The Subject of Satire: The Stigmatization of Eliza Haywood and the Amatory Novel in the Misogynistic Satires of Richard Savage and Alexander Pope

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Abstract

> The present age [...] may be stiled [sic] with great propriety THE AGE OF AUTHORS; for, perhaps, there never was a time, in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardour so general to the press. […] In former times, the pen, like the sword, was considered as consigned by nature to the hands of men; the ladies contented themselves with private virtues and domestick [sic] excellence; and a female writer, like a female warrior, was considered as a kind of eccentrick [sic] being, that deviated, however illustriously, from her due sphere of motion, and was, therefore, rather to be gazed at with wonder, than countenanced by imitation. But as in the times past are said to have been a nation of Amazons, who drew the bow and wielded the battle-axe, formed encampments and wasted nations, the revolution of years has now produced a generation of Amazons of the pen, who with the spirit of their predecessors have set masculine tyranny at defiance, asserted their claim to the regions of science, and seem resolved to contest the usurpations of virility (Johnson, 1753).

Keywords: Neoclassical, Novel, Haywood, Pope, Savage, Satire, Gender discrimination, Eighteenth century

1. Introduction

The literary scene in the first half of the eighteenth century was, as Samuel Johnson begrudgingly describes, a time of exciting opportunities for writers because the increase in printing presses, mass publication and widespread readership meant that there was a high demand for books. This commercialization of literature in the new consumer culture meant that the literary market was open to contributions from a wide range of authors; both male and female (Ingrassia, 2005). Although the spirit of enterprise that fueled

publishing opportunities in the period should have been celebrated, it was, instead, viewed by some with misgiving as the rise of a new generation of female authors represented a growing threat that was poised to upset the traditional literary establishment that had hitherto been dominated by male authors. Johnson's above account of the eighteenth century demonstrates this concern because he paints a picture of the period as one involving a great battle of the sexes that pitted "Amazonian" women writers against the "virility" of male ones. It is interesting that the changes within the literary marketplace would be described by Johnson along such gender divisive lines in terms of an aggressive femininity that endangers male virility through fear of emasculation, because it reveals the genuine fear that the eighteenth century male literary establishment had over what it perceived to be the dangerous "feminization" of literature brought on by the increase in female authorship, readership and popular consumption of that most feminine of genres, the amatory novel. If we examine the period's literary scene, it is true that many of the successful writers of the eighteenth century were female. This would explain why certain male authors would feel threatened by the growth of the female presence and influence within the new literary market. Eliza Haywood, for instance, was a famous female novelist who produced large volumes of published works that were very popular amongst eighteenth century readers. Her success along with that of her female counterpart's meant that women writers were a very visible presence in a fiction market that some even felt to be women dominated (Turner, 1994). Nevertheless, given the distrust and suspicion with which the male literary establishment viewed both female authors and the "feminine" amatory novel many of them wrote, a novelist like Haywood would eventually become a target of vicious misogynistic attacks that were meant to undermine both her profession as an author and her literary achievements by dismissing her as an inferior hack writer who produced hack writing. In a way these denunciations were effective because the general picture that students of literature have inherited in terms of their understanding of the eighteenth century canon is one of a literary landscape dominated by the towering figures of male authors like the neoclassical poet Alexander Pope, while a novelist like Haywood has been all but forgotten — that is until recent feminist scholarship has renewed critical interest in her works. But why is this the case? Why have Haywood's literary achievements not been traditionally recognized or included within the canon? To what extent is the discrimination against her female gender to be blamed? To what extent is the discrimination against the "feminine" amatory novel to be blamed? To find and answer to these questions, it is imperative that we first acquaint ourselves with the social and cultural contexts surrounding the eighteenth century literary scene and the undercurrent of gender discrimination that flowed beneath it.

2. The Stigma of Gender

There were many social obstacles that impeded women's journeys towards publication in the eighteenth century. The first impediment for women of that period was education and, because women were granted little to no access to it, their choices of profession ran a short gamut between housewife and whore[1] (Turner, 1994). While a writing career represented a new "realm of possibilities" that offered women a distinctly modern way to make a living and fulfill their literary ambitions while avoiding financial hardship, the pay was generally poor and women had to face both gender discrimination and strong social stigmas that male writers did not have to experience (King, 2013, p. 136). For women, writing was generally seen as being unfeminine and many female authors of that period wanted to remain anonymous after their works were published (Turner, 1994, p.95). This was because if they did not conceal their real names and their gender, they were branded as whores by a society that equated writing and female wit with being a prostitute (Nussbaum, 1984). These stigmas that women were exposed to were consequential because they had the ability to impact both the women's earning power and affect their writing's literary merit as their gender became the grounds upon which their work could either be ridiculed and rejected or, conversely, over-indulged and patronized simply because it was written by a woman. In addition to facing gender barriers to both writing and publishing, female authors of the eighteenth century were subjected to another form of discrimination that came in the guise of satires written by their fellow male authors. Satire would prove to be a powerful and effective method of both demeaning women writers and their writing because men would take up the stigma of female authors being prostitutes and use it in their satires to directly compare the women's work to the act of prostitution. These pointed insults were effective at undermining female authors because they worked on two levels: firstly, they insult the women by implying that they are only really capable and competent in a profession like prostitution which forces them to use and sell their physical bodies and not in a profession like writing that requires them to use their minds. Secondly, it implies that the women do not possess the mental faculties necessary to produce quality works of literature; therefore they are capable of only producing hack writing like amatory novels. What these verbal attacks on women writers does is it draws connections between the sexual depravity of the women's body of work and their physical bodies to argue that women cannot separate their writing from their material and gendered bodies. The women therefore become imprisoned by these male satirists within what Beauvoir would say is the male belief that women live an immanent existence that prevents them from transcending their physical sexuality in order to ascend towards spiritual or intellectual genius (Beauvoir, 2011). These male satirists therefore sexually objectify women writers in order to reinforce the negative stereotype that they are inferior hack writers who will

never be able to produce truly great works of literature that will lift the human spirit and enlighten the mind.

Haywood herself never wrote under the illusion that the work she was producing was first-rate literature. She was drawn to the idea of earning a living as a writer because it represented a practical way for her to support herself following the deaths of her father and her husband, and an "unfortunate" marriage which left her with two children to take care of (Ingrassia, 2005, p. 105). In her dedication to William Yonge that precedes her novel *The Fatal Secret*, Haywood confesses to both Yonge and her readers how her lack of education as a woman has limited her to writing only about subjects that comes naturally to her as a woman i.e. passion and romance. She explains:

> "As I am a woman, and consequently depriv'd of those Advantages of Education which the other sex enjoy, I cannot so far flatter my Desires, as to imagine it in my Power to soar to any subject higher than that which Nature is not negligent to teach us." (Haywood, 1725, p. 85)

If we go back to Beauvoir's contention about how men see women as immanent beings whose existences are inherently tied to their physical bodies and prevents them from achieving spiritual or intellectual transcendence, then Haywood's words appear to echo and internalize this selfsame patriarchal bias because she claims that she cannot "soar" to write about subjects that are "higher" than those related to Nature and the profane i.e. love, sex, and bodily desires. Haywood therefore comes across as being a self-denigrating writer who condemns not only herself but also her fellow female writers to imprisonment within their female bodies; their immanent existences. On the other hand, Haywood can also come across as being witty and sarcastic in tone, not to mention scandalous. Seen from this light, her dedication can be understood not merely as a confession or an apology, but also as a clever form of self-marketing because within the eighteenth century literary market, the books that did well were romance novels that were oftentimes written by women for women readers. Scandal sells and it sold well during the 18th century as readers loved consuming tales about seduction, passion, and illicit romances. Who then is more qualified to write about this than a female author like Haywood who claims to be a natural-born expert? Indeed, for Haywood, the subject of love and romance in the amatory novel would become her greatest source of success that would eventually earn her the unofficial title of "Great arbitress of passion" in a poem written to her by James Sterling (Sterling, 1732, p. 279). Unfortunately for Haywood, her novels would also become the cause of her undoing at the hands of male satirists like Richard Savage and Alexander Pope because while Sterling's poem had praised Haywood, the poetry of Savage and Pope would

condemn her and her writing. Poetry in their hands would serve as a distinctly male weapon of aggression that would attack Haywood personally while belittling her novels and all novels in general, as a feminized commercial art form that was far inferior to poetry and their belief in its nobler expression and prestigious classical lineage. In their hands the reader's attention would be drawn from Haywood's body of work to her physical body that the men have overtly sexualized in an attempt to convince the reader that both the author and her work were morally and sexually depraved.

3. Textuality/Sexuality: Selling Love in the Amatory Novel

In his poem *The Authors of the Town; A Satire* (1725) Savage includes his former lover, Haywood, amongst the authors he attacks through satire. In *The Authors,* Savage describes Haywood as: "A cast-off dame who of intrigues can judge" (Savage, 1725, p. 282). By portraying Haywood as a "cast-off" woman that no man (especially Savage) would want any longer, Savage makes this verbal attack on Haywood a personal stab that refers to their scandalous past relationship while also subjecting her to public condemnation for her past indiscretions. When Savage goes on to describe Haywood as a woman "who of intrigues can judge," his implication here is that she is a promiscuous woman who has had many extramarital relationships with men other than himself. Savage then continues his attack on Haywood by linking her shameless love for sexual indiscretions with the amatory novels she produces; as he says of her: "Writes scandal in romance -- a printer's drudge!" (Savage, 1725, p. 282). Savage's implication here is that Haywood draws upon her own nefarious experiences to publish books that shamelessly publicize her own private love life in order to literally sell herself in the marketplace. To complete his analogy of Haywood as a writer who prostitutes herself for money, Savage refers to her as "a printer's drudge" or laborer who has no freedom of creativity as she must sell herself whenever her publisher commands it. Haywood is therefore represented not only as a hack writer but also as a prostitute who lacks independent agency and self-respect as she only cares about money and not the integrity of the writing craft. Savage continues his attack against Haywood by fleshing out her depravity in greater detail as can be seen through his choice of words that linger on the orgasmic quality Haywood gets off on from being a printer's drudge or whore. He writes: "Flushed with success, for stage renown she pants, /And melts and swells and pens luxurious rants." (Savage, 1725, p. 282) In this line, Savage creates for his readers the image of Haywood not as a woman, but as a creature of sensual pleasures whose ambition and lust for success can never be satisfied. Savage therefore suspends Haywood in an endless cycle of lust, thrill and sexual *jouissance* which she will never escape from simply because she enjoys being exploited by her publisher as his whore. Apart from attacking Haywood's character, Savage targets her writing style by portraying her as an author who

cannot control her writing because she lets it flow profusely in copious numbers of "luxurious rants." The sexual connotation here is clear and it further enhances Savage's attack on Haywood because it a) indirectly criticizes Haywood's decision to write amatory novels that focus on the profane subject of love and sex, and b) Savage's use of the word "rants" implies that Haywood lacks the discipline and technical skills that a proper education would have taught her (had she been male) in how to be a good writer instead of a hack for hire who writes without restraint. This of course goes back to Haywood's own account of her life in her dedication to her novel *The Fatal Secret*, where she acknowledges how her lack of schooling has limited her as a female author to writing novels about what nature has taught her on love. Savage's words thus strike at the heart of Haywood's insecurities as a female writer. The fact that he does this in the measured feet and metrical lines of verse further accentuates the difference he sees between the superiority of poetry as a respected literary art form with an ancient male lineage that can be traced back to the Greek and Roman poets, and the natural inferiority of the prose novel as a new art form dominated by inexperienced female authors. Savage's poem *The Authors of the Town; A Satire,* therefore, embodies the perceived male traits of discipline and self-control that are expressed in its strict adherence to the precise use of traditional English heroic couplets written in iambic pentameters, while Haywood's writings is portrayed as uncontrollable passionate rants that ebb and flow with emotions in a manner as volatile as female hysteria.

Savage goes on to continue highlighting the difference in prestige between poetry and the novel by contrasting his former lover, Haywood, and her degraded prose with the elevated poetry of his new lover, Martha Fowke Sansom (Haywood, 1994). Sansom was a poet whose verse in the book *Clio and Strephon* went through several popular editions (Gerrard, 2004). It is worth noting that Haywood had attacked Sansom beforehand in her novels *The Injur'd Husband* (1723) and *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia* (1725 - 1726) (Gerrard, 2004). Savage's decision to avenge his new lover while vilifying his old one can therefore be seen as the context surrounding his decision to make Haywood's muse in this poem none other than Satan himself while Sansom appears as the classical Greek muse of history: Clio, who recorded the honorable deeds of heroic and virtuous men in a book she is commonly depicted as carrying alongside a trumpet (Smith, 1985):

> But while [Haywood's] muse a sulph'rous flame displays,
> Glows strong with lust or burns with envy's blaze!
> While some black fiend that hugs the haggard shrew
> Hangs his collected horrors on her brow!
> Clio, descending angels sweep thy lyre,
> Prompt thy soft lays and breathe seraphic fire.

Tears fall, sighs rise, obedient to thy strains,
And the blood dances in the mazy veins! (Savage, 1725, pp. 282-283)

This passage from Savage is interesting for a number of reasons. First of all, by depicting Haywood as a haggard shrew being hugged by Satan and unable to escape his grasp as he "hangs his collected horrors on her brow," Savage once again portrays Haywood as a weak female writer who lacks her own creative agency and is vulnerable to being a slave to the demands of the devil himself. Secondly, Sansom appearing in a heavenly vision as the muse Clio, reiterates the superiority that poetry has over novels. Thirdly, and most importantly of all, Sansom as Clio is a non-threatening female writer who upholds the classical glory of male-dominated poetry while Haywood is seen as a threatening presence who is heralding the new and popular feminized prose novel that will challenge the celebrated position of poetry and the male literary establishment. Lastly but not least, it is also worth noting that Sansom is being used in this passage by Savage to personify virtue in contrast to Haywood's corrupt figure of vice. By placing the two women in opposition with each in a dichotomy of virtue versus vice, Savage establishes a clear distinction between what he considers as acceptable female behavior versus what is not, and also what is acceptable as a literary art form versus what is not. Undoubtedly for Savage, whose soured relationship with Haywood fuels his condemnation of her and her writing, Haywood's scandalous romance novels are unacceptable, wicked and even immoral. The same sentiment will later be repeated in the *Dunciad* poems by Alexander Pope, who also found Haywood's books to be "libellous Memoirs and Novels" worthy only of his contempt (Pope, 1749). Like Savage in his satire of Haywood, Pope appeals to his reader's innate sense of morality and aesthetics to convince them of this female author's personal depravity and the depravity of her work.

4. The Subject of Satire: Hack Writing and the Aesthetics of Neoclassical Literature

If we situate Savage's and Pope's satire of Haywood's writing within the bigger picture of the eighteenth century, we will see that its discussions about what constitutes good or bad (hack) writing, is part of a greater cultural concern about what constitutes good or bad art or even 'good' or 'bad' for that matter. In the eighteenth century we find philosophers such as the British empiricist, David Hume, questioning where our definition, understanding and appreciation of the 'good' as opposed to the 'bad' comes from. According to Hume, popular opinion on the topic of 'good' and 'bad' is part of a larger argument concerning moral philosophy of which there are two prominent groups: those who believe there exists a clear categorical distinction between the truth of what is good/ virtuous/ beautiful and all that is bad/vicious/ugly/, and those, like himself, who question the validity of such constructs (Hume, 2008). For the most part,

eighteenth century culture operates on the former system. It believes in a concrete definition of good/virtue/beauty and it looks back to the classical past for examples of aesthetics that embody this ideal definition of what good art should be. It is no wonder then that the early eighteenth century was alternatively known as the Augustan Age and that English culture sought to align itself diachronically with the classical period as it emulated Greco-Roman culture in much of its own art and literature, and especially in its poetry. With classical aesthetics becoming the criteria upon which a work of art's merit should be judged, there was no bigger proponent of this than the Augustan poet, Alexander Pope, who imagined himself as part of the self-prescribed literary elite that opposed the hack writers of Grub Street (Ingrassia, 2005). Having translated both the *Iliad* in 1713 and the *Odyssey* in 1725 - 1726 (Fairer & Gerrard, 2005), Pope must have imagined himself as an authority on eighteenth century Augustan poetry and a connoisseur of cultivated taste and classicism. Pope was therefore clearly a member of Hume's former camp i.e. those traditionalists that believed there was a clear distinction between what makes a writer an author and what makes him/her a hack. Therefore, when Pope attacks Haywood in the *Dunciad* poems and includes her amongst the hack writers he viciously attacks through satire, Pope, like Savage, is maintaining the divide between what can be considered as appropriate literature and what cannot, while also maintaining what is appropriate female behavior and what is not. In fact, Pope, writing as Scriblerus in the *Dunciad with Notes Variorum* (1729) and *The Dunciad Complete in Four Books* (1743), explains in his appendixes that Haywood is satirized in the scatological games depicted in Book II chiefly because she has failed to behave in a manner expected of her sex, who should not engage in vicious slander or pen them in scandalous romances (as Haywood had done with Samsom in her novels):

> In this game is exposed, in the most contemptuous manner, the profligate licentiousness of those shameless scriblers (for the most part of that Sex, which ought least to be capable of such malice or impudence) who in libellous Memoirs and Novels, reveals the faults or misfortunes of both sexes, to the ruin of public fame, or disturbance of private happiness. Our good poet [. . .] where he could not shew his indignation, hath shewn his contempt, as much as possible; having here drawn as vile a picture as could be represented in the colours of Epic poesy. (Pope, 1749, p. 81)

Haywood's sins in Pope's eyes are intimately tied to her sex and her text. He is attacking her not just because she is a woman or a woman writer, but specifically because she is a woman producing what he considers to be hack writing in the form of novels - that new literary form that offends his preference

for classical poetry and offends his personal tastes as a member of the Augustan literary elite - an elite, we might add, that was eager to maintain its control over a literary culture that was rapidly changing and becoming modernized as women, who were not educated in the classics or ancient Greek and Latin and thus were not part of the masculine literary tradition, were writing and publishing for a new consumer culture that consisted predominantly of female readers who wanted to read romance novels (Clery, 2004, p.79). Women therefore represented an increasingly feminine force of modernity that was encroaching upon the masculine hold over the classical past and its extension into this Augustan Age of the early eighteenth century (Clery, 2004, p. 79). If we approach Pope's satire of Haywood and her commercial novels with this understanding in mind, then the *Dunciad* poems can indeed be seen as what Fairer and Gerrard (2005) says is "a defence of cultural values against a growing commercialization of the arts" (p. 114). If poetry for Pope was a representation of moral and cultural values from the masculine past (Clery, 2004), then the threatening feminized novel that represented modernity and a change to the status quo became to him an example of the decline of culture (Pettit, Croskery, & Patchias, 2004). This female source of the deterioration of cultural and moral values thus becomes an oppositional force that must be suppressed and Pope chooses to do this by subversively satirizing Haywood and her novels in his *Dunciad* poems while claiming, on the surface, to just be admonishing her for her treatment of Sansom.

In his poetry, Pope attacks Haywood and her novels while also emphasizing poetry's superiority as a literary art form and touchstone of moral and cultural values. He does this by simply taking the traditions of classical epic poetry and inverting it to produce a mock-epic poem within which he places Haywood in a depraved world that celebrates her vices (instead of her virtues) and puts it on display amongst the perverse scatological games celebrating the goddess Dulness. Not satisfied with just making Haywood a public spectacle, Pope literally puts her on exhibition by referring to an engraved portrait of her that was published as a frontispiece to the fifth edition of her successful novel *Love in Excess* (Spedding, 2015) - the novel that brought Haywood her fame and fortune. Pope writes of her in the 1728 *Dunciad in Three Books: "*Fair as before her works she stands confess'd, / In flow'r'd brocade by bounteous *Kirkall* dress'd, / Pearls on her neck, and roses in her hair, / And her fore buttocks to the navel bare" (Pope, 1728, p. 22). Pope takes what was meant to be a portrait celebrating Haywood's achievements as an accomplished author who had had her popular novel published for the fifth time and satirizes it; making what was meant to be a symbol of her pride and personal success into an object of contempt and derision. If we look at the portrait on its own without paying heed to Pope's poetry (see Appendix A), we see what appears to be a typical portrait of a woman dressed in a manner common to the fashion of her period. There is

nothing that stands out to us as being remarkable or amiss and we might not pay much attention as to how she is represented. However, in Pope's *Dunciad*, he does not just refer to it, he makes us view the portrait through his eyes. His male gaze directs our gaze and through his words he forces us to linger on certain parts of her body; particularly her breasts. Through this, Pope objectifies Haywood into an overtly sexualized body that is also threatening in its feminine form because, whereas the goddess Dulness is described indistinctly and amorphously in terms of being "laborious, heavy, busy, bold, and blind," (Pope, 1728, p. 2) Haywood, by contrast, is depicted in a well-defined and well-drawn out female body that is based upon a well-known portrait of her found in one of her popular novels. Haywood is therefore made to be the concrete embodiment of female sexuality that Pope enhances and distorts by placing emphasis on her breasts and exaggerating her décolletage to the point of perversity because he has Haywood reveal herself "to her navel bare." By doing this, Pope draws our attention to Haywood's sexuality, her femaleness, and also her otherness. Pope chooses to accentuate this female otherness by referring to Haywood's bust as "fore buttocks" instead of breasts thereby symbolically twisting and warping her body to switch the position of her buttocks with her breasts. This transforms Haywood into an unnatural creature, a true freak of nature and grotesque specimen of perverse femininity. Pope would also later describe her breasts as being "cow-like udders" (Pope, 1728, p. 23) thereby making Haywood neither human nor animal. This satirical image destroys both Haywood's credibility as a woman and a writer, and the respectability of her novels because Pope depicts her books as extensions of her monstrous body by representing them as her bastard children born of lust and out of wed-lock. Pope cunningly refers to the novels as the "two babes of love close clinging to her waste" (Haywood, 1994, p. 276). Haywood and her two novels (which Pope writing as Scriblerus would later in the 1729 *Dunciad, with Notes Variorum* identify as *The Court of Cariminia* and *Memoirs of a Certain Island adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia)* (Pope, 1729, pp. 107-108), come together to create a grotesque picture of perversion in a world distorted by vice because it has turned its back on cultural values and cultural morality. Pope even has the accessories Haywood wears on her person (the rose in her hair, the low-cut brocade dress and the pearls on her neck) accentuate the vile scenes of degeneration and corruption surrounding her because they stand out as ostentatious decorations that are incongruous and ridiculous in light of the filth of the scatological games being held around her. Therefore, in this chaotic topsy-turvy world of the mock-epic, even that which is supposed to be beautiful becomes ugly in a society that can no longer differentiate between the good and the bad in its art, or distinguish its literature from commercial writing, or recognize an author from a hack. Although Pope would later omit details of Haywood's brocade dress and her "fore buttocks" in later editions of the *Dunciad*, he still retains sufficient concrete details of her

sexualized body with its cow-like breasts to perpetuate an image of Haywood as a figure of ridicule, because to him she is a commercial female writer of scandalous amatory novels that embodies all that is immoral and wrong about eighteenth century culture and its growing love of so-called second-rate literature and hack writing. And because her novels deal so openly with the topic of sexuality, Pope has her sexualized body made to reflect her vices and he has Haywood expose her body and herself (quite literally in her extremely low-cut dress) to his reader's and all his future reader's criticism, for perpetuity. Like Savage, Pope finishes his satire of Haywood by reiterating the eighteenth century social stigma against women writers that equates their wit with loose morals and prostitution (Nussbaum, 1984). For in the end of her brief yet damaging appearance in the *Dunciad,* Pope has Haywood portrayed as a whore who is happy to serve the goddess Dulness' wishes because she willingly and happily gives herself away to her publisher, Curll, as a prize for winning the urination competition held in Book II. Pope even depicts Haywood as smiling softly as she leads Curll away to claim his winnings (her body) without any shame (Pope, 1728). This thus completes his analogy of Haywood as a writer who prostitutes herself for money and fame.

5. Conclusion

This analysis of Richard Savage's and Alexander Pope's satires of Eliza Haywood has revealed to us the rhetoric of hatred, discrimination and misogyny that were harbored and directed against female novelists in the early eighteenth century amidst fears of the feminization of literature. Savage's and Pope's satires drew connections between the sexual depravity of Haywood's body of work and her physical body in order to reinforce the belief that women cannot separate their writing from their material and gendered bodies. The woman writer is therefore physically imprisoned in an immanent existence that prevents her from transcending the limitations of her physical sexuality. This is a reinforcement of the negative stereotype of women as being inferior hack writers who will never be able to produce truly great works of literature, only coarse and profane amatory novels that should be excluded from the literary canon.

Notes

1. Cheryl Turner explains that education for girls and young women in the eighteenth century was deemed unnecessary since the expected fate for most of them was marriage. Even education for those of the middle class was focused mainly on literacy and "a patina of learning" to go along with their social accomplishments (See Turner, 1994, p. 43). And what further professions lay beyond their expected careers of marriage and motherhood that didn't include that of being an author, was limited to those of governess, seamstress, painter, actress, domestic service, courtesan, and prostitute (See Turner, 1994, pp. 72-77).

George Vertue after James Parmentier,
"Eliza Haywood" (née Fowler) (1700-1725),
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