

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING



THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 1690-1750

Edited by Ros Ballaster

Volume Four



The History of British Women's Writing, 1690–1750

The History of British Women's Writing

General Editors: **Jennie Batchelor** and **Cora Kaplan**

Advisory Board: Isobel Armstrong, Rachel Bowlby, Carolyn Dinshaw, Margaret Ezell, Margaret Ferguson, Isobel Grundy, and Felicity Nussbaum

The History of British Women's Writing is an innovative and ambitious monograph series that seeks both to synthesize the work of several generations of feminist scholars, and to advance new directions for the study of women's writing. Volume editors and contributors are leading scholars whose work collectively reflects the global excellence in this expanding field of study. It is envisaged that this series will be a key resource for specialist and non-specialist scholars and students alike.

Titles include:

Caroline Bicks and Jennifer Summit (*editors*)

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 1500–1610

Volume Two

Ros Ballaster (*editor*)

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 1690–1750

Volume Four

Jacqueline M. Labbe (*editor*)

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 1750–1830

Volume Five

Forthcoming titles:

Elizabeth Herbert McAvoy and Diane Watt (*editors*)

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 700–1500

Volume One

Mihoko Suzuki (*editor*)

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH WOMEN'S WRITING, 1610–1690

Volume Three

History of British Women's Writing

Series Standing Order ISBN 978–0–230–20079–1 hardback

(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

The History of British Women's Writing, 1690–1750

Volume Four

Edited by

Ros Ballaster

*Professor of Eighteenth-Century Studies, Faculty of English Language and Literature,
Mansfield College, Oxford University, UK*

palgrave
macmillan



Selection and editorial matter © Ros Ballaster 2010

Individual chapters © contributors 2010

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2010 978-0-230-54938-8

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2010 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-36186-1 ISBN 978-0-230-29835-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230298354

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10

Contents

<i>Series Preface</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	x
<i>Chronology</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
<i>Ros Ballaster</i>	
Part I Debates	
1 Woman's Place	19
<i>Karen O'Brien</i>	
2 Luxury	40
<i>E.J. Clery</i>	
3 The Country and the City	61
<i>Christine Gerrard</i>	
Part II Transformations	
4 The Politics and Aesthetics of Dissent	81
<i>Sharon Achinstein</i>	
5 The Scriblerian Project	96
<i>Jill Campbell</i>	
6 Women Writers and the Rise of the Novel	113
<i>Kate Williams</i>	
Part III Writing Modes	
7 Scribal and Print Publication	127
<i>Kathryn R. King</i>	
8 Drama	145
<i>Jane Spencer</i>	
9 The Periodical	156
<i>Shawn Lisa Maurer</i>	
10 Letters and Learning	173
<i>Melanie Bigold</i>	

Part IV Worlds of Feeling

11	Religious Love <i>Jane Shaw</i>	189
12	Erotic Love <i>Toni Bowers</i>	201
13	The Love of Friendship <i>Moyra Haslett</i>	215

Part V Overview

14	Critical Review <i>Ros Ballaster</i>	235
	<i>Works Cited</i>	252
	<i>Index</i>	273

Series Preface

One of the most significant developments in literary studies in the last quarter of a century has been the remarkable growth of scholarship on women's writing. This was inspired by, and in turn provided inspiration for, a post-war women's movement which saw women's cultural expression as key to their emancipation. The retrieval, republication, and reappraisal of women's writing, beginning in the mid-1960s, have radically affected the literary curriculum in schools and universities. A revised canon now includes many more women writers. Literature courses that focus on what women thought and wrote from antiquity onwards have become popular undergraduate and postgraduate options. These new initiatives have meant that gender – in language, authors, texts, audience, and in the history of print culture more generally – is a central question for literary criticism and literary history. A mass of fascinating research and analysis extending over several decades now stands as testimony to a lively and diverse set of debates, in an area of work that is still expanding.

Indeed so rapid has this expansion been, that it has become increasingly difficult for students and academics to have a comprehensive view of the wider field of women's writing outside their own period or specialism. As the research on women has moved from the margins to the confident centre of literary studies it has become rich in essays and monographs dealing with smaller groups of authors, with particular genres and with defined periods of literary production, reflecting the divisions of intellectual labour and development of expertise that are typical of the discipline of literary studies. Collections of essays that provide overviews within particular periods and genres do exist, but no published series has taken on the mapping of the field, even within one language group or national culture.

A History of British Women's Writing is intended as just such a cartographic standard work. Its ambition is to provide, in ten volumes edited by leading experts in the field, and comprised of newly commissioned essays by specialist scholars, a clear and integrated picture of women's contribution to the world of letters within Great Britain from medieval times to the present. In taking on such a wide ranging project we

were inspired by the founding, in 2003, of Chawton House Library, a UK registered charity with a unique collection of books focusing on women's writing in English from 1600 to 1830, set in the home and working estate of Jane Austen's brother.

JENNIE BATCHELOR
UNIVERSITY OF KENT

CORA KAPLAN
QUEEN MARY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Acknowledgements

This one is for the many women who have shared their passion for women's writing with me over many years: from animated discussions when I was a doctoral student with the Oxford feminist theory reading group (Jeri Johnson, Dianne Chisholm, Stephanie Flood, Karen Van Dyck, Lynne Hancock especially) to colleagues and students at the University of East Anglia and Oxford University while I have been in academic employment.

I have been honoured to work as supervisor, course tutor or examiner with a number of doctoral students who have constantly revised my opinions and opened my eyes to new materials and ways of reading them: Rebecca Bullard, Melanie Bigold, Debbie McVitty, Caroline Rozell, Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, Alice Eardley, Jennifer Batt, Claudine Van Hensbergen, Taylor Walle, Lisa Anscomb, Sarah Salih. Finally, I hope this collection will match the quality of many other tributes to the inspirational supervision and friendship of a scholar too rarely acknowledged for her contribution to the discovery, dissemination and understanding of women's literary activity in the eighteenth century: Professor Marilyn Butler.

Notes on the Contributors

Sharon Achinstein is Reader in Renaissance English Literature at Oxford University and a Fellow of St Edmund Hall, having previously taught at the University of Maryland and at Northwestern University. She has published essays on women writers, including Elizabeth Singer Rowe, Mary Astell, and Mary Mollineux, and has authored *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (2003). She co-edited (with Elizabeth Sauer), *Milton and Toleration* (2007), and is currently preparing an edition of Milton's divorce tracts for the forthcoming *Complete Works of John Milton*.

Ros Ballaster is Professor of Eighteenth-Century Studies at Oxford University and Fellow in English at Mansfield College. She has written and published extensively about women's writing of the eighteenth century. Her first book was *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction 1684–1740* (1992). Her most recent publications addressed representations of eastern cultures in eighteenth-century England: *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (2005 and winner of the Rose Mary Crawshay Prize from the British Academy) and an accompanying anthology *Fables of the East* (2005).

Melanie Bigold is a Lecturer in English at Cardiff University. She is currently working on two projects. The first, a forthcoming book on *Women of Letters: Manuscript Culture in an Age of Print*, looks at the writing lives of Elizabeth Singer Rowe, Catharine Trotter Cockburn, and Elizabeth Carter. The second project, begun on a SSHRC fellowship at the University of Toronto and as a Plumer Visiting Fellow at St Anne's College (Oxford), is a study of critical biography and the afterlife of lives in the eighteenth century. The primary focus of the project is George Ballard's important history of learned women, *Memoirs of Several Ladies* (1752) and his manuscript archives.

Toni Bowers is Associate Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, where she teaches British literature, cultural studies, and gender studies. The author of more than thirty articles and reviews, she has also written two scholarly books, *Force or Fraud: British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660–1760* (forthcoming, 2010) and *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture, 1680–1760* (1996).

With John Richetti, she has edited a new classroom abridgment of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (2010) and with Tita Chico she is co-editing a collection of new scholarly essays entitled *Seduction and Sentiment in the Atlantic World, 1660–1800* (forthcoming Palgrave, 2011). She is currently at work on a study of the metaphors that enabled the Union of England and Scotland in 1707.

Jill Campbell is Professor of English at Yale University. She is the author of *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels* (1995). Her edition of Fielding's *The Author's Farce* is now available in *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration and Early 18th-Century Drama*. She is currently completing a book on satiric portraits and self-representations of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lord Hervey, and Alexander Pope.

E.J. Clery is Professor of Eighteenth-Century Literature at the University of Southampton. Her publications include *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), *Women's Gothic from Clara Reeve to Mary Shelley* (2000), and *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (1995).

Christine Gerrard is Lecturer in English at the University of Oxford and Fellow in English at Lady Margaret Hall. She is a specialist in political writing of the period 1660–1760, and eighteenth century poetry, particularly women's poetry. She is the author of *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole, 1725–1742* (1994), and *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector, 1685–1750* (2003). Her work as an editor includes *Eighteenth Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology* (with David Fairer, 1999, 2nd edition, 2004), *A Companion to Eighteenth Century Poetry* (2006), and *The Complete Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, vols 1–2 (2009). She is currently researching and writing a book on literature in the reign of George I (1714–27).

Moyra Haslett is Senior Lecturer in English at Queen's University, Belfast. Her previous publications include *Byron's Don Juan and the Don Juan Legend* (1997), *Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories* (Palgrave, 2000) and *Pope to Burney, Scribblers to Bluestockings* (Palgrave, 2003). She is currently completing an edition of Thomas Amory's *The Life of John Bunce, Esq* (1756), for the 'Early Irish Fiction' series (2011) and is also working on a monograph on representations of female community in the long eighteenth century.

Kathryn R. King teaches English at the University of Montevallo where she is Advisor to the Vice President of Academic Affairs on Academic Initiatives. She is the author of *Jane Barker: A Literary Career* (2000) and co-editor with Alexander Pettit of Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator* (2002). She has published articles on eighteenth-century women writers in numerous books and journals, among them *RES*, *ELH*, and *Eighteenth-Century Life*. She is Eighteenth-Century Section Editor for the online journal *Literature Compass* and is currently writing a political biography of Haywood.

Shawn Lisa Maurer is Associate Professor of English at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, where she has also served as Director of Women's and Gender Studies. Her publications combine a focus on women writers with attention to the historical construction of gender, in particular masculinity, across a variety of genres, including periodical literature, fiction, and drama. She is the author of *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* (1998) and has edited Elizabeth Inchbald's *Nature and Art* (2005). She is currently at work on a study of adolescence and the novel in the eighteenth century.

Karen O'Brien is Professor of English Literature at the University of Warwick. She is the author of *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2009) and *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (1997), and is the editor of volume II (1750–1820) of the forthcoming *Oxford History of the Novel*.

Jane Shaw is Reader in Church History at Oxford University and Dean of Divinity and Fellow of New College, Oxford University. She has published widely in the field of eighteenth-century history, including *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (2006). She is Co-Director of The Prophecy Project at Oxford University, which looks at the work of the late eighteenth-century prophet, Joanna Southcott, and the prophetic thinkers and movements that came out of her writings, and she has just completed a history of the Panacea Society, an early twentieth-century Southcottian, millenarian group in England (forthcoming, 2011).

Jane Spencer is Professor of English at Exeter University. Her first book was *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: from Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* (1986). She edited a selection of Aphra Behn's drama (*The Rover and Other Plays*, 1995) and her *Aphra Behn's Afterlife* (2000) addressed the

reception and influence of Behn's work in eighteenth-century England. Her latest book was *Literary Relations: Kinship and the Canon, 1660–1830* (2005) and she is currently working on a study of attitudes to and representations of animals in the eighteenth-century in Britain.

Kate Williams writes historical biographies and on eighteenth and nineteenth-century history and culture for newspapers. She is revising her doctoral thesis to be published as *Stolen Pleasures: Richardson and Amatory Fiction*. She has published articles in books and journals on eighteenth-century fiction.

Chronology

List of significant works by British women writers 1690–1750 by year of appearance.

- All works in italics are publications unless otherwise indicated (by reference to performance date or manuscript circulation).
- Most works are only mentioned on first publication/appearance unless there is particular significance to later appearances (such as a prestigious ‘collected works’).
- Works which are first published by authors who were composing largely in the period before 1690 are omitted from this list unless they carry particular significance in the period under discussion.
- I have excluded works by British women writers in languages other than English, most notably editions of Latin texts.

- 1690 Mary Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris: or, The Ladies Dressing-room Unlock’d, and her Toilette Spread*, posthumously published by her father, John Evelyn
- 1691 Barbara Blaugdone, *Account of the Travels, Sufferings and Persecutions of Barbara Blaugdone*
Joan Vokin, *God’s Mighty Power Magnified: As Manifested and Revealed in his Faithful Handmaid Joan Vokins*
Alicia D’Anver, satirical poem entitled *Academia; or, The Humours of the University of Oxford* went on sale in Oxford
- 1692 Anne Conway, *The Principles of the most ancient and modern Philosophy*
Joan Whitrow, *To King William and Queen Mary, Grace and Peace, The Widow Whitrow’s Humble Thanksgiving to the Lord*
- 1693 Alicia D’Anver, *The Oxford-Act. A Poem*, further satirical poem attacking Oxford University
Catherine Cockburn, ‘Olinda’s Adventures’, published anonymously in *Letters of Love and Gallantry*
- 1694 Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies and Letters Concerning the Love of God*
Elinor James, *Mrs James’s apology because of unbelievers* (broadside pamphlet)

- Jane Lead, *The Enochian Walks with God* (and she founds Philadelphian Society)
- One number of the periodical *The Athenian Mercury* dedicated to Elizabeth Rowe's poems (also in 1695)
- Joan Whitrow, *The Widow Whiterows Humble Thanksgiving for the Kings Safe Return*
- 1695 Catharine Trotter, *Agnes de Castro: A Tragedy* opened at Drury Lane
- Elizabeth Bathurst, *Truth vindicated by the faithful testimony and writings of Elizabeth Bathurst*
- Elinor James, Mrs. James's *Reasons that Printing may not be a Free-Trade* (broadside in response to lapse of Licensing Act)
- Jane Lead, *The Laws of Paradise* and *The Wonders of God's Creation Manifested*
- She Ventures and He Wins* (comedy) by 'Ariadne' performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
- 1696 Delarivier Manley, *The Royal Mischief* at Lincoln's Inn Fields and *The Lost Lover* at Drury Lane performed and *Letters written by Mrs. Manley* published allegedly without her consent.
- Judith Drake, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*
- Elizabeth Singer Rowe, *Poems on Several Occasions*
- Jane Lead, *A Message to the Philadelphian Society*, and *The Tree of Faith and Fountain of Gardens*
- Damaris Masham, *A Discourse concerning the Love of God*
- Mary Pix, *The Inhumane Cardinal* (novel) published. Plays *Ibrahim* (tragedy) and *The Spanish Wives* (farce) performed at Drury Lane
- Joan Whitrow, *To the King and Both Houses of Parliament* (broadside delivered into hands of William III)
- Elizabeth White, *The Experiences of God's Gracious Dealing with Elizabeth White*
- M. Marsin, *The Near Approach of Christ's Kingdom*
- 1697 Mary Astell, *Serious Proposal Part II*
- Joan Whitrow, *Faithful Warnings, Expostulations and Exhortations, to the Several Professors of Christianity in England, as well those of the Highest as the Lowest Quality*
- Jane Lead, *A Revelation of the everlasting Gospel-Message*
- Mary Pix, *The Innocent Mistress* (comedy) and *The Deceiver Deceived* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
- The Unnatural Mother*, comedy written 'by a Young Lady' performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

- Five tracts by M. Marsin published this year: *All the Chief Points Contained in the Christian Religion*; *Rehearsal of the Covenant by Moses*; *The Womans Advocate*; *A Clear and Brief Explanation*; and *The Figurative Speeches: by which God has veiled his Secrets*.
- 1698 Catharine Trotter, *Fatal Friendship* (verse tragedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 Jane Lead, *Messenger of an Universal Peace*
 Mary Pix, *Queen Catharine* (tragedy) with epilogue by Catharine Trotter performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 M. Marsin, *Truth Vindicated against all Heresies*
 Elizabeth Tipper, *The Pilgrim's Viaticum: or, the Destitute but not Forlorn* (a poetry collection)
- 1699 Jane Lead, *The Ascent to the Mount of Vision* and *The Signs of the Times*
 Mary Pix, *The False Friend* (tragedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 M. Marsin, *Two Sorts of Latter-Days, Proved from Scripture*
 Frances, Lady Norton sees into publication the works of her deceased daughter, Grace, Lady Gethin under title *Misery's Virtues Whetstone. Reliquiae Gethinianae*.
 Ann Docwra (Quaker), *An Apostate-Conscience exposed*
- 1700 Ann Docwra, *The Second Part of an Apostate-Conscience exposed The Female Advocate; or, a Plea for the Just Liberty of the Tender Sex* by a 'Lady of Quality' named as 'Eugenia'; responds to John Sprint's misogynist wedding-sermon, published 1699 as *The Bride-Woman's Counsellor*
 Mary Pix, *The Beau Defeated* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 Mary Astell, *Reflections upon Marriage*
 Susanna Centlivre, *The Perjur'd Husband* (tragicomedy) performed at Drury Lane
The Nine Muses or, Poems written by Nine several ladies upon the Death of ... Dryden (includes poems by Sarah Fyge, Delarivier Manley, Sarah Piers, Catharine Trotter, Mary Pix)
 Elizabeth Thomas publishes single elegy on John Dryden in *Luctus Britannici* as by a 'Young Lady'
 Margaret Fell, *Epistle against uniform Quaker Costume*
 Jane Lead, *The Wars of David*
 M. Marsin, proto-feminist Bible commentary *A Full and Clear Account the Scripture gives of the Deity*
 Catharine Trotter, *Love at a Loss* (comedy) performed at Drury Lane

- 1701 Mary Lady Chudleigh, *The Ladies Defence* in response to John Sprint's sermon (see 1700)
 Catharine Trotter, *The Unhappy Penitent* (tragedy) performed at Drury Lane
 Mary Pennyman, *Some of the Letters and Papers which were written by Mrs Mary Pennyman, relating to an Holy and Heavenly Conversation*
 Mary Pix, *The Double Distress* and *The Czar of Muscovy* (both tragedies) performed at Little Lincoln's Inn Fields.
 Jane Wiseman, *Antiochus the Great* (tragedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 M. Marsin, feminist tract *Good News to the Good Women* and *Two Remarkable Females of Womankind* and *An Answer to Dr Whitby, proving the Jews are not to be called into the gospel of the Christian Warfare*
 Anne Finch's Pindaric ode 'The Spleen' published anonymously in Charles Gildon's *New Collection of Poems on Several Occasions*
- 1702 Jane Lead, *A Living Funeral Testimony*
 Mary Mollineaux, *Fruits of Retirement, or Miscellaneous Poems* (posthumous)
 Susanna Centlivre, *The Beau's Duel* and *The Stolen Heiress* performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 Elinor James, *May It Please Your Lordships* (broadsheet welcoming Anne to the throne)
 Catharine Trotter, *A Defence of the Essay of Human Understanding, written by Mr. Lock*
- 1703 Susanna Centlivre, *Love's Contrivance* (comedy) performed (anonymously) at Drury Lane
 Mary Lady Chudleigh, *Poems on Several Occasions*
 Mary Davys, *The Amours of Alcippus and Lucippe*
 Mary Pix, *The Different Widows* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 Sarah Fyge Egerton, *Poems on Several Occasions* with commendatory verses by Mary Pix and Susanna Centlivre
- 1704 Mary Pix, *Violenta; or, The Rewards of Virtue turn'd from Boccace into verse* (verse tale)
 Mary Astell, *Moderation truly Stated* and *An Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of Rebellion and Civil War in this Kingdom* and *A Fair Way with the Dissenters*
- 1705 Mary Astell, *The Christian Religion, As Profess'd by a Daughter of the Church of England*
 Catharine Trotter, *A Poem on His Grace The Duke of Marlborough's Return from his German Expedition*

- Delarivier Manley, *Secret History of Queen Zarah* (dubious attribution)
- Susanna Centlivre, *The Gamester* (comedy) and *The Basset Table* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
- Mary Davys, *The Fugitive*
- Damaris Masham, *Occasional Thoughts in Reference to a Vertuous and Christian Life*
- Catharine Trotter, *The Revolution of Sweden*
- Mary Pix, *The Conquest of Spain* (tragedy) performed at the Haymarket
- Frances, Lady Norton, *The Applause of Virtue* and *Memento Mori*
- Katherine Philips's letters to Sir Charles Cotterell published posthumously as *Orinda to Poliarchus*
- 1706 Catharine Trotter, *On His Grace The Duke of Marlborough* (poem)
- Catharine Trotter, *The Revolution of Sweden* (verse tragedy) performed at Haymarket
- Susanna Centlivre, *Love at a Venture* (comedy) performed at the New Theatre in Bath and *The Platonic Lover* (comedy) performed at the Haymarket
- Mary Pix, *The Adventures in Madrid* performed at the Haymarket
- Mary Astell, new preface to third edition of *Reflections on Marriage*
- Delarivier Manley, *Almyna, or the Arabian Vow* (tragedy) performed at the Haymarket
- 1707 Delarivier Manley, *Almyna, or the Arabian Vow* published
- Catharine Trotter, *A Discourse concerning 'A Guide in Controversies'*, with a preface by Gilbert Burnet which belatedly answers *The Guide to Controversies*, probably 1677, by Abraham Woodhead
- Judith Drake finished and published *Anthropologia Nova: or, a New System of Anatomy* after her husband's death
- Mary Pix, *A Poem, Humbly Inscribed to the Lords Commisioners for the Union of the Two Kingdoms*
- Penelope Aubin, *The Stuarts, a Pindarique Ode*
- 1708 Elizabeth Burnet, *A Method of Devotion*
- Elizabeth Elstob, *An Essay upon Glory* translated from Madeleine de Scudery
- 1709 Elizabeth Elstob, published by subscription and dedicated to Queen Anne, *Aelfric: An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory*
- Ann Brockman, *Age Rectified or, some Cautionary Hints for the Rendering it less Obnoxious to Our Selves and Others*

- Delarivier Manley, *Secret Memoirs ... from the New Atalantis*
 Susanna Centlivre, *The Busie-Body* and *The Man's Bewitched* (both comedies) performed at the Haymarket
 Mary Astell, *Bart'lemy Fair, or an Enquiry after Wit*
- 8 July 1709–31 March 1710 *The Female Tatler*, periodical with female eidelon(s), published thrice weekly
- 1710 Mary Lady Chudleigh, *Essays upon Several Subjects in Prose and Verse* dedicated to Princess Sophia of Brunswick
 Susanna Centlivre, *A Bickerstaff's Burying* (farce) performed at Drury Lane and *Marplot in Lisbon* (comedy) performed at the Haymarket
 Margaret Fell, *A Brief Collection of Remarkable Passages* including 14-page autobiography
 Elinor James, *Mrs James Prayer for the Queen and Parliament, and Kingdom too*
 Delarivier Manley, *Memoirs of Europe*
- 1711 Delarivier Manley, *Court Intrigues* (revised version of *Lady's Pacquet*) and four pamphlets: *A True Narrative of What Pass'd at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard* and *The Duke of M—h's Vindication* and *A True Relation of the Several Facts and Circumstances of the Intended Riot and Tumult on Queen Elizabeth's Birth-Day* and *A Learned Comment on Dr Hare's Sermon*
 Elizabeth Stirredge's autobiography written for her children, *Strength in Weakness Manifest*, published posthumously by Quaker woman publisher, Tace Stowle.
- 1712 Susanna Centlivre, *The Perplex'd Lovers* performed without its Whig epilogue which had not received a licence
 Elinor James, verse broadside *This Day Did God ...*
- 1713 Jane Barker, *Love Intrigues*
 Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, *Miscellany Poems, on Several Occasions*
 Elizabeth Elstob, pamphlet compilation *Some Testimonies of Learned Men, in Favour of the Intended Edition of the Saxon Homilies*
- 1714 Delarivier Manley, *Adventures of Rivella* and two pamphlets: *The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated* and *A Modest Enquiry into the Reasons of the Joy Expressed ... upon ... the Report of the Queen's Death*
 Susanna Centlivre, *The Wonder, a Woman keeps a Secret* (comedy) performed at Drury Lane
 Frances, Lady Norton *A Miscellany of Poems, Compos'd, and Work'd with a Needle, on the Backs and Seats &c. of Several Chairs and Stools*

- Mary Kettlby's executrix published her *A Collection of Above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery; for the use of all good wives, tender mothers, and careful nurses*
- Sarah, Lady Piers, *George, for Britain*, a poem
- Elinor James, *This Day Ought Never to be Forgotten, being the Proclamation Day for Queen Elizabeth*
- 1715 Jane Barker, *Exilius* in *Entertaining Novels*
- Elizabeth Elstob, *Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* and *An Apology for the Study of Northern Antiquities* published together
- Susanna Centlivre, *A Gotham Election* and *A Wife Well Managed* (two farces) published (not performed for political reasons)
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu composes six 'Eclogues' between February and following July
- Elinor James, *Mrs James's Thanks to the Lords and Commons for their great sincerity to King George*
- 1716 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, three pirated 'Town Eclogues' appeared in *Court Poems*
- Susanna Centlivre, *The Cruel Gift* (tragedy) performed at Drury Lane
- Mary Davys, *The Northern Heiress, or the Humours of York* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
- Mary Monck's poems published posthumously with others of her circle by her father under title *Marinda: Poems and Translations upon Several Occasions*
- 1717 Susannah Hopton, *A Collection of Meditations and Devotions* (posthumous). Included *Daily Devotions* of 1672 and *Meditations and Devotions on the Life of Christ* and *An Hexameron*
- Susanna Centlivre, *An Epistle to the King of Sweden, from a Lady of Great-Britain*, a poem answered by Mary Davys with *An Answer from the King of Sweden to the British Lady's Epistle*
- Delarivier Manley, *Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain* performed at Drury Lane
- 1718 Susanna Centlivre, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (comedy) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, edited letters dated between 3 August 1716–1 November 1718 which make up her manuscript travel book about European and Middle Eastern travel, her *Embassy Letters*
- Jane Barber translated Lenten meditations from unknown Fenelon source as *The Christian Pilgrimage* with 14 psalms
- Mary Hearne, *The Lover's Week* dedicated to Delarivier Manley

- 1719 Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess* part 1 (two vols)
 Elizabeth Lady Wardlaw has 'fragment' of ancient ballad of
 'Hardyknute' privately published in Edinburgh.
 Mary Hearne, *The Deserters*. Republished 1720 with *Lover's Week*
 as *Honour the Victory and Love the Prize*
- 1720 Eliza Haywood, *Love in Excess* part 2 (two vols)
 Penelope Aubin, translation from Robert Challes's *The Illustrious*
French Lovers
 Eliza Haywood, translation from Boursault's 'Ten Letters from
 a Young Lady of Quality' as *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a*
Chevalier (published by subscription)
 Susanna Centlivre's autobiographical poem *A Woman's Case*
The Epistles of Clio and Strephon, letters and poems between
 Martha Fowke and William Bond
 Delarivier Manley, *The Power of Love in Seven Novels*
- 1721 Penelope Aubin, *Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil* and
The Life of Madam de Beaumont and (edited) Gomberville's
Moral Virtue Delineated and *Doctrine of Virtue*
 Eliza Haywood, *The Fair Captive* (tragedy) performed at Lincoln's
 Inn Fields
 Jane Madan's 'Abelard to Eloisa' written in response to Pope's
 'Eloisa' (published 1728)
- 1722 Eliza Haywood, *The British Recluse* and *The Injur'd Husband*
 Penelope Aubin, *The Noble Slaves* and *The Life and Amorous*
Adventures of Lucinda and translation of Pétis de la Croix's
Life of Genghizcan the Great and Mme de Beaucour's *Life*
of the Countess de Gondez, *The Adventures of the Prince of*
Clermont
 Susanna Centlivre, *The Artifice* (comedy) performed at Drury Lane
 Lady Lucy Herbert, *Several Excellent methods of hearing Mass*
 Elizabeth Thomas, *Miscellany Poems* (reprinted 1726 as *Poems on*
Several Occasions)
 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *A Plain Account of the Innocu-*
lating of the Small-Pox, anonymously, and as 'by a Turkey
merchant'
- 1723 Jane Robe, *The Fatal Legacy* (tragedy translated from *La Thébaïde*
 by Jean Racine) performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields
 Jane Barker, *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies*
 Penelope Aubin, *Life of Charlotta Du Pont*
 Eliza Haywood, *A Wife to be Lett* (comedy) performed at Drury
 Lane; *Idalia; Lasselia* and *Works* (3 vols)
- 1724 Mary Davys, *The Reform'd Coquet* published by subscription

- Eliza Haywood, *The Masqueraders; The Fatal Secret; The Surprize; The Arragonian Queen; La Belle Assemblée* (vol. 1) translated from Mme de Gomez *Les Journées Amusantes; Memoirs of a certain Island adjacent to Utopia* (vol. 1); *Memoirs of the Baron de Brosse* (vol. 1); *The Tea-Table* (35 nos in periodical form); *Poems on Several Occasions and Works* (vol. 4) and *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems* (4 vols)
- Mary Caesar begins journal (to 1741)
- Elizabeth Harrison, 'A Letter to Mr. John Gay, on his Tragedy call'd "The Captives"'
- Elizabeth Tollet, anon, *Poems on Several Occasions*
- 1725 Mary Davys, *Works* (2 vols published by subscription)
- Eliza Haywood, *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (vol. 2); *The Tea-Table* (part 1 as a vol. under her name); *The Lady's Philosopher's Stone*, translation from Louis-Adrien Duperron de Castera; *The Unequal Conflict; Fatal Fondness; Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; and Secret Histories, Novels and Poems* (second edition)
- Delarivier Manley, *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter*
- 1726 Jane Barker, *The Lining of the Patch-Work Screen*
- Penelope Aubin, *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy and The Illustrious French Lovers* (a translation)
- Eliza Haywood, *The Mercenary Lover; The City Jilt; Reflections on the Various Effects of Love* (part 1); *The Distress'd Orphan; The Secret History of the ... Court of Caramania; Letters from the Palace of Fame; Cleomelia*
- Catharine Cockburn (nee Trotter), *A Letter to Dr Holdsworth*, and also wrote 'Vindication of Mr. Locke's Christian Principles' in response to Holdsworth (not published until her posthumous *Works* of 1751)
- 1727 Mary Davys, *The Accomplish'd Rake*
- Eliza Haywood, *The Fruitless Enquiry; Philidore and Placentia* (2 vols); *The Perplex'd Duchess*
- Mary Herberts, *The Adventures of Proteus, &c., a Sett of Novels*
- Arabella Plantin, *Love Led Astray and The Ingrateful* published in *Letters to the Lady Wharton*
- Elizabeth Boyd ('Louisa'), *Variety, a Poem, in Two Cantos*
- 1728 Penelope Aubin, *The Life and Adventures of the Young Count Albertus*
- Elizabeth Singer Rowe, *Friendship in Death, in Twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living*
- Mary Barber, *A Tale, Being an Addition to Mr. Gay's Fables* (poem) published anonymously in Dublin

- Elizabeth Hanson, *An Account of the Remarkable Captivity of Elizabeth Hanson* published in Philadelphia
- Elizabeth Thomas, *Codrus; or, the Dunciad Dissected* (satire on Pope)
- Eliza Haywood, *The Agreeable Caledonian* (Part 1); *Irish Artifice, or the History of Clarina* published in *The Female Dunciad*; *The Disguis'd Prince*, translation (Part 1)
- 1729 Eliza Haywood, *Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunnenburgh* performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields and dedicated to Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales; *The Fair Hebrew*
- Penelope Aubin, translation *The Life of the Countess de Gondez*
- Elizabeth Rowe, *Letters on Various Occasions* (vol. 1 of *Letters Moral and Entertaining*)
- 1730 Penelope Aubin, *The Humours of the Masqueraders*
- Elizabeth Thomas, *The Metamorphosis of the Town*
- Eliza Haywood, *Love-Letters on All Occasions*
- 1731 Elizabeth Thomas, *Pylades and Corinna* (vol.1), posthumous
- Elizabeth Rowe, *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (vol. 2)
- 1732 Elizabeth Thomas, *Pylades and Corinna* (vol. 2)
- Elizabeth Boyd, *The Happy Unfortunate; or, the Female Page: a Novel*
- Elizabeth Rowe, *Letters Moral and Entertaining* (vol. 3)
- Mary Chudleigh's letters to Elizabeth Thomas 1701–03 published in *Pylades*
- Mary Davys, *The False Friend* (altered from 'The Cousins' in 1725 *Works*)
- Anne Viscountess Irwin, country-house poem to her father, *Castle-Howard*
- 1733 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, anon, *Verses address'd to the Imitator of Horace*
- Mary Chandler, *Description of Bath; a Poem, in a Letter to a Friend*
- Eliza Haywood (with William Hatchett), *The Opera of operas* performed at the Haymarket
- Mary Masters, *Poems on several Occasions*, published by subscription
- 1734 Jean Adam, *Miscellany Poems*, published at Glasgow
- Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, lampoon on Swift *The Dean's Provocation for Writing the Lady's Dressing-Room, A Poem*
- Eliza Haywood, translation *L'Entretien des Beaux Esprits*
- Anne Dutton, *A Narration of the Wonders of Grace, in verse*
- 1735 Mary Barber, *Poems on Several Occasions*, published by subscription and dedication to Lord Orrery by Jonathan Swift (who also helped to edit the work)

- Charlotte Charke, *The Carnival* (farce) performed for her benefit at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and *The Art of Management, or Tragedy Expell'd* (topical farce) performed at York Buildings
- Elizabeth Cooper, *The Rival Widows* (comedy) performed at Covent Garden
- Anne Dutton, *A Discourse upon walking with God: in a letter to a friend*
- Sarah Chapone, *Hardships of the English Laws in Relation to Wives*
- 1736 Eliza Haywood, *The Adventures of Eovaai*
- Elizabeth Rowe's *Philomela; or, Poems by Mrs. Elizabeth Singer (now Rowe)* (without author's permission) and *The History of Joseph* (8-book biblical epic; 2nd edn with 2 further books in 1737)
- 1737 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Nonsense of Common-Sense* (periodical, 16 December 1737 to 14 March 1738)
- Elizabeth Rowe, posthumous *Devout Exercises of the Heart*
- Elizabeth Blackwell, *Curious Herbal* (weekly parts and then vol. 1)
- Elizabeth Cooper, *The Muses Library* – anthology of English poetry, reissued 1741
- Sarah Stone, *A Complete Practice of Midwifery*
- 1738 Elizabeth Carter, *Poems upon Particular Occasions* (limited number of copies published for friends and family) and scholarly edition of translation of Jean-Pierre de Crousaz's commentary on Pope's 'Essay on Man': *Examin*
- Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford, *The Story of Inkle and Yariko* with a companion piece of verses
- Elizabeth Rowe, *Devout Exercises of the Heart*
- 1739 Mary Collyer, poem *The Woman's Labour; an Epistle to Stephen Duck*
- Penelope Aubin, *A Collection of Entertaining Histories and Novels* (posthumous)
- Elizabeth Carter, *Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explained for the Use of the Ladies*, translated from Francesco Algarotti
- Elizabeth Rowe, *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse*, posthumous collection edited by her brother-in-law, Theophilus Rowe
- Laetitia Pilkington, *The Statues; or the Trial of Constancy* (narrative poem)
- Elizabeth Blackwell, *Curious Herbal* (vol. 2)
- Elizabeth Boyd, *Don Sancho* (ballad opera) published with *Minerva's Triumph, A Masque*
- 'Sophia' (poss Sophia Fermor), pamphlet *Woman not Inferior to Man*

- 1740 Sarah Dixon, *Poems on Several Occasions*, published by subscription
 Susannah Wesley, *Some Remarks on a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Whitefield to the Reverend Mr. Wesley*
 Anne Dutton, *A Discourse concerning the New-Birth*
 Sophia, *Woman's Superior Excellence over Men*
- 1742 Mary Collyer, *The Virtuous Orphan*, translation of Marivaux *The Life of Marianne* (1746 revised edition under title *The Life and Adventures of Indiana*)
 Jane Squire, scientific treatise *A Proposal for Discovering our Longitude*
 Eliza Haywood, *Anti-Pamela; or, Feign'd Innocence Detected*
 Anne Dutton, *A Letter to all the Saints on the general Duty of Love*
 Sarah Churchill, *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough*
 Margaret Ogle, 'Mordecai Triumphant' (satire on Robert Walpole)
- 1743 Charlotte Charke, *Tit for Tat* (puppet show) at St James Street, London
 Mary Collyer, *Memoirs of the Countess de Bressol*
 Catharine Trotter Cockburn, 'Remarks upon some writers in the controversy concerning the foundation of Moral Obligation' in *The History of the Works of the Learned*
 Eliza Haywood, *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman; A Present for a Servant-Maid*
 Anne Dutton, *A Letter to such of the Servants of Christ, who may have any Scruple about the Lawfulness of Printing any Thing written by a Woman; A Letter to the Reverend Mr John Wesley; Letters to the Reverend Mr John Wesley against Perfection*
- 1744 Eliza Haywood, *The Fortunate Foundlings; The Female Spectator* (periodical monthly for 24 numbers from 24 April–May 1746)
 Catherine Clive, *The Case of Mrs Clive* (attack on theatre management)
 Jane Brereton, *Poems on Several Occasions* (posthumous)
 Mary Collyer, *Felicia to Charlotte: Being Letters from a Young Lady in the Country, to her Friend in the Town*
 Sarah Fielding, *David Simple* (2 editions, the second with preface and revisions by her brother, Henry)
- 1745 Charlotte McCarthy, *The Fair Moralist*
 Elizabeth Boyd, *The Snail* (pseudo-periodical published as single volume)
- 1746 Eliza Haywood, *The Parrot, with a Compendium of the Times* (weekly periodical 2 August–4 October)
 Hannah Glasse, 'by a lady', *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*

- 1747 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Six Town Eclogues with some other poems* (without the author's knowledge)
 Elizabeth Teft, *Orinthia's Miscellanies; or, a Complete Collection of Poems*
 Sarah Fielding, *Familiar Letters between the Principal Characters in David Simple* (by subscription)
 Catharine Trotter Cockburn, *Remarks upon ... the Nature and Obligations of Virtue*
 Charlotte Lennox, *Poems on Several Occasions*
 Eliza Haywood, translation from Prévost *Memoirs of a Man of Honour*
- 1748 Mary Leapor, *Poems upon Several Occasions* (posthumous)
 Teresa Constantia Philips, *Apology for the Conduct of Mrs T.C. Philips* (monthly instalments into 1749)
 Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs* (vol. 1, Dublin and London 3 months later)
 Anne Dutton, *Letters on spiritual subjects*
 Eliza Haywood, *Life's Progress through the Passions; Epistles for the Ladies* (from 15 November planned serial monthly; ran to 12 books through to 1750)
- 1749 Sarah Fielding, *The Governess; or, the little Female Academy; Remarks on Clarissa*
 Elizabeth Moxon, *English Housewifery, Exemplified in above four hundred Receipts*
 Eliza Haywood, pamphlet *A Letter from H— G—, Esq.; Dalinda, or the Double Marriage*
 Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs* (vols 2 and 3, Dublin)
- 1750 Hannah Snell, *The Female Soldier*
 Mary Jones, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*
 Charlotte Lennox, *Life of Harriot Stuart*
 Anne Dutton, *A Brief Account of the gracious dealings of God, with a poor, sinful, unworthy creature*
 Sarah Scott, *History of Cornelia*
- 1755 Elizabeth Tollet, posthumously published *Poems on Several Occasions* (most written 1720–50)

Introduction

Ros Ballaster

Against the charms our ballocks have
How weak all human skill is
Since they can make a man a slave
To such a bitch as Willis!

Whom that I may describe throughout,
Assist me, bawdy powers;
I'll write upon a double clout,
And dip my pen in flowers.

Her look's demurely impudent,
Ungainly beautiful;
Her modesty is insolent,
Her wit both pert and dull.

A prostitute to all the town,
And yet with no man friends,
She rails and scolds when she lies down,
And curses when she spends.

Bawdy in thoughts, precise in words,
Ill-natured though a whore,
Her belly is a bag of turds,
And her cunt a common shore.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester 'On Mrs Willis'
(c. September 1680)¹

Stella and Flavia every hour
 Unnumbered hearts surprise:
 In Stella's soul lies all her power,
 And Flavia's in her eyes.

More boundless Flavia's conquests are,
 And Stella's more confined:
 All can discern a face that's fair,
 But few a lovely mind.

Stella, like Britain's monarch, reigns
 O'er cultivated lands;
 Like Eastern tyrants, Flavia deigns
 To rule o'er barren sands.

Then boast, fair Flavia, boast your face,
 Your beauty's only store:
 Your charms will every day decrease,
 Each day give Stella more.

Mary Barber, 'Stella and Flavia' (1734)²

The contrast between these two poems acts as a means of measuring the distance travelled in conceiving of the figure of woman in literary culture from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Both poems are written in regular quatrains of alternate rhyming tetrameter and trimeter. Rochester's is a libertine poem in which woman is the ground of a perverse creativity; Sue Willis was a prostitute on the fringes of Charles II's court circle. The poet depicts himself as deriving his writing ink by dipping his 'pen' in menstrual blood (the 'flowers' of the poem) gathered in a clout (a clout is a fragment of clothing, here a towel used for sanitary purposes). Rochester's is a mocking inverse pastoral: the poetic speaker of Edmund Spenser's pastoral poem of 1579, *The Shepheardes Calendar*, is named Colin Clout (the term can also be used to refer to a piece of earth) and his poetry is the product of his unrequited love for a simple shepherdess. For Rochester's aristocratic speaker and Spenser's peasant songster the female body is the earthly source of masculine creativity and form.

Mary Barber, wife of a Dublin woollen-draper whose *Poems on Several Occasions* was published by subscription in 1734 with the support of Jonathan Swift and his circle, presents a contrast between two women rather than a creative dynamic between male poetic speaker and female

love/lust object, but here too the issue is the extent of the female object's power to promote creative activity. Flavia is all surface and Stella all depth; the former commands with her eyes and the latter with her 'soul'. Barber too is making a compliment in imitating an earlier poet, here Jonathan Swift's verses to his friend, Esther Johnson, whom he terms 'Stella' and whom he consistently represents as a virtuous as well as practical muse by contrast with the superficiality of other women; Swift is in turn imitating the courtier poet Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (composed in the 1580s and first published in 1591).³ The paradox in Barber's poem is that although Stella's charms are private and confined, they grow on people and are productive whereas Flavia's flashy and extensive public charms prove 'barren'.

In the poems of both Rochester and Barber we have seen that a link is forged between the reproductive powers of the female body and the representational, productive powers of the poet. But also in both cases a perverse form of creative stimulation is set against an authentic potentiality. Willis's body produces a bag of turds rather than a 'child' (poem) – her procreation with men does not result in a living organic body. Flavia's charms generate tyranny whereas Stella's produce culture and civility. However, in Barber's poem a virtuous female influence is invoked by a female poet publishing under her own name as a source of creative – and national – energy, whereas in Rochester's such a potential influence is only invoked by its absence, by a male poet whose work circulated only in manuscript and was identified with its author by the very 'bawdy powers' it consistently summoned.⁴ The contrast between these poems is to some extent a construct for the purposes of argument: there are of course earlier and later poems in which female virtue is associated with national and civic identity, and poems in which pride and female promiscuity are associated with a degenerative culture. However, the period to which literary historians often refer as the 'long eighteenth century' (from the 1660 restoration of the Stuart monarchy through to the late eighteenth century and the death of the last Hanoverian George in 1830) is increasingly identified with shifts in the ways that gender is thought and represented and especially with the idea of a culture that comes increasingly to *value* rather than *denigrate* a process of feminization, privatization, and inwardness associated with women. Notable in the contrast between these two poems is the shift from an aristocratic metaphor of private waste to a bourgeois language of public trade. Rochester's speaker tells us that Willis 'curses when she spends' – spending refers both to orgasm and to the spending of money, presumably earned in Willis's case through the trade of prostitution;