's *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children* (c.1793) does not hold high opinions of mothers in general society, asking 'what might – what might not be done?' if mothers could only be convinced to take care of their children.⁹⁷ However, Fenn does believe – staunchly – in the care a mother can provide. She writes that 'the watchful eye of *maternal* tenderness alone can descry the moment when the attention awakens or flags; *maternal* affection alone can supply assiduity, patience, and condescension for unremitting infusions of simple, clear, and just ideas.'⁹⁸ The emphasis here is Fenn's own; the important aspect is not so much the tenderness and affection a child is shown, but rather the fact that mothers provide it. Finally, she explains that, although 'I mean this little work as an introduction for young children; or occasionally for their attendants, to enable them to answer inquiries', only 'a sensible well informed MOTHER can alone come up to my idea of A RATIONAL DAME.'⁹⁹ The mother-reader of the particular copy of *The Rational Dame* consulted here took Fenn's recommendations to heart, offering two handwritten inscriptions to her daughter inside the cover of the book. The first, written expressly to the daughter, reads 'Her Mama requests she will not omit taking this instructive, little volume out with her occasionally, during her Walks, by which she will be improving both her Mind & Constitution at the same moment.'¹⁰⁰ Revealing not only for its personalised inscription – evidence of a caring mother keen to educate her daughter – these lines also demonstrate a further facet of reading practice among eighteenth-century women: reading while walking. *The Rational Dame* is, perhaps, particularly suited to this activity, being a collection of short descriptions of animals and insects along with a number of illustrations on

⁹⁶ Percy, pp. 117–19.

⁹⁷ Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, ix.

⁹⁸ Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, ix. Original emphasis.

⁹⁹ Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, xi.

¹⁰⁰ Ellenor Fenn, *The Rational Dame; Or, Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children*, Third edition (London: John Marshall, 1793), British Library (Shelf mark: General Reference Collection 1578/6202). Flyleaf.

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plates. The second inscription, a citation immediately below the first, is a slight misquotation from Isaac Watt's *Improvement of the Mind* (1741), encouraging the daughter to learn something from each and every thing she experiences in Nature. Fenn would probably have approved of such an intervention encouraging a combination of education and pleasure through walking, as well as the active intercession of the mother in the inscriptions to her daughter. Indeed, the idea of walking and reading recalls the abridgement of Louise d'Épinay's work in English, physically designed as a smaller pocket book such that it might be used to advantage during a walk.

More concerned with study indoors than out, this short study has shown that Ellenor Fenn published across a wide array of mediums, and a broad stretch of time (a writing career of circa thirty years). Despite the differences across her work, however, she remained consistent in writing for a young child audience. Perhaps the most significant endorsement of her altruism and passion for educational advancement is found in the assertion by David Stoker that Fenn 'received no payment for her works, merely free copies to distribute to friends.'¹⁰¹ Monetary reward was not the motivation for every woman writer – and many did not make a living from their pen – but it was somewhat unusual for there to be no payment at all, at least, in standalone publications as opposed to contributions to periodicals. Fenn's success, then, may in some part have helped her achieve that sense of accomplishment commonly found in authors' prefaces, and Fenn's own 'wish to supply that office', whereby she 'shall think myself highly honoured'.¹⁰²

Yet the significance of Ellenor Fenn's œuvre for this thesis lies not in her achievements widening the availability of grammatical education to new sections of society, but in her engagement with French. From her work inspired by her French predecessor Noël Antoine Pluche, through to her direct engagement with French pedagogical publications such as those of Genlis, Fenn herself clearly sees the education debate as one that crosses the Channel. She aligns herself with the prominent anti-French sentiment of her historical context – probably a wise commercial choice – but she does not allow this counter to Revolutionary discourses to undermine her use of French pedagogical predecessors. I suggest that, as a writer on pedagogy, Fenn's approach demonstrates an awareness that an engagement with French in her work was all but required, both in response to the wider cross-Channel ideological conflict of the Revolutionary years, but also to demonstrate the intensity of her educational efforts. More significantly, Fenn's use of French ideas, and her representations of Frenchness, are deliberately more nuanced than many of her contemporaries; it is not as simple as a firm rebuttal of Revolutionary ideas or an

¹⁰¹ Stoker, *Fenn [Née Frere], Ellenor (1744-1813)*.

¹⁰² Ellenor Fenn, *The Child's Grammar: Designed to Enable Ladies Who May Not Have Attended to the Subject Themselves to Instruct Their Children* (Dublin: Printed for B. Dugdale, 1799).

unqualified avowal of support for the Old Regime. Fenn does not translate linguistically in her work; they are original English compositions. However, she was engaged in a significant translation exercise of a different kind – evidenced in the texts I have considered here – that focussed on the transference of pedagogical concepts from the French, stripped of their potentially problematic national identity. Fenn, I suggest, might be considered just as much a translator as her contemporaries.

Building Links, Building the Network

I opened this chapter with an acknowledgement that the women I chose to examine were deliberately disparate, publishing across different genres, in different countries, and at polar opposites in their proximity to direct translation efforts. Yet Épinay, Fenn, and Phillips are connected through a shared engagement with English-French exchange, an underlying network that informs and shapes their literary output. In Phillips, the connection is solid and direct; she translates a French work into English. In doing so anonymously, the connection is made between English reader and Épinay rather than Phillips herself, bridging the geographical, cultural, and linguistic divide. For Fenn, the French connection remains reasonably direct in the influence of Noël Antoine de Pluche on her work, but this link is not passed on to her readers. Rather it is the caricature of French customs and manners, and commentary on English fashion for (rudimentary) French language skills that appear in her publications. But Fenn does make reference to Genlis in her work, drawing the attention of the English readers to notable French counterparts. This connection is weaker than Phillips' in that the reference is short, but also in some ways stronger – the comment and recommendation benefits from Fenn's authority and status as an educational writer. All three writers here participate in an Anglo-French network of influence and exchange, a network that is marshalled in pursuit of diverse aims, from the commercial ploys of Fenn's publisher, through to Épinay's changing posthumous reception in England. I further build the content of this network in the subsequent chapter, with an examination of unpublished manuscript material which aims to demonstrate the prevalence of Anglo-French connections in the private or personal lives of eighteenth century women.

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This thesis has considered women's education from a number of different angles; I have examined prominent educational treatises written by and for women, books published to aid educators in their pedagogical pursuits, and texts intended for the children being educated. These works provide significant insights into the public discourses on both sides of the Channel, and demonstrate some of the preliminary connections between them. Here, I turn to the unpublished material of the period – letters, diaries, and a variety of manuscripts – for their diverse and often divergent personal accounts of education in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While letters and correspondence provide reciprocal opportunities for influence within their network, the manuscripts and diaries offer evidence of a more unidirectional flow of information or influence, from author to reader. Thus, although these readers might be considered part of a network in that they are all linked to a common author or authors, there are largely no connections between these readers themselves. I am, then, exploring some of the outer edges of the network in this chapter, the result of denser connections and influences in its centre.

The works examined here are mediated in different ways to their published counterparts, ways that are often (though not always) less commercially motivated, but frequently no less restrictive. Many are written for close friends (strong ties), or for personal records; they possess a perceived authenticity that might disguise self-censorship.. This is not to say that published work is necessarily inauthentic, nor that all privately written and circulated material is free from the mediating effect of the wider personal and social context. Michelle Levy's recent monograph begins the exploration of manuscript culture for its extra-textual insights – a field previously rather neglected – seeking to reconstruct the social networks monograph exchange facilitated and sustained.¹ Indeed, Mark Bland writes of print and manuscript as 'complementary forms of mediations' that existed 'in conjunction with each other' rather than as opposing forms of literary circulation, a view further supported by Betty Schellenberg, who writes of a 'symbiosis' between

¹ Michelle Levy, *Literary Manuscript Culture in Romantic Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

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manuscript and print, and refers to a 'general rejuvenation' of the 'supposedly "earlier" or obsolete medium' in the second half of the eighteenth century.²

While I noted the significant progress in the study of women's writing in my introduction to this project, a vast quantity of manuscript material has yet to be uncovered and appreciated. Thus, in line with the aims of this thesis, the consideration of such works here is partially about their recovery. However, it is also about broadening my consideration of the cross-Channel network beyond producers of information and influence toward an examination of consumers. Certainly, the authors considered in my first two chapters fall into both categories, but by exploring responses to their productions, I am able to describe a larger network. Indeed, the weak tie created between author and reader is, occasionally, the instigator of a new network, or new information in the network as the reader becomes the influencer in their own social circle.

I begin with a broad consideration of smaller manuscripts to establish the prevalence of Anglo-French discussion and comparison within the wider corpus. Placing the frequency of this engagement in conversation with the individuality of each manuscript and author allows me to demonstrate a commonality in approach that supports a wider assumption about educational practice. In spite of different educational, geographical, and class contexts, an engagement with Anglo-French conversation is present in some form, whether explicit in translation exercises and readings, or implied by the excerpting of texts in both languages and placing them side by side under one heading.

Subsequently, I undertake two detailed case studies. The former, two series of letters and a journal, authored by Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur between the ages of 14 and 25, demonstrates her engagement with French literature and the centrality of French language to her educational upbringing. Her educational reading, listed in her journal, provides material for a compelling comparison to Genlis' Adèle; the similarity of their educations speaking to a commonality in Anglo-French approaches to education that much published literature on the subject would appear to contradict.

The second case study, an anonymous French manuscript written as a series of conversations, is a good example of the popular dialogue form used for much educational material written for children in the period. With prefatory material that suggests the piece was intended for publication, or at a minimum circulation in manuscript, the piece bears remarkable similarities to

² Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2013), p. 17; Betty A. Schellenberg, *Literary Coteries and the Making of Modern Print Culture: 1740–1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 238.

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Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* discussed in chapter two, though the manuscript pre-dates the prize-winning publication by at least three years. Tracing a global historical and contemporary French network within its pages, this manuscript draws upon educational techniques found across much of its contemporary literature. However, its attention to the progression and maturation of its chief object marks it apart from many other educational works, and it is this aspect of the manuscript on which I chiefly focus.

There remains significant potential for wider work to be done on much of this material. St Maur's letters and journal would benefit from a full biographical study, and probably a complete academic edition. Art and book historians might make much of the sketches and drawings contained within a manuscript compiled for and by Lucie Moore, the daughter of Lucy and Henry Moore. A French manuscript, which I consider for its remarkable similarity to Louise d'Épinay's *Les Conversations d'Émilie* (1774), would also benefit from a more wide-ranging study of French attitudes to history, geography, and foreign cultures. While such projects lie outside of the scope of my current undertaking, I highlight them here as indicators of future lines of enquiry that run adjacent to those of this thesis.

Manuscript Case Studies: New Sources on Pedagogical Private Writings

Before moving to my primary case studies, I will consider a series of smaller manuscripts – reading journals, exercise books, and commonplace books – which I use to build a representative picture of women's educational endeavours. Highlighting the prevalence of Anglo-French interaction within these manuscripts, I am able to show that authors and texts are network facilitators, pointing to other educational material in their own social group, or acting as a model which connects a number of readers. Using records of reader responses to these texts, I demonstrate that readers are alert to such references and, more importantly, are engaged in a network creation of their own, placing authors in conversation within their own writing.

Letters from and between women of the eighteenth century already point to their engagement with French authors and a knowledge of the French language. Whether considering Sarah Lynes Grubb's letter to John Grubb which notes that she 'studied [her] little French book a good deal of the way' and even began to 'anticipate the reading of Fenelon and Guion some day in their own tongue', or Maria Edgeworth to her step-sister Honora Edgeworth Beaufort, who wrote in 1820 that she must 'get [Fleury's memoirs of Napoleon] in the French: it is very

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interesting, or we never could have got through it in the wretched translation to which we were doomed', French is central to both exchanges.³ Consider also Dorothy Wordsworth's correspondence with Margaret Beaumont, where she writes 'I can read French familiarly' and encourages her friend to 'transcribe those parts of her letter to which [she] alludes', duly thanking her for doing so in a later exchange.⁴ More specifically, the role of French in education also appears frequently, whether in the context of teaching, when Mary Ann Radcliffe hesitates at taking on the role of governess due to doubts about 'teaching [French] with the accuracy I could wish', and Sydney Owenson, who cites Maintenon and Genlis as examples of the importance and suitability of teaching as a profession.⁵ In the context of learning, one might cite Elizabeth Carter's letter to Elizabeth Vesey recommending a 'tolerable' French translation of Plutarch's lives as a way to engage with that text, or Anna Seward's less than glowing account of Genlis on education whose 'experiments' on the minds of her pupils she disavows.⁶ These letters, taken from a range of classes and geographies, demonstrate the centrality and pervasiveness of French language and literature to the literary life of eighteenth century women, particularly in their pursuit of education. With this baseline, I now turn to other manuscript forms of writing.

I begin with 'Didactic Pieces', apparently an exercise book of sorts, belonging to Georgiana Hurd, which consists exclusively of transcriptions from well-known contemporary works, as well as much earlier ones.⁷ There is no information on Hurd in the manuscript or the archive. Her age, station, occupation, and location are all unknown. The only information one can ascertain is from the date of the manuscript, January 1807, and its physical presentation. By this last, I am referring to two related aspects of the work: handwriting and ruling. Each page is wide-ruled, presumably to assist with Hurd's efforts in handwriting, which is neat, but large and somewhat juvenile in style. Speculatively, then, Georgiana Hurd is a younger girl, who is probably copying her lessons into this book as part of her moral education; headings in the book include 'on modesty', 'on happiness', 'on virtue', 'on good sense', and 'on study' among others.⁸ In so doing, Hurd places a series of authors alongside one another, ranging from Joseph Addison's *Spectator* (1711-1712),

³ *A Selection from the Letters of the Late S. G., Formerly Sarah Lynes*, ed. by J. and H. Grubb (Sudbury, 1848), January; Hare, vol. 2, letter of 20th December.

⁴ Wordsworth and Wordsworth, vol. 1, p. 566; vol. 2, p. 105.

⁵ Mary Ann Radcliffe, *The Memoirs of Mrs. M. A. Radcliffe in Familiar Letters to Her Female Friend* (Edinburgh, 1810), pp. 342-43; Sydney Owenson, *Lady Morgan's Memoires: Autobiography, Diaries and Correspondence* (London: W. H. Allen, 1862), vol. 1, pp. 177-178.

⁶ Elizabeth Carter, *A Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot from the Year 1741 to 1770. To Which Are Added, Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey between the Years 1763 and 1787* (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1809), vol. 4, letter of 30th May; Anna Seward, *Letters of Anna Seward Written between the Years 1784 and 1807*, ed. by Archibald Constable (Edinburgh, 1811), vol. 1, p. 167.

⁷ Chawton, Chawton House, MS 2620 HUR.

⁸ MS 2620 HUR, fols. 2^r, 13^r, 15^r, 32^r, 33^r.

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Johann Zimmermann's *Of Solitude* (1756), Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733-1734), William Melmoth the younger's *Letters on Several Subjects* (1742, under pseud. Sir Thomas Fitzoborne), Francis Bacon, and Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759-1767). Sterne stands out here as somewhat of an anomaly. The comedic nature of *Tristram Shandy* is at odds with the seriousness of the dissertation form that dominates the other extracts. There are other choices that fall more squarely within the tone of the rest of the manuscript: Jonathan Swift, or Pope, who already appears under 'hope' and 'virtue'.

What is interesting about this list is not so much the presence of so many male authors – this is largely to be expected – but rather the complete absence of female ones, and the presence of only a singular non-British writer.⁹ As my subsequent examples demonstrate, such an exclusively male-authored collection appears uncommon. This raises questions about Hurd's education and the influence on her educational reading. Where does the emphasis on male authorship arise? Indeed, the question is not so much about male authorship, as it is about the male subject of these texts. The quoted passage from Addison on modesty seeks to reclaim the term from false interpretations – the educational value here is evident – but the example used pertains to a father and a son, the latter of whom is a Prince. Hurd's exercise book is a female education only because she is the recipient. While one might make a claim that this education represents an embrace of Wollstonecraft's argument to educate both sexes similarly, this is not, I think, what her claim to education by the 'same means' aspires to. Rather, I suggest that this manuscript might be considered an attempt to embrace the spirit of Wollstonecraft's ideas, but one that fails to adapt the material to its pupil. Consequently, Hurd is required to perform an additional layer of mediation or interpretation as a female reader of male examples. In other words, the absence of female figures in Hurd's didactic lessons provides much more information about her education than the presence of expected, prominent, male authorities.¹⁰

The second manuscript I give space to here bears a much more apparent female influence. Held at Chawton House, the volume is emblazoned with the initials L.M. on the cover, with Henry Moore's coat of arms on the inside cover. Beginning with the line 'to my beloved Lucie', the book presumably belonged to Lucie Moore, the daughter of Henry and Lucy Moore.¹¹ The work is not

⁹ For a discussion of what women and girls should read, and the often contradictory reality, see chapter two of Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation*, pp. 42–86.

¹⁰ Debates on, and conceptions of, women readers varied considerably across the eighteenth century. For Britain, see De Ritter; for France, see Natania Meeker, 'Lire et Devenir: The Embodied Reader and Feminine Subjectivity in Eighteenth-Century France', *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 47.1 (2006), 39–57.

¹¹ Chawton, Chawton House, MS 5137 TIG. There are six volumes in this collection, which are not given individual reference numbers. The information on the lineage of Lucie Moore comes from a family tree

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dated, though the paper is watermarked 1812, and one of the pieces in the manuscript is signed 1814, giving a rough estimate of the time of its conception. There is little information on when this manuscript passed from parent to daughter, or indeed which parent produced the work, though the subject matter would skew the presumption toward Lucie's mother, following in the long tradition of mother–daughter exchange. Despite these unknowns, the manuscript nonetheless provides a glimpse of a parental gift to a daughter – one that combines art, literature, advice, and excerpts across multiple languages. Although I have not been able to trace every extract in the work, the prevalence of citation within the manuscript allows me to assert with relative confidence that there are only two original entries by the mother's pen aside from her opening address, both evidently personal in nature – underlined by the inclusion of a beautiful pencil drawing that accompanies each. The range of material in the manuscript – a series of quotations under a variety of headings – defines it as a commonplace book. A literary form with a long history, the commonplace book was nonetheless still a popular educational tool in the eighteenth century, and the subject of publications by Locke, and subsequently [anon?] *A New Commonplace Book; being an improvement on that recommended by Mr. Locke (1799)*, which built upon Locke's method.¹²

It is interesting, then, that this commonplace book includes personal pieces written with a view to the eventual transfer of the book from mother to daughter. Rather than a purely personal educational endeavour, or an aide-memoire, this piece connects the two women through their reading. There appear to be two distinct authors of this manuscript – distinguishable by a marked typographical difference in the formation of their ascenders and descenders, and by a change in extract organisation. While the initial author begins the manuscript with clearly delineated sections, many prefaced with exquisite pencil drawings, such as those on beauty, music, and application, these become more sparse as the volume progresses, with quotations separated by a simple bold line (although titles still frequently appear). The second author eschews titles in almost all of the remainder, retaining only the bold line, and author attributions for around half of her quotations.

The two entries with personal connections relate to family. The first recalls to Lucie's memory time spent at Spekelands, the historical site of the Earle family, with whom the Moores

pencilled on the flyleaf of one of these volumes, tracing the book from Lucy Currie (Lucie's mother) to the latest descendent, William Richard Le Fanu (1904-1995), whose name appears on the flyleaf of that volume.

¹² For a history of the commonplace book, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); see also Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), particularly chapter 5.

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appear to have had significant contact.¹³ The second imagines a future family home: 'here imagination not memory lends her aid – my fancy has painted these scenes with the bright colouring of domestic happiness, and founded the expectation of the future, on the recollection of the past.'¹⁴ I include these instances here because they underline the personal and selective nature of this particular manuscript. Prepared with a view to Lucie's future emotional well-being, and designed to bring to her mind happy memories and future possibilities (hopefully, perhaps, now realised ones), it is with this context that the extensive quotation from other texts must be read. These quotations encompass a great breadth of subjects and authors, and appear in a number of languages. From Britain, the names include Jane Bowdler (1743-1784), Rev. James Fordyce (1720-1796), Joseph Warton (1722-1800), John Leyden (1775-1811), Robert Dodsley (1703-1764), and Hannah More (1745-1833), revealing a preference for poetry on the author's part, but ranging in topic from beauty, to religion, to music.¹⁵ The other prominent language in the manuscript is French, where an even greater number of writers feature: Sophie Cottin (1770-1807), Isabelle de Montolieu (1751-1832), Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695), Marie Anne du Deffand (1696-1780), Voltaire (1694-1778), Germaine de Staël (1766-1817), Jean de la Bruyère (1645-1696), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and François Fénelon (1651-1715), a list considerably more female-slanted than its British counterpart. This second list notably encompasses writers from French, Swiss, and German origin, strengthening its European credentials, and it also has a higher proportion of writers engaging with educational publishing. Though the quotations selected from these authors in the current manuscript are largely fiction focussed, they also range into subjects such as happiness, or feature excerpts from correspondence.

What, then, does this curated collection reveal about the parent and daughter to whom it belonged? First and foremost, it documents an extensive engagement with French literature, frequently interspersed with British counterparts, that presupposes an ability to switch seamlessly from one language to another, and a familiarity with the material on the part of the mother. It is an example of what David Allan terms the 'richly rewarding synergies between the business of reading and the practice of criticism that commonplace books encouraged'.¹⁶ Unlike the first manuscript I considered in this chapter, the daughter here is exposed to a much more varied literary offering, one which weaves personal memory, education, conduct advice, poetry, art, and foreign fiction into one piece of work. This manuscript is an example of the difficulty of confining

¹³ Appendix D, fig. 4.

¹⁴ Chawton House, MS 5137 TIG, fol. 19. Original emphasis. See also appendix D, fig. 5.

¹⁵ See appendix D, figs. 1, 2, and 3, which precede the sections on these three topics respectively.

¹⁶ David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 106.

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eighteenth-century texts to a single purpose or genre, a recurring theme across this thesis. Defined most easily as a form of miscellany, the piece is one that continued to evolve beyond its initial conception.¹⁷ There are additions in a different hand to that of the original, which speak to an active engagement from the reader. Though I cannot say with certainty that it is Lucie Moore who has made these additions, the references they make at least indicate a contemporary appearance. Take for example, the response to a French quotation discussing virtue, where a pencilled addition notes 'Caroline's in *Patronage* appeared to be this kind of virtue', a reference to Maria Edgeworth's *Patronage* (1814). The reader here draws links between a French excerpt and an English novel, parsing information between languages and cultures, and responding to one language in another. A very small instance to be sure, but one that encompasses the Anglo-French interconnectedness that I use this manuscript to underline.¹⁸

More importantly, the connection between mother and daughter evidenced in this manuscript is a good example of the weak ties that facilitate so much of Anglo-French exchange. The initial collection and curation of authors – both British and French – by the mother had already created a written record of a network, bringing together voices from both sides of the Channel under subject headings rather than national ones. While the mother, by virtue of her active role in collating such a group in conversation, is central to that network, her passing of the manuscript to her daughter creates a weaker tie between that network and her daughter. By expanding the network with her own extracts, and responding to the initial collection, the daughter becomes an active participant in that exchange, both influenced by the connections made by her mother, and influencing the direction of future conversations within the manuscript collection through her own additions.

Moore is not alone in written responses to her reading, nor is her linguistic endeavour unique. Sophy Mackie, the daughter of a prominent Hampshire-based physician, kept a journal which documented her reading, titled 'Account of Books I have Read'. Held at Chawton House, only the second volume of this journal still exists. Nonetheless, this short manuscript evidences

¹⁷ For an examination of some of the history of the miscellany, see Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); on the eighteenth century poetic miscellany, see *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. by Isabel Rivers (London and New York: Continuum, 2001).

¹⁸ While the instance is small, the free mixing of English and French language in women's manuscript writing is not uncommon. A further manuscript in the Chawton collection attests to this in its very title: 'Melanges or, tales, essays, dialogues, & sketches/ Letters nourish the Soul, rectify & comfort it/ La femme qui vive dans la Solitude/ (Pensant plus, et agissant moins)/ Epreuve à certain age le besoin d'écrire' [The woman who lives in solitude/ (Thinking more, and moving less)/ Feels at a certain age the need to write]. Chawton, Chawton House, MS 1207 MEL. The anonymous author of this manuscript (watermarked 1798 but not dated) goes on to excerpt from numerous French and English writers, and also places them in direct conversation, such as a dialogue between the Duchess de Valiere and Madame de Maintenon (fols. 144-50).

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Mackie's reading in English, French, and Italian. Notably, Mackie writes her summary and opinion of each text she reads in the respective language in which it is written. Thus this volume contains two entries in French and one in Italian, from Isabelle de Montolieu, Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, and Gaetano Polidori respectively. All three texts are novelistic in form – *Caroline de Litchfield* (1786), *Novelle Morali* (1800), and the *Petits Romans* – but their didactic messages clearly have an impact; it is only this element of the works on which Mackie directly comments.

Another woman, Claire Clairmont – Mary Shelley's sister and Mary Wollstonecraft's daughter – also kept a meticulous record of her reading. Importantly, this task was not noticeably interrupted by Clairmont's escape to the continent with her eloping sister. Marion Kingston Stocking's edition of *The Journals of Claire Clairmont* (1968) demonstrates the frequency, breadth, and communal nature of Clairmont's literary undertakings. Clairmont documents her own reading and response, but she also notes where Shelley read to her – both are of equal value. As their travels take her across Europe, so too does her reading extend across the continent. Quotations in French from Rousseau's *Émile* on the complete unsuitability of Sophie as an equal of man reveal the enduring influence of Wollstonecraft on Clairmont's reading. Other Rousseauvian texts make an appearance, but so too does the Pigault Le Brun, Voltaire, Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray – who is singled out for particular interest but also chastisement – Henri Bernadin de Saint-Pierre, the Abbé Barthélemy, a great many of Molière's plays, the Abbé Martin, Antoine Bret, the Marquise de Pompadour, and several references to the *Bibliothèque universelle des dames* (20 vols., 1787-88). What Clairmont demonstrates that the other two examples I have given thus far do not, is that where the interest, intellect, and availability align, women's reading of French work extended across all genres and political spectra. Clairmont's undertaking pertains to education in the broadest sense of knowledge acquisition, but her Anglo-French literary education is one that took place in both a literal and figurative cross-Channel space. Discussions on her French reading took place within the pages of her journal, but also among her present English company – Mary and Shelley. They also extend more broadly. Clairmont notes a conversation with two 'Scotchmen' passengers, one of whom is a 'Rousseauman', while the frequency of theatre trips and other social engagements points to the likelihood of further literary conversation.¹⁹ The network constructed by these endeavours cuts across personal connections between acquaintances and those created in the pages of Clairmont's journal.

¹⁹ *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, ed. by Marion Kingston Stocking (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 41.

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The final manuscript I consider in this introduction serves a different purpose. Rather than evidence of cross-Channel engagement, I include it here as an indication of the range of opportunities and educations that some young women experienced. The 'Course of Education for a Young Lady', an 1814 octavo volume held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK, contains a plan of education that is less traditional.²⁰ Domestic work, accounts, geography, history of nations, literature, dancing, languages, embroidery, and art – none of these stereotypically feminine subjects are to found within its pages. Rather, the work begins with the following two attestations:

There are many sciences which are the frequent themes of conversations, which it is thought perfectly unnecessary to make a part of female education. That you may pass with credit through the world, without understanding building, architecture [*sic*]; &c no one will be inclined to dispute; at the same time I avoid thinking, that a slight knowledge of these topics, sufficient at least to enable you to comprehend discourse of those who are better informed, can never be detrimental to any female, or induce her to become conceited or pedantic.²¹

[I]f on the contrary it is instilled as a common & necessary part of education, if she is taught that a woman's province is attainment & not a vain display of knowledge, in that if the qualities of her heart are as much attended to as the cultivations of her talents, I cannot conceive that a little additional information can be prejudicial.²²

Combined, these two statements mark somewhat of a departure from contemporary discourse on education, both in the inclusion of a greater quantity of science, and the focus on attainment as specifically 'a woman's province'. While recent work has demonstrated that women were actively involved in scientific discovery throughout the eighteenth century, their formal education remained an unlikely source for this knowledge.²³ More recently still, Tita Chico has challenged the 'two cultures' debate about disciplinarity – science versus literature – arguing that, in the eighteenth century, the two share a much more entwined and complementary existence.²⁴ The 'woman's province' of attainment is implicitly set up in competition with the more generally

²⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.12594.

²¹ Bodleian Library, MS.12594, fols. 1^r.

²² Bodleian Library, MS.12594, fols. 3^r.

²³ See, for example, work on scientists such as Mary Somerville (1780-1872) and Caroline Herschel (1750-1848): Kathryn A. Neeley, *Mary Somerville: Science, Illumination, and the Female Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Michael A. Hoskin, *Discoverers of the Universe: William and Caroline Herschel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

²⁴ Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018).

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prescribed accomplishment, pitting knowledge against image, academic virtue against superficial vanity. Though this manuscript's attempts to teach scientific knowledge are admittedly basic – 'it is merely my intention to define the common terms of different sciences, [...] leaving it to those who have made these branches of learning their study, to give further information' – the author does not discount the idea of further study for the young lady they address.²⁵ Indeed, this may simply be a reflection of the author's own knowledge in these subjects.

Absent the traditional feminine subjects of study, what, then, does this course of education advocate? There are elements of the more standard women's education in the form of natural history and botany, but these are supplemented by other subjects, at times obscure, such as astronomy, architecture, mechanics (natural philosophy), and even heraldry. While some of these subjects do appear in other contemporary work – the French manuscript later in this chapter considers the planets, and Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* contains a number of plates detailing the mechanics of machines to demonstrate scientific principals – architecture and heraldry remain unusual outside of highly specific class contexts.²⁶ This last subject might point to the social class of the intended recipient of the education here, a young lady, who is also a young Lady, and might therefore be expected to possess a knowledge of lineage, family history, and thus the heraldry of the noble classes. Structurally, this text is not dissimilar to the mother–daughter conversations that permeated the publishing environment of the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. It consists of a series of questions and answers on various topics, but there is no attempt to bring a lifelike conversationalist tone to the work; there are no characters behind the words. Rather, there is a series of short, blunt questions with their corresponding responses, almost like an encyclopaedia or dictionary, giving the manuscript more of a reference text feel to it than an educational handbook. However, the manuscript ends abruptly after the final response, with no concluding matter. Given that the whole physical volume is filled, it is possible that the course of education was continued in a second volume, though there is nothing to indicate this in the current manuscript. Possibly the course of education was ended or suspended, but again there is no suggestion in the work itself that this is the case. Despite these

²⁵ Bodleian Library, MS.12594, fol. 5.

²⁶ Notably, Adèle does read a treatise on heraldry aged eight under Genlis' plan, though this might be attributed to her class context. For scholarship on women's engagement with architecture, see T Hinchcliffe, 'Women and the Practice of Architecture in Eighteenth-Century France', in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Helen Hills (London: Routledge, 2003); and Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); for insight into how the systems of patronage that I have explored in relation to publishing extend, see also Lucy Worsley, 'Female Architectural Patronage in the Eighteenth Century and the Case of Henrietta Holles Cavendish', *Architectural History*, 48 (2005), 139–62.

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shortcomings, the manuscript remains an important indication of the wider context of what was possible within young women's education on a small, private scale.

This prefatory introduction has attempted to set up a number of contexts in which to situate the case studies that follow. Together, these manuscripts give an indication of the sheer range and scope for individual courses of education for women in the period, ranging widely in topic of study, and encompassing both monolingual and international texts and outlooks.. They demonstrate the significant engagement women's education made with foreign texts and authors, here particularly French ones, and underline the role of parents and guardians in the education of young women, especially the role of mothers and daughters. Here, then, I draw some tentative conclusions upon which my case studies build. French, in addition to its role in girls' education, often served as a medium to expand the range of reading material available to young learners, and present them with alternative and potentially opposing viewpoints; Lucie Moore encapsulates the possibilities of this endeavour. Knowledge of French enabled women, as educators and educatees, to be active participants in their network building, creating their own links with foreign material rather than remaining reliant on the (net)work of translators. Perhaps most importantly, however, these overviews demonstrate the individuality of education in the Romantic period – despite their temporal proximity, each manuscript represents a distinct and unique educational curriculum.

Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur [Seymour] (1803-1889)

Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur (hereafter St Maur) was the eldest child of Edward St Maur (1775-1855), the 11th Duke of Somerset by his first wife, and the Jane mentioned in Pratilla's dream-vision of a Ladies' Library that opened this thesis. One of seven children – three boys and four girls – St Maur would later become a member of the household of Victoria, Duchess of Kent, mother to the future Queen Victoria. It is in this role that she primarily might be of interest to nineteenth-century scholars, but here I confine my exploration to her early life. Two archival collections form the corpus for this investigation. The first, held at Chawton House, Hampshire, is rather small, containing a journal (1819-1824), two series of letters, and a small number of

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individual letters.²⁷ Of particular interest are the two series of letters St Maur wrote during her teenage years. The first of these series consists of four letters to her father, Lord Seymour, all written in French. The second, larger collection of twelve letters is to her uncle, John Webb Seymour (1777-1819), to whom I refer as Lord Webb to avoid confusion with his brother. The other archival collection is held at the Buckinghamshire Archives in Aylesbury, England, and is significantly larger. Most importantly for my consideration here, it contains the other half of the St Maur/Lord Webb correspondence, but it also holds the last will and testament of Lord Seymour, and a whole host of letters, legal papers, and material relating to the St Maur estate. The two sets of letters, taken together with St Maur's youthful journal and select elements of the Buckinghamshire archive, provide an extensive and revealing insight into an aristocratic young woman's educational upbringing and daily life. They depict a story of curiosity and intellect in a girl who thrived on the acquisition of knowledge, and the exercise of logic, to expand her ability to reason. Most importantly, they allow a comparison between the real-world education of an aristocratic Englishwoman with the semi-fictional one of a Frenchwoman, embodied in Genlis' Adèle.

My examination of these manuscripts is divided into three sections. The first deals with St Maur's letters to her father, written with a clear educational motive and containing many records of her reading in the period. It also further underlines the role that French language and literature plays in the life of a young woman. The middle, larger, section, takes a more thematic approach in order to account for the considerable variety of subjects discussed in St Maur's correspondence with her uncle. Here, one recalls the 'Course of Education for a Young Lady' of my prefatory remarks to this chapter; St Maur's letters to her uncle cover a number of topics that are unusual in a young lady's education. As the dates of the journal directly follow these letters in the chronology of St Maur's life, so I continue my case study with an examination of her journal in the final section. Offering extensive evidence of her reading practice, the journal also provides instances of self-reflection and details of her acquaintance. Together, these documents provide the means to establish a substantial account of St Maur's educational and personal development from the age of fourteen to her maturity at twenty-one, a development that encompasses French writing, French reading, and the parsing of French ideas. I thus conclude with a direct comparison between the reading evidence of St Maur and Adèle, drawing a firm link between the two educations. St Maur and Genlis are not connected personally (although the St Maur family is

²⁷ Chawton, Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU; MS 10830 MAU. The first reference here is to the journal, and the second to the two sets of letters. These are not subdivided within the archive, and so I reference them in this thesis as follows: Chawton Number/Series Name/Letter Number, followed by the folio reference.

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engaged in correspondence with other leading Continental figures such as Germaine de Staël), but the parallels between their educational readings point to a commonality in approach on both sides of the Channel that speaks to a level of interest, conversation, and exchange.

The French Letters

Beginning then, with St Maur's French letters to her father. It is immediately apparent upon opening these letters that a common practice – epistolary exchange within a family – has been co-opted for educational purposes, following the famous examples of Lord Chesterfield in England, and the Marquise de Sévigné in France, though the latter was a much more celebrated offering. Eve Tavor Bannet has shown that, in teaching letter-writing particularly, 'it was a commonplace that imitating examples was more efficacious than applying precepts', continuing that 'many model letters in early English manuals were more or less direct translations from classical, humanist or French sources.'²⁸ Chesterfield's letters, Bannet informs her reader, were frequently 'rifled' by compendia (often without attribution), and the *Correspondent* (1796) 'borrowed heavily' from Chesterfield.²⁹ Despite the relative infrequency of St Maur's letters to her father (two in November 1817, then one in February 1818, and not again until June that year), they appear to be an uninterrupted exchange. While the four letters here certainly denote the start of the series, it is less clear whether they represent the sum total of the series; only St Maur's side of the exchange is represented in the archive. The topic of their writing ranges widely from the books currently the subject of St Maur's studies, to personal news about family and friends, and include corrections to her faults in French grammar and spelling. Initiated by her father (St Maur opens her reply by thanking him for his French letter), the series was probably conceived as a method to practise both letter writing and written French, an educational motive to which St Maur is alert; her second letter makes a point to say 'thank you for pointing out the errors I had made, I will try to avoid them in future.'³⁰ Similar comments appear in her later letters to her uncle with regard to her English spelling: 'I punctually follow your advice with respect to imagine. As it is a word which I in general use very frequently, it is quite a misfortune, not to know how to spell it.'³¹ Indeed, Lord Webb makes a competition out of their joint error in poorly forming their

²⁸ Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1680-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), xii-xiii. see also Brant.

²⁹ Bannet, p. 51.

³⁰ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/2, fol. 1. Original French [Je vous remercie de m'avoir indiqué les fautes que j'avois commises, je tâcherai de les éviter à l'avenir].

³¹ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/10, fol. 1^v.

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letter 't's, writing 'let us begin to reform together, & see which will acquire the proper t̄ first.'³² For St Maur, then, letter writing and education go hand in hand – whether that education is about the orthography or the content of the writing. Work by Dena Goodman and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade in particular has demonstrated the links between spelling, letter writing, class, and education – if a woman wanted to be taken seriously in her literary exchange, correct spelling was a prerequisite.³³

Perhaps partly inspired by this requirement, St Maur's commitment to learning is evident throughout her exchanges with her father. In fact, she eschews more traditionally feminine pursuits in favour of academic and intellectual endeavours, as evidenced in the following exchange about a garniture:³⁴

I am finishing off the miserable garniture. To look at it, you would think it had been used to clean all the bedrooms in the house. It rests unhappily in my drawers, and each time I open them, it reproaches me for my laziness. Sometimes I take it up and do a little; but it would barely advance, if not for an idea I came up with, to establish the Christian religion in the isles of Tonga. I imagine all the dangers, the difficulties, the setbacks, the happy success, the rich change that this peaceful and charitable religion, would bring about in these savage and barbaric isles. During all this, the work continues.³⁵

A common accomplishment in girls' education, embroidery and needlework is here clearly not something that St Maur relishes.³⁶ Indeed, she is only able to continue with the task by creating

³² Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire Archives, D/RA/A/1C/4/11, fol. 2^v.

³³ For the French context, see Dena Goodman, 'L'ortographe Des Dames: Gender and Language in the Old Regime', *French Historical Studies*, 25.2 (2002), 191–223; for equivalent studies on England, see the work of Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, particularly 'Eighteenth-Century Women and the Norms of Correctness', in *Eighteenth-Century English: Ideology and Change*, ed. by R. Hickey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 59–72; and 'Communicative Competence and the Language of Eighteenth-Century Letters', in *The Language of Public and Private Communication in a Historical Perspective*, ed. by Nicholas Brownlees, Gabriella Del Lungo, and John Denton (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 24–45; see also *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldsmith (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

³⁴ Uncommon in modern English usage, a garniture was a piece of embroidery or decoration affixed to a dress or ball gown.

³⁵ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/1, fol. 1^v. Original French [J'achève aussi la malheureuse garniture. A la voir, vous croiriez qu'on l'avoit employée à netoyer toutes les chambres de la maison. Elle continue tristement dans mon tiroir, et toutes les fois que je l'ouvre, elle me reproche ma paresse. Quelques fois je la prends et j'en fait un peu ; mais elle n'avancerois guères, si ce n'étoit pour une idée que j'ai conçue, d'établir la religion Chrétienne dans les iles de Tonga. Je me figure tous les dangers, les difficultés, les contretemps, les heureux succès, et le change fortuné que cette religion paisible et charitable, effectueroit dans ces isles sauvages et barbares. Pendant tout ceci l'ouvrage va son train].

³⁶ St Maur was not alone in her dislike for needlework. For an examination of many women's attitudes to the practice, see Christine Hivet, 'Needlework and the Rights of Women in England at the End of the

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an intellectual challenge to occupy her mind while her hands complete the menial task, and it is this coping mechanism that marks her apart from her contemporaries. The extent of this feeling is demonstrated in the subsequent letter: 'Thanks to the Isles of Tonga! the garniture is finished; and I have sent it to the laundrywoman, to do penance in a vat of boiling water.'³⁷ I include this anecdote here to indicate two important aspects of St Maur's letters from the outset. Firstly, that her curiosity and intellectualism are remarkably apparent in aspects of her life where they might otherwise be thought more dormant. Secondly, to give a sense of the wit and humour which abounds in her letters even at this early age – there is a marked sense of personality and individuality that is frequently lost in the formality of other types of correspondence, or that written with a view to later publication.

What then, do St Maur's letters to her father reveal about her education? In the first instance, they show that St Maur was under the care of a governess, a Miss J., to whom she reads in the evenings, and who recommends her course of study. The focus in this period of her life appears to be history, and beginning with the lives of Charles V and François I in *A View on the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the 16th Century* (1762), by William Robertson (1721-1793).³⁸ Later, St Maur tells her father that she has finished the *Iliad*, an extensive undertaking for a young girl – certainly St Maur would be reading a translation and not the original ancient Greek.³⁹ Unlike some other reading journals (Sophy Mackie's, for example), St Maur's responses are rarely interested in plot summary without accompanying commentary; she gives pointed examinations of the characters and actions of the characters of history, and judges their moral compasses in the process. For St Maur, as for Claire Clairmont, written responses to reading are an opportunity to reflect and to learn. Take, for example, her assessment of the monarchs Charles V and François I: 'I certainly prefer him [Charles V] to François, but I think that this last had more generosity, candidness, and liberality, than his rival.'⁴⁰ This response is also one that leverages the linguistic study of French with the historical. St Maur reads the history of François I in English, but writes her response to the French monarch in his native tongue rather than her own. Or the response to Homer's epic poem, where St Maur criticises 'the gods and deities which Homer introduces so constantly', whom she finds 'very

Eighteenth Century', in *The Invisible Woman: Aspects of Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Isabelle Baudino, Jacques Carré, and Cécile Révauger (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 37–46.

³⁷ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/2, fol. 1. Original French [Grâces aux Isles de Tonga ! la garniture est finie ; et [je] l'ai envoyé à la blanchiseuse, pour faire pénitance dans une cuve d'eau bouillante].

³⁸ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/1, fol. 1^v.

³⁹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/2, fol. 1.

⁴⁰ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/2, fol. 1^v. Original French [Je le préfère certainement à François, mais je crois que ce dernier avoit plus de generosité, de franchise, et de liberalité, que son rival].

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disagreeable' and who 'are never pleased but when they trick and torment mortals.'⁴¹ Not afraid to voice her opinions on her reading, St Maur is also highly inquisitive, asking numerous questions of her father in these letters, chiefly requesting his opinion on historical figures, or the events depicted in her reading. However, her father is not the only educational figure in her life, nor indeed does he appear to be the chief correspondent.

Letters to her Uncle

One of the largest influences on St Maur's educational development at this age in her life is arguably her uncle, Lord Webb. The series of letters between them, twelve from St Maur and fourteen from her uncle, are held separately at Chawton House and the Buckinghamshire Archives, and span roughly a year-long period from February 1818 to January 1819. They were only discontinued due to Lord Webb's ill health, and subsequent death in April 1819 – an event that is noted with great sadness in St Maur's journal entry of 19th April that year:

Poor Uncle Webb died about seven in the evening [...] I was much afflicted at the news of his death, for I lost in him a kind relation, & a most valuable & enlightened friend. I had corresponded with him for more than a year before this melancholy event, & his letters were full of interest & information.⁴²

As the journal entry suggests, this literary exchange details an active engagement in St Maur's education from her uncle. Her father is also present in their pages, but St Maur's mother is conspicuously absent from these manuscripts, appearing only in one intriguing instance that I discuss later in my exploration of the letters. Indeed, part of what is so fascinating about both sets of St Maur correspondence is their inversion of the long tradition of mother–daughter exchange, embodied so clearly in the letters of the Marquise de Sévigné, who is regularly cited by diverse writers across the century as a model for others to follow. Here, the literary partnership is between the publically neglected or relegated father figure and his daughter – the focus in published literature of the period is decidedly skewed toward the mother-daughter bond.⁴³

⁴¹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/French Letters/2, fols. 1^v. Original French [Je trouve que les dieux et les déesses qu'Homère introduit si constamment, sont des personnages bien désagréables, qui ne se plaisent qu'à tromper et à tourmenter les mortels].

⁴² Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 2^v. If St Maur's assertion to have corresponded for more than a year is accurate, the remaining letters in the exchange have been lost; only eleven months of letters are held across the two archives here.

⁴³ While Dr Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774) is a notable exception, Sarah Pennington's *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Children* (1761), Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's *Advice from a Lady of Quality to her Children* (, trans by Samuel Glasse), or the original subtitle of Louise d'Épinay's *Conversations*

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Moreover, it is a partnership built on equity and trust; St Maur's questions, concerns, thoughts, and ideas are given full weight and she is encouraged to flourish, following the full extent of her intellectual curiosity. In my examination of their exchange, I take a thematic approach rather than a chronological one; St Maur and her uncle range widely in their discussions, frequently referring to previous letters and arguments.

I thus begin with some of the most basic information that can be gleaned from St Maur's correspondence: a partial timetable for her daily schedule and educational activities. In the summer of 1818 at Bradley House in Wiltshire, the family residence, St Maur informs her uncle it is 'exceedingly warm', so she 'can only walk with comfort, from seven till nine which is my breakfast time; and again from six till near nine in the evening. I sit out of doors and work from two till three in a shady corner.'⁴⁴ Rising time is little different in November (still at Bradley), despite the change of season:

I must tell you that we always get up by candle light, and are dressed by a quarter past seven. We have had no fire till lately, and I really think it requires some resolution to get up without one by the light of a candle. However, to make up for this, I am always in bed by nine, and my sisters rather earlier.⁴⁵

In the same letter, St Maur also relates that most of her day is occupied in teaching her siblings:

As we have now no governess, I have undertaken to perform the office of instructress to my sisters. This employment, though it may be very honourable, certainly takes up a good deal of time, so pour De Thou [St Maur's current reading project] creeps on very slowly, and remains quietly upon the shelf till Sunday, which is now his only day of labour during the whole week.⁴⁶

From these snippets, one can form a loose idea of the daily schedule for St Maur. Indeed, useful comparisons might be made with the timetables outlined by Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis and Elizabeth Appleton in chapter one.⁴⁷ Certainly, the St Maur family schedule appears more closely aligned with their English counterpart in Appleton than Genlis – the younger children are in bed earlier than Adèle, and the bulk of teaching happens during the day rather than in the afternoon

d'Émilie, Conversations entre une mère et sa fille all speak to a literary landscape interested in mother-daughter exchange.

⁴⁴ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/6, fol. 1.

⁴⁵ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/11, fol. 2.

⁴⁶ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/11, fol. 1^v.

⁴⁷ See appendix A.

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or evening. Nonetheless, St Maur's early morning walk in summer is more in keeping with Genlis' plan, though perhaps a result of the warmer weather rather than any pedagogical consideration.

I explore St Maur's role as governess, and her relationship with her teachers, later in this chapter. Here, I draw attention primarily to the fact that this teaching impedes her own educational progress, a fact St Maur clearly does not believe to be sufficiently compensated for by the 'honour' of the position. The busy nature of her life is further demonstrated in a letter in August where she laments that 'my time is so fully occupied with teaching my sisters, teaching myself, and being taught by Papa, that I fear I shall never get through them [her other projects].'⁴⁸ There is remarkably little idle time in St Maur's life, and even these moments are usually occupied by self-study or the pursuit of some other intellectual endeavour. Even a cursory perusal of her letters is sufficient to furnish a page of activities undertaken in her daily life, and her French letters made clear that she is unlikely to spend her leisure time employed with the needle – delving into the detail reveals a rich mix of activities, most dedicated to education in some form.

When not working on her writing activities, St Maur's education is conducted by a variety of means – some more traditional than others. In her recitation of these events and ideas to her uncle, then, there arises a need for common frames of reference to facilitate a mutual understanding of the topic at issue.⁴⁹ St Maur and her uncle are conversing across a considerable distance, Scotland to the south of England, and their correspondence shows that they rarely met in person. Both parties limit themselves to two sheets of paper (4 sides), with one exception where Lord Webb doubles the limit in response to a particular need for visual aids to answer St Maur's question. All of the available space on each page is filled by both parties, thus the need for external common reference points that permit a reduction in explanation in the body of the letter becomes increasingly apparent. In this particular exchange, these reference points largely take the form of published books, among other aids, to which both correspondents have access. When reading about history in the work of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (probably the French translation (1734) of his *Historia sui temporis* (1604-1608)), for example, St Maur 'always read with a map of France, and [John] Blair's chronology' to assist her.⁵⁰ The vast utility of maps in education is further demonstrated in my examination of a French educational manuscript later in

⁴⁸ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/8, fol. 2^v.

⁴⁹ A particularly interesting case of this method is found in St Maur's discussion of the Deluge and fossil displacement, where the two correspondents draw a series of diagrams in their letters to aid understanding.

⁵⁰ Chawton House, MS 10830/Webb Letters/10, fol. 1^v. The chronology referenced here is John Blair's *The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the Year of Christ 1753, illustrated in fifty-six tables* (1754).

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this chapter; here, it serves a simpler function to contextualise St Maur's reading in a way that her uncle can supplement and guide.

This method is also used in reverse. Lord Webb suggests an experiment for St Maur to conduct with her siblings, where he knows the expected result, and confers this knowledge upon St Maur so that she might teach the relevant material to her charges. She writes 'I have tried the experiment with the chalk and vinegar, which answered very well. The little ones stood at a very respectful distance from the table whereon the glass was placed, being sadly afraid of an explosion.'⁵¹ The 'little ones' here are presumably St Maur's younger siblings, probably her brothers Archibald and Algernon (seven and four years old respectively), and possibly her sisters, though their birth dates (and thus ages) are unknown.⁵² The significance of this experiment lies not in the reaction itself, nor even in the fact that St Maur is performing an Edgeworthian role in teaching her siblings, but rather in the realisation that all ages of child and both genders are being educated at the same time and place. Granted, there are discrepancies in age and gender combinations that undermine the complete equality of this set-up, but the fact remains that, in the St Maur family at least, Mary Wollstonecraft's wish for children of both sexes to be educated by the same means is realised.⁵³ While certain elements of the St Maur educational experience – access to materials for experiments, for example, or access to a well-stocked library – are possible only due to the social class to which the family belongs, the principles nonetheless remain aligned with a number of contemporary pedagogical women writers.

Later in the year, another piece of evidence arises to suggest that the family might have read at least Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798) in St Maur's account of a visit she made with her father to a china manufactory. The explicit advice, that 'it would be highly useful to children to be taken to manufactories, under the care of a person properly qualified to explain them', does not appear until the second edition of Edgeworth's text in 1801, although the first edition does suggest some of the contraptions within might be 'shewn in miniature' to assist their understanding.⁵⁴ St Maur's account I produce below:

We were shown a large heap of flint stones, the inside, or black part, of which, was calcined, and after being put in water, was strained through fine sieves, and mixed with

⁵¹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/3, fol. 2.

⁵² Based on the known birth dates of the rest of her siblings (Edward, 1804, Archibald, 1810, and Algernon 1813), I suggest that at least one of the three sisters was born between 1805 and 1809, and probably all of them between 1805 and 1812, as their mother was 41 when she had Algernon, reducing the likelihood of further pregnancies. This would make St Maur's sisters anywhere between six and thirteen years old.

⁵³ I refer particularly, here, to Wollstonecraft's arguments on national education and schools in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, pp. 167-87.

⁵⁴ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, vol. 1, p. 39; Manly, xi, p. 24.

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Cornish clay, and Cornish granite which was also pulverized. (The granite was composed of quartz, mica, and felt-spar) These three ingredients, flint, clay, and granite, formed the paste for making the porcelain. I believe something more was employed, which our guide did not think proper to mention. We went into the room where it was fashioned and moulded, which was done partly by a machine which I had not wit enough to understand. We then saw the furnace in which it was baked, which our guide told us was heated for that purpose to 17000 of Farenheit [*sic*]. The china is baked twice; it is painted after the first baking, but it generally requires retouching after the second. We went into the painting room, but the pleasure I received from looking at the beautiful colours of the china, was in some measure spoiled by my concern for the poor painters, who were obliged to work with very little intermission from 6 in the morning, till 6 in the evening. Such contact application and stooping, appear to me dreadfully unwholesome; for after drawing or writing for two or three hours, I am very glad to have recourse to my ball, or skipping rope. I observed some of them laying a dark brown round the edge of the plate, which I mistook for Burnt Amber, and was surprised at their putting such a dingy colour round a beautiful nosegay of roses; when I was informed that this was the gold, which after some chemical process, assumed that appearance, but that after being rubbed with a blood-stone, the plate could appear beautifully gilt. We were then shown into a room, where a number of women were employed in rubbing the porcelain; and I was very much pleased with observing it become by degrees more and more brilliant.⁵⁵

There is evidence here, I think, of a concerted effort from Lord Seymour to bring new and different, practical, elements of scientific learning into the reach of his daughter. While the success is perhaps somewhat mixed – she lacks the requisite knowledge to understand the moulding machine – the detail of the account St Maur gives to her uncle speaks to a distinct impression left on her by the visit.⁵⁶ Indeed, there is a further tension between the charity and compassion St Maur expresses for the manufactory workers' long hours and poor working conditions (distinctly feminine virtues instilled early in women's education), and the ramifications

⁵⁵ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/8, fols 1^v-2^r.

⁵⁶ Genlis, too, had a strong belief in the importance of visits to factories, going so far as to bring the factory into the nursery itself, albeit in miniature form. The complexity and skill in the crafting of such models would have been prohibitively expensive for most, but Edgeworth's practical education also contains sketches for various models of more modest application and cost. For information on Genlis' miniatures, see Jacqueline Burger, Serge Picard, and Claudette Balpe, 'Les Maquettes de Madame de Genlis (1746-1830)' (Paris: Musée des arts et métiers, service éducatif, 2002) <https://www.arts-et-metiers.net/sites/arts-et-metiers.net/files/asset/document/maquette_cnam-_genlis.pdf> [accessed 15 February 2021].

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this might have on an impressionable fourteen-year-old.⁵⁷ The naivety of the comparison between her own work drawing or writing for 'two of three hours' before having 'recourse to my ball, or skipping rope', and the experience of a porcelain painter working a twelve-hour shift, is at odds with the insight and perceptivity St Maur demonstrates elsewhere. For all the progressivity in the subjects studied in St Maur's education, it is still a programme of learning that remains deeply rooted in the inherent classism of her social station and context. St Maur is able to learn about manufacturing passively, by watching other women work, while the subjects of her study (and enablers of her education) have learned the processes by a much harder and repetitive road.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile here to examine the range of subjects St Maur mentions over the course of her letters: chemistry, geology, fossils, law, botany, drawing, translation, mathematics, science, religion, pneumatics, history, and, of course, reading. A number of these topics fall outside of the traditional young Lady's education – the 'fossil bones' which appear in seven of St Maur's letters to her uncle are a particularly frequent unusual subject. Indeed, it is possible that some of the scientific interest St Maur displays in her letters arises due to the apparent lack of female influence in her education. Though a governess is mentioned at various points throughout her written exchanges, there are gaps between these women (during which St Maur is frequently required to deputise), and St Maur seems to have enjoyed and benefitted from an unusually active engagement from her two male guardian figures (father and uncle) in her educational development. This masculine oversight, far from restricting or suppressing her learning, is decidedly supportive and encouraging in character.

Whether simply recommending or lending books from their collections, or conducting precisely the sort of exchange I examine here, these men facilitated St Maur's education and opened avenues that might otherwise have been closed to her, avenues in which she evidently thrives. Lord Seymour 'has undertaken to instruct [St Maur] a little in Pneumatics every evening', but he cannot provide much information on 'the antiquity of the globe' or the 'fossil bones' which so excite her interest and imagination.⁵⁸ St Maur is not afraid to seek out the answers to her burning curiosity, wherever they may be found; her letter a month later provides tacit evidence of discussions between father and daughter about her historical reading. She writes 'papa says, I must take into consideration, the great difference between the times in which he performed his exploits, [St Maur is referring to Cromwell's invasion of Scotland] and these in which I read of them.'⁵⁹ St Maur's opinions on history are formed and then 'corrected' by men, firstly in the

⁵⁷ There are clear parallels on sympathy and compassion here as it is represented in the tales of both Genlis and Edgeworth.

⁵⁸ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/1, fol. 1^v.

⁵⁹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/2, fol. 1^v.

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male-authored books she reads, and subsequently in the conversations and correspondence she engages in after the fact. St Maur's youth means that her own knowledge and development are incomplete; it is expected, indeed her guardians explicitly recommend, that she should seek additional information and corroboration on the beliefs she is forming. Secondly, though here it is father and uncle that play the role of arbiter, mothers would play the same part in their place – the difference being, perhaps, in what they chose to emphasise. The key difference in St Maur's case is the inversion of the mother–daughter exchange to become a father–daughter one.⁶⁰ The period abounds with published material that uses the parent–child bond as the basis for its exchange, but these do not frequently cross the gender binary; that is to say that fathers advised sons and mothers advised daughters, particularly after their infancy.⁶¹ That St Maur's relationship with her father was well-developed is demonstrated in another letter to her uncle, where she writes 'Papa took me on a walk the other day, along the road which runs beside the park, very near the little knoll; where, among a heap of stones, [...] he showed me one, in which there was a fossil shell.'⁶² Thus, although the fossils do not appear in her French letters to her father, Lord Seymour is clearly aware of his daughter's interest, and takes pains to indulge that interest in the time they spend together. The two brothers may well have encouraged St Maur because they were keen (amateur) scientists themselves, both fellows of the Royal Society.

In the context of St Maur's family situation, it is perhaps less surprising that her education exposed her to a number of subjects considered less feminine objects of study. While it is important to note that women played a much more significant part in scientific endeavours of the Romantic period than is usually acknowledged in modern scholarship, St Maur's education nevertheless places her at the more unusual end of that spectrum.⁶³ Thus St Maur's endeavour 'to gain a little knowledge of chemistry' is not unexpected, though her efforts to 'confine myself to learning by heart the names, and principal properties of the different chemical substances, their colour, smell, and where they are chiefly found; as that will perhaps enable me to

⁶⁰ For an exploration of what was at stake for women writers and their relationship with their father, see Kowaleski-Wallace.

⁶¹ An important (published) exception to this is *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1774), by Dr John Gregory (1724-73). Even among published work, father-daughter exchanges were much less common than mother-daughter, or aunt-niece examples. Sarah Pennington's *An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters* (1770) is one such text, or Sarah Green's *Mental Improvement for a Young Lady, on her Entrance into the World; Addressed to a Favourite Niece* (1793). Indeed male-authored and translated texts also took this form, such as Samuel Glasse's translation of Louis-Antoine Caraccioli's *Advice from a Lady of Quality to her Children* (1769, tr. 1778).

⁶² Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/10, fol. 1^v.

⁶³ For a recent view on women and science in the Romantic era, see Carl Thompson, 'Women Travellers, Romantic-Era Science and the Banksian Empire', *Notes and Records*, 73 (2019), 431–55; other foundational texts in the field include P. G. Abir-Am and D. Outram, *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science 1789-1979* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989); and Patricia Phillips, *The Scientific Lady: A Social History of Women's Scientific Interests, 1520-1918* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990).

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understand lectures better', are less so.⁶⁴ Lectures, it transpires, are the recommendation of Lord Webb:

I fear you will be able to understand little of chemistry, till you have seen experiments exhibited by some lecturer. [...] You would read upon these matters to much more advantage, if you were to wait till you had attended some lectures in London, & I dare say Papa would find out some course of chemistry that it would be proper for a lady to attend. Mrs. Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry* is the best book you could read; if you have not got it, ask Papa to procure it. But it will be no use to read about alkalis, & oxides, & acids, till you see them⁶⁵

Indeed, it was not unusual for women to attend scientific lectures with their husbands, but their ability to understand them was frequently curtailed by their lack of scientific education. It is precisely this absence that Jane Haldimand Marcet (1769-1858) sought to fill with her *Conversations on Chemistry* (1805), a hugely successful book that went through sixteen English editions, was translated into French, and benefitted from regular updates from its author until she was eighty-four.⁶⁶ Marcet, herself of Swiss origin, also had links with the Edgeworth family, and one imagines that Maria Edgeworth might have made judicious use of Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry* in her own *Practical Education* had the former been published a few years earlier.⁶⁷

Across St Maur's letters, it is clear that she makes sustained attempts to rectify any perceived failings in her knowledge base, and utilises her family connections to acquire the requisite literature. Yet, the rarest subject mentioned in St Maur's correspondence is found in a brief, almost throwaway comment in October 1818. She writes 'Mamma has of late continued to employ my leisure time pretty fully in copying her law papers.'⁶⁸ The nature of this work is not clear; nor does Lord Webb make any comment on it in his reply. On the one hand, St Maur's mother could have been providing an instructional exercise for her daughter with the express intention of teaching about the law, and how it pertained to women in particular. On the other hand, St Maur could simply be a (more or less willing) scribe able to complete the time-consuming task of copying. This last option might also have doubled as a writing practice for the young woman, whose letters show evidence of a need to improve spelling or handwriting. However, the fact that it is her leisure time that is employed in this fashion complicates these suggestions. If

⁶⁴ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/1, fol. 1^v; Webb Letters/2, fol. 2^v.

⁶⁵ Buckinghamshire Archives, D/RA/A/1C/4/1, fol. 2^v.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth J. Morse, *Marcet, Jane Haldimand (1769-1858)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18029>>.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/10, fol. 2.

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the task was intended as educational, why was it given to St Maur in her leisure time rather than that dedicated to learning? While I have demonstrated that the distinction between leisure and learning is far from clear cut in the period, St Maur's structured day, in common with the two outlines featured in chapter one of this thesis, makes a key distinction between tasks and recreation, though certainly St Maur used some of her leisure time to read educational literature. She is too old to fall under the 'learning through play' systems that Edgeworth and Ellenor Fenn advocated, nor is the task one that might easily be made enjoyable. It is possible, then, that St Maur's mother is providing an apprenticeship in law to prepare her daughter for her future dealings as a wife and lady of a household.

This view would align with St Maur's desire to justify all of her learning. Before undertaking her study of botany, for example, she seeks to confirm that such a topic can 'be made useful' rather than remaining 'merely an amusement'.⁶⁹ Representative of the wider questions that underpin much of this thesis, St Maur does not directly address what might be termed the 'accomplishment debate', but she does show an awareness of the importance of utility in education. Indeed, the inference from St Maur's question demonstrates her knowledge of a centuries-old debate that attempts to decide whether utility and amusement are mutually exclusive, and opposite ends of desirability. Can botany be *made* useful? – an active verb choice that suggests a concerted effort is needed to achieve usefulness – versus *merely* amusement, a passive response that clearly demotes the subject. Nor is this the only occasion on which St Maur demonstrates an awareness of wider conversations on women's education. In December 1818 she writes the following:

[Ludovico] Ariosto goes on rapidly, for I generally read a canto every day; you will laugh at this confession, and at my bad taste for preferring stories of knights, giants, and enchantors [*sic*], to plain, sober truth; however I must assure you that I do not prefer them, but as I had been two years, in creeping over the first twelve cantos, I thought it was high time to quicken my pace.⁷⁰

Here, St Maur is anxious to convince her uncle that she does not have 'bad taste', preferring the fairy tales and romances that many critics blamed for a perversion of morals in women readers especially – rather she favours 'sober truth'. The strength of St Maur's imagination, which she

⁶⁹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/7, fol. 2.

⁷⁰ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/12, fol. 1^v. The work by Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) is probably *Orlando Furioso* (1516). The other works mentioned are *Mémoires de Maximilien de Bethune, duc de Sully, Principal Ministre de Henry le Grand* (1745), Charles-Joseph de Ligne's *The Life of Prince Eugene, Of Savoy* (1702), and Voltaire's *History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (1731) [*Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*].

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herself admits to on numerous occasions across her letter, betrays the slightly dubious nature of this statement; she might read a great many histories based on truth, but it is the personalities, the folklore, and the tales themselves that she finds so much of interest. Kiera Vaclavik has noted the longevity of mythological tales in her monograph, particularly combating the prevailing notion that in retelling tales for children, moralising and didacticism creep into the narrative.⁷¹

Nonetheless, St Maur need not have worried excessively; she follows her above quotation with a detailed examination of Ariosto's religious beliefs and her conclusion that they must all conflict with one another. By analysing the work she might be considered tasteless for reading, St Maur is able to deflect criticism – the very act of exposing the flaws and contradictions in the narrative and its characters demonstrates her *good* taste, a fact that does not go unnoticed in her uncle's reply.⁷²

Thus far, in my analysis of St Maur's letters I have primarily been concerned with the more unusual aspects of her educational upbringing, building a context in which her education took place. Now, however, I turn to two final aspects of her correspondence with obvious cross-Channel resonances. The first of these is St Maur's (extensive) translation activity. I explored the significance of translation for female authors in earlier parts of this thesis, but St Maur is not an author in the same sense as other women I consider here – she is predominantly a reader. This is not to say that St Maur did not write, the current study attests to this, not to mention the expectation of various other correspondences with friends and family. Rather, it is to emphasise the distinction between St Maur's writing and translation, and other women who wrote works outside of epistolary exchange for publication. Here, the significance lies in the fact that St Maur's translation activity is either a private affair – to enable her own reading or educational progress – or it is for the convenience of another person in her life. Her correspondence provides examples of all these motivations.

Taking St Maur's letter of the 29th August 1818, one finds information on her translation habits and activities:

I recollect that Dr Johnson in his tour to the Hebrides, makes some mention of Ossian's poems, which he seems to regard as forgeries. What do you think of them? I do not know of any good translation of them, can you tell me of one, for I have a great curiosity to read them? I see them here in the library, in the original gaelic, with a latin translation, for which, unluckily, I am not a bit the better. I am now very busy with

⁷¹ Vaclavik. See particularly chapter four.

⁷² See Buckinghamshire Archives, D/RA/A/1C/4/13, fol. 1^v.

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Ariosto, of which I translate twenty stanzas a day. I have also undertaken Sully's mémoires, the Life of Prince Eugene, and a translation of Voltaire's History of Charles XII of Sweden.⁷³

There is much to unpack in this short extract, and Lord Webb's reply complicates things further. Firstly, then, and not unexpectedly for a young woman in the period (though there are exceptions), St Maur is unable to read or translate classical or ancient languages – here Gaelic and Latin. The comment does, however, reveal that St Maur had access, seemingly unrestricted, to a well-stocked library to aid her in her studies. Secondly, St Maur is specific in her request for a 'good' translation of Ossian's poems, betraying a bias in her thinking, conscious or otherwise, that ranks translations from good to bad.⁷⁴ In reality, her uncle tells her that these poems might well be forgeries in his reply, written by James Macpherson (1736-1796) and published in a series from 1760; a 'common' book which he informs her is 'probably at Ashton'.⁷⁵ Thirdly, St Maur is translating from at least two languages – French and Italian – both commonly taught to women of the period. The speed at which she is able to translate Ariosto's work suggests a convincing command of the Italian language, and of course, her French letters examined earlier have already attested to her command of French. Translation, then, is a daily part of St Maur's life, and not only for her own education and amusement. Earlier in the year she tells her uncle she has been 'very busy translating an Italian pamphlet for Sir Joseph Banks', a close acquaintance of the family who provided advice and books to assist the St Maur daughters in their pursuit of botany.⁷⁶ While the subject of the pamphlet is trivial – the process of making Parmesan of all things! – the presence of such a comment demonstrates that St Maur was engaged in translation for a variety of purposes. She translates for others, she translates for her educational and linguistic improvement, and she translates to enable her own further reading.

But perhaps the most interesting part of the exchange here is Lord Webb's reply, which explicitly cautions *against* translating Voltaire. 'When you read Voltaire's Charles XII,' he writes, 'it should be in French; his style is excellent.'⁷⁷ Apart from the strong vote of confidence in his niece's French-language abilities, Lord Webb also shows here that reading French originals was not simply a question of the availability of a translation, nor the ability to produce one. Rather,

⁷³ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/8, fol. 2^v.

⁷⁴ See my introduction for a discussion of eighteenth-century translation practices.

⁷⁵ Buckinghamshire Archives, D/RA/A/1C/4/9, fol. 2^v. Ashton, along with Bradley, are the two primary residences of the family mentioned in the correspondence. Interestingly, Lord Webb's opinion that 'Macpherson really collected many fragments of Gaelic poetry, which he corrected & embellished & amplified in his translations' is largely in line with the modern consensus.

⁷⁶ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/3, fol. 1.

⁷⁷ Buckinghamshire Archives, D/RA/A/1C/4/9, fol. 2^v.

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there was a genuine, tangible benefit to be gained from reading works in their original languages – stylistic in this case, which further increases the enjoyment of a text. Indeed, the advantages of reading in French are further demonstrated in another of St Maur's letters, where she is able to pick out and criticise a French pun in her reading:

I read lately in De Thou an anecdote [*sic*] so ridiculous, that I cannot forbear relating it; a catholick [*sic*] preacher having made a furious harangue against Henry the fourth, concluded his sermon with the following words, [Fr] "That the Holy Spirit who had inspired the prophets, had declared the house of Bourbon unworthy of the throne, by this Psalmist verse, "Pull me out of the mud Lord, so that I do not sink into it." [/Fr] I can scarcely imagine how a man of any sense, could fix upon so foolish a pun, as a convincing proof of the goodness of his arguments.⁷⁸

The pun, which of course does not translate, presumably relies on the proximity of the French *bourbe* [mud] and *Bourbon*, the name of the House. Humour remains one of the trickiest parts of language learning and comprehension to this day, so St Maur's ability to recognise and object to a pun – wordplay surely lying at the more difficult end of the comedy spectrum – at the age of fifteen is both especially impressive, and an important indication of the level of language ability at which St Maur operated. While certainly not all educated women of the period possessed such a high level of skill in French or Italian, this is, I think, an indication of the accessibility of French-language texts more widely in English upper-class society.

Finally, then, as a bridge between St Maur's letters to her uncle and her teenage journal, I consider her relationship with the role and figure of the governess. A number of governesses feature in St Maur's writings, as well as other educational figures such as Madame Catalani, her visiting singing mistress. Catalani leaves the family in early 1818 to be married abroad, forcing St Maur's mother to find another educator, partly because Catalani will now be in another country, but also because British custom deemed it unbecoming for a married woman to perform the professional teaching role.⁷⁹ The change in staffing does not appear particularly unusual, although St Maur finds the situation frightening, for 'nothing alarms me more than a stranger'.⁸⁰ Her previous governess too, presumably the Miss J. from her French letters, is also no longer with the family by November 1818 – St Maur herself has 'undertaken to perform the office of

⁷⁸ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/11, fol. 1^v. Original French [Que l'esprit Saint qui avoit inspire les prophètes, avoit déclaré la maison de Bourbon indigne du trône, par ce verset du Psalmiste, "Tirez-moi de la bourbe Seigneur, à fin que je n'y enfonce pas].

⁷⁹ For a discussion of attitudes to marriage and women's work in education, see Bellaigue, pp. 48–59.

⁸⁰ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/1, fol. 2.

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instructress to my sisters'.⁸¹ Curiously, St Maur was already involved with the education of her siblings in August 1818, complaining that her time was 'fully occupied with teaching my sisters'.⁸²

This raises questions about the capacity in which St Maur is teaching her siblings. Is she being taught by her governess with a view to passing on the information herself? Is she, perhaps, sharing the teaching load with the governess? This latter possibility seems most likely. St Maur's three sisters were of different ages that would have required tailored educational activities and might have prevented their being taught simultaneously. As I explored in chapter one of this thesis, one of the chief criticisms of governesses in public institutions was that they 'cannot attend to the minds of the number [they are] obliged to have.'⁸³ In the St Maur household of 1818, there are also two young boys to educate, and so it is possible, probable even, that St Maur and the governess were involved in educating different groups within the house. This reading of the situation gives greater significance to her complaints in November, where she is the sole instructor in the house after the governess's departure. The various impositions on St Maur's time – educating siblings, copying law papers, translations for acquaintances – all detract from time she would clearly rather spend reading and educating herself. Indeed, dipping briefly into the journal before the detailed examination which follows, St Maur does not appear to take well to the role: 'I had undertaken the office of Governess which I found extremely troublesome to myself, & not very advantageous to my pupils'.⁸⁴ It is with 'great satisfaction', then, that St Maur writes in her journal in June 1819 that she heard she was 'shortly to resign' that office.⁸⁵ It does not appear to be the teaching itself that St Maur dislikes, but rather the imposition on her own time for self-reflection and personal study. In order to appreciate the scale of St Maur's educational and personal development, I now turn to her journal.

St Maur's Journal (1819-1824)

St Maur's teenage journal covers her life from 1819-1824, spanning from the age of fifteen to her maturity at twenty-one. It contains a vast quantity of information about her life, every bit as intriguing as her letters lead the reader to expect, and entries are only made with significant information; it is not a daily exercise. I restrict my examination of their contents to her comments

⁸¹ Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/11, fol. 1^v.

⁸² Chawton House, MS 10830 MAU/Webb Letters/8, fol. 2^v.

⁸³ Wollstonecraft Godwin, pp. 58–59.

⁸⁴ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 2.

⁸⁵ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 3.

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on governesses past and present, and a comparison of the reading lists which bookend her journal with similar examples elsewhere.

Two governesses feature in her journal prominently: Mrs Ruddock, St Maur's former governess of five years, and Miss L. Withers, the woman who arrived to relieve St Maur of her own stint in the role. Ruddock is clearly still a close friend, and St Maur reflects that 'I shall always feel grateful for the pains she took with my education, & am ready to acknowledge how much I owe to her care & instructions'.⁸⁶ Indeed, St Maur speaks about having 'free access' to Mrs Ruddock's library, and relishes the opportunity to spend time there.⁸⁷ Importantly, the library here is explicitly *Mrs Ruddock's*, not her husband's. It is, perhaps, a real-life example of the Ladies Library that Pratilla imagined in her letter to the *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1832).⁸⁸ Ruddock is a key facilitator of St Maur's education, providing access to a second library to complement that of her father. The affirmative aspects of Ruddock's governance are slightly tempered by St Maur's recollection that 'she carried her ideas of order & discipline to a degree which in domestic education is very unusual'.⁸⁹ That St Maur makes a distinction between order and discipline in a domestic education, presumably compared to a public one, suggests a prevailing degree of leniency in private education that is at odds with the strictures of discipline that were outlined in work by contemporary figures like Genlis and Edgeworth.

The second governess in St Maur's journal is Miss L. Withers, who makes a strong impression upon her arrival:

Her appearance & manner were extremely prepossessing – a slight delicate form, rather above the common height; a face far from being regularly handsome, yet rendered superior to ordinary beauty by an expression of uncommon intellect & extreme sensibility; the utmost gentleness & politeness in every action, and a style of conversation in elegance, discernment, & persuasive argument, unequalled by any woman I have met with.⁹⁰

High praise for a stranger who might normally alarm St Maur, and a woman with whom it might be assumed she would contentedly pass a great deal of time in conversation to much benefit. The description, too, chimes remarkably closely with that set out in Elizabeth Appleton's *Private*

⁸⁶ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 7.

⁸⁷ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 2^v.

⁸⁸ *Lady's Magazine*, ix, pp. 20–23.

⁸⁹ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 7.

⁹⁰ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 3^v.

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Education (1815), though there is no evidence that she read the text.⁹¹ Yet, in summarising the year 1819, this lively discourse does not appear to have been the result of Withers' arrival:

The society of Miss Withers, though very improving both as to conversation & manners, did not tend much to enliven me; her spirits were never high, & at times appeared extremely depressed; which, together with the peculiar turn of her religious sentiments, threw over me a general feeling of despondency & gloom.⁹²

These two contrasting statements demonstrate St Maur's own preoccupation with the idea of how a woman should, or could, appear. She lauds the attention, intellect, sensibility, and improvement upon her by both governesses, yet she finds the restriction of discipline and the lack of energy disconcerting. As her letters have shown, St Maur was keen to have the correct opinion on all subjects; the contradictory images of a governess she is presented with thus cause some difficulty in forming a united view.

As in her letters, one of the chief methods by which St Maur achieves her aim here is by reading. Her journal contains two lists of books, along with numerous in-text references, which attest to the quantity of material that she was reading. The first list, appearing at the start of the volume is titled 'List of books I had read before the age of [blank – one assumes fifteen]', and contains some seventy-odd titles, while the second – the equivalent list for ages fifteen to twenty-one – extends to over one hundred and fifty. Over the five or six years of the journal, this equates to an average of two or three books a month. Not an insurmountable number by any means, and indeed some of the texts listed are poems or other shorter forms of literature. Some, however, are much weightier. The *Iliad*, for example, or the *Odyssey*, or groups of texts listed under a single title such as 'Shakespear's [*sic*] historical plays'.⁹³ Additionally, a number of works mentioned in her letters as her current reading projects do not appear in either list; De Thou's history is conspicuously absent, as are a number of other texts. The fact that these lists are incomplete – despite their length – demonstrates the voracity of St Maur's reading, and a significant temporal and intellectual investment. Each list is subdivided into genres, and I have included transcriptions of both items in appendix E, tracing the works where possible.⁹⁴

Of course, the curated nature of these lists, combined with the careful selection of information to be included in the body of the journal might suggest an increasing awareness of

⁹¹ Appleton, pp. 9–10.

⁹² Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 6. The comment on religious sentiments refers to the fact that Miss Withers was an Evangelist and a Methodist, beliefs that were new to St Maur.

⁹³ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 1.

⁹⁴ See appendix E.

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the value of such an item to posterity. This is all the more apparent as pages begin to be removed in 1822; the summaries of the year for 1822 and 1823 are both cut out, and the end of April 1824 met a similar fate. There is no guarantee, then, in light of this mediation, that St Maur read all of the books she lists in full, or indeed at all. I have already noted the inaccuracy or incomplete nature of the list, which does little to inspire confidence in its remainder. Despite the removal of a handful of pages, much remains which is self-deprecating or critical of members of her acquaintance, both of which indicate that this was, first and foremost, a private undertaking.

The French contingent of this educational undertaking is significant and, importantly, does not fall under its own subsection. There is no 'foreign publications' subtitle in St Maur's lists; French work (and a small number of works in other languages) is seamlessly blended with British publications across all the genres in which St Maur reads. Many of the French works in her younger list are those one might expect to find there: La Fontaine's *Fables* (1668-1694), Arnaud Berquin's *L'Ami des Enfants* (1782-83) (dissected in Edgeworth's *Practical Education!*), François Fénelon's *Télémaque* (1699), and the select letters of Marie de Sévigné and Françoise de Maintenon. Her later list adds the memoirs of Henriette Campan – a hugely influential woman in pre- and post-Revolutionary France and French education – the memoirs of Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, whose involvement with Louise d'Épinay I consider in chapters two and four of this thesis; Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* (1782); Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747); as well as philosophical tomes such as Jean-Baptiste d'Alembert's *Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie* (1751) and Nicolas de Condorcet's *Progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795). These selections are far from exhaustive, chosen rather to indicate the scale and breadth of St Maur's French reading. In order to further contextualise this list, I now return to Genlis' work mentioned above, and compare the lists St Maur provides with her earlier French counterpart Adèle.⁹⁵ This comparison, then, might be construed as one between the idealistic list created for a compliant and enthusiastic – yet fictional – French aristocratic girl, and a more realistic one that documents the actual experience of an entirely non-fictional English counterpart.

Despite the difference in country, language, political landscape, and time of composition between these two lists – pre-Revolution France versus a post-Napoleonic wars Britain – there are remarkable similarities between the lists. All the more interesting, St Maur's response to reading Genlis is not entirely positive. Though she 'read with great pleasure Madame de Genlis' "Lettres sur l'Éducation", [...] I could not entirely approve of her system, which appeared to me too

⁹⁵ Genlis' list for Adèle's reading can be found in Dow, *Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education*, pp. 473–77.

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artificial.⁹⁶ In fact, there are a number of texts that appear in both lists for the young person: the works of Pietro Metastasio (pseud. 1698-1782), the letters of Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise de Sévigné (1626-96), and Jean de la Fontaine's (1621-95) *Fables* (1668). Importantly, here, the similarities are found predominantly in French work, and entirely in non-English work, giving the impression that Genlis does not supply Adèle with much reading in English. This is not the case – a significant proportion of the texts she reads are in English – and a more thematic approach to comparison reveals many more links. To take one small example, both girls read about British history, St Maur in Elizabeth Helme (d. 1814), William Robertson ((1721-93), and William Maitland (1693?-1757), and Adèle in Catharine Macaulay (1731-91) and David Hume (1711-76).⁹⁷ Overall, I have identified sixteen texts or authors who appear across St Maur's two lists and Adèle's, highlighted in the appendix. These works range from poetry, to fiction, to periodicals, to letters, to history. Almost every aspect of the two girls' educations is found in both the English and French texts, with only slight differences in the reading age, or the extent of an author's work to be consumed.

Only two significant differences appear between the educations. Firstly, Adèle reads a great deal of theatrical works, all in French; St Maur reads only Shakespeare's historical plays and Jean Racine (1639-99). There is no obvious reason for St Maur's avoidance of the genre – it is not mentioned in any negative light in her letters or journals. Given her interest in historical narratives, her choice of theatre to read is well made, but given her access to multiple libraries, it seems unlikely that she had not come across any other playwrights. This is perhaps all the more surprising given that St Maur had read Genlis' text; she had access to Adèle's reading list, and could have taken recommendations from it. It is possible that the theatre of Racine falls in this category, or the poetry of Torquato Tasso (1544-95), though both probably appeared in libraries to which St Maur had access. The second difference, largely expected, pertains to religion. While both women are engaged in reading a number of religious texts, they are differentiated by the respective denominations of their readers: Adèle reads Catholic work, St Maur reads chiefly Protestant or Evangelical works. A proportionately much greater part of St Maur's reading lists, religion is nonetheless a similarity between the women as much as it is a difference. As with the example I gave above on reading British history, if one removes the political, religious, or national bent of each girl's reading, they work from almost indistinguishable blueprints.

⁹⁶ Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fol. 4^v.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Helme, *The History of England* (1806); William Robertson, *The History of Scotland* (1759); William Maitland, *The history and antiquities of Scotland, from the earliest account of time To the Death of James the First, Anno 1473* (1757); Catharine Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line* (1763-83); David Hume, *History of England* (1754-62).

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Nonetheless, St Maur's list is significantly more global – in outlook and content, if not always in authorship. She reads about Greece, Hungary, and Russia; she reads Arabian and Oriental poetry; she even reads a translation of the Qu'ran.⁹⁸ There are several possibilities for these discrepancies. First and foremost, St Maur's reading relates to the period 1803-24, while Adèle's reading list is published in 1783. Linda Colley, in her seminal *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992) convincingly demonstrates that Britain was a 'conspicuous exception' to the general crisis in the late eighteenth century whereby 'virtually every European state in this period would undergo political change, military reorganisation, and social and ideological upheaval.'⁹⁹ While Colley is quick to note that Britain did not escape crisis, it remains an exception in that, by the 1820s, 'its rulers would claim dominion over some 200 million men and women, more than a quarter of the world's population', an empire whose truly global claims go some way to explaining the global outlook of a Briton.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, St Maur's list is a record of real-life reading (accompanying caveats on authenticity and honesty notwithstanding), while Adèle's is a fictional prescribed list (albeit one that records confirm at least some readers attempted to follow). Thirdly, there is a difference in motivation and intent. Where Adèle follows her mother's wishes in reading, with a view to furthering her education, St Maur appears at much greater freedom to pursue her own interests, though her father and uncle do still guide her choice of text and subject. Finally, St Maur reads more extensively, while Adèle reads intensively. It is impossible to give exact figures – both lists frequently provide only 'the works/theatre/poetry of' and author – but a rough guide suggests that St Maur read almost double the number of texts as Adèle between fifteen and twenty-one. However, Adèle reportedly knows many of the texts she reads by heart, and is frequently engaged in excerpting from them. St Maur makes no such claim in her letters and journals beyond occasional references to notes or excerpts in her notebooks. In addition, St Maur's second list contains a specific sub-heading for scientific works, a subject that is much less present in Adèle's course of reading, though St Maur's definition of scientific is extremely broad.

Despite the impression my comparison here might give, Adèle is not under-read; on the contrary she is remarkably well-read. Yet one must be careful in taking the apparently logical next step in saying that St Maur was thus better read – the two young women are on opposite sides of the fictional/non-fictional divide. What is, perhaps, most interesting in the two lists is the continued presence of significantly older work – that is, work first published significantly before the lifetimes of either mother or daughter. While St Maur's list includes contemporary works

⁹⁸ See the second list in Appendix E.

⁹⁹ Colley, p. 149.

¹⁰⁰ Colley, p. 149.

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published right up to the year in which she was writing, both contain works as far back as 1500, and some further still. In bringing together (fictional) published instances of women's education and (real) unpublished records of that education – here bridging the Channel – I have demonstrated a particularly strong link between English and French women's educations. Underlining the possibility (and indeed need) for similar studies, St Maur and Genlis represent two nodes in a network. Directly connected by St Maur's reading of Genlis' work, they are further enmeshed through a collective reading process. That is to say that the two individual reading networks, when overlaid, contain several points of similarity that have allowed me to consider the two women together. I do not suggest that this comparison is one that can claim generality, but the quantity, as well as the quality of overlapping nodes within the two networks strongly points to a wider connectivity. It is, then, worthwhile considering another instance of French education, this time more personal in nature (though, possibly, no less fictional).

An Enlightened Mother's Education of her Daughter [1771]

I turn now to an anonymous quarto manuscript running to almost 500 folios containing a series of conversations between a mother and a daughter. Dated by virtue of an in-text reference to 1771 ('we are today in 1771'), this piece is a pertinent example of the dialogue format popular in the eighteenth century as a method of teaching young girls in particular.¹⁰¹ Despite a striking stylistic and structural similarity to Louise d'Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* of 1774, the date of this manuscript appears to place it three years in advance of Épinay's well-received contribution to pedagogy in France. Purportedly written in Paris, though little in the manuscript supports this geographic conclusion other than the fact that the mother and daughter begin their journey in Paris, the work consists of a series of fourteen conversations. Broadly, these can be divided into three groups: three conversations on astronomy, planetary science, geography, and geology; six conversations on exploration, discovery, and European geography; and five conversations on geography, history, and exploration beyond the borders of Europe. My examination takes each grouping in turn, exploring the methodology the mother employs in her teaching, as well as the wider socio-political commentary that permeates the text alongside its factual education.

¹⁰¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 341. Original French [aujourd'hui nous sommes en 1771].

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The mother-author begins by setting out explicit terms of reference for the structure of the dialogues which follow with two key statements that both underline the pedagogical aims of the work, and emphasise the young age of the participant.

I will ask you only for a little attention, and another thing is that each time you do not understand that which I say to you, you will ask an explanation of me.

I must warn you of another thing: you imagine, perhaps, that this is the work of two or three days; but you must count on a much longer period, it is true that we will not take more than a short period for this each day, especially in the beginning where it will not greatly entertain you.¹⁰²

This setting of expectations, as much an address to the mother reading the work as it is to the child, reveals an important aspect of the manuscript's style – its practicality and professed authenticity. Upon reading many of the educational texts published in the latter eighteenth century aimed at children, one could be forgiven for failing to see a reflection of a real child in most of them – that is, the child of these texts is an imagined ideal who rarely gets bored or distracted, and appears always to be ready to learn. Indeed, I argue that this is one of the reasons Ann Phillips' translation of Épinay's work chooses to age the daughter upward. There is, possibly, a difference here in approach on each side of the Channel. While I outlined at the end of the previous section that Genlis' Adèle read Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* aged seven, Genlis' text does not appear in St Maur's reading list until she is at least fifteen. Phillips' adaptation of Épinay creates a work more suited to an older child, while the current French manuscript – due to a depiction of a young child that emphasises the author's maternity – is clearly intended for a younger audience. While it is possible that language plays its part here, the texts considered are French, and it is perhaps logical that British children would read these slightly later than their French counterparts to give time for language abilities to develop, the lists I have considered do not support this hypothesis. St Maur's list contains almost a dozen French-language works read before fifteen, and Genlis' a host of English works by the same age, though St Maur's list is less explicit about whether the original or a translation was read. There is no such ambiguity in the French manuscript, where the young age of the daughter is emphasised by a mother alert to the questions and difficulties youth occasions, and the impracticality of attempting long explanations or complex logic to address them.

¹⁰² Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 1. Original French [je ne vous demande qu'un peu d'attention et encore une chose c'est que toutes les fois que vous ne conceviez pas ce qui je vous dirai, vous m'en demandiez l'explication], [Il faut encore que je vous avertisse d'une chose : vous vous imaginez peut-être c'est l'affaire de deux ou trois jours ; mais il fait compter sur bien plus de tems, il est vrai que nous ne prendrons pour celà chaque jour que peu de tems et surtout dans les commencements où celà ne vous amusera guère].

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Thus, she chooses to make tangible, practical objects central to her teaching, an example of which is found in the initial pages of the first conversation. In explaining celestial bodies, the mother tells her charge that the Earth is round. 'How can it be round', the daughter replies, 'given the mountains, the valleys, the wells'.¹⁰³ Rather than a complex mathematical explanation, the mother makes a comparison to the skin of an orange – something the daughter has experience with, and can tangibly feel to reinforce the point that round objects with imperfections are still round. Later, when looking at a map of the world in the second conversation, an apple is cut in half and placed on a plate to demonstrate how the whole of a round object may be viewed at once.¹⁰⁴ Fruit returns a third time in the third conversation – an apple again in this instance – this time to aid the explanation of the Meridian and other sectioning methods of the world, particularly by degrees and hours.¹⁰⁵ While a number of common objects might be used to the same effect, the orange is a fairly exotic item outside of wealthy households, and suggests that both author and anticipated reader of the manuscript belong to the upper classes.

What I use these occasions to emphasise is rather the progression of the conversations, and the inter-textual referencing that marks this manuscript apart from similar published works intended to educate girls. While *Adèle et Théodore* follows a narrative progression, the cross-references within the text are born of its fiction rather than its educational precepts. *Practical Education* makes a number of references to both later and earlier sections of its advice, but many of these were removed in the second edition, resulting in a more discrete consideration of its themes. Indeed, the manuscript's most similar published contemporary, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, also treats each conversation largely as its own enterprise, despite a gradual maturing of the daughter across its pages. In the manuscript here, there is a remarkable attention to the progression of the daughter's education, as well as pertinent call-backs to information previously discussed and timely indications of information to be imparted in future conversations. The manuscript is a much more cohesive piece than many other educational publications of its period; it does not rely on a fictive narrative to achieve this connectivity. Thus, the mother affords her daughter a perceived agency in the direction of her education. Take, for example, the exchange at the end of the second conversation, where the two have been looking at a map: 'I leave you with the map to look at all the marks about which I spoke to you.'¹⁰⁶ There are, of course, many marks on the map which were not part of the lesson, and the mother plays on the child's

¹⁰³ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fols. 3-5. Original French [Comment ronde et les montagnes, les vallons, les puits [wells, but possibly holes in a general sense]].

¹⁰⁴ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fols. 34-35.

¹⁰⁵ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fols. 59-65.

¹⁰⁶ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 58. Original French [Je vous laisse la carte pour observer toutes les marques dont je vous ai parlé].

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curiosity, assuming it will provide the subject of the following day's learning: 'I know, mother, all our marks from yesterday, but I have found many things on the map which I did not see with you, circles, lines...'.¹⁰⁷

While this encouragement to interactivity is obviously idealised within the manuscript, the concept forms the basis for the duo's subsequent exploration and tour of the world, with a variety of maps used as props on which the daughter can follow, and contextualise, the information she is being given. Once again, this method of teaching is found in this manuscript in advance of many of the chief publications that would go on to advocate for its effectiveness. The prospect of a disconnect between theory and practice reappears here, suggesting that some, if not many, of the educational precepts that were heralded as new and original in publications were, in fact, already in use among a number of families. Thus the wide-ranging comments on human achievement in the fourth conversations are comprehensible to the daughter precisely because she has access to a map on which to trace the trajectories and find the places mentioned, rather than because she is able to hold a complex geographical landscape in her mind. Similarly to Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur, who read history with a map beside her, the daughter's education here is guided by factual reference points. 'In passing the equator, humanity was confirmed in its belief that our Earth is round, when we saw new skies and new stars. In America we found gold mines, silver mines, and furs; and in Asia spices and sugar canes since transplanted so successfully to the Americas.'¹⁰⁸ The first, but not the last, oblique reference to plantation slavery, each of the achievements the mother lists can be found on the map, and the distance and scale of them appreciated by the daughter. The importance of scale is alternatively underlined from the outset in *Practical Education*, where Edgeworth cautions that while 'children soon judge tolerably well of proportion in drawing, where they have been used to see the objects which are represented', this is not the case where they have no reference point.¹⁰⁹ Her education, then, is about much more than merely geographical or historical knowledge, encompassing large swathes of cultural history, politics, and commerce, as my subsequent analysis will show.

¹⁰⁷ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 59. Original French [Je connois maman toutes nos marques d'hier [*sic*], mais j'ai trouvé sur la carte bien des chose que je n'y ai pas vues avec vous, des cercles, des lignes...].

¹⁰⁸ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 99. Original French [On s'est confirmé en passant l'équateur, dans l'opinion que notre terre étoit ronde, où on a vu de nouveaux cieux de nouvelles étoiles, on a trouvé dans l'amerique des mines d'or, d'argent et des fourrures ; et dans les Isles d'asie des épiceries et des cannes à sucre transplantée depuis avec tant de succès dans les isles d'amérique].

¹⁰⁹ Manly, xi, p. 19. Edgeworth is talking about prints here, particularly of animals, but the concept extends beyond this.

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The basics of geography established, it is in the fifth conversation that the exploration truly begins – ‘nothing more will stop us; we can begin our travels’.¹¹⁰ The mother taps into the popular and well-established genre of travel writing to form the basis for these adventures.¹¹¹ Labelled ‘entertaining’ [amusant] only ‘when one knows enough of geography to understand them and follow the different voyages they report on the map’, the genre is bent to the aims of the mother, to encourage the child to acquire that knowledge that will enable them to enjoy future texts.¹¹² In more evidence of the mother’s attention to the educational ability and knowledge of her charge, the conversations five to nine move from the larger picture – providing a basic understanding of the whole globe – to increasingly specific European, and then French geography and history. France is, of course, given prominence with two conversations devoted to the country, but the European tour does not neglect to mention the French’s cross-Channel neighbours in Britain. In a section devoted to describing the characters of European nations, the English (and it is the English specifically here) are ‘brave, fit for science, they have a frank and open character, although they have the sly and snobbish air of the Spanish and are equally silent and just as biased in their own favour, but much more aloof, and much less sober.’¹¹³ An interestingly two-sided commentary, it is intriguing that the English are compared most closely to the Spanish, a nation whose engagement with Enlightenment ideas is usually dated somewhat later than their northern European neighbours.¹¹⁴ National character and education are very closely linked, as Michèle Cohen has demonstrated in her discussion of the formation of masculinity/ies in particular.¹¹⁵ However, apart from the single occasion mentioned in chapter one with regard to Maria Edgeworth, Spanish interactions are absent from the works I have considered in this thesis – links are more commonly to France, Italy, Switzerland, or occasionally Germany.

Returning, however, to the manuscript under consideration, and the third section of its contents. Here, the mother widens the geographical scope of the pair’s travels to include the

¹¹⁰ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 113. Original French [Rien ne nous arrête plus; nous pouvons commencer nos voyages].

¹¹¹ See the recently published *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. by Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

¹¹² Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 115. Original French [quand on sait assez de géographie pour les entendre et pour suivre sur la carte les différents voyages qu’ils rapportent].

¹¹³ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 223. Original French [braves, propres aux sciences, ils ont le caractère franc et ouvert, quoiqu’ils aient l’air sournois et dédaigneux des espagnols et ils sont également silencieux et tout aussi prévenues en leur faveur, mais beaucoup plus froids, et très peu sobres].

¹¹⁴ See, for example, the work of Mónica Bolufer Peruga; on education particularly see ‘On Women’s Reason, Education and Love: Women and Men of the Enlightenment in Spain and France’, *Gender & History*, 10.2 (1998), 183–216; for a discussion centering on Spanish involvement in the translation book trade, see Nicolás Bas Martín and Andy Birch, *Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London): A View from Abroad* (Brill, 2018).

¹¹⁵ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*.

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Orient, the Americas, and the Mediterranean (with particular focus on northern Africa and Egypt). More importantly for my purposes, she also significantly expands the socio-political scope of her exploration in pursuit of the pedagogical aims of the tour. Thus, the mother embarks on a remarkably liberal series of conversations. Contrary to the championed superiority of French language, customs, and character, the mother emphasises how 'the singularities of nature, morals, and customs' of different countries, through 'the observation of history, the study of history, the reading of descriptions of countries, and the travels and conversation of travellers, will make you see to what extent the different genres vary, and marvel at the Earth we inhabit.'¹¹⁶ Difference, here, is celebrated as evidence of the wonders of diverse human life. This difference, however, is not limited to morals and customs, and the mother quickly turns to a discussion of economics, trade, and commerce in her final conversations. These are of note on two counts. Firstly, for the comment on the slave trade, hinted at in earlier discussions of trade and plantations. Though anti-slavery sentiments were relatively widespread by the end of the eighteenth century, and France would temporarily abolish slavery during the Revolutionary years in 1794, the date of this manuscript, 1771, is decidedly earlier.¹¹⁷ Here, the mother inverts the popular stereotype of savagery that was, at times, used to justify the enslavement of populations, suggesting that this depravity is entirely the result of Western culture's influence. The daughter labels slavery 'a great cruelty to engage is so horrible a trade', the mother responding:¹¹⁸

In so outraging humanity, we have taught these people to outrage nature. In the past, the necessity of feeding oneself, or seeking revenge on one's enemies, gave some excuse for this sale of men; but since then we have offered in exchange strong liquors for which they are so keen, and an infinity of jewellery which has little value to us but infinite value to them, we have seen mere infants sell their fathers to satisfy a thirst what we birthed in them.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 333. Original French [les singularités que la nature, les mœurs, les coutumes], [l'observation de la nature, l'étude de l'histoire, la lecture des descriptions de pais, le voiage et les conversations des voyageurs, vous feront voir jusqu'à quel point tout dans les différent genres est diversifié et merueilleur [*sic*] sur la terre que nous habitons].

¹¹⁷ For a nuanced discussion of the representation of slavery and the philosophical debate that surrounded it, see Madeleine Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 387. Original French [une grande cruauté que de fair un commerce si horrible].

¹¹⁹ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fols 387-389. Original French [en outrageant ainsi l'humanité nous avons appris à ces peuples à outrager la nature. Auparavant la nécessité de se nourrir ou de se venger de ses ennemis, serroit en quelque sorte d'excuse a ces ventes d'hommes ; mais depuis que nous leur avons offert en échange ces liqueurs fortes dont ils sont si avides et une infinité de bijoux qui ont très peu de prix pour nous et qui en ont infiniment pour eux, on a vu jusqu'à des enfants vendre leurs peres pour satisfaire une soif que nous avions fait naitre en eux].

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Locating the loss of humanity in the commercial efforts of the French (among others), the mother also suggests that it is their duty to right the wrong for which they are responsible. At this stage of the daughter's education – this is the twelfth conversation – one assumes that she has advanced in years both to enable an understanding of the moral and ethical implications of the slave trade, and perhaps also to permit the creation of a political foundation in abolitionism. An extension of this line of thought, applied elsewhere, is found in the final conversation of the manuscript in the context of land ownership and foreign conquest or expansion. The mother wonders if, 'there could come a day where this part of the world [America] returns perhaps to its first inhabitants, governed by wise laws cultivating, like us, the sciences and the fine arts, covered with towns and people.'¹²⁰ From slavery to indigenous populations, the mother's education in this manuscript takes topics that, while sometimes present in other girls' literature of the period, predominantly takes the opposing view.

It is to this larger educational aim of practical, socio-political, and commercial knowledge that the final conversation speaks. Noting the other chief trade goods of northern Africa, ivory, gold dust, flowers, and rare animals like monkeys and parrots, the mother moves to explain the value of coastal land and ports as a means of controlling commerce. The detail of this section on economics is unusual in a work for a young girl. Linking commerce, naval power, and nationhood, the mother suggests that Mediterranean trade could have been exclusively dominated by the French had they made this their aim earlier in their history – excluding the English from the basin before their seizure of Gibraltar in 1704, and out-competing the 'neglected' [négligée] Spanish navy.¹²¹ Perhaps most interesting about the inclusion of this subject matter is the lack of pedagogical rationale accompanying it. The conversation, and indeed the manuscript itself, is summed up with a singular justification: 'That which I have told you up to this point will suffice to ready you for self-instruction, to understand, even look with pleasure upon the descriptions of countries, tales of travellers and to read for benefit and without embarrassment the story which must accompany reading.'¹²² There is no implication of a wider application of the knowledge imparted beyond the enjoyment and profit derived from the future educated and informed reading it facilitates. The invitation to further instruction by the daughter herself – laudable, if not all that unusual – is equally apparently to be marshalled in the pursuit of pleasure in reading.

¹²⁰ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 475. Original French [Il pourra venir un jour où cette partie du monde rentre peut-être à ses premiers habitants et gouvernée par de sages loix cultivera comme nous les sciences et les arts chere couvrira de villes et d'habitants.].

¹²¹ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 471.

¹²² Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 493. Original French [Ce que je vous ai dit jusqu'ici vous suffit pour vous mettre a portée de vous instruire desormais vous-même, pour comprendre, même voir avec plaisir les descriptions de pais, les recits de Voieurs et pour lire avec profit et sans embarras l'histoire qui doit en suivre la Lecture].

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This is where this manuscript differs most from its comparable counterparts; the education given, and the uses and implications of that education, are implicit rather than explicit. It is a plan of education that provides a foundation on which to build future educational pursuits. There is no matronly narrative voice instructing the daughter in what she *ought* to do with the knowledge she gains, how she *ought* to act in certain situations or with certain people. Rather, the education she imparts is designed to affect these outcomes subconsciously. Virtue is defined in the sixth conversation, and examples of virtuous behaviour given, but at no point in this exchange is the daughter explicitly instructed to virtuous behaviour.¹²³ Nonetheless, the knowledge of virtue, like the awareness of commerce, geography, slavery, and history, will inform, inevitably and intentionally, the daughter's thoughts, opinions, and actions as she matures. This manuscript, then, offers a new perspective on educational material, the subtlety of which is less commonly found in British counterparts like *Practical Education* and *Private Education*, both of which are focussed on clear, practical, and – at times – blunt advice.

Individual Vibrancy

The relative obscurity of the manuscripts I have considered here remains one of the chief drivers for their inclusion in this chapter (and indeed, this thesis). My analysis has cut across three distinct forms of writing, letters, journals, and treatise, and offered insight into the variety of educational activity in the eighteenth century. Most importantly, each manuscript provides further evidence to support the idea that education in the period, despite the quantity of published material attempting to influence and standardise the practice, remained a thoroughly individual undertaking. That is to say that the high level network of pedagogical Anglo-French information exchange constructed by published works, their authors, and their readers, is at least partially distinct from its unpublished counterpart. For all the innovation in pedagogical methods being regularly published across the century, these manuscripts suggest that it is unlikely that such a system had not been attempted previously in a private home somewhere. However, what this thesis demonstrates, and the manuscripts in this chapter particularly, is that despite the difference in subject, plan, or genre, significant links do exist between the literatures of the

¹²³ Bodleian Library, MS.15186, fol. 177.

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period, based on commonalities and shared reference points beyond the address to young women. While manuscripts take less of an active role in shaping the network of educational ideas, they are clearly influenced by those ideas.

Of those links, the one I want to emphasise here is an apparent dichotomy between a free, extensive education, and a more limited and directed one. Taking a broad view of my case studies, St Maur and the French manuscript appear much freer and wider ranging than the smaller manuscript pieces considered before them. However, this situation is somewhat more complicated than the simple dichotomy suggests. As I showed in my examination of the 'Course of Education for a Young Lady', the education offered to young women could certainly go beyond the more traditional subjects one might expect – here, astronomy, architecture, mechanics, and heraldry, class caveats notwithstanding. Yet the method, and the course of education in the manuscript as a whole, remains one of restrictive teaching, educating by facts and covering only the very basics of these subjects. Put another way, while the educations represented here might be extensive in the sense that they provide a wide range of material, they do not, in and of themselves, demonstrate a desire to expand their subject's education *beyond* that range. The education is restrictive despite its breadth insofar as its pedagogical aim appears restricted to the selection of pleasing or important quotations to be written in a miscellany, summaries of plot without personal consideration, or basic knowledge acquisition to enable (or feign) interest in polite conversation. In other words, these educations reinforce the encouragement to conform. One might suggest this lack of progressivity as a reason for their lack of visibility in the network I trace, a network of authors seeking to change, or to progress, women's education.

Conversely, the activities and outings detailed in St Maur's journal and letters appear designed to facilitate the expansion of her education beyond that which she is explicitly taught. As her letters showed, St Maur frequently sought out further information on subjects of which she was ignorant. Certainly, the letter form of the St Maur manuscripts provide more opportunity for this sort of evidence but a comparison with the other personal pieces is sufficient to demonstrate the non-exceptionalism of her educational experience. St Maur is a particularly strong example of this education, but the similarity between her narrative and that of Genlis' Adèle demonstrated that her example is not unique. Combined with the journal of Claire Clairmont, one sees evidence of young women reading across a broad selection of material and, crucially, forging links between their reading that encourage further study. This personal advocacy is also demonstrated in the French manuscript, whereby the daughter is encouraged to ask questions or request clarification, reinforced by the model of teaching and acted out in real-life situations through the reading partnership. More importantly, this manuscript provides concrete evidence of a mother–daughter educational epistolary exchange that pre-dates the

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much-vaunted *Conversations d'Émilie* of Louise d'Épinay. Though, as noted in this chapter, Jeanne-Marie LePrince de Beaumont had previously published *Le Magasin des Enfants* which popularised the dialogue form, the existence of this manuscript – so remarkably similar to Épinay's work – reveals that the educational practice, if not the publication of that practice, was more widespread than Épinay's reviewers were content to recognise.¹²⁴

While the network is most successfully widened and strengthened by Épinay's publication and her personal connections, the smaller network of readers who had sight of the anonymous manuscript were able to diffuse the pedagogical precepts in advance, thus priming some areas of their own networks to be more receptive to the wider appearance of the idea. In circulating the manuscript, readers (who may or may not have close or personal links with the author) will end their interaction either agreeing with the educational precepts within, or not. Of those who agree, most will have been persuaded through the writing itself, or by other actors within the network with whom they are simultaneously reading. Some will have been informed – that is they sought out the information – and some will have been convinced. These terms, taken from Charles Kadushin's work, all relate to the primary form of information diffusion within our eighteenth-century literary context: personal influence.

What these manuscripts also reveal, then, particularly in the reading lists of St Maur, is a vibrant, private, educational writing practice on both sides of the Channel that is located in a small, local network. Significantly, they do not appear to subscribe to any of the major plans outlined in the works I considered in the first and second chapters of this thesis, though they do bear signs of their influence. That is, manuscript composition, taken as a more personal and lifelike – though not necessarily more faithful or truthful – account of educational practice, follows a path distinct from its published counterpart, already split by theory and practice. The intriguing discrepancy in this distinction, however, is that a number of manuscripts do appear to have been intended for publication, or at least are written with the prefatory material to permit this. Accounting for a circulation among friends and acquaintances that might give a reason to the inclusion of an apology or address to the reader, the material and practical differences in the texts speak to different audiences – the smaller network of the initial audience, and the larger, potentially cross-Channel one of a later publication. It falls to my final chapter, then, to examine what I posit is an intermediary between the unpublished and the published: literary magazines and journals. Offering a published space to the private writings of their readers, magazines

¹²⁴ See my earlier examination of Épinay in chapter two. Her work generated a significant number of reviews in France (six for both the first and second editions), and also appeared in a small number of English reviews – both of the French work and in translation.

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facilitated a publishing network of individual writers under the umbrella of their periodical – a large network with a significant reach, providing an illusory or virtual small network.

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Thus far, in this thesis I have confined my examination of cross-Channel exchanges to single texts or authors either in isolation or in comparison to one another, albeit with reference to multiple editions or translations of those texts. Here, I broaden the scope of my arguments to include periodical publications. Women's involvement with these magazines and journals in the eighteenth century is extraordinarily varied; it encompassed editorship, contribution, readership, correspondence, and of course authorship. The period continues to receive interest from a number of scholars, from Alison Adburgham's early 'rescue work' and Kathryn Shevelow's examination of femininity, to the more recent edited collection by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag Powell, which begins to engage with an international influence on British periodicals, though this is not its chief focus.¹ Despite these recent interventions that continue to unveil women's involvement in the genre, few studies have compared the very different publishing environments that existed in Britain and France.

For Stephen Botein, Jack R. Censer, and Harriet Ritvo, in their now rather old but still remarkably thorough and clear work on cross-cultural approaches to the periodical press in English and French society, the key distinction is one of models; evolution 'gradually from regulation to liberty' in Britain, but a 'cataclysmic' shift from control to collapse in France at the Revolution.² This examination is rooted primarily in the mid to late century, but their observations are key to understanding the recent history of the publication landscape. These authors blame the control of the press in France for the historical lack of interest in French periodical publishing, which did not enjoy the same levels of freedom as other publication mediums. However, this does not account for the great many journals which subverted or avoided censure by circulating in manuscript form (as did *La Correspondance Littéraire* (1748-93)), or were printed abroad (such as *La Bibliothèque Britannique* (1796-1815) which was published in Geneva, although widely read in France, and indeed in Britain). The British periodical press, less constrained by censorship than its French counterpart, was therefore still able to comment on

¹ Adburgham, p. 9; Shevelow; Batchelor and Powell.

² Stephen Botein, Jack R. Censer, and Harriet Ritvo, 'The Periodical Press in Eighteenth-Century English and French Society: A Cross-Cultural Approach', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23.3 (1981), 464–90 (p. 466).

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works written in French, and many journals, particularly the anti-revolutionary *Anti-Jacobin, or, Weekly Examiner* of 1797, took a significant interest in the political events of France, especially in the years leading up to and during the French Revolution.

More remarkable than this difference in publication material are the figures Botein, Censer, and Ritvo give in their research into British and French periodicals. For 1775, they count around sixty periodicals in France, but approximately one hundred and fifty in England and America, a disparity that is all the more striking for the difference in population.³ Claire Boulard, in her examination of the early rise of the French periodical, suggests that its development was paradoxical; 'its spectacular rise in the eighteenth century was largely due to the English precedent', but 'its Englishness was a handicap as well as a risk'.⁴ In a period where linguistic and cultural identity were increasingly linked to nationhood and citizenship, a trend noted by Thomas Munck in his work on the German and Dutch periodicals, a French periodical undertaking was forced to walk a narrow line between following the successful models of its English contemporaries, and respecting French culture and publishing traditions and requirements.⁵ Yet early work by Norman Fiering located this influence in precisely the opposite direction, France to Britain, and onward to America.⁶ What follows in this section, then, is a somewhat eclectic exploration of periodical publications in Britain and France, the result of a publication market in which, as Munck has demonstrated, publishers 'followed market trends by producing a great wealth of mixed and imaginative journals designed to appeal to as wide a readership as possible'.⁷ Casting such a wide net has significant ramifications for my study of a cross-Channel network.

The networks created by periodical publications are, by virtue of this drive to a wider readership, more extensive than those I have previously considered in this thesis. This holds true both when considering breadth of the network and the strength of some of its connections. While the connections between St Maur and Adèle's reading showed that old texts have a network of readers that can span decades or even centuries, periodicals offer a form of network

³ Botein, Censer, and Ritvo, p. 471. The figures given for population are 21 million for France, and under 8 million for England and her American colonies. Regrettably, no distinction is made between the English-speaking populations or the periodicals that were published in each global sphere. Nonetheless, it is clear that the English press was publishing greater numbers of periodicals, and with greater success in expansion, than its French counterpart.

⁴ Claire Boulard, 'The Spectator's Curtailed Legacy: The Periodical Press Between England and France in the Eighteenth Century', in 'Better in France?' *The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Frédéric Ogée (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), pp. 144–61 (p. 156).

⁵ Thomas Munck, 'Eighteenth-Century Review Journals and the Internationalization of the European Book Market', *The International History Review*, 32.3 (2010), 415–35 (p. 420).

⁶ Norman S. Fiering, 'The Transatlantic Republic of Letters: A Note on the Circulation of Learned Periodicals to Early Eighteenth-Century America', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 33.4 (1976), 642–60.

⁷ Munck, p. 416.

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that is more constantly evolving. The correspondence that takes place between readers within the pages of these publications allows for the creation of a link that strengthens and deepens across the lifespan of the periodical. Indeed, often that connection's existence is directly tied to the periodical, and when publication ceases, so too does the strong connection. Two correspondents who form a connection through a magazine create a link that is highly volatile, strong but also fragile. This network of correspondents is explored in my section on the *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1832), specifically through the lens of readers' engagement with translation. However, other links facilitated through periodical publishing are more enduring. In Sarah Trimmer's *Guardian of Education* (1802-06), and in review journals more widely, networks are formed through both implicit and explicit connections drawn between the authors and texts within the pages of periodicals. Leveraging an external network of acquaintances and readers, one where the editor forms the central focus, disparate networks are brought together as the editor serves as a conduit for information from their wider personal network through to their network of readers. Such a link also allows for a dual flow of information in both directions, and a more circular flow, whereby elements of the periodical's readership offer information to be distributed.

Two further elements of networks appear in this section. Firstly, the links created between authors and readers through the particular engagement of periodicals with biography, here women's biography. In raising the public profile of female authors, review journals underlined the public position of the women's education debate, legitimising networks on women's pedagogy in a public space. The final periodical considered here is somewhat different. The *Correspondance Littéraire* (1748-93) was circulated in manuscript, and historical issues were not published in print until the nineteenth century. These were frequently edited and abridged versions of the originals, and much recent scholarship has been engaged in uncovering the discrepancies between these versions. Unlike periodicals marketed to a mass audience (though one severely restricted by education and class), the *Correspondance Littéraire* was a French publication aimed at European heads of state and the very highest levels of the aristocracy. As such, the network it facilitated is much smaller, though also more tightly knit. It offers insight into the influence that one contributor, Louise d'Épinay, wielded over such legislators, and I demonstrate how Épinay was able to use her voice and her pen to alter their perceptions of key contemporary debates. This mix of publications paints a complex but vivid picture of cross-Channel engagement, women's educational narratives, and a delicate network between British and French women: authors, editors, translators, and readers alike.

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Women's involvement in periodical publishing is the subject of a whole field of enquiry. Much of this scholarly interest concerns fiction, predominantly novels. Angus Martin, for example, gives a detailed account of the fiction output of the French *Journal des Dames* (1759-78), particularly focussed on the years of female editorship of the journal.⁸ Martin Hall takes a similar approach in his exploration of the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (1775-89), though he shifts the focus from the content of the periodical to a consideration of the paratexts and contexts that frame the material.⁹ On Britain, Megan Peiser's chapter on women reviewing women novelists encapsulates this approach, with keen insight into the anonymous masculine voice that reviewing permitted these women to inhabit.¹⁰ My own approach takes non-fiction for its focus. Here, then, I am interested in the networks that these publications facilitated, particularly around the idea of women's education. That this subject had become such a publicly debated issue is amusingly depicted in a satirical piece in the *Spirit of the Public Journals* (1797-1825) for 1809, 'Instructions to Ladies'. I reproduce the first paragraph here in full to demonstrate the range of issues the anonymous contributor highlights by their humorous address:

Fair Creatures, / It is some presumption in a writer to address you; but what shall be said of his daring arrogance who shall attempt to *instruct* you? You, when you escape from school, throw off all preceptors but those who profess the liberal arts of *composing* pelisses, Brutus wigs, cosmetics, and whist-parties. But I do not address myself to the out-of-fashion economical fair, but to the extravagant – not to *savers*, but spenders – not to *payers*, but *debtors* – not to those who would seek to comfort, but to those who would break both the hearts and purses of their husbands – not to those over-biased [*sic*] by morality, virtue, and such *antiquarian* qualities, but to those who keep up appearances. – In short, it is to *ladies* of rank, ton, and fashion, that I address the following instructions.¹¹

⁸ Angus Martin, 'France and the Female Reading Public in Eighteenth-Century France: The Journal Des Dames (1759-1778)', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 3.3 (1991), 241–58.

⁹ Martin Hall, 'Gender and Reading in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Bibliothèque Universelle Des Romans', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 14.3–4 (2002), 771–90.

¹⁰ See Megan Peiser, 'Reviewing Women: Women Reviewers on Women Novelists', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, The Edinburgh History of Women's Periodical Culture in Britain (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 236–49, but also other contributions to Part IV of the volume.

¹¹ *The Spirit of the Public Journals. Being an Impartial Selection of the Most Ingenious Essays and Jeux d'Esprits That Appear in the Newspapers and Other Publications*, third edition, 18 vols (London: Printed for

The writer alludes to the problems of writing to instruct, which might be seen as condescending or an imposition; the confines of a restrictive education; the fascination with fashion and dress; gambling and the proper use of money; the duties of a wife to her husband; the importance of key, traditional, virtues; and the central theme of one strand of eighteenth-century girls' education – the accomplished lady. That these are the topics the author chooses to address in satire speaks to their prominence and visibility in national discourse. Only those who were *au courant* with the female education debate would be fully able to decode the message here, underlined by the article's signature: Chesterfield's Skeleton. Long since deceased by the time of this publication (although not, perhaps, at the time of the extract's original publication), Philip Stanhope (1694-1773), the 4th Earl of Chesterfield, was well known in the public eye for his thirty-year correspondence with his son, published in 1774 as *Letters to His Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*. Chesterfield's advice, like that of the wit who penned these 'Instructions to Ladies', was considered morally deficient in its desire to please at the expense of true virtues.

Outside of satirical pieces, the *Spirit of the Public Journals* also possesses an international connection. The idea for the journal, the reader is told in the advertisement, came from the 'great value' set upon 'collections of scraps cut out of newspapers', but the title is a direct lifting of 'a French book [...] of a nature somewhat similar', namely *L'Esprit des journaux françois et étrangers* (1784-93).¹² Borrowings from the French – the lack of international copyright defends the journal from the term stealing – were common, though the similarity of the British and French journal does not extend to any significant French items here.¹³ Nevertheless, even where the borrowing was indirect, French still makes an appearance elsewhere, as in the *Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle* (1793), a short-lived but regular publication. 'Whimsical Debates on Curious Questions. *By a Society of Ladies*', a series of questions and discussions that became a recurring feature for the magazine, is highly reminiscent of the French *salon* debating tradition. Yet, while the title might indicate a light and jovial tone to the series, the overarching sentiments expressed are decidedly conservative rather than radical, and the topics covered

James Ridgway, 1798], vol. XIII (1810 [for 1809]), p. 174. Original emphasis. Unfortunately, the journal did not provide sources for its excerpts from the previous year's periodical press, and I have been unable to find the original piece.

¹² *The Spirit of the Public Journals*, vol. 1 (1802 [for 1797]), iii.

¹³ Copyright in Britain was governed by the Statute of Anne of 1710 – the first government regulated copyright act – until its repeal and replacement by the Copyright Act of 1842. International copyright did not come into effect until the Berne Convention of 1886, the articles of which still govern much of global copyright regulations today. See the work of Raven; Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009); *Copyright and Piracy*, ed. by Lionel Bently, Jennifer Davis, and Jane C. Ginsburg, Cambridge Intellectual Property and Information Law, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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return frequently to a central theme of women's education. Thus, questions included 'is it justly declared that Curiosity is to be found more among Ladies than Gentlemen?' or 'is the Matrimonial Law just that a Wife should obey?'; three pages are devoted to discussion on 'which is a more dangerous Wife for a man to take – A natural one, or one that by an indifference of Behaviour seems so – or a lady that is very learned or aspires thereto?'.¹⁴ The relative longevity of the section (six instalments), and its focus on questions that pertain almost exclusively to women's lives and experiences, strongly suggest a sizeable female readership of the magazine, although no readership data exists to support this assertion.

It is nonetheless worthwhile, I think, to consider the final question cited above in more detail, better to understand the stances represented in the magazine, and its eventual conclusion deeming the appropriate course of action for women concerning their education. Initially, the image of both types of woman is ridiculed, the ignorant for appearing 'little better than an idiot', and the self-styled learned lady (as opposed to the truly wise, who feels no need to demonstrate her learning) who believes every other person an 'ignoramus'.¹⁵ One after the other, the assembled women weigh in on the debate. Mrs C., opening the discussion, stands firmly on the side of the ignorant wife, who must surely be 'the least grievance to a husband'.¹⁶ Mrs E., responding robustly, believes the contrary, that 'a woman of letters is a desirable wife, and if she aspires to learning the greater then is her praise'.¹⁷ Both the debaters, despite their opposing viewpoints, share a misguided focus on the people around the wife – particularly the husband – rather than the woman herself, an emphasis that is indicative of the piece's more conservative bent. Thus, the intervention of a Mrs T. is unsurprising; she would 'rather see one of my own sex yawning, [...] than hear a lady monopolizing the conversation of a room, and disgusting the company with her quotations from authors and phrases of French'.¹⁸ That phrases of French are singled out for censure here is less about the undesirability of French language and ideas, I suggest, than it is an obvious indicator of the stereotypical accomplished lady, for whom superficial, rote-language learning was an essential acquirement. Miss Charlotte S. and Lady D. I. O., the final speakers in the debate, set upon precisely this distinction, the former arguing for a 'material difference' between a '*very learned*' lady and a woman that '*aspires thereto*', the latter

¹⁴ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle; or, New Weekly Entertainer*, 5 vols (London: printed for the proprietors, published by C. Johnson, 1793), II, pp. 40–44; 101–5; 136–39; 186–90; 217–20; 285–87.

¹⁵ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, pp. 138–39.

¹⁶ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 139.

¹⁷ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 139.

¹⁸ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 186.

between displays of '*proper learning*' and '*ignorant ostentation*'; '*a learned lady cannot be a disagreeable companion for any man, but one of pretended knowledge certainly is.*'¹⁹

As this thesis has shown at several junctures, women's educational discourses in the eighteenth century were only rarely proscriptive about *whether* women should be educated, and much more frequently concerned with *what* that education ought to entail, and to what *purpose*. Though the women in this debate, if titles serve as any indication, are from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (though still within, of course, the upper echelons of society), it is significant that nearly all of their opinions coalesce around the wife's relationship to her husband, and the effect of *her* learning on *his* happiness. The only Miss of the debate is the exception. Permitted the more radical view, perhaps due to her youth, she makes an important distinction in her terms, discussing women as a 'companion' for man rather than merely a wife. Indeed, she objects to the whole question, calling it 'absurd and confused', with muddled terms that fail to account for a desire to learn among the less knowledgeable, or (it is suggested) the less intellectually capable.²⁰ Thus, it is left to the president and chair, Lady Margravine, to settle the debate. A possible allusion to Elizabeth Craven (1750-1828), Margravine of Brandenburg-Ansbach, she declares that 'a man could *never* be happy at home with an ignorant or indifferent woman, but that he might in time with a very learned lady.'²¹ There are several inversions of expectation here for the reader. Although the women arrive at the conclusion that a learned woman is preferable to an ignorant one, the strength of argument against this outcome jars with its French-*salon*-inspired setting.²² Created for, and heavily invested in, philosophical debates on all subjects – in other words, spaces where the espousal of learning is entirely proper – the *salon* is an unlikely place to hear professions of viewpoints diametrically opposed to the purpose of the gathering, whether in Paris, or in British imitations. Yet, the title of the piece suggests that it is precisely this philosophical debate among women that is being satirised. That the debates are 'whimsical' and the questions 'curious' would seemingly relegate their topics to the realm of fantasy and imagination. Of course, there is also an overt Rousseauvian styling here; the piece reads as a clear rebuttal of his address to his readers about literary women. Two possibilities thus present themselves. Either the satire is genuine, and the pieces designed to make light of the

¹⁹ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 187. Original emphasis.

²⁰ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 187.

²¹ *The Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle*, II, p. 187. Original emphasis. Elizabeth Craven is also linked to another figure in this chapter; it is her husband's manuscript copy of *Correspondance Littéraire* that I use in my consideration of Louise d'Épinay's involvement with the journal.

²² See the work of Brown and Dow; Baird; Stephen D. Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); for Britain and Ireland, see Amy Prendergast, *Literary Salons across Britain and Ireland in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

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pretensions of learned women, or the work is taking advantage of the satirical form to have genuine debates on otherwise-difficult subjects. Here, the borrowing of the French *salon* style is more important – not simply for its Rousseauvian contexts, but its wider French implications. Just as I have explored the possibilities opened up by translation and paratexts, the introduction of a foreign setting (in terms of system rather than geography) permits a greater engagement with topics beyond the accepted parameters of domestic culture and society.

Reviews and Review Journals

Reviewing held an important societal place in the eighteenth century, contributing significantly to the arbitration and curation of 'good' public taste. I will consider a number of reviews found in particularly pertinent publications in the subsections that follow, but I will first take for my subject a selection of British and French weekly and monthly publications expressly catering to the literary review market. There is a tendency when considering eighteenth-century review pieces to see them as highly derivative, in the sense that they frequently extract lengthy sections of text to include as excerpts, and fail to provide much criticism beyond a recommendation one way or the other, coupled with a brief comment on the author's style. However, Derek Roper cautions that 'thorough' reviews, 'in the full modern sense of the term', are to be found 'as early as 1750' in a number of publications.²³ Indeed, I demonstrated in my examination of Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur in chapter three that, even outside of review publications, extensive critical appraisal of reading did exist. Yet while William St Clair, in his influential *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004), suggests that reviews were 'as important as the advertising' of a book, he finds no correlation between reviews and sales figures, irrespective of the review's praise or criticism.²⁴ Sales figures, of course, do not give the whole picture of a book – it is perfectly possible that the informal network of recommendations, lending, and communal reading did suffer at the hands of negative reviews, but this form of influence is much harder to quantify.

However, reviews were not solely about financial returns for publishers and authors; they alerted their readership to new publications, to unknown links between a new text and its author's previous work, and to accolades and responses to the work. Such an approach appears in different forms. The *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929), for example, took a standardised approach to new publications, providing a catalogue list in each quarterly critical review that was

²³ Derek Roper, *Reviewing before the Edinburgh 1788-1802* (London: Methuen & Co., 1978), p. 20.

²⁴ St Clair, p. 186.

subdivided by topic.²⁵ Although no actual review accompanies the publications in these lists (reviews being constrained to the body of the magazine), there is nonetheless an important increase in visibility and status for those authors included. Most review journals were forced to abandon attempts to universality in their coverage of new publications as the market grew rapidly, evidenced in part by the range of works included in the *Edinburgh's* lists, from Latin and French grammars, to sacred histories and practical hints for young women in their duties as wives, mothers, and mistresses of families.²⁶ It is the divisions by genre by the likes of the *Edinburgh* that one sees in the reading lists of contemporary readers.²⁷ Other approaches to reviewing were more deliberately international – the *Bibliothèque Britannique* mentioned above concerned itself with alerting French readers to British publications – and often took inspiration from literary celebrity. This is the case for the *Literary Magazine and British Review*, which, despite the focus its name suggests, takes Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis as its subject in the April issue of 1791, a reflection of both her celebrity in its own right and her current residence in Britain at the time of publication. Reviewing her *Discourse on the Suppression [sic] of Nun's Convents and on the Public Education of Women* (1791) [*Discours sur la Suppression des Couvens des Religieuses et sur l'Education Publique des Femmes*], in which her 'right to speak of the instruction of young ladies' is not only accepted, but also justified, the magazine ends with a suggestion that 'something of the kind she represents is much wanted in this country.'²⁸ Despite Genlis' noted celebrity and notoriety, the open acceptance of a foreign woman's proposals for young female education, particularly in a work with such a clear Catholic element, is uncommon, and speaks to the increasingly public nature of the women's education debate.

Review journals did not solely provide review content. The *British Magazine and Review* (July 1782 - Dec 1783), though short lived, offered biographical pieces alongside its regular reviewing content – one of a number of magazines to do so.²⁹ Three in this brief run warrant attention here: those on Catharine Macaulay (1731-91), Frances Brooke (1724-89), and Charlotte Lennox (1730-1804).³⁰ All these women are held in high esteem, and presented in the magazine

²⁵ The *Edinburgh Review* is the title of four different publications. I refer here to the third iteration, published from 1802-1929, though there were two earlier versions in the eighteenth century from 1755-56 and 1773-76.

²⁶ This last example is by a Mrs Taylor of Ongar, who writes *Practical Hints to Young Females, on the Duties of a Wife, a Mother, and a Mistress of a Family* (1815). See *The Edinburgh Review, Or, Critical Journal*, xxv, p. 538.

²⁷ See, for example, my examination of Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur's journal in chapter three.

²⁸ *The Literary Magazine And British Review for 1791* (London: Printed for the Proprietors [sic] and sold by C. Forster, 1791), pp. 292–93.

²⁹ See my consideration of the *General Magazine, and Impartial Review* (1787-92) which follows.

³⁰ *The British Magazine and Review, or General Miscellany of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Biography, Entertainment, Poetry, Politics, Manners, Amusements, and Intelligence Foreign and Domestic*, 3 vols

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alongside a list of their published works, explicitly depicting their writing and authorship as a primary facet of their lives. The magazine is not shy, however, in criticising some of the prominent work of these women; Macaulay's *History of England* (1763-83) is referred to as 'thrown together in such an unfinished way, as to serve rather for a sample of the author's abilities, than as an effort of laborious judgement', though the end of her biography lauds her 'whether considered as an essayist or historian', worthy of 'at least an equal rank with any contemporary writer.'³¹ Lennox's tribute is equally favourable in its conclusions, she whose 'novelty and genius as an original author, and whose elegance and fidelity as a translator, have not often been exceeded.'³² One must wonder, here, whether the juxtaposition of novelty and genius against elegance and fidelity is deliberate. Certainly, the adjectives conform to one eighteenth-century view of translation as a secondary form of literature, subservient to the genius of an original. Yet translations were frequently the site of original composition and intervention, and faithfulness to an original was not a prerequisite, as I outlined in my introduction.³³ It is likely, then, that the magazine's comment is a deliberate one that aligns her writing with two distinctly gendered modes – masculine originality and feminine fidelity.

However, the most interesting inclusion in Lennox's biography is not these literary accolades, but rather the mention of her own periodical pursuits in publishing the *Ladies Museum* (1760-1). Why did such a short-lived journal appear alongside her other, highly successful, publications? For Katherine Shevelow, the answer lies in the particular aims of the *Lady's Museum* to educate its women readers 'in a way suitable to their femininity', or, put another way, 'not only in a way adapted to women, but educating them in the very notion of being a woman itself.'³⁴ For Anna Sagal, the key to the magazine is that it was 'deeply invested in the value of history reading and history writing for its female audience.'³⁵ Both critics note the perceived femininity of the magazine, in composition and readership, and its specific attempts to educate a female readership appropriately. The *British Magazine and Review*, having praised Lennox for precisely the femininity of parts of her writing, was able unequivocally to throw its weight behind such an endeavour in her brief stint as periodical publisher.

(London: Printed for Harrison & Co., 1782), vol. 1 (1782), pp. 167-9; *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 2 (1783), pp. 101-3; *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 3 (1783), pp. 8-11.

³¹ *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 1 (1782), p. 169.

³² *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 3 (1783), p. 10.

³³ I am thinking particularly here of Ann Phillips' translation of Louise d'Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie*, considered in chapter two, though there are many other examples. See my comments on Tytler in the introduction.

³⁴ Shevelow, p. 184.

³⁵ Anna K. Sagal, 'Constructing Women's History in the *Lady's Museum*', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, The Edinburgh History of Women's Periodical Culture in Britain (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 53–66 (p. 55).

It is in this light that the magazine also shows the final of these three women, Frances Brooke, who edited the *Old Maid* (1755-56) for all of its thirty-seven issues. Celebrated for writing the first English novel in Canada, she is of interest to my project for her translation work and the close attention in the *British Magazine and Review* to the education of her son. Depicted as a highly accomplished woman of letters with a 'perfect knowledge of the French and Italian languages', she is praised as 'well qualified for conducting the necessary negociations [*sic*] with distant foreigners' in the running of the Opera House owned by her husband's brother.³⁶ The significance of these accolades is multi-faceted. Firstly, the *Old Maid* was a significant undertaking, incorporating contributions from a great array of literary names – largely Brooke's acquaintance – a situation that Kathryn King refers to as a record of the astonishing success of Brooke's efforts to corral her (predominantly male) associates into collaboration on the project.³⁷ Secondly, the periodical was initially published under the pseudonym "Mary Singleton, spinster", and republished under the same name again in 1764 by popular demand (according to its new publisher); Brooke's involvement appears to have become apparent only in the intervening twenty years between this republication and the biographical entry in the *British Magazine and Review*. Thirdly, her editorship of the magazine, coupled with her linguistic abilities in running an opera house, demonstrate a keen sense of business and entrepreneurship that marks Brooke apart from her contemporaries.

It is interesting, then, to see this learned author and manageress placed alongside a different image in the article's final paragraph. Here, Brooke is much more traditionally feminine, with a 'sprightliness of wit' and 'brilliancy of conversation', which 'rendered her the delight of all her acquaintance'; her behaviour and character are 'truly amiable and exemplary', and 'particularly so' in her duties as a 'tender mother', paying the 'utmost attention' to her son's education in her display of 'maternal affection'.³⁸ Brooke's 'exemplary' feminine character, and her commitment to her son's education, I suggest, are in some way used here to counterbalance (and therefore negate) the potentially damaging aspects of her more socially masculine undertakings. They also return the emphasis to her place in a family network rather than

³⁶ *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 2 (1783), p. 102.

³⁷ Kathryn R. King, 'Frances Brooke, Editor, and the Making of the *Old Maid* (1755-1756)', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s*, ed. by Jennie Batchelor and Manushag N. Powell, The Edinburgh History of Women's Periodical Culture in Britain (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 342–56.

³⁸ *British Magazine and Review*, vol. 2 (1783), pp. 102-3. Useful reference might be made here to Vivien Jones' work, which demonstrates that individual biographies for women often depicted an idealised generic woman better than she who was being celebrated. See *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity*, ed. by Vivien Jones (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

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focussing on her involvement with other women intellectuals, or worse (the biography suggests), active engagement with their literary productions.

Under this damaging banner falls the management of the opera house, certainly, but also some of her translation efforts. Though Brooke's first translation engaged with another female writer, and was written in the style of the epistolary novel, benefitting from an already-celebrated source text and thus remaining within traditional gendered translation boundaries, her later productions were at times more transgressive.³⁹ Take, for example, her translation of the Abbé Millot's *Elements of the history of England, from the invasion of the Romans to the reign of George the Second* (1771) [*Éléments de l'histoire d'Angleterre, depuis son origine sous les Romains, jusqu'au regne de George II* (1769)], which adds a large number of explanatory notes. In adding explanatory notes to a male-authored text, Brooke's translation explicitly sets her up as the mediator of the male word contained within. Brooke is identified on the title page as the translation's author, sacrificing the limited protection offered by anonymity, and indeed placing her own lack of qualification (merely Mrs. Brooke) opposite Millot's ('Royal Professor of History in the University of Parma, and Member of the Academies of Lyons and Nancy').⁴⁰ Indeed, this is not the only competition Brooke faced; another translation of Millot's work was published in the same year by a Mr. Kenrick (presumably William Kenrick (1725-79)), in two volumes rather than Brooke's four. Her publishers were, however, seemingly confident in her success, printing a thousand copies of the translation, a considerable number that ultimately proved insufficient as a second edition was published in 1772.⁴¹ The *British Magazine and Review*, in documenting these three women's literary lives in biographical pieces, illustrates a movement of such women writers from an anonymous, private, or domestic space into the limelight of public discourse. Implicitly, it also draws links between them that were otherwise absent; these women are notable because the magazine chose them for inclusion and in so doing, the editor invites a comparison between them among readers.

The *British Magazine and Review* was not the only publication to include such biographical notices on notable women. The *General Magazine, and Impartial Review* (1787-92) included a fifteen-page memoir of Elizabeth Inchbald (1753-1821) across two, monthly instalments in its

³⁹ Brooke's first translation was of Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni's (1713-92) *Lettres de Milady Juliette Catesby* (1759), published in 1760 as *Letters from Juliet, Lady Catesby to her friend, Lady Henrietta Campley*, a work which the *British Magazine and Review* refers to as 'indisputably one of the best pictures of English manners ever drawn by a foreigner', (vol. 2 (1783), p. 101).

⁴⁰ The full title of the work is *Elements of the history of England, from the invasion of the Romans to the reign of George the Second. Translated from the French of Abbé Milot, Royal Professor of History in the University of Parma, And Member of the Academies of Lyons and Nancy, by Mrs. Brooke.*

⁴¹ See note on the print run of the first edition in the ESTC, citation n° T108852.

opening year. Opposite a full-page engraving of Inchbald, the magazine begins with a vivid metaphor for the century:

The beginning of the present century was distinguished by what has been properly denominated a constellation of geniuses, composed of men [...] If the morning of the present age was thus rendered brilliant by such men, a constellation of female genius, no less splendid, illuminates the evening, and gives peculiar grace to the close of that century.⁴²

As evidence of the stark change in women's circumstances, and the public perception of their intellectual achievements, the extract is already revealing, but there is still an element of gender prejudice apparent in the journal's statement. The phrase 'peculiar grace' is conspicuously feminine, and the splendour of the female constellation of genius is made explicitly distinct from its male counterpart. Why the magazine might want to make such a distinction is unclear, given the commitment that follows, to 'make an object of our peculiar attention to record the memoirs of such of our contemporary authors as shall be distinguished by public approbation, more especially of those females, whose writings reflect so much lustre on themselves and their country.'⁴³ The pledge to write on many women of notable 'female genius' across the nation, implicitly a promise to connect these women by association, is concrete evidence of a magazine creating a network of women that might otherwise be wholly unconnected. The 'constellation' is, perhaps, a particularly appropriate metaphor for the magazine to have chosen – individual brilliance that, only when seen as a whole, reveals its true form.

The *British Magazine and Impartial Review's* constellation is a network by another name. While they restrict this network to each woman's country, this thesis has shown that a larger network exists that covers both England and France. While different elements of that network exists in each nation, the connections are made by the same means, and under the same larger networking endeavour. It is my intention here, then, to pinpoint a number of these authors, and the journals with which they were involved, which enabled them to draw connections, to create connections, and to build a network.

⁴² *The General Magazine and Impartial Review. Including a History of the Present Times, and an Account of New Publications. Interspersed with Original and Selected Tales, Essays, Biography, Poetry, &c. &c. &c. with a Monthly Chronicle of Events.*, 6 vols (London: Printed for Bellamy & Co., 1787), vol. 1 (1787), p. 115.

⁴³ *The General Magazine, and Impartial Review*, vol. 1 (1787), p. 115.

The *Lady's Magazine* (1770-1832)

The *Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Female Sex* has enjoyed something of a rebirth in recent eighteenth-century studies scholarship, thanks in large part to Jennie Batchelor's Leverhulme research project to make freely available an index of the first forty-eight years of the magazine. As Batchelor outlined in an article preceding this project, the *Lady's Magazine* is a problematic subject of study; purportedly a magazine written by women for women, 'to talk about it as a publication for women or as women's writing requires at least partial qualification.'⁴⁴ That is to say, 'the magazine often fails to live up to the aesthetic and political ideals the feminist recovery project has tended to privilege', an ongoing recovery in which this thesis is also engaged.⁴⁵ Beth Fowkes Tobin, for example, asserts that the readers of the *Lady's Magazine* were 'mostly female', and that as a 'culturally shared artifact' that was the 'multivocal product of a very large group', the content can reasonably be assumed to represent much of its (female) readership's values and expectations over that of its editor(s).⁴⁶ Yet a lack of readership, editorship, and authorship data, even as the gaps in the latter are rapidly filled, would appear to make this position tenuous. The editor(s) of the *Lady's Magazine* were active and discerning – a necessary vigilance against occasionally unscrupulous contributors, as was made clear in the March 1789 issue of the magazine.

The letter signed *Clio* is an excellent one, and well deserving a place in any magazine – but it unfortunately labours under one disadvantage – it was printed forty years ago in the *Connoisseur*! Tricks of this kind may now and then impose on us, but the theft must be committed on works less known and read.⁴⁷

Though concepts of copyright and its enforcement were patchy at best in the eighteenth century – particularly in international contexts where copyright was wholly absent – and the editors make clear that they cannot possibly catch all transgressions, their tightly run publication does suggest a level of control over content that complicates any view of the magazine as multi-vocal.

⁴⁴ Jennie Batchelor, "'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*, 30.2 (2011), 245–67 (p. 249).

⁴⁵ Batchelor, "'Connections, Which Are of Service...in a More Advanced Age": "The Lady's Magazine", Community, and Women's Literary Histories', p. 249.

⁴⁶ Beth Fowkes Tobin, "'The Tender Mother": The Social Construction of Motherhood and the *Lady's Magazine*', *Women's Studies*, 18 (1990), 205–21 (p. 206).

⁴⁷ 'To Our Correspondents', *Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Female Sex* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1789).

This is not to say that reader contribution was unimportant; the *Lady's Magazine* had a significant following, and readers' active participation in the magazine's content remained a touchstone of its publication framework throughout its lifetime. Indeed, Jacqueline Pearson goes so far as to credit the magazine with a renegotiation of the distinction between reader and writer, arguing that 'active dialogues are maintained between writing readers and reading writers', creating a system whereby the 'reader-contributor may be proactive or reactive, may initiate a new project or reply to an old'.⁴⁸ It is for this reason that I opened this thesis with the words of 'Pratilla' in her letter to the editor; the structure of the *Lady's Magazine* permitted its readers not only to initiate new projects, but to imagine new situations entirely. Despite the apparent tension that I outline here between editor and contributor, I want to emphasise that such a relationship was not a restrictive one. Rather it was frequently a collaborative and cooperative partnership. Even if contributors were famously mercurial in their serial contributions – many were abandoned in the magazine's run due to undelivered continuations – it remains the case that large parts of the *Lady's Magazine* relied on its readership to fill its pages. In this the *Lady's Magazine* is, perhaps, the most connected and networked periodical of its time in reader engagement terms.

Importantly, this network was not entirely British-focussed; the magazine frequently engaged with European authors and ideas, especially in France, partly due to the publication's interest in fashion and France's dominating influence on that subject.⁴⁹ To take one European example later in the run of the magazine in June 1811, the editors took a piece from what might be termed its French sister, the *Journal des Dames* (1759-78), which Angus Martin calls 'the first French women's periodical'.⁵⁰ Like the *Lady's Magazine*, the authorship, editorship, and readership of the *Journal* was, in reality, mixed-sex, but Martin presents a remarkable picture of women's involvement with this French publication, the majority of which was published under known and formidable female editors.⁵¹ While the current lack of information about the *Lady's Magazine's* editors precludes this kind of study of its own output, the content – specifically a drive to translated content – is still a result of its reader engagement, and particularly its active female readers. A search for translations in Jennie Batchelor's Index of the first run of the magazine returns over seven hundred entries, but this does not include a number of imitation responses, so

⁴⁸ Jacqueline Pearson, "Books, My Greatest Joy": Constructing the Female Reader in *The Lady's Magazine*, *Women's Writing*, 3.1 (1996), 3–15 (p. 5).

⁴⁹ See Ribeiro, Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820*.

⁵⁰ Angus Martin, p. 241.

⁵¹ Martin provides detailed data about the production of the magazine under each editor, though he focuses predominantly on the publication's fiction output as a more 'feminine' genre. See Angus Martin, pp. 243–48.

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the true number is even higher. This averages to a minimum of one or two translation pieces per month/issue across the forty-eight years of the database.

These translations range from request and response pieces of merely a few lines to multi-part works of much longer publications. Under this second umbrella falls one example by 'Elenir Irwin', who submitted a serial translation of a Spanish text, *A Defence of Women* [*Defensa de las Mujeres* (1726)] that spans almost a year from November 1810 to August 1811. Mónica Bolufer Peruga has published an account of the Spanish original, by Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676-1764), remarkable in its own right for such progressive views in the early eighteenth century, but the translation in the *Lady's Magazine* matches none of the three other known English-language editions of Feijoo's text.⁵² I do not examine the translation itself here; rather, I want to underline the point about this translation's originality. This piece is not the only long-form translation to appear in the magazine, nor the only one to differ significantly from other published counterparts. One of the most popular French authors to be translated in England, according to Robert Mayo, Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* (1782) was serialised in forty-nine instalments of the *Lady's Magazine* between May 1785 and April 1789.⁵³ Serialised translation, as opposed to its standalone contemporaries, offered a different sort of space for translated work. It did not require the individual piece itself to be the driving factor behind popularity and therefore sales (though, in Genlis' case especially, this is unlikely to have been an issue). It also did not require the entirety of a work to be translated before publication. Magazines, then, were in the unique position of being able to print the translation of original authors with less penetration into the British market, and of original translators with less time or means to produce a publication in its own right.

To this end, I explore the *Lady's Magazine's* smaller engagements with translation in order to demonstrate the network-building activity such an exchange entailed. Thus, remaining with Genlis, one might instead choose to consider the request in the October 1811 issue concerning her discussion of love letters in *Histoire des Femmes Françaises* (1811) for 'some of our poetic readers' to 'favour us with a translation, or imitation' of the verse that followed.⁵⁴ The response,

⁵² Mónica Bolufer Peruga, "Neither Male, Nor Female": Rational Equality in the Early Spanish Enlightenment', in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, ed. by Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 389–409; See also Jennie Batchelor, 'Lost in Translation: Transnationalism and the Lady's Magazine', *The Lady's Magazine (1770-1818): Understanding the Emergence of a Genre*, 2015 <<https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/ladys-magazine/2015/11/20/lost-in-translation-transnationalism-and-the-ladys-magazine/>> [accessed 5 March 2020].

⁵³ See Robert Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1962).

⁵⁴ The full title of Genlis' text is *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française comme protectrices des Lettres ou comme auteurs: Précis de l'histoire des femmes françaises les plus célèbres* (Paris, 1811). *Lady's*

found in the November issue is, in fact, one of many. Two authors feature, an anonymous correspondent from North Petherton, and a W. E. junior – as yet unidentified. Both offer an imitation of the lines of Ninon de Lenclos requested in October, and a response to the French epigram on hope in the September issue.⁵⁵ The anonymous contributor further provides a response to another French epigram, this time from August on virtue, and both give another imitation of Lenclos', this time 'How to write love-letters'.⁵⁶ Part of the fascination here is the ability of the reader to make direct comparisons between the imitation-translations of each contributor. I reproduce the original and two translations below:⁵⁷

French Original	Anon	W. E. junior
Non! ce n'est point en vers qu'un tendre amour s'exprime :	No! love sincere is not express'd in rhyme:	No! 'tis not in verse that true love can be trac'd:
Il ne doit point rêver pour trouver ce qu'il dit,	Th' impassion'd soul ill brooks dull rules of art:	It ought not to muse to find what it shall say;
Et tout arrangement de mesure et de rime	The labor'd measure, and the artful chime,	And, by measure and rhyme with deep study plac'd,
Ote toujours au cœur ce qu'il donna à l'esprit.	May show the wit: but prose unveils the heart.	What is given to wit, from the heart's ta'en away.

Here, I want to suggest that the *Lady's Magazine* is engaged in a form of imitative translation education or training. The suggestion that translation might be a form of literary apprenticeship is not new – Hilary Brown has argued for this interpretation of the translation work of both Benedikte Naubert (1756-1819) and Luise Gottsched (1713-62); Judith Phillips Stanton has argued the same in the case of Charlotte Smith's translation of *Manon Lescaut*, where she credits Smith's translation work with providing 'confidence to undertake a fiction of her own.'⁵⁸ Brown focusses on the two women of her respective studies, but this phenomenon is, the evidence in the *Lady's*

Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Female Sex (London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1811), XLII, p. 474.

⁵⁵ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, p. 528.

⁵⁶ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, pp. 527–28.

⁵⁷ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, pp. 474; 528.

⁵⁸ See particularly Hilary Brown, *Luise Gottsched the Translator*; also Brown, LXIII; and Hilary Brown, 'Luise Gottsched and the Reception of French Enlightenment Literature in Germany', in *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*, ed. by Gillian Dow, European Connections, 25 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 21–36; *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, ed. by Judith Phillips Stanton (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 3.

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Magazine suggests, much more widespread. At the end of the page where these extracts appear, the magazine provides another French epigram to translate for future numbers, and indeed both the anonymous contributor from North Petherton and W. E. junior write in to the journal on multiple occasions. This particular series appears to have spanned the length of 1811 and much of 1812, though other imitation or translation requests appear throughout the magazine's history. The magazine's commitment to the series, the deliberate positioning of submissions beside one another to invite comparison, and the active participation of the magazine's readership – at least six contributors are identifiable in one form or another – all speak to a network of reader-translators engaged in this apprenticeship.

Other interactions were seemingly trivial, such as the letter to the editor from 'Harriet' in January 1811 in which she requests assistance with the translation of the French-language motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'.⁵⁹ The subsequent reply from the obliging 'Alfred' in February, corrected her spelling of 'Honni', and provided two possible translations: 'Confusion attend the man who thinks ill of this', and what 'Alfred' terms the 'quaint and inelegant' option, 'Confusion be his/ who thinks ill of this'.⁶⁰ The situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that the phrase has more prominence in English than in French, does appear with the singular 'n' in English usage, and is probably best translated as a variation of what 'Alfred' calls the 'vulgar translation' of '*Evil be to him who evil thinks*'.⁶¹ This correspondent is, perhaps, guilty of a much greater ignorance than Harriet, who asked for clarification on the original motto, for 'Alfred' freely confesses to 'simply translating' the motto 'without entering into any disquisition respecting the occasion and origin' of the phrase.⁶² There are, then, two conclusions to be drawn from this exchange. Firstly, 'Alfred' is a notable example of the importance of context to the translator's role; in taking a purely linguistic approach, he gives an imperfect translation that fails to account for its usage, history, and English associations, not to mention the final condescending commentary on orthography.⁶³ He also falls afoul of the first principle of translation set out in Alexander Tytler's essay, explored in the introduction to this thesis, to give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work. Secondly, and more positively – despite the aforementioned shortcomings – the exchange between these two correspondents is a clear demonstration of the wider networks that

⁵⁹ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, p. 34.

⁶⁰ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, p. 85. The phrase is still in modern usage, notably in an English context as the motto of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and appears in the royal coat of arms of the United Kingdom.

⁶¹ *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, p. 85.

⁶² *Lady's Magazine*, XLII, p. 85.

⁶³ See Goodman, 'L'ortografe Des Dames: Gender and Language in the Old Regime' for a discussion on the power struggle at play concerning women's spelling.

I argue the *Lady's Magazine* created and facilitated, albeit here one between a man and a woman.

Indeed, a recent article by Whitney Mannies provides a way of thinking about the exchange facilitated by the *Lady's Magazine* that draws together the translations discussed above and the *salon* culture of the *Wonderful Magazine*. Working on periodicals of the early 1700s in France, Mannies suggests that periodicals as a form might be considered as a type of published transnational *salon*.⁶⁴ This conception of the periodical form strikes me as particularly appropriate to cross-Channel enquiry. While Mannies is acutely aware of the tensions between the predominantly oral culture of *salonnière* exchange and the comparatively exposing nature of the published text, the deliberately feminine (or perhaps feminised) space created by publications such as the *Lady's Magazine* affords a modicum of protection.⁶⁵ This is not to say that women were free from criticism in these spaces – the comments by 'Alfred' make this clear – rather that the publishing model of the *Lady's Magazine* appears to embody an attempt to marry the benefits of a cross-Channel networking ability with the protections against public censure that such networks needed to flourish. Importantly, this re-imagining of the periodical requires less active engagement and intention from its editors and authors. Instead, the focus is on the magazine as an artificially created *space* within which women (contributors, letter-writers, and authors) were able to converse. While the editorship of the magazine might, therefore, be viewed as playing the role of the chair or host to the *salon*, and may direct the topic of conversation, the reader-contributor is active in a multi-directional exchange with their contemporaries, rather than a one-way didacticism pressed upon them.

The periodical, then, becomes both a small- and large-scale conversational space, facilitating intimate exchanges between small groups as well as larger ones between a much larger readership. However, it is the malleable nature of this published *salon* that makes it most valuable. While most of the literary groups meeting in Paris, London, and other cultural centres were highly exclusive in their memberships – and thus did not drastically change at speed – the *Lady's Magazine* allows for a discussion in which participants can change much more frequently, and in greater numbers. Combining this flexibility in reader-contributor-membership with a distinctive secondary focus on translation and translated material, the *Lady's Magazine* permitted a mixing of conversational groupings that was simply impossible in the physically and socially constrained real world.

⁶⁴ Whitney Mannies, 'The Periodical as Transnational Salon: Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier's *L'Érudition Enjouée* (1703)', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 53.4 (2020), 667–83.

⁶⁵ See particularly Mannies, pp. 678–79. Mannies cites Antoine Lilti and Dena Goodman as two differing viewpoints on the intellectual status of *salonnières*, and their attitudes to publishing.

The *Correspondance Littéraire* (1753-93)

The *Correspondance Littéraire*, unlike the other periodical publications considered in this section, had a very small initial circulation. The manuscript newsletter – though such a term hardly does justice to the range of the journal – was designed to inform select members of the European aristocracy of current affairs in Paris and beyond, and was painstakingly copied by hand for each individual subscriber. There are several probable reasons for this method of distribution:

(1) Much of what was reported or printed in the *Correspondance Littéraire* was either defamatory, radical, or private correspondence, all unsuitable for the wide circulation implied (and fiscally required) by print.

(2) Not only was the *Correspondance Littéraire* copied by hand, but this was done across the French border to avoid the problems that circulation of the articles in (1) might pose with the French censor were print publication to follow.

(3) The need for secrecy, evident from the two previous points, is further emphasised by a final observation, that many of the subscribers to the *Correspondance Littéraire* were monarchs, heads of state, or other extremely high-ranking members of the aristocracy for whom intrigue and scandal could pose a significant threat.

No complete list of subscribers has yet been uncovered for the *Correspondance Littéraire*, however, a note to the subsequent 1829 print edition of the original manuscript run provides the following names: 'The Empress of Russia, the Queen of Sweden, the King of Poland, the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the hereditary Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princess of Nassau-Saarbrücken'.⁶⁶ There is some difficulty in ascertaining precisely who these people were due to changes in title-holder during the *Correspondance Littéraire's* lifetime, but they nonetheless represent an extraordinarily wealthy and powerful contingent of European political society. One currently absent name that can be added to this list is the Christian Friedrich Carl Alexander, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach

⁶⁶ The original French list can be found in Friedrich Melchior Grimm and Denis Diderot, *Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique et Critique de Grimm et de Diderot Depuis 1753 Jusqu'en 1790*, ed. by Jules-Antoine Taschereau, 16 vols (Paris: Furne, 1829), vol. I, ii-iii. Other suggested subscribers include Prince Frederick Henry Louis of Prussia, Gustav III of Sweden, the Margrave of Baden, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, but I have not been able to verify these names from primary sources. I include them here as a further demonstration of the class of subscriber to which Grimm's newsletter is addressed.

(1736-1806), whose manuscript copy of the *Correspondance Littéraire* was consulted for this thesis at the Historical Library of Paris [*Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris*] (BHVP). Importantly, this manuscript contains articles and correspondence that was subsequently excised from the first published print edition of the journal in 1812. In this case study I examine those contributions made by Louise d'Épinay, whose *Conversations d'Émilie* (1774) were considered in chapter two. A friend and then lover of Friedrich Melchoir von Grimm (1723-1807), the *Correspondance Littéraire's* chief editor for much of its life, Épinay often wrote pieces for the journal, both on her own and in collaboration with others, as well as assisting with the editorship of the work during Grimm's frequent and increasingly lengthy absences from France.

Before I move to an analysis of Épinay's contributions, however, it is worth exploring another aspect of the *Correspondance Littéraire* that underpins the possibility of Épinay's involvement beyond her literary merit (as yet unrecognised), her movement in literary circles, and her relationship with Grimm. In the mid-July instalment of 1771, the newsletter draws attention to the differing treatment of philosophers in England and France.

There are hardly but two countries in Europe where philosophy is cultivated, in France and in England. In England philosophers are honoured, respected, they rise to the task, and are buried with Kings [probably a reference to Westminster Abbey]. Does England find itself worse for this? In France we denounce them, banish them, persecute them, and oppress them with royal decrees, satires, and lampoons. There are those nonetheless who enlighten us and who maintain the honour of the nation. Am I not right to say that the French are children who throw stones at their teachers?⁶⁷

I highlight this particular extract on two counts. Firstly, to underscore that, far from the petulant cries of an aggrieved party who has perceived a slight to their intellectual endeavours, the note is intended to influence precisely the high-ranking men and women subscribers who were in a position to offer patronage to philosophers who were their subjects. By drawing comparisons to England, the traditional competitor in French-European discourse and the other major participant in enlightenment ideas, the *Correspondance Littéraire* emphasised the importance of philosophers to the status of the nation. Philosophers, here, are the guardians of a nation's

⁶⁷Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, 8-MS-3727, fols. 123^{rv}. Original French [Il n'y a guere que deux pays en Europe où l'on cultive la philosophie, en France et en Angleterre. En Angleterre les philosophes sont honorés, respectés, montent aux charges, sont enterrés avec les Rois. Voit-on que l'Angleterre s'en trouve plus mal pour cela ? En France on les décretes, on les bannit, on les persécute, on les accable de mandemens, de Satyres, de libelles. Ce sont eux cependant qui nous éclairent et qui soutiennent l'honneur de la nation. N'ai-je pas raison de dire que les Français sont des enfans qui jettent des pierres à leurs maitres ?].

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honour. It is interesting, then, to add another woman to the list of those claiming the title of 'philosopher'. I briefly discussed Mary Wollstonecraft's adoption of the title in chapter one, but there is another woman known by the title much closer to the *Correspondance Littéraire*. In a letter from Voltaire to Louise d'Épinay, dated 30 May 1768 and included in the Anspach manuscript at the BHVP (although not in the printed copies of the nineteenth century), he opens with the salutation 'my dear and respectable Philosopher' [ma chère et respectable Philosophe].⁶⁸ That the term is used by a male acquaintance – one with a significant literary reputation himself – coupled with the capitalisation of the title, is an important indicator of the privileged place Épinay holds in her circle of friends, and thus of her literary authority when speaking. This adoption of the masculine title is similar to the tactic used by Genlis: governor over governess. There is no feminine equivalent for philosopher in French or English, but the reclamation of the masculine term – evidenced by Voltaire's use of the feminine 'ma chère' – for a non-gendered, even feminised, usage is as significant here as it was for Genlis.⁶⁹

Épinay's own identity in this letter is concealed as 'Madame ***', however two pieces of context reveal her to be the recipient. Firstly, the letter itself recounts delivery of her letter to Denis Diderot (1713-84) by her husband, named as 'M. de Lalive', which alone would be sufficient for this particular piece. However, a second piece of evidence, found in the Anspach manuscript copy for 1775, reveals information that unlocks the otherwise inscrutable authorship of other pieces. A short, handwritten note, apparently contemporary as the writing matches at least a section of the manuscript, reads:

The articles marked by a * are by the usual author of these pages [i.e. Grimm]. The articles marked by two ** are by Mr Meister who wrote the correspondence during the years 1773 and 1774. The articles marked by three *** are by Madame *** who supplied many during the years 1773 and 1774. Where there are other articles, their authors will be named.⁷⁰

Taken together, these pieces of evidence reveal which articles have been authored as a result of Épinay's own thinking. Since Ruth Plaut Weinreb's early list of work associated with Épinay – and her list is not more precise in its rationale for inclusion than association – scholarship on the

⁶⁸ BHVP, 8-MS-3724, fol. 99^v.

⁶⁹ 'Philosophe' in French was a masculine noun until the 9th (current) edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, which updated the 1935 edition.

⁷⁰ BHVP, 8-MS-3731, fol. 2^r. Original French [Les articles marqués * sont de l'auteur ordinaire de ces feuilles. Les articles marqués de deux ** sont de Monsieur Meister qui a fait la correspondance pendant les années 1773 et 1774. Les articles marqués de trois *** sont de Madame *** qui en a fourni plusieurs pendant les années 1773 et 1774. Quand il y aura d'autres articles, les auteurs seront nommés.]

Correspondance Littéraire has advanced, thanks to the painstaking work of scholars such as Ulla Kölving, the editor of the critical edition of the journal, currently in production.⁷¹ Thanks to the excisions of the first editors of the print-version of the journal, particularly Maurice Tourneux, Mélinna Caron argues that Épinay's participation in the production of the journal has been 'long underestimated [longtemps sous-estimé]'.⁷² Caron provides an updated list of Épinay's contributions, omitting those addressed to her or about her in favour of those which can be wholly or partially attributed to her pen.⁷³ However, questions remain surrounding the exact authorship of many of the articles in the *Correspondance Littéraire*, despite significant attempts in scholarship to uncover more information on the many writers involved with Grimm's publication.⁷⁴ It is unclear how many of the subscribers would have known Épinay's identity, although her own acquaintance with Catherine II of Russia suggests that at least some may have possessed this knowledge.⁷⁵

I want to turn, however, to one particular article written by Épinay for the *Correspondance Littéraire* that does not appear in printed editions of the nineteenth century. Penned for the first instalment of April 1772, Épinay wrote a review-response to Antoine-Léonard Thomas' *Essay on the character, mores, and spirit of women* [*Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs, et l'esprit des femmes*] (1772). I choose this particular piece primarily to demonstrate Épinay's reclamation of a discussion about women from men, but also because it brings my argument back to questions about roles and education for women in literature of the period in the context of periodical networks. The piece begins by opining that 'there is no work which demands a larger variety in tone, a greater flexibility and diversity of emphases than an essay on women', with the almost predictable continuation that 'the style of M. Thomas is unfortunately systematic and monotonous, and with these defects it was impossible that the *Essay* he has published [...] would have a certain success.'⁷⁶ Épinay's criticisms brook no argument, continuing that in a work where

⁷¹ Weinreb, pp. 163–66; *Correspondance Littéraire, 1753-1763*, ed. by Ulla Kölving (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre internationale d'étude du XVIIIe siècle, 2006). Subsequent parts of the project are in preparation, with the intention of covering the period 1753-73.

⁷² Mélinna Caron, *Écriture et Vie de Société: Les Correspondances Littéraires de Louise d'Épinay (1755-1783)* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2017), p. 46.

⁷³ Caron, *Écriture et Vie de Société: Les Correspondances Littéraires de Louise d'Épinay (1755-1783)*, pp. 49–53.

⁷⁴ For a comprehensive early look at scholarship on the journal, including a reference to Épinay as a 'permanent collaborator' (p. 21), see *La Correspondance Littéraire de Grimm et de Meister (1754-1813)*, ed. by Bernard Bray, Jochen Schlobach, and Jean Varloot, Actes et Colloques, 19 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1976).

⁷⁵ Catherine II, it will be remembered, bestowed a pension upon Épinay and named her granddaughter Emily a Lady of Honour in recognition of her educational work.

⁷⁶ BHVP, 8-MS-3728, fols. 61^r-63^v. Original French [Il n'y a point d'ouvrage qui exige une plus grande variété de ton, une plus grande flexibilité et diversité d'accens qu'un essai sur les Femmes] [Le stile de M. Thomas

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the support of women would be 'indispensable' [indispensable], Thomas succeeds only in making them 'bored' [ennuyées].⁷⁷ The middle of the work is 'very boring and very languid' [fort ennuyeux et fort languissant], while the whole is, 'in fact, very tasteless' [en effet d'une grande insipidité].⁷⁸ Épinay's response takes the themes of Thomas' essay and widens their approach and appeal, asserting that 'in every country the courage of women, the calibre of their spirit and their soul is in proportion to the courage of men', quipping that 'with these few words M. Thomas would save himself several hundred pages of prattling, and spare us a book of which we had no need.'⁷⁹ As the mediator of Thomas' text for a select group of high-ranking individuals, many of whom are women, Épinay's intervention appears particularly suited to this female contingent of the journal's readership.

A strongly worded critique of Thomas' work, Épinay leaves off her own commentary after two pages of scathing rebuke, offering the remaining space to Diderot, with whom she authored a number of articles in the newsletter. The two return to the subject of Thomas' essay later the same year in July, where Épinay once again introduces a longer piece by Diderot titled *Sur les Femmes* [*On Women*].⁸⁰ Despite the suggestion that Épinay is merely a blurb writer for male essayists here, her joint articles were frequently more collaborative affairs, as her correspondence with Ferdinando Galiani (1728-87) makes clear. He makes extensive reference to an exchange of works between them and, in a letter in January 1772 that aptly demonstrates the friendship between the two writers, asks 'What is your head crammed with at the moment? Where are my *théolo-philo-logi-physi-maté-politico-morale* essays? Where are they?'⁸¹ It is difficult to give an exact translation for Galiani's compound adjective here, but it is clear, I think, that he and Épinay corresponded on matters ranging from theology to politics and philosophy to morality, and much more besides.⁸² Given the scale of Épinay's involvement with the *Correspondance Littéraire*, it is clear that her framing of the articles included in the periodical was more strategic than formulaic.

Épinay, then, even if only known to her readers here as *Madame ****, was still a recognisable name within the *Correspondance Littéraire* – a regular correspondent of sorts.

est malheureusement méthodique et monotone, et avec ces défauts il était impossible que l'*Essai* qu'il vient de publier [...] eût un certain succès.].

⁷⁷ BHVP, 8-MS-3728, fol. 61^r.

⁷⁸ BHVP, 8-MS-3728, fol. 61^r.

⁷⁹ BHVP, 8-MS-3728, fols. 61^{rv}. Original French [en tout pays la valeur des femmes, la trempe de leur esprit et de leur ame est en proportion de la valeur des hommes] [Avec ce peu de mots M. Thomas se serait épargné quelques centaines de pages de bavardage et à nous un livre dont nous n'avions aucun besoin.]

⁸⁰ BHVP, 8-MS-3728, fols. 94-98^r.

⁸¹ BHVP, 8-MS-3729, fol. 16^r. Original French [de quoi es-tu farcie à présent ? Où sont mes dissertations théolo-philo-logi-physi-maté-politico-morales ? Où sont elles ?]

⁸² For a full examination of the correspondence of these two writers, see Steegmuller.

Across the period of her contribution, her readership would have grown to recognise her articles and, perhaps, appreciate her wit – in 1771 she gives a scathing review which reduces one poor publication to being 'quite useful for a case of insomnia'.⁸³ Yet, despite the ability (both now and then) to link Épinay's *articles* together, there is *no link* between her work and her authorship of that work in the review of *Conversations d'Émilie* in 1774. No author is given for the review, and no author of the work is mentioned – the first edition was published anonymously – but the lack of attribution in this private medium is unusual. One might have expected a reference to her asterisked moniker as a form of compromise. The abdication of authorship is all the more surprising for her outspokenness elsewhere under the guise of her pseudonym, and the potential benefits that such a link might provide as a boost to the work's popularity abroad.⁸⁴

The *Correspondance Littéraire* is not a large network builder, in the sense that it does not connect a numerous readership, nor a particularly great number of authors. It does, however, represent a truly pan-European reach in its geographically diverse list of subscribers. In contrast to the two other periodicals explored in this chapter, the *Correspondance Littéraire* is less directly concerned with education. I chose Épinay's engagement with an essay on women for this reason; though not education *per se*, the work is certainly engaged in discussions about women's lives and activities, their characters and their morals – the same objects of much educational literature. More tangential, certainly, Épinay's mediation of this piece is nonetheless important as an instance of network dissemination. Indeed, in this more closely knit network of European leaders, the concept of the periodical as a transnational *salon* is perhaps an especially apt descriptor. Retaining the protections of privacy afforded by this closed network, it is only upon publication in the early nineteenth century that these connections and discussions became publicly debated objects.

The *Guardian of Education* (1802-1806)

Sarah Trimmer, the diligent and tireless force behind the publication of the *Guardian of Education*, already enjoyed considerable reputational success before the publication of her periodical. Unlike the other periodicals considered here, then, it is not so much the periodical that enhanced Trimmer's reputation and standing as an author, but rather her own pre-existing status as a trusted authority on education, and particularly on children's literature, that boosted

⁸³ BHVP, 8-MS-3727, fol. 144^v. Original French [assez utile en cas d'insomnie].

⁸⁴ As I have previously noted, editions were published in Germany, England, Spain, America, and Russia. There were a number of German and Russian subscribers to the *Correspondance Littéraire*.

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the reputation and standing of the new periodical. Matthew Grenby, in his 2002 edition of Trimmer's *Guardian of Education*, which is used as the reference text for this thesis, argues that it is precisely Trimmer's reputation as 'the doyenne of children's literature which enabled the *Guardian of Education* to succeed.'⁸⁵ Grenby credits Trimmer as an author who 'did much to focus minds on educational best practice at a crucial juncture in its history', and the *Guardian of Education* as an incorporation of 'her most fully developed thoughts on education, on children's literature and on many other allied subjects', along with the thoughts of many other prominent contemporary authors.⁸⁶ So esteemed was Trimmer and her *Guardian of Education* that other publications 'withdrew before it', with the *British Critic* writing that 'there is a separate, and a very excellent work, conducted by the fittest person living for it, to which that department [reviewing children's educational works] naturally falls.'⁸⁷ And yet, although Trimmer herself has attracted a good deal of scholarship from academics working in the fields of children's literature, education, and religion, studies that primarily consider her periodical are far fewer in number, despite the contemporary accolades which Grenby uses to demonstrate her importance. Penny Brown, for example, mentions Trimmer in a number of different contexts in her book-length study of childhood, but the *Guardian of Education* receives only a single mention, and there only in the context of evangelism. So too Alison Adburgham, whose study on women's magazines notes Trimmer's early attempts in the *Family Magazine* (1788), alongside a great many other lesser known publications, but does not even mention her *Guardian of Education*.⁸⁸ My own consideration responds to this oversight, particularly in arguing for the role of the magazine in forming a point of reference for mothers and guardians looking to educate their children, and fostering a network between the authors and publications that Trimmer chose to feature.

The *Guardian of Education* is organised into discrete sections, allowing Trimmer to draw important distinctions between the books and ideas she chose to include. I focus predominantly on three of these sections: the 'Systems of Education Examined', which offers Trimmer's opinions on more theoretically oriented educational texts; 'Books for Children'; and 'Books for Young Persons'. July 1804 sees the introduction of a fourth section, 'On School Books', which is also of interest. Trimmer is meticulous in the rules for her different sections, categorising books 'without

⁸⁵ Sarah Trimmer, *The Guardian of Education: A Periodical Work*, ed. by M. O. Grenby, 5 vols (Bristol: Thoemmes, 2002), vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], ix.

⁸⁶ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], v; x.

⁸⁷ *British Critic*, cited in Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], xv. Grenby does, however, note that both of these periodicals were under the same publishing house, so a degree of 'puffing', whereby eighteenth century publications deliberately (and perhaps falsely) inflated the reputation of other works, is to be expected here.

⁸⁸ Penny Brown, *The Captured World: The Child and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing in England* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993); Adburgham.

regard to *title pages*, which profess to have '*Young Persons of five, or six years old*', and instead taking the authorial privilege to adopt the position that all are '*Children, till they are fourteen, and young persons till they are at least twenty-one*'.⁸⁹ This is particularly important in light of the changing definitions of childhood and the emergence of a concept of adolescence that I explored in chapter two, and the attempted distinctions made in titles.⁹⁰ Significantly, Trimmer classes the books she reviews based on her own pedagogical methods, and thus the age group to which she believes them appropriate, rather than any arbitrary external influence, or indeed another author's expressed view. Thus, this distinction is also relevant to my consideration of networks – Trimmer's alternative designations provide the possibility of new and unexpected connections between authors and publications, which might otherwise be considered under separate categories. Trimmer herself was well connected with a number of educational figures to whose work she would have had easy access for the purposes of a review, but, much like the *Lady's Magazine*, which so successfully formed a relationship with its readers, so too the *Guardian of Education* benefitted from its readership, who sent in many books for consideration in the periodical.⁹¹

The connections established by Trimmer's work initially appear less international than a study of the kind I undertake here might hope; she did not consider foreign-language publications for review in the *Guardian of Education*. However, translations did feature in her essays considering educational history, and the lack of French-language content for review did not preclude Trimmer from an extensive engagement with continental ideas and publications in these opinion pieces. Indeed, one suspects that foreign-language publications, and the connections between British and European authors, would have suffered at her hands, given her belief that a 'torrent of infidelity' had 'poured upon the literary world' through 'the channel of France', and latterly the German language too, where the 'poison' was taken 'more immediately from the fountain head'.⁹² In one dismissal, Rousseau is neatly and summarily rebuked for causing 'the greatest injury the youth of this nation ever received'.⁹³ Two French women, however, are given space within Trimmer's pages, largely favourably: Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, and Jeanne-Marie LePrince de Beaumont. Of the French women a critic might expect to find in a discussion of

⁸⁹ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], pp. 65-6. Original emphasis.

⁹⁰ See chapter two, pp. 58-63.

⁹¹ For a list of Trimmer's acquaintance, see Grenby's introductory essay in Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], xvii.

⁹² Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], p. 15.

⁹³ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], p. 10. While Trimmer does offer a more extensive analysis of Rousseau's educational work, I do not consider it here, in line with the aims of this thesis.

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children's education, Genlis and Beaumont sit at the top of the list – an indication that Trimmer, while not reviewing French work, was aware of its influence and its key proponents.

In the majority, Genlis is praised for her educational plan, although Trimmer advises parents to 'sift' the work 'thoroughly', for '*tares are mixed with the wheat*', and many of her objections relate to the need to correct an education 'entirely *French*', from which English women are supposed 'for the most part exempt'.⁹⁴ She acknowledges the socio-economic situation of Genlis' pupils, suggesting, as I discussed in chapter one with regard to Maria Edgeworth, Elizabeth Appleton and Ellenor Fenn, the substitution of prints for paintings, and rather than a castle devoted to education, she suggests simply one apartment.⁹⁵ The chief objection Trimmer raises with Genlis' work is that it is 'too artificial', a description with which Charlotte Jane St Maur would also charge her some fifteen years later.⁹⁶ This artificiality lies in falsities and constructed circumstances for Adèle, which Trimmer likens to the system of Rousseau rather than the 'principles of Religion, on which the work is professedly founded.'⁹⁷ Herein lies the tension in Trimmer's review. Many of the *Guardian of Education's* reviews object to a lack of religion or religious morality in educational texts for children – indeed it is on this very point that Trimmer cannot wholly approve Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* – and yet *Adèle et Théodore* is explicitly religious. The difference, of course, is in the denomination of the religion, Trimmer's Anglicanism versus Genlis' Catholicism, betrayed in her comment that 'in some instances the practice recommended is not, according to *our* ideas, consistent with the principles of Christian morality.'⁹⁸ Yet, the surprising element to Trimmer's review is rather the *lack* of objection to *Adèle et Théodore's* Catholic foundation – no denomination is ever given a name, and allusions to Catholicism are bound up with references to '*French*' ideas, which might alternatively refer to a host of other French stereotypes. Indeed, even the advice to 'sift' the work, reminiscent of Edgeworth's advice to make use of scissors and other censorship aides, is entirely commonplace. Trimmer is able to include a work whose objective she lauds, but whose specifics are at time problematically opposed to her own views.

What makes Trimmer's *Guardian of Education* stand apart in a crowded periodical marketplace, however, is the singular rigorous attention paid to the development of educational practice across a number of decades. This focus is sufficiently narrow that, without the turn-of-the-century vogue for educational advancement, it might have rendered the periodical too

⁹⁴ Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 302. Original emphasis.

⁹⁵ Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 297.

⁹⁶ See chapter three, p. X.

⁹⁷ Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 301.

⁹⁸ Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 297. My emphasis.

specialist for financial viability. It is made possible by Trimmer's own extensive knowledge, combined with her sole editorship of the work. So it is that Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798) populates four issues of the *Guardian of Education*'s 'Systems of Education' section, a weighty forty-two pages of analysis.⁹⁹ Trimmer engages with Edgeworth's publication on two fronts, its educational principles and its exclusion of religion. On the former she is 'ready to allow' it is an 'ingenious composition', which 'abounds with practical observations', and 'practical hints', but on the latter, she writes, 'it would be inconsistent with the object of our present undertaking, to express ourselves satisfied with a book on education from which religion is totally excluded.'¹⁰⁰ Trimmer is guided in her reviews by her deeply held convictions on Christianity, and the centrality she believes it should take in any child's education. However, in a demonstration of the seriousness with which Trimmer takes her advisory role in the *Guardian of Education*, she admits that the first half dozen pages of her review were written before she knew there was a second edition, in which Edgeworth addresses her concerns. Ultimately she remains unconvinced by the lack of religion in Edgeworth's plan, and sets out her mission to show that, using Edgeworth's own words against her, a system of education might be written 'so as to meet with general approbation.'¹⁰¹ What follows in the subsequent three issues is a series of extract-and-response arguments where Trimmer methodically works her way through Edgeworth's chapters, revealing the deficiencies as she sees them. Perhaps predictably, almost all of these deficiencies concern the lack of religious pretext in Edgeworth's pedagogy. What makes these objections noteworthy, however, is their comparison with Trimmer's essay on Hannah More's *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799). Although Trimmer does not see some of More's comments 'in the same light as the pious and justly celebrated author of them', she nonetheless is 'so fully convinced of the importance and justice of her remarks in general' that the *Guardian of Education* would be 'guilty of blameable omission' should they pass the book by.¹⁰² More, then, by virtue of her reputation as a pious author, appears to be given a leeway in her comments and publications that Edgeworth, a writer who relegated religion to a private concern – remember she does not suggest that religion be avoided entirely, only that it is not her place as a writer on education to mandate one belief over another – is denied.

I am, here, possibly at risk of presenting the tension between Trimmer and Edgeworth in too serious a light. The two writers had much to agree on, and Trimmer does offer her approval in no small number of instances across her examination of *Practical Education*. The moment of

⁹⁹ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802] and 2 [1803], I, pp. 490-8; II, pp. 30-43; 92-101; 163-71.

¹⁰⁰ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], p. 490.

¹⁰¹ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], p. 498. The quotation is taken from the advertisement to the 1801 second edition of *Practical Education*, discussed in chapter one of this thesis.

¹⁰² Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 481.

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greatest similarity, however, is found in their mutual interest in providing appropriate books for children. One of the foundational reasons for the existence of the *Guardian of Education*, Trimmer writes that she and Edgeworth 'entirely agree' on the dearth of literature that a parent may safely entrust to young minds and that 'too great circumspection cannot be used in respect to the books which are put in the hands of children'.¹⁰³ Statements of this kind continue to reverberate in educational literature, and only a slight variation is found over a decade later in Elizabeth Appleton's *Private Education* (1815): 'the choice of books for youth is a matter of such difficulty and importance, that one cannot consider it too seriously'.¹⁰⁴ Elaine Chalus has shown that Appleton's educational precepts draw extensively from Trimmer; I might therefore suggest that Appleton's comment is in fact precisely an alteration of Trimmer's and not merely a coincidental confluence of opinion.¹⁰⁵

Without data on the circulation and readership of the *Guardian of Education*, it is difficult to fully assess the impact of Trimmer's periodical on contemporary educational writers and mothers. Certainly she was a formidable authority on pedagogy, and Grenby gives an estimated circulation of 1500 to 3500 copies which would put the *Guardian of Education* in line with other small periodicals.¹⁰⁶ Reading practices in the eighteenth century mean that the readership of the work was probably slightly larger, accounting for the sharing, loaning, or circulation of copies between multiple people within communities. What is clear, however, from an overarching view of those featured in the work, is that Trimmer continued, consciously or otherwise, to build and reinforce a network of female authors on education, whose names appeared alongside one another in her *Guardian of Education*. Many of those names I have considered in this thesis: Dorothy Kilner, Ellenor Fenn, Priscilla Wakefield, Mary Pilkington, Sarah Pennington, Hester Chapone, Anna Barbauld, and the women discussed above. Many more featured who I have not examined: Elizabeth Sommerville, Elizabeth Gunning, Sarah Weatly, and Elizabeth Helme to name a few. Gunning and Helme were predominantly translators (though predominantly novels for Gunning, and from German for Helme), and the *Guardian of Education* notes that Gunning's work is at least in part a compilation, taking one (and possibly more) text(s) from Arnaud Berquin's *Children's Friend* (1782-3) [*L'ami des Enfants*].¹⁰⁷ Both Gunning and Helme appear only once in the *Guardian of Education*, but Helme's entry is especially revealing. Trimmer writes that '[the author], we have lately learnt, is Mrs. not Miss Helme', adding an asterisk note to explain that

¹⁰³ Trimmer, vol. 2 [1803], p. 170.

¹⁰⁴ Appleton, p. 232.

¹⁰⁵ E. H. Chalus, *Appleton [Married Name Lachlan], Elizabeth (c.1790-1849)* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/51773>>.

¹⁰⁶ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], x.

¹⁰⁷ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], pp. 318-9.

Helme is therefore 'the *experienced* Mother of a large family of children, and particularly qualified by that circumstance as a writer for children and youth.'¹⁰⁸ Helme's practice as mother, and therefore educator, is here presented as her greatest qualification; Mrs Helme benefits from a long line of patronage and authority derived from motherhood in a way that Miss Helme never could. In what might be seen as a remarkable coincidence, Elizabeth Somerville is in fact the eldest daughter of Elizabeth Helme. Four of Somerville's works are reviewed by Trimmer, three in September 1802, and one in June 1806, the issue before her mother features. Only one of her works receives a negative commentary, a 'direct novel', or, as Trimmer prefers to call it, 'one of those tales of terror'.¹⁰⁹ No mention is made of the connection between these two women, but certainly it must have been gratifying to Elizabeth the mother to see the results of her educational efforts so rewarded in Trimmer's other reviews of Elizabeth the daughter.

My consideration of these women here is deliberately brief; their inclusion is not intended to provide detailed analysis of their literary output, but rather to offer additional evidence of the network of female writers that the *Guardian of Education* helped in large part to nurture. Trimmer, by virtue of her chosen topic – educational literature for children – perhaps had recourse to include more female authors in her periodical than her contemporaries. Yet her own experience as a mother and educator, coupled with her convictions of women's unique suitability for that role, perhaps predispose her to a greater inclusion of women writers than their presence in the literary marketplace might otherwise invite. Thus the *Guardian of Education*, more than publications explicitly aimed at women such as the *Lady's Magazine* considered earlier in this chapter, fosters a sense of literary community among the women it chose to review. One must not forget that Trimmer was highly selective in her choices of texts for inclusion. The *Guardian of Education* forewent its claims to universality early in its history, and the move from monthly to quarterly in 1804 does not appear to have allowed an expansion in the number of books reviewed. Accepting that Trimmer's decision to include a text for review, then, is prompted by either her own reading or that of a judicious correspondent, one can build a remarkable picture of this female community network. Whether cultivating connections that already existed, such as the mother and daughter Elizabeths or Trimmer's personal acquaintance with Dorothy Kilner and Hannah More, or creating new links between pedagogical writers simply by including them together in one place for the first time, or making comparisons between texts otherwise unrelated, Trimmer actively constructed a space in which women conversed with other women on the topic of education. Had not 'various avocations' and a considerable health burden forced

¹⁰⁸ Trimmer, vol. 5 [1806], p. 417.

¹⁰⁹ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], p. 300.

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Trimmer to discontinue the publication, despite her intentions to continue ad hoc, a great many more women might have benefitted from inclusion and exposure in the pages of the *Guardian of Education*.

The debt owed by the 'rising generation' is the main thrust of the small number of reviews of Trimmer's work. Aside from the note in the *British Critic* noted at the outset of this section, Trimmer's work does not appear to have attracted significant notice in the mainstream reviewing press. She did, however, merit an extensive consideration in the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review, Or, A Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge* (1801-1808), which devoted a ten-page review to her work in two parts across volumes in 1803 and 1804, and a further page in 1805 upon the publication of Trimmer's new series of the periodical.¹¹⁰ The *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, as the name suggests, was decidedly religious in its content and reviewing; its focus is on Trimmer's Christian education rather than her wider influence on children's learning. Nonetheless, particular mention is made of the dangers of the 'specious arguments of false philosophy' across the Channel (a reference to Rousseau, among others), and Trimmer's success in 'comparing the progress and effects' of European educational ideas with the 'present state of education in England'.¹¹¹ Indeed, the second part of their review goes as far as saying 'we are free to confess, that before we read the *Guardian of Education*, we *only* esteemed Mrs. Trimmer as the *best* compiler of religious tracts for the use of the young and unlearned of our time; but we have to acknowledge that we had vastly under-rated her talents.'¹¹² They continue thus:

We can assure such of our readers as are blessed with children, that they cannot introduce a more useful work into the dressing-rooms of their wives; and we do most ardently hope that not a boarding-school in the kingdom will be without it: the masters and mistresses of those seminaries cannot have a better directory in the choice of books fit for their pupils: and if we were to set up a brief test for judging of boarding-schools – it should be this – do you take in, and are you guided in your selection of books, by Mrs. Trimmer's '*Guardian of Education*?'¹¹³

¹¹⁰ *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review, Or, A Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge*, 8 vols (London: Printed by Barnard & Sultzter, 1801), vol. 5 [1803], pp. 385-90; vol. 6 [1804], pp. 273-8; vol. 8 [1805], pp. 226-7. This final review is somewhat self-congratulatory; the magazine credits itself with a 'considerably' increased demand for Trimmer's periodical, though no data exists to support this.

¹¹¹ *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review, Or, A Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge*, vol. 5 [1803], p. 389.

¹¹² *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review, Or, A Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge*, vol. 6 [1804], p. 277. Original emphasis.

¹¹³ *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review, Or, A Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge*, vol. 6 [1804], p. 278.

There are two points of note here. Firstly, that Trimmer is given an absolute authority on appropriate children's literature that extends from the homes of judicious mothers right through to the nation's schools. Trimmer, here, is in effect given the power to set a national curriculum long before such a concept bore fruit. Of course, not all schools did follow Trimmer's recommendations; nor did all families read as she prescribed. The *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine's* recommendation remains based upon Trimmer's religious selection criteria. The other point of distinction in this review, however, is at odds with the prevailing example of this thesis. In suggesting that the *Guardian of Education* be placed in the dressing-rooms of their wives, the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine* makes clear that its readership is a male one. While it is still mothers who thus dispense the education that Trimmer recommends, their oversight is one step removed from a contemporary who read Trimmer's periodical of their own volition.

Elsewhere, Trimmer's periodical – and by extension her name – was included (twice) in a number of recommendations to Lindley Murray's *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners* (23rd ed., 1815, [1795]), which had appeared in the July and August 1803 instalments of the *Guardian of Education*.¹¹⁴ In addition to cementing Trimmer's reputation as an authority on educational texts, the text also demonstrates a posthumous continuation of that authority. Indeed, the success of Trimmer's endeavour can be seen across many of the texts of the early nineteenth century where she is the authoritative linking character. A memoir in the 1812 volume of the *Monthly Repertory of English Literature* (1807-1818) credits her with a character that 'became known and applauded, not only in every part of her native country, but also in some of its most distant colonies.'¹¹⁵ That this periodical was purportedly published in Paris is significant, as it seeks to expand Trimmer's influence beyond Britain and its colonies – this latter evidenced in the Albany edition of Murray's work discussed above.

The longevity of Trimmer's influence might also be applied to her network building activities, which perhaps ought to have been visible from the outset. In one of her first essays on the systems of education she promises to write upon the subject 'systematically', but importantly not chronologically, so that her appraisal can 'step backwards and forwards in the annals of time, in order to produce works which best suit the purpose of the day, without regard to the date of the performance.'¹¹⁶ That it is in eschewing traditional chronologies, whether ancient to modern or vice versa, that Trimmer begins her networking endeavour is significant. I have discussed how Trimmer used her own definitions of youth to group her reviews for children and young persons,

¹¹⁴ Lindley Murray, *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners*, 23rd edition (Albany: Printed and sold by E. and E. Hosford, 1815), pp. 339-346 (p. 339; 343).

¹¹⁵ *The Monthly Repertory of English Literature* (Paris: Printed by Belin, 1812), xiv, pp. 118-121 (p. 119).

¹¹⁶ Trimmer, vol. 1 [May to Dec 1802], pp. 49-50. Original emphasis.

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another traditional distinction that she discards, as well as the ways in which her name, her journal's title, and her brand as educational authority were used by herself and others. The novel and extensive network that Trimmer is able to facilitate, then, is a direct result of her re-imagining of the categories that distinguish her texts. By changing the boundaries between works and re-creating them in an alternative configuration, by removing the geographical and temporal distinctions that separated authors and bringing them into conversation with one another, Trimmer offers her reader new ways of thinking about women's educational publications and the role they might play in their own intellectual life.

Re-imagining Networks

This chapter has been concerned with the varying consideration of pedagogical works and educational networks facilitated by the periodical press. Namely, there is a gradual but distinctive move from private writing on women's education, confined to manuscript circulation and shared advice passed through families, toward an active participation in a more public, national, and at times international, discourse on women's pedagogy. Periodical publications, many of which were explicit in their intentions to attract a female audience, aided this shift in audience. The longevity of the *Lady's Magazine* is a strong example of the successful move for women's writing into the public domain, while also demonstrative of a turn to the international. Opening up the possibility of French-language networks through their reader-response contributors, the *Lady's Magazine* provided a literary apprenticeship of sorts that trained its readers in translation, but more importantly in the analytical methods of reading that good translation requires. This transformation in outlook, and the ability of women like Sarah Trimmer to undertake periodical publication projects on the merit of their own reputations, drives a dramatic expansion in the possibilities for women to forge connections across geographic, class, and national boundaries. It is, I argue, precisely this network, one without the need for physical acquaintance, which fuels the increasing contributions of female authors in cross-Channel discourses on pedagogy. The collapsing of numerous distinctions – those mentioned above in Trimmer's work, as well as between authors and contributors in the *Lady's Magazine* – result in a collection of work that can be reformed according to diverse new categories. This chapter has been both observer and participant in this exchange, noting the success of Trimmer in using this method to create connections between women, but also in bringing three disparate periodicals into conversation with one another. It is precisely this re-imagining of networks that permits the creation of an alternative female historical narrative on women's education.

Conclusion

I began this thesis with a quotation from the *Lady's Magazine* describing a dream vision of a re-imagined Ladies' Library that privileged women's contributions to literature. An indication of the long-standing feminist tradition of creating women-centred narratives within which this thesis is situated, I have both adopted and adapted this framework. My subsequent arguments have built a picture of women's educational networks and furnished the shelves of a newly imagined library, explicitly international, and designed to collect the work of women writers working across Anglo-French linguistic and cultural borders. This library is educational – in perhaps all senses of the word – and the works it collects are as much a resource to shift the focus of academic study, as they are a reflection of women's pedagogical literature of the period. Notably expanding the scope beyond 'Pratilla's' Anglo-centric focus, I have made the argument for an alternative historical narrative of women's educational discourse that is cross-Channel in nature, and which is demonstrated through the metaphorical library I have assembled. 'My' new library – though the possessive, perhaps, does a disservice to the authors contained within – is not the first of its kind; I have drawn particularly on the work and edited collections of Hilary Brown, Valérie Cossy, Gillian Dow, and Suzan van Dijk, all of whom bring together academic work on women writers. This thesis has thrown the net wider, attempting to bring together Anglo-French women writers on education within a single analysis focussed on their participation in cross-Channel networks. This is certainly not to devalue these important single-author studies and collections, which achieve a depth of knowledge on individual writers that my approach precludes. Rather, it is to emphasise the benefits of a comparatist approach at the thematic, as opposed to the authorial, level. This conclusion, then, draws together the disparate threads of individual chapters to shade in the outline that I have thus far painted. Further, it will offer a commentary on the future possibilities presented by the approaches I have utilised here, as well as on the potential hurdles that such a method will need to overcome.

Links between authors on each side of the Channel are now well-documented; I have cited many such studies in this thesis. At its core, this project aimed to build these individually-noted connections into a demonstration of wider networking among Anglo-French women writing on pedagogy. It has charted and documented some less obvious and less tangible connections between British and French women writing on education, using their commonality and the concept of 'weak ties' to argue for their wider significance. The thesis has been underpinned by the notion of translation as an important, indeed key, literary form for women writing generally, more widely on education, and perhaps especially for those offering commentary on pedagogical

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theory. Thus, while Melesina Trench (1768-1827) condemns the 'paucity of French works fit for young women' in her diary of 1812, her very ability to condemn that deficiency is born of the 'convenience' she finds in 'having been well taught French', related to her husband in 1805.¹ Indeed, Trench goes further still in her letter, boldly asserting that 'It is certain, the advantage of those branches of education rigid moralists consider as only ornamental, such as foreign languages, &c., are much oftener felt in life than it appears possible they could be when the matter is theoretically considered.'² Chapters one and two of this thesis engaged extensively with the distinction between theoretical and practical texts on education, although the distinction might be collapsed to varying degrees in the cases of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis and Maria Edgeworth.³ Here, my focus is different. Trench's positioning of foreign languages as a useful educational skill, rather than an ornamental accomplishment, is one example of a wider prevalence of French language skills among British women. While the introduction made the case for the power of the translator's preface in women's writing endeavours, this thesis has thus far only implicitly demonstrated the importance of language skills in the transfer of educational ideas across the Channel.

The women considered in the course of this thesis overwhelmingly document their reading experiences with foreign texts as engagements with the French *originals* rather than the translations. While translations certainly appear in many of my case studies, and many of the authors tracked their publications abroad, women from the young Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur all the way to the contributors to the *Lady's Magazine* write of reading and writing in French. Conducting the research contained within this thesis consequently required an acknowledgement of the level of women's (and men's) language abilities; the foreign language skill of English (and to a lesser extent French) elites is abundantly clear from both the primary and critical sources I have cited throughout this thesis. Embracing this viewpoint permits a wider form of scholarship, one that recognises that a French or English text might be read abroad without the need for a translation, and that the existence of a translation does not necessarily imply that this is the edition with which a reader interacted.

One of the most important aspects of this thesis has been its focus on non-fictional pedagogical texts. While some fiction does appear, and I do not wish to diminish the importance of critical studies on the educational novel, which have done much to pave the way for this project, my insistence on a primarily non-fictional corpus has demonstrated the value of

¹ Trench, pp. 259; 174.

² Trench, p. 174.

³ See my arguments in chapter one.

engagements with less critically mainstream literature.⁴ While Diego Saglia suggests that the volume of work on the novel in the period precludes the necessity for more, I have shown that other literatures still have much to reveal, both in conversation with canonical texts, and outside of that literary sphere.⁵ Put another way, in relegating fiction to a marginal role I have been able to explore a number of contemporarily mainstream, but often critically neglected, publications on women's education in Britain and France.

Manuscripts, by inclusion and extension, have also benefitted from this wider-ranging corpus. The two major manuscripts given intensive consideration here, previously unstudied, serve to underline two important points. Firstly, they are indicative of a wealth of extant material that has yet to receive widespread (or indeed any) academic attention. Moreover, the remaining unstudied material is not neglected because of a lack of quality or interest, but rather a seeming lack of knowledge or visibility. Secondly, they have provided tantalising hints of much wider women's educational networks than the two manuscripts on their own are able to provide.

(Re)Tracing Networks

This project has always been primarily a search for women's cross-Channel networks, and an attempt to uncover and document those exchanges through an examination of women's pedagogical writing. Employing social network theory, the resulting research has, at times, been required to operate in less direct and more lateral ways in order to demonstrate the influence of British and French writers on their cross-Channel counterparts. I recall, here, my comments from the introduction that tracing sources and influences is an inexact art, not as a caveat to my conclusions, but rather to underline that the networks at issue were frequently moving and changing phenomena.⁶ Where, then, has this thesis evidenced the existence of Anglo-French women's educational networks? Initially anchoring the project in two of the best-known pedagogical texts of the late eighteenth century – *Adèle et Théodore* and *Practical Education* – my first chapter demonstrated a literary connection between these two educational manuals, and a physical (if brief) one between their authors. As prominent writers in their own right, both with notable cross-Channel connections in their personal lives, the existence of a further link in the

⁴ Pamela Cheek, for example, considers women's writing as the category for her study, rather than simply novels. See Pamela Cheek, *Heroines and Local Girls: The Transnational Emergence of Women's Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

⁵ Saglia, xii.

⁶ See my introduction, p. X

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chain between the two is hardly surprising. Genlis and Edgeworth's primacy in the canon means that both have benefitted from extensive examination at the hands of critics – Edgeworth's 'worlds' were the subject of a new special issue of the *European Romantic Review* published only a few months ago.⁷ Thus my consideration of them was only partially about the connections they show; it was also intended as a way in to the discussions which followed on the comparisons to Elizabeth Appleton's work in the early nineteenth century. Connecting these three women across their three timelines, roughly dividing my research period in three, provided a proof-of-concept approach that also gave space to my suggestion of a rewritten historical narrative, the ramifications of which were felt throughout the subsequent chapters.

Accordingly, I was able to move from the more canonical approach of the first chapter, toward an excavation of lesser-known women in my second. Once again, the subjects of my study were of varying modern and contemporary prominence, but in the case of Louise d'Épinay in particular, I was able to demonstrate the significant links between her text and her future translators. This link, at one step removed from connections of the type between Genlis and Edgeworth by virtue of Épinay's posthumous state, provided a bridge to the once-further removed considerations of French interactions in the work of Lady Ellenor Fenn. It was in this chapter, particularly, that I began to develop the context of the much wider network that this thesis attempts to reveal: the fainter lines between authors and texts born of in-text references, of contemporarily clear but now obscure allusions, or of imitation and influence. Situated decidedly more within the realm of passive influence as I defined it in my introduction, I was able to show how this initial passivity transformed into a more active network-building endeavour that created links between English readers and French authors, links facilitated by intermediaries.

Straying further from the public connections of chapters one and two, my third chapter delved into the private world of correspondence and manuscripts, offering stronger – but more academically elusive – personal connections. The networks uncovered here were therefore also more personal, but as Charlotte Jane St Maur's correspondence and diary revealed, not necessarily less internationally focussed. In comparing her reading lists with that found in Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore* a significant overlapping network emerged that linked readers to texts without the need for connections between the readers themselves. These common points of reference, which were used to such great effect between St Maur and her uncle, represent individual points or nodes within the wider network – points from which connections can both end and begin. Of course, here St Maur is more directly connected to Genlis, if only by the fact that she has read her

⁷ 'Special Issue: Worlds of Maria Edgeworth', ed. by Susan Manly and Joanna Wharton, *European Romantic Review*, 31.6 (2020).

work rather than through correspondence or physical meetings, but this only suggests that the network is not two-dimensional.

The final chapter, then, returned to the public realm of journals, and the significantly more explicit, if not always immediately evident, connections facilitated by periodical publishing. It is here that the power of periodicals in particular to facilitate networks was made clear. As conduits for authors, contributors, and readers, these publications created a space – a space consisting of a network, but also a networking space that facilitated additional connections – in which women writing on education could converse without the need to meet. Particularly evident in considerations of foreign work, this placing of new combinations of work into conversations with one another was not always deliberate. This, perhaps, is where the tension in studying these networks lies, in attempts to uncover whether the juxtaposition of two texts or authors is an intentional commentary or a happy but unintentional coincidence. To a significant degree, this thesis has benefitted from instances of both cases; while an intentional placement allows a greater engagement with the author or editor, an unintentional one remains of value. Indeed, much of the power of periodical publications discussed in this chapter was centred on their ability to direct their readers to one work over another, to *provide* the connection rather than make it.

Future scholarship

Where, then, lies the future for Anglo-French projects on women's pedagogical writings? The recent increasing interest in projects with European foci is to be enthusiastically welcomed; collaboration between European scholars in the face of a seemingly ever-more combative international climate can help to uncover our historical cooperation, and the mutual benefit and advancement that followed. Nonetheless, there are significant hurdles to be cleared before Anglo-American scholarship can address what Anke Gilleir, Alicia C. Montoya, and Suzan van Dijk term the 'traditional' approach of considering authors 'within the limits of a single nation or language area.'⁸ In the English-speaking academy, resistance to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic study might be primarily located in the requirement for dual language skills. Unlike our eighteenth-century colleagues, the modern English-speaking scholar is heavily reliant on translated texts that mediate their engagement with foreign literature in many of the same ways that this thesis has discussed. The dire state of language teaching in the UK and the decline in university language course uptake offers a partial explanation here, and I am far from the first to

⁸ Gilleir, Montoya, and van Dijk, p. 2.

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protest this deficiency. The Language Learning Journal published a special issue taking stock of the problem in late 2020, particularly citing a Higher Education Policy Institute report that notes the current entanglement of language study with multiculturalist and internationalist political discourses in the wake of Brexit.⁹ UCAS data for 2020 shows a four per cent decline in applications for languages in the past year alone among UK applicants, following a long-term downward trend that has seen demand for European languages fall by a staggering forty per cent in the past decade.¹⁰ This ought not, however, to be a barrier to a broader European academic engagement; language skills on the continent are largely better developed than their British counterparts, and language students still graduate each year – even if the cohorts are shrinking.¹¹

Interdisciplinarity, on both individual and collective levels, appears as one solution here. In its broadest sense, interdisciplinary study is merely the practice of using research methodologies that might traditionally fall outside of one's primary discipline, but its importance in opening up new *areas* of study, as well as new *methods*, ought not to be overlooked.¹² It is precisely the interdisciplinary methods of this project – its literary, historical, and linguistic analyses – that have allowed me to trace the existence of such an extensive literary pedagogical network between British and French women, often through indirect means. There are, it seems, two possible future paths for this genre of research, both of which require a degree of re-implementation of the concepts this thesis has explored – namely cross-Channel conversation. In light of the UK's newly changing and reforming post-Brexit relationship with our European neighbours, research into the historical conversations and cross-European collaboration might, perhaps, be remarkably prescient.

I have indicated, at various points in this thesis, some possible future avenues of scholarship based on the corpus here. As I suggested in chapter three, the letters and diaries of Lady Charlotte Jane St Maur would benefit from a complete biographical study, and probably a

⁹ Elspeth Broady, 'Language Learning in the UK - Taking Stock', *The Language Learning Journal*, 48.5: Language Learning in the UK-Taking Stock (2020), 501–7; Megan Bowler, *A Languages Crisis?* (Oxford: Higher Education Policy Institute, 2020) <<https://www.hepi.ac.uk/2020/01/09/a-languages-crisis/>> [accessed 11 February 2021].

¹⁰ UCAS, '2020 Cycle Applicant Figures', 2020 <<https://www.ucas.com/data-and-analysis/undergraduate-statistics-and-reports/ucas-undergraduate-releases/applicant-releases-2020/2020-cycle-applicant-figures-30-june-deadline>> [accessed 11 February 2021]. Percentages calculated using Group R of JACS definitions for subject groupings, refined by UK nations

¹¹ Bowler gives figures of 32% and 89% for the UK and EU countries respectively for the proportion of 16-30 year olds who feel 'confident reading and writing in another language'. The figure ranges from a low of 71% in Hungary to a high of 99% in Denmark. Bowler, pp. 7; 13.

¹² For a discussion of interdisciplinarity in the eighteenth century, see *The Interdisciplinary Century: Tensions and Convergences in Eighteenth-Century Art, History and Literature*, ed. by Julia V. Douthwaite and Mary Vidal (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005); more broadly, see Joe Moran, *Interdisciplinarity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

critical edition. A comprehensive project compiling her work and tracing her reading, influences, and experiences would furnish material for a number of secondary projects by literary scholars, historians, and linguists alike. Such a project would require French-language skills, both on account of her French letters, and in studying her extensive reading lists of French texts. Likewise, although Louise d'Épinay's contributions to the *Correspondance littéraire* have now been fairly conclusively traced, and despite significant scholarship on her editorial involvement with the magazine, there remains a great deal of work to be done on the content of her contributions outside of the educational lens of my analysis in this thesis. Mélinda Caron has begun this investigation in her recent article outlining Épinay's relationship to the *Correspondance littéraire's* 'imagined community'.¹³ In the case of Épinay, Anglophone research might be said to be especially important – a counterpoint or foil to the differing national/cultural conceptions of her character and legacy on either side of the Channel. The anonymous French mother's manuscript might also be productively mined for information on contemporary attitudes to political, social, or economic factors that fell outside of my educational scope, as well as further attempts to conclusively date and attribute the piece. In all three of these instances, it is my own French-language ability that permitted their inclusion in my corpus, and it is that same ability in others that will facilitate future study.

Outside of specific authors and publications, it is my hope that this thesis has demonstrated the fruitfulness of cross-Channel approaches to women's literary production and studies of women's literary history. An international version of the collapsing of boundaries that I explored in the conclusions to my arguments on Sarah Trimmer's *Guardian of Education*, this project has deliberately challenged and interrogated national and cultural boundaries, though I have stopped short of a full deconstruction – it is, after all, precisely these boundaries that produced much of the discussion I have explored. In eliminating the requirement for a physical or tangible connection between the women I have written on, I knowingly opened myself up to possible accusations of speculation or conjecture. However, what this project has evidenced – and it is based on *physical* evidence – is that these more tangential connections, those only visible with a more actively searching eye, are worthy of intellectual study. My consideration of Ellenor Fenn in particular was a beneficiary of this method of enquiry. The lack of direct translations of their work having relegated them from most cross-Channel corpuses, here their engagement with

¹³ Mélinda Caron, 'A Distinguished and Anonymous Female Presence: Louise d'Épinay and the Correspondance Littéraire's Imagined Community', *Scholar & Feminist Online*, 15.1: Women and Community in Early Modern Europe: Approaches and Perspectives (2018) <<https://sfoonline.barnard.edu/women-and-community-in-early-modern-europe-approaches-and-perspectives/a-distinguished-and-anonymous-female-presence-louise-depinay-and-the-correspondance-litteraires-imagined-community>>.

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French educational ideas has been brought to the fore. Periodical publications, too, benefitted from a newly imagined network around them. An extension of this method in considerations of other European journals would probably offer significant opportunities for further study. Much as I have attempted to deconstruct single-nation approaches, periodicals might benefit from a combination of multi-periodical and multi-national investigation. As common literary spaces for their readership, it is in periodical volumes that 'Pratilla's' dream of a Ladies' Library, which opened this thesis, might most fruitfully be uncovered; it is in their pages that thriving female educational networks might be traced.

Appendix A Comparing Timetables in the Work of Genlis and Appleton

Theodore (7)	Mother	Adelaide (6)	Time	Ellen (16)	Ann (15)	Susan (10)
	Toilet, breakfast, family affairs		7	Scripture Reading (+ preludes [E+A])		
			8	New lesson Exercises	Exercises New Lesson	Prep lessons/exercises
	Chapel + Walk	Chapel + Walk	9	Governess hears lessons, or corrects exercises Breakfast and recreation		
	Chapel	Chapel	10	Practices old lessons on the piano	Writes corrections in her copy-book + exercises	Reads English + French w/ the maps + translates
With father	Adelaide reads to her mother, and recounts stories made for her to learn by heart		11	Writes from her slate into her copy-book	Practices on the piano	Run a little for recreation
	Dinner		12	Read English (45mins) and French (15mins) together, with maps		
Walk in the garden, or amuse ourselves in the saloon with maps, drawings, or conversation			13	Drawing or dancing		Lesson of music
Return to father's apartment	Return to apartment and write without interruption	Return to mother's apartment and amuse herself with running and playing about the room	14	Dinner, recreation, or needlework, according to the family arrangement		
With father			15	Walk, Gaultier's Game, or recreation		
Lesson in drawing	Continuation of writing	Lesson in drawing, product of which judged by the mother.	16			
Return to father's apartment	Arithmetic with counters or discussion on different subjects		17			
With father	Play on the harp or harpsichord	Play on the harp or harpsichord	18			
	Supper		19			
	Converse about the children		20			
Bed and sleep	Read in bed	Bed and sleep	21			
	Sleep		22			
			23			

The information in this table is taken from *Adelaide and Theodore*, ed. by Gillian Dow (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), pp.12-13; Elizabeth Appleton, *Private Education*, 3rd Edition (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1816), pp. 259-69. I have included Theodore as a male comparison, although it should be noted that Genlis makes less distinction between boys' and girls' education than many of her contemporaries. Sections in grey either denote assumed information extrapolated from the text, or an absence of information for that time period. For Adelaide in particular, it is not always clear whether the mother's activities include her daughter, although the line 'Adelaide always with me, whom she never quits but to take a walk for exercise' (p.13) suggests that we may assume that this is the case.

Appendix B Dictionary Entries

English word	Bailey (1730, 2nd ed. 1736)	Martin (1749)	Johnson (1755)	Académie Française (4th ed., 1762)	Académie Française (5th ed., 1798)	French word
Child	A son or daughter	An infant, or babe	An infant, or very young person One in the line of filiation, opposed to the parent [In the language of scripture] One weak in knowledge A girl child	Son or daughter by relation to the father and mother Also said of a young boy or girl, up to the age of ten or twelve, without any relation to a father or mother		
Infant	A child under the age of 7 years [In law] All persons are so reputed who are under the age of 21 years	A young child	A child from the birth to the end of the seventh year [In law] A young person to the age of one and twenty	Also a familiar term used for flattery [good child]. In this sense it is sometimes used in the feminine singular, speaking of a very young girl Proverbially, when one sees a child who possesses reason and the spirit of happiness [There are no more children]	Also a familiar term used for flattery [good child]. In this sense it is sometimes used in the feminine singular, speaking of a very young girl Proverbially, when one sees a child who possesses reason and the spirit of happiness [There are no more children]	Enfant
Childhood	The state of a child	The state of a child	The state of infants; or, according to some, the time in which we are children The time of life between infancy and puberty The first part of life. Usually extended by naturalists to seven years	Used also in speaking to subordinates [come, child], or when wishing to speak with integrity to those very subordinate [my child]	Used also in speaking to subordinates [come, child], or when wishing to speak with and air of kindness, interest, or affability to those very subordinate [my child]	
Infancy	The first age, or period of life	Childhood, or the first period of one's life	[In law] Civil infancy, extended by the English law to one and twenty years First age of any thing; beginning; original; commencement	[être en enfance, tomber en enfance] Said of an old person who is stupid, who no longer has the use of reason.		Enfance
Adolescenc(e/y)	The flower of youth, the state of young persons, from twelve years of age to twenty one in Women, and from fourteen to twenty five or thirty in men, or it is that period of a person's age, commencing from infancy and terminating at his full growth	The flower of youth, from fourteen to twenty-five years of age	The age succeeding childhood, and succeeded by puberty; more largely, that part of life in which the body has not yet reached its full perfection	The age from puberty to majority, that is to say, from fourteen years to twenty five. It is only said about boys	The period which follows puberty until manhood, that is to say, from fourteen years to twenty five. It is only said about boys	Adolescence
No entries	x	x	x	Young boy. It is said only in jest	[Adolescent, ente] A young person of either sex. It is said only in jest	Adolescent
Puberty	Ripeness of age, the age of 14 years in men, and 12 in women	Ripe age, fourteen in men, and twelve in women	The time of life in which the two sexes begin first to be acquainted	Legal term. The age at which the law permits marriage [14 for boys, 12 for girls]		Puberté

The information in this table is taken from the following sources. ¹

¹ Johnson vol. I, pp. 85; 368; 1086; vol. II, p. 1597; Benjamin Martin, *Lingua Britannica Reformata: Or, A New English Dictionary* (London: Printed for J. Hodges and others, 1749), pp. 501; 717; 850; 967; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, vol. I, pp. 27; 622; vol. II, p. 494; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, Revu, Corrigé et Augmenté Par l'Académie Elle-Même*, vol. I, pp. 22; 489-90; vol II, p. 384; Nathan Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum: Or a More Compleat Universial Etymological English Dictionary than Any Extant*, second edition (London: Printed for T. Cox, 1736), n.p. Original French entries as follows; [4th edition of 1762] Adolescence – 'L'âge qui est depuis la puberté jusqu'à la majorité, c'est-à-dire, depuis quatorze ans jusqu'à vingt-cinq. Il ne se dit guère que des garçons'; Adolescent – 'jeune garçon. Il ne se dit guère qu'en plaisantant'; Enfance – 'L'âge depuis la naissance jusqu'à douze ans ou environ. [...] On appelle Enfance,

The English dictionaries necessarily start earlier than the date range of this thesis, largely because, after Samuel Johnson's 1755 *A Dictionary of the English Language*, there are very few non-specialist publications until the inception of the modern *Oxford English Dictionary*, first published under the title *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by The Philological Society* between 1884 and 1928. While all of the English dictionaries I consult here were the projects of individual men, albeit with assistance of varying proportions, the French story is very different. The first two editions of the French dictionary, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française (DAF)*, appeared at the end of the seventeenth century, in 1694 and 1695 respectively. It went through another four editions through the eighteenth century, in 1718, 1740, 1762, and 1798. Unlike the individuality of English equivalents, the *DAF* is a publication from the *Immortels* of the *Académie Française*, the guardians of the French language; it is consequently more prescriptive, conservative, and didactic in its contents.² The ninth edition of the *DAF* is only now being finalised (four volumes, published in 1992, 2000, 2011, and the final volume forthcoming), but contains almost 60,000 entries.³ Before this, the eighth edition lagged behind with a mere 32,000, significantly fewer than even the c.42,000 in Johnson's work of 1755. There are a number of linguistic explanations for this, not least that French rarely combines two words to make a third, instead using the expression 'x de x', or that English contains a larger than average number of borrowings from other languages.

Une puérité, quelque chose qui convient à un enfant. [...] Être en enfance, tomber en enfance Se dit d'une vieille personne qui est imbécille, qui n'a plus l'usage de la raison. [...] Il se dit figurément quelquefois pour Commencement'; Enfant – 'Fils ou Fille par relation au père & à la mère. [...] Se dit encore d'Un garçon ou d'une fille en bas âge, & jusqu'à l'âge de dix ou douze ans, sans aucune relation au père & à la mère. [...] Aussi un terme dont on se sert par flatterie & par familiarité. En ce sens on le fait quelquefois féminin au singulier, en parlant d'Une fort jeune fille. [...] On dit proverbialement, quand on voit un enfant qui a de la raison & de l'esprit de bonne heure, qu'il n'y a plus d'enfants. [...] On s'en sert aussi en parlant à des inférieurs. Allons, enfans. Mon enfant, est aussi un terme dont on se sert lorsqu'on veut parler avec honnêteté à des gens extrêmement inférieurs.'; Puberté – "Terme de jurisprudence. L'âge auquel la Loi permet de se marier"; [5th edition of 1798] Adolescence – 'L'âge qui suit la puberté jusqu'à l'âge viril, c'est-à-dire, depuis quatorze ans jusqu'à vingt-cinq. Il ne se dit guère que des garçons'; Adolescent, ente – 'Jeune personne de l'un ou de l'autre sexe. Il ne se dit guère qu'en plaisantant'; Enfance as previous edition; Enfant as previous, with addition of 'On dit aussi familièrement, en parlant d'une jeune femme d'un caractère doux et facile C'est une bonne enfant, une bien bonne enfant', and 'Mon enfant, est aussi un terme dont on se sert lorsqu'on veut parler avec un air de bonté ou d'intérêt, d'affabilité, à des gens extrêmement inférieurs'; Puberté as previously.

² The *Immortels* of the French Academy, literally translated as the Immortals, are elected to their position for life by the membership of the Academy itself. They are charged with the protection of the French language and remain the official authority on usage, grammar, and vocabulary to this day.

³ 'La 9e Édition', *Académie Française* <<http://www.academie-francaise.fr/le-dictionnaire/la-9e-edition>> [accessed 14 October 2020].

Appendix C Reference Tables for St Maur's Reading

Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fols. 1^v. *List of Books I had read before the age of ___ [15]*

Highlighted items also appear in Adèle's reading list from *Adèle et Théodore* (1782)

Item in Journal	Author	Published Title	Comment
History			
Helme's abridgement of English History	Elizabeth Helme (d.1814)	<i>The History of England</i> (1806)	
Mavor's abridgement of the ancient history of Egypt, of Greece, and of Rome	William Fordyce Mavor (1758-1837)	<i>Universal History, ancient and modern; from the earliest records of time, to the general peace of 1801</i> (25 vols, 1802-1804)	Probably an abridgement of this title
Vertot's history of the Roman Republick	Abbé de Vertot (1655-1735)	<i>The history of the revolutions that happened in the government of the Roman Republic</i> (1720)	A translation (English'd) by a Mr Ozell. Unclear if St Maur read the original or translation
Robertson's history of Scotland	William Robertson (1721-1793)	<i>The History of Scotland</i> (1759)	
Maitland's History of Scotland	William Maitland (1693?-1757)	<i>The history and antiquities of Scotland, from the earliest account of time To the Death of James the First, Anno 1473</i> (1757)	
Fragments of Scottish History	Not traced		
Robertson's History of Charles the fifth	William Robertson (1721-1793)	<i>The history of the reign of Emperor Charles V. With a view of the progress of society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman Empire, to the beginning of the sixteenth century.</i> (1762-71)	
Life of Charles the twelfth of Sweden	Voltaire (1694-1778)	<i>Histoire de Charles XII. Roi de Suède</i> (1731)	

Life of Pope Sixtus the fifth	Gregorio Leti (1630-1701)	<i>The Life of Pope Sixtus the Fifth</i> (1766)	
Poetry			
Pope's translation of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey	Alexander Pope (1688-1744)	<i>The Iliad and Odyssey of Homer: Translated by Pope</i> (1783)	This is the first combined edition. Pope's translation of the <i>Iliad</i> appeared between 1715 and 1720, and the <i>Odyssey</i> between 1725 and 1726
Gay's fables	John Gay (1685-1732)	<i>Fables</i> (1727)	
La Fontaine's fables	Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695)	<i>Fables</i> (1668-1694)	It is again unclear whether St Maur reads the original French or a later English translation
Boileau's Lutrin	Nicolas Boileau Despréaux (1636-1711)	<i>Le Lutrin</i> (1674)	
Metestasio	Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)		
Ariosto	Ludvico Ariosto (1474-1533)	<i>Orlando Furioso</i> (1516)	St Maur may have read other works, but this is the one mentioned in her letters
Thomson's Seasons, and Castle of Indolence	James Thomson (1700-1748)	<i>The Seasons</i> (1726-1730) and <i>The Castle of Indolence</i> (1748)	
Walter Scot's Marmion, Lady of the Lake, and Minstrel	Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field</i> (1808), <i>The Lady of the Lake</i> (1810), and <i>The Lay of the Last Minstrel</i> (1805)	
Cowper's Poems	William Cowper (1731-1800)		
Shakespear's Historical Plays	William Shakespeare (1564-1616)	<i>King John, Edward III, Henry VIII, Henry VI (Parts I, II, and III), Richard III, Richard II, Henry IV (Parts I and II), Henry V</i>	Based on the classification of the First Folio: <i>Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies</i> (1623)

Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming and smaller poems	Thomas Campbell (1777-1844)	<i>Gertrude of Wyoming; A Pennsylvanian Tale</i> (1809)	
William Spencer's Poems	William Robert Spencer (1769-1834)		
Milton's Paradise Lost	John Milton (1608-1674)	<i>Paradise Lost</i> (1667)	
Goldsmith's Poems	Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774)		
Gray's Poems	Thomas Gray (1716-1771)		
Parnell's Poems	Thomas Parnell (1679-1718)		
Crabbe's tales, Parish poor-house, Vagrant, Sir Eustace Grey, & other poems	George Crabbe (1754-1832)		
Southey's Don Roderick	Robert Southey (1774-1843)	<i>Roderick the Last of the Goths</i> (1814)	
Roger's Pleasures of memory	Samuel Rogers (1763-1855)	<i>The Pleasures of Memory</i> (1792)	
Armstrong on Health	Dr John Armstrong (1709-1779)	<i>The Art of Preserving Health</i> (1744)	
Novels, Fictions			
Persian Tales	Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)	<i>Lettres Persanes</i> (1721)	Probably
Arabian Knights		<i>The Arabian Nights' Entertainment</i> (c.1706-1721) [?]	
L'Ami des Enfants	Arnaud Berquin (1747-1791)	<i>L'Ami des Enfants</i> (1782-3)	
Contes de Fées choisis	Possibly Charles Perrault's (1628-1703) <i>Histoire ou contes du temps passé</i> (1697), or Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy's <i>Les Contes des fées. Selections</i> (1697), though there are other candidates		
Miss Edgeworth's Popular & moral tales	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Moral Tales</i> (1801) and <i>Popular Tales</i> (1804)	

Ennui	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Ennui</i> (1809)	
Manoeuvring	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Manoeuvring</i> (1809)	
Patronage	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Patronage</i> (1814)	
Paul et Virginie	Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814)	<i>Paul et Virginie</i> (1788)	
Tableau de Famille	Not traced		
Visite d'une Semaine	Lucy Peacock	<i>Visite d'une Semaine</i> (1817)	A French translation (by J E Le Febvre) of Peacock's <i>The Visit for a Week; or, hints on the improvement of time</i> (1794)
Elisabeth	Thomas Heywood (d. 1641)	<i>Englands Elisabeth</i> (1632)	Possibly
Pride and Prejudice	Jane Austen (1775-1817)	<i>Pride and Prejudice</i> (1813)	
Self-Controul	Mary Brunton (1778-1818)	<i>Self Controul</i> (1809)	
Discipline	Mary Brunton (1778-1818)	<i>Discipline</i> (1814)	
Guy Mannering	Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer</i> (1815)	
The Antiquary	Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>The Antiquary</i> (1816)	
Old Mortality	Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>The Tale of Old Mortality</i> (1816)	
The Castle of Otranto	Horace Walpole (1717-1797)	<i>The Castle of Otranto</i> (1764)	
Old English Baron	Clara Reeve (1729-1807)	<i>The Old English Baron</i> (1777)	
Sorrows of Werter?	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)	<i>The Sorrows of Young Werther</i> (1774)	

Don Quixote	Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)	<i>Don Quixote</i> (1605 and 1615)	
Gil Blas	Alain-René Lesage (1668-1747)	<i>Gil Blas</i> (1715-1735)	Translated by Tobias Smollet (1721-1771)
Télémaque	François Fénelon (1651-1715)	<i>Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse</i> (1699)	
Voyages, Travels			
Southey's travels in Spain & Portugal	Robert Southey (1774-1843)	<i>Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal</i> (1797)	
Voyage to Borneo	Daniel Beeckman	<i>A Voyage to and from the island of Borneo, in the East-Indies</i> (1718)	Possibly
Travels of Rolando	Louis-François Jauffret (1770-1840)	<i>The Travels of Rolando</i> (1799)	Translated by Anna Laetitia Aikin Barbauld (1743-1825)
Byron's account of his abode in Wager Island	George Gordon Byron (1788-1824)		
Johnson's tour through the Hebrides	Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)	<i>A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland</i> (1775)	
Sir Joseph Bankes' journal during his Voyage round the World	Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820)	The <i>Endeavour</i> Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771	It is unclear if this was the published work, or in a more personal capacity due to St Maur's family connections
James's Voyage to discover a North-west passage	James Cook (1728-1779)	<i>Voyage to the Pacific Ocean</i> (1784)	The use of Cook's Christian name is probably a simple error on St Maur's part
Miscellaneous			
Clere's journal	Not traced		
Mémoires de Latude	Jean Henri Latude (1725-1805)	<i>Mémoires de H. Masers de Latude</i> (1787)	
Lettres choisies de Sévigné et de Maintenon	Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626-		There were numerous collections of these women's letters that

	1696) and Françoise d'Aubigné (1635-1719)		St Maur could have chosen from
Life of Bampfylde Moore Carew	Bampfylde Moore Carew (1693-)	<i>The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde Moore Carew</i> (1745)	Variously attributed to Carew, Robert Goadby (1721-1778), and to his wife Mrs. Goadby
Correspondence of Hertford and Pomfret	William Bingley (1774-1823), Henrietta Louisa Fermor, Countess of Pomfret (1698-1761), and Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford (1699-1754)	<i>Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hereford, and the Countess of Pomfret, 1738-41</i> (1805)	Hertford is, of course, one of St Maur's direct ancestors
Goldsmith's Geography and Natural history	Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774)	<i>The geography and history of England done in the manner of Gordon's and Salmon's geographical and historical grammars</i> (1765) and <i>Dr. Goldsmith's natural history of animals</i> (1790)	Another possibility is <i>An History of the Earth and Animated Nature</i> (1774)
Joyce's Scientific Dialogues	Jeremiah Joyce (1763-1816)	<i>Scientific Dialogues, intended for the instruction and entertainment of young people</i> (1800-1805)	
Fontenelle's plurality of worlds	Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757)	<i>Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds</i> (1686)	
Bewick's British birds	Thomas Bewick (1753-1828)	<i>A History of British Birds</i> (1797, 1804)	
Letters on Botany	Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)	<i>Letters on the elements of botany, addressed to a lady</i> (trans 1785)	
Witherington's Botany	William Withering (1741-1799)	<i>A botanical arrangement of all the vegetables nartually growing in Great Britain</i> (1776)	Witherington is a misspelling of Withering, whom St Maur mentions in her letters to her Uncle

Hull's Flora	John Hull (1761?-1843)	<i>The British Flora (1799)</i>	
Account of the Russian campaign in 1813 by la Baume	Louis Eugène Antonin de Labaume (1783-1849)	<i>Relation circonstanciée de la campagne de Russie en 1812 (1814), or Relation complète de la campagne de Russie en 1812 (1816)</i>	
Sacred and Moral			
Trimmer's Select Scriptures	Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810)	<i>An Abridgement of Scripture History; Consisting of Lessons Selected from the Old Testament (1792)</i>	Probably
Horne's Commentary on the Psalms	George Horne (1730-1792)	<i>Commentary on the Psalms (1771)</i>	
Scripture Biography	Not traced		
Moore's Sacred Dramas	Hannah More (1745-1833)	<i>Sacred Dramas (1782)</i>	
La Mort d'Abel	Salomon Gessner (1730-1788)	<i>La mort d'Abel, poëme en cinq chants (1758)</i>	A translation of <i>Der Tod Abels</i>
Barrow's School Sermons	Isaac Barrow (1630-1677)	<i>Sermons preached upon several occasions, by Isaac Barrow, D.D. late master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge (1678)</i>	Possibly

Chawton House, MS 10828 MAU, fols. 73 ^v -75 ^v . <i>List of Books I had read from the age of fifteen to twenty-one.</i>			
History			
Robertson's History of America	William Roberston (1721-1793)	<i>The History of America (1777)</i>	
D'Anquitille's Louis quatorze, sa cour, et le Régent	Louis-Pierre Anquetil (1723-1806)	<i>Louis XIV., sa cour, et le Régent (1789)</i>	
Henry's History of England	Not traced		

Locke's History of Navigation	John Locke (1632-1704)	<i>An interesting discourse containing the whole History of Navigation from its original to the present time (1732?)</i>	Possibly
Rapin's? History of England	Paul Rapin de Thoyras (1661-1725)	<i>The History of England, as well ecclesiastical as civil (1726)</i>	A translation of Rapin's Histoire d'Angleterre
The Reign of Charles the first, & the Commonwealth, in Hume	David Hume (1711-1776)	<i>The History of Great Britain (1754)</i>	Section of; it is possible that St Maur read a later edition whereby the contents were incorporated into the History of England
Davilla's History of the Wards of the League	Arrigo Caterino Davila (1576-1631)	<i>The Historie of the civill warres of France (1647)</i>	A translation from the Italian. St Maur probably read a later edition from 1758 or 1760
Rulhière's account of the Revolution in Russia in 1762	Claude Carloman de Rulhière (1734-1791)	<i>A History, or Anecdotes of the Revolution in Russia, in the year 1762 (1797)</i>	A translation from the French, published the same year
Millot's History of France	Claude François Xavier, abbé Millot (1726-1785)	<i>Éléments de l'histoire de France (1770)</i>	St Maur may have read the original, or the English translation of 1771, by Radagunda Roberts. See note on p. 16 for the scholarship which identified this translator
Mitford's History of Greece	William Mitford (1744-1827)	<i>The history of Greece (1784)</i>	
Fox's History of James the second	Charles James Fox (1749-1806)	<i>A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II (1808)</i>	
Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History	Johann Lorenz Mosheim (1694?-1755)	<i>An ecclesiastical history (1765)</i>	
Memoirs & Biography			

Sully's Memoirs	Pierre Mathurin de L'Écluse des Loges (1716-approx 1783)	<i>Memoirs of the Duke of Sully (1751)</i>	St Maur may have read this in the original French or in one of numerous English editions
Middleton's Cicero	Conyers Middleton (1683-1750)	<i>The history and life of Marcus Tullius Cicero (1741)</i>	
Life of Maria-Teresa		<i>Memoirs of the Queen of Hungary (1742)</i>	Possibly. Certainly a work concerning Maria Theresa Wilburga Amalia Christina (1717-1780)
Memoires de Grammont	Anthony Hamilton (1645?-1719)	<i>Memoires de la vie du comte de Grammont (1714)</i>	
Life of Clarendon	Edward Hyde, Ear of Clarendon (1609-1674)	<i>The life of Edward Earl of Clarendon (1759)</i>	
Life of Grotius	Hugo Grotius (1583-1645)	<i>Hugo Grotius (1652)</i>	Possibly. Translated from the Latin
Memoirs of De Wit	Not traced. Possibly Johan de Witt (1625-1672), a Dutch Statesman		
Memoirs of Lord Bollinbroke, with his letter to Sir William Windham		<i>Authentick memoirs of the conduct and adventures of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke (1730?)</i>	Possibly
Eloge of Sir Isaac Newton, of Pascal, & of several other distinguished characters, in l'Histoire de l'Academie	Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757)	<i>The life of Sir Isaac Newton (1728)</i>	A translation of Eloge de Monsieur le Chevalier Neuton published by the Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences
Memoirs of Madame Campan	Jeanne Louise Henriette Campan (1752-1822)	<i>Memoirs of the Court of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France (1823)</i>	Given that this text was published only in the last year or so of St Maur's journal, it is likely she may have read the original, although a translation does appear in 1823
Southey's Life of Wesley	Robert Southey (1774-1843)	<i>The Life of John Wesley (1820)</i>	

Memoirs of Baron Grim	Freidrich Melchoir von Grimm (1723-1807)	<i>Historical & Literary memoirs and anecdotes, selected from the correspondence of Baron De Grimm and Diderot, with the Duke of Saxe-Gotha (1814)</i>	Translated from the French
The Life of Baron Trenck	Franz von der Trenck (1711-1749)	<i>Memoirs of the Life of the illustrious Francis Baron Trenck (1747)</i>	Translated from the German. A later edition appeared in 1788 under the title The life of Baron Frederic Trenck
Memoires de Bareith	Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina (1751-1820)	<i>Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse, Margrave de Bareith, écrits de sa main (1811)</i>	
Memoirs of Dr Franklin	Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)	<i>The private life of the late Benjamin Franklin (1793)</i>	Only partially attributable to Franklin, some of this work is based on Wilmer's Memoirs of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin of 1790. It is unclear which edition St Maur read
Vie du Prince Potemkin	Grigory Aleksandrovich Potemkin (1739-1791)	<i>Vie du Prince Potemkin (1808)</i>	
Memoirs of Alfieri	Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803)	<i>Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri (1810)</i>	
Boswell's Life of Johnson	James Boswell (1740-1795)	<i>The life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D (1791)</i>	
Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici	William Roscoe (1753-1831)	<i>The life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent (1795)</i>	
Roscoe's Life of Leo the tenth	William Roscoe (1753-1831)	<i>Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth (1805)</i>	
Novels, Fictions			

Adèle et Teodore – or Lettres sur l'Education, by Madame de Genlis	Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis (1746- 1830)	<i>Adèle et Théodore</i> (1782)	St Maur may have read either the original French, or an English translation.
Lettres d'une Péruvienne	Françoise de Graffigny (1695- 1758)	<i>Lettres d'une Péruvienne</i> (1747)	
The Spectator	Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729)	<i>The Spectator</i> (1711- 1712)	
Coelebs in search of a Wife	Hannah More (1745-1833)	<i>Coelebs in Search of a Wife</i> (1809)	
Sketch Book	Not traced		
Bracebridge Hall	Washington Irving (1783-1859)	<i>Bracebridge Hall, or The Humorists, A Medley</i> (1822)	
The Modern Griselda	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>The Modern Griselda. A Tale</i> (1805)	
Melle de la Tour	Not traced. Presumably a work on Henriette-Lucy de La Tour-du-Pin-Gouvernet (1770-1853)		
Les Douze siècles	Not traced		
Caliph Vatheck	William Beckford (1760-1844)	<i>An Arabian Tale</i> (1786)	Translated from the French, 'The History of the Caliph Vathek' was another title for the work
Ipsiboé	Charles Victor Prévôt (1789- 1856)	<i>Ipsiboë</i> (1823)	
Rob Roy	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Rob Roy</i> (1817)	
Guy Mannering	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Guy Mannering; or, The Astrologer</i> (1815)	
Evelina	Frances Burney (1752-1840)	<i>Evelina</i> (1778)	
The Female Quixote	Charlotte Lennox (c.1730-1804)	<i>The female Quixote; or, the adventures of Arabella</i> (1752)	

Irish Bulls	Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817)	<i>Essay on Irish Bulls (1802)</i>	In collaboration with Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)
Vivian	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Tales of Fashionable Life (1809-1812)</i>	
Emilie de Coulanges	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Tales of Fashionable Life (1809-1812)</i>	
Kenilworth Castle	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Kenilworth. A Romance (1821)</i>	
Female Spectator	Eliza Haywood (1693?-1755)	<i>The Female Spectator (1744-1746)</i>	
Glenarvon	Caroline Lamb (1785-1828)	<i>Glenarvon (1816)</i>	
Hadji Baba	James Justinian Morier (1782-1849)	<i>The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan (1824)</i>	
Ourika	Claire Rose Louise de Dufort (1777-1828)	<i>Ourika (1824)</i>	
Stranger's Grave	Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859)	<i>The Stranger's Grave (1823)</i>	
Anastasins[?]	Not traced		
An Essay on the art of Self Justification, & Letters for Litterary Ladies	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Letters for Literary Ladies. To which is added an Essay on the noble science of self-justification (1795)</i>	
Belinda	Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)	<i>Belinda (1801)</i>	
Thinks I to myself	Edward Nares (1762-1841)	<i>Thinks-I-to-Myself (1811)</i>	
Les Hermites en Prison	Antoine Jay (1770-1854) and Victor Joseph Étienne de Jouy (1764-1846)	<i>Les Hermites en Prison (1823)</i>	
Ivanhoe	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Ivanhoe (1819)</i>	
Mansfield Park	Jane Austen (1775-1817)	<i>Mansfield Park (1814)</i>	

Persuasion	Jane Austen (1775-1817)	<i>Persuasion (1818)</i>	
The Confessions of an Opium Eater	Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859)	<i>Confessions of an Opium Eater (1821)</i>	
Poetry			
Tasso	Torquato Tasso (1544-95)		No specific pieces listed
Young	Edward Young (1683-1765)		No specific pieces listed
Walter Scott's Marmion, Lady of the Lake, Lay of the Last Minstrel, Lord of the Isles, Ballads, Rokeby, Bridal of Triermaine, Harold the Dauntless, &c. &c.	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	<i>Marmion (1808), Lady of the Lake (1810), Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805), Lord of the Isles (1815), Ballads and Lyrical Pieces (1806), Rokeby (1813), The Bridal of Triermain (1813), Harold the Dauntless (1817)</i>	
Téâtre de Racine	Jean Racine (1639-99)		No specific pieces listed
Helga	William Herbert (1718-95)	<i>Helga: a poem in seven Cantos (1815)</i>	
Alfieri	Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803)		No specific pieces listed
Lord Byron's Childe Harold, Corsair, Lara, Giaour, Bride of Abydos, Beppo, Hebrew Melodies, Parisina, Siege of Corinth, and smaller poems	George Gordon Byron (1788-1824)	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (1812), The Corsair (1814), Lara, A Tale (1814), The Giaour (1813), The Bride of Abydos (1813), Beppo (1818), Hebrew Melodies (1815), Parisina (1816), The Siege of Corinth (1816)</i>	Plus unspecified shorter poems
Fables for the Holy Alliance	Thomas Moore (1779-1852)	<i>Fables for the Holy Alliance, Rhymes on the Road (1823)</i>	
Tary[?] Guide	Not traced		
Lalla Rookh	Thomas Moore (1779-1852)	<i>Lalla Rookh, an Oritenal Romance (1816)</i>	

Carlisle's Specimens of Arabic Poetry	Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1758-1804)	<i>Specimens of Arabian Poetry (1796)</i>	
Scientific Works			
Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, translated with notes by Professor Jamieson	Jean Léopold Nicolas Frédéric, Baron Cuvier [Georges Cuvier] (1769-1832)	<i>Essay on the Theory of the Earth (1813)</i>	
Locke on the conduct of the Human Understanding	John Locke (1632-1704)	<i>An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1689/90)</i>	
Rowning's philosophy	John Rowning (1701?-71)	<i>A Compendious System of Natural Philosophy (1734)</i>	
Euler's Letters to a German Princess	Leonhard Euler (1707-83)	<i>Lettres a une princesse d'Allemagne sur divers sujets de physique et de philosophie (1775)</i>	
Five books of Le Gindre's Elements of Geometry	Adrien-Marie Legendre (1752-1833)	<i>Eléments de géométrie (1794)</i>	
D'Alembert's Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie	Jean -Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert (1717-83)	<i>Discours Préliminaire des Éditeurs (1751)</i>	
Beattie upon Universal Grammar	James Beattie (1735-1803)	<i>The Theory of Language (1788)</i>	
Duncan's Logic	William Duncan (1717-60)	<i>The Elements of Logick (1748)</i>	
Coudillac's Logic	Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-80)	<i>La Logique, ou Les premiers développements de l'art de penser (1780)</i>	
Smith's Wealth of Nations	Adam Smith (1723-90)	<i>An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations (1776)</i>	
De Lolme on the Constitution of England	Jean Louis De Lolme (1740-1806)	<i>The constitution of England, or an account of the English government (1775)</i>	

Ferguson's Astronomy	James Ferguson (1710-76)		A number of texts are possible here, though The Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy (1768) seems a likely candidate.
Miscellaneous			
Sale's preliminary Discourse, & translation of the Koran	George Sale (1697-1736)	<i>Alcoran of Mohammed</i> (1734)	
Esprit de la Chevalerie	not traced		
Hannah Moore's Hints to a Young Princess	Hannah More (1745-1833)	<i>Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess</i> (1805)	
The Preface to Grose's Antiquities	Francis Grose (1731?-91)	<i>The Antiquities of England and Wales</i> (1772)	
The Barrier treaty, Hate of the Irish Clergy, Presbyterian plea of merit, by Swift	Jonathan Swift (1667-1745)	<i>Some remarks on the Barrier Treaty</i> (1712)	Other works not traced, but possibly An Essay on the Fates of Clergymen published as part of various miscellanies
Gregory's Legacy	John Gregory (1724-73)	<i>A father's legacy to his daughters</i> (1774)	
Middleton's Letter on Popery & paganism	Conyers Middleton (1683-1750)	<i>A letter from Rome, shewing an exact conformity between Popery and paganism</i> (1729)	
O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile	Barry Edward O'Meara (1786-1836)	<i>Napoleon in Exile</i> (1822)	
Scott's Visits to Paris in 1814, & 1815	John Scott, Editor of "The Champion" Newspaper	<i>A Visit to Paris in 1814 (1815), Paris revisited, in 1815, by way of Brussels</i> (1816)	
Tableau de la Cour Ottomane	not traced		

Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762)		Montagu's letters were published in various editions, usually as the Embassy Letters or The Turkish Embassy Letters
King's anecdotes of his own times	not traced		
Lettres du Prince de Ligne	Anne Louise Germaine de Sta	<i>Lettre et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne (1809)</i>	
Progrès de l'Esprit Humain	Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743-94)	<i>Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain (1795)</i>	
Alves Sketches	Robert Alves (1745-94)	<i>Sketches of a History of Literature (1794)</i>	
Littérature du dix-huitième siècle	Jean-François de La Harpe (1739-1803)	<i>Lycée ou Cours de littérature (1798-1804)</i>	Possibly. Volumes 15-16 are on the eighteenth century
Machiavel's Principe	Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (1469-1527)	<i>Il Principe (1513)</i>	
Religious & Moral			
Wilberforce on Christianity	William Wilberforce (1759-1833)	<i>A practical view of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country, contrasted with real Christianity (1797)</i>	
Paley's Evidences	William Paley (1743-1805)	<i>A View of the Evidences of Christianity (1794)</i>	
Horae paulinae	William Paley (1743-1805)	<i>Horæ Paulinæ (1790)</i>	
Horne's Sermons	George Horne (1730-92)		Probably assorted texts
Hervey's Theron	James Hervey (1714-58)	<i>Theron and Aspasio (1755)</i>	

Female Scripture Characters	Not traced. Possibly readings of women in scripture		
Sacra privata	Thomas Wilson (1663-1755)	<i>The Sacra Privata (1786)</i>	
Hannah Moore's Practical Piety; & Sketches of Prevailing Opinions & Manners	Hannah More (1745-1833)	<i>Practical Piety (1811); Moral Sketches (1819)</i>	
The Lamb of God	From the Gospel of John		
The Immutable Kingdom	No specific text traced, though this is of course a common concept in Christianity		
Explanations of the Church Catechism	Many catechism explainers existed that St Maur might have chosen - it is not possible to trace one in particular here		
Sermons on (a) Baptism & Confirmation	John Scott	<i>Six Sermons on ... I. Baptism; II Confirmation [...] (1809)</i>	Possibly
Newton's Cardiphonia	John Newton (1725-1807)	<i>Cardiphonia (1781)</i>	
White's Sermons	Thomas White (1677-1735)		Probably assorted texts
The Imitation of Jesus Christ of Thomas a Kempis	Thomas à Kempis, (1380-1471)	<i>The Imitation of Christ (c.1418-27)</i>	Written in Latin, the book was extensively translated by the end of the fifteenth century
Leighton's Commentary on St. Peter	Robert Leighton (1611-84)	<i>A Practical Commentary (1693)</i>	
Baxter's Saint's Rest	Richard Baxter (1615-91)	<i>The Saint's Everlasting Rest (1650)</i>	
Dodd's Reflections on Death	William Dodd (1729-77)	<i>Reflections on Death (1763)</i>	
Andrew's Devotions	Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626)	<i>Holy Devotions (1630)</i>	Possibly
Butler's Analogy	Joseph Butler (1692-1752)	<i>The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature (1736)</i>	

Jackson's Letter	Lawrence Jackson (1691-1772)	<i>A Letter to a Young Lady, Concerning the Principles and Conduct of the Christian Life (1756)</i>	
Gregory's Letters	Gregory XV, Pope (1554-1623)	<i>Behold! Two letters, the one, written by the Pope to the (then) Prince of Wales, now King of England (1642)</i>	Possibly
Porteus' Sermons	Beilby Porteus (1731-1809)		Probably assorted texts
Olney Hymns	John Newton (1725-1807)	<i>Olney Hymns (1791)</i>	
Conversion & Death of Count Struensee	Balthasar Münter (1735-93)	<i>A faithful narrative of the conversion and death of Count Struensee, late Prime Minister of Denmark (1773)</i>	

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