

The Female Spectator

CHAWTON HOUSE LIBRARY

VOL. 14 No. 2, SPRING 2009 ISSN 1746-8604

THE CHAWTON HOUSE LIBRARY BOOK FAIR

An Appeal for Donations

Twenty-five years ago, in 1984, the independent research library the Newberry Library in Chicago held a book fair to support the library. A quarter of a century later, the Newberry Library is currently preparing for a four-day sale in July 2009. An expected 110,000 books which are being donated by friends, supporters and the general public, will be sold to raise funds for the library. The Newberry Book Fair manager has an amusing online diary that provides anecdotes in the run up to their book fair. One entry includes a snapshot of the diverse types of people who donate second-hand books: 'You meet people who ask you to call them but hang up if a man answers because Dad doesn't know we're cleaning out his books'.

We at Chawton House Library would not recommend donating Dad's books without his knowledge, but we *are* looking to the Newberry Library model to both enhance and expand our collections, and would like to appeal to our supporters for help. There are several ways in which you can do this.

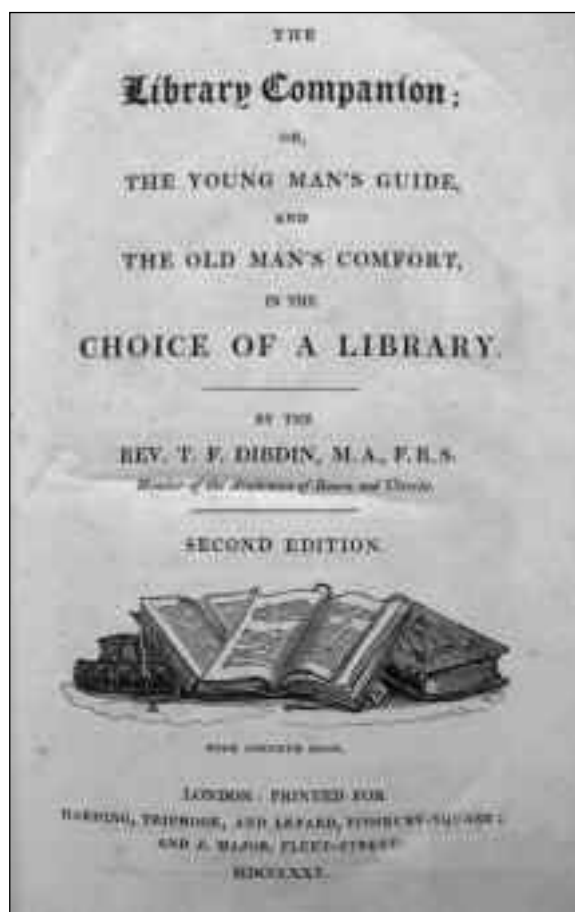
We know that many of the readers of *The Female Spectator* are academics and scholars who have published critical works on early women's writing, on the literature and culture of the long eighteenth century more generally, or indeed have edited modern editions of eighteenth-century texts. If you have published this kind of work, and would like to donate to the library, we would be extremely glad of a copy of your book to enhance our secondary collection.

Perhaps you own early editions of women's writing yourself – anything from novels, poetry and drama, to works on education, history, writing for children and domestic manuals. If this is the case, and you are looking for a safe home for your collection, we can provide such a home if your

books fit our acquisitions policy; broadly, women's writing from 1600-1830. If you would like to enquire whether a donation is suitable for our main collection, please contact our librarian Jacqui Grainger.

Finally, and perhaps the easiest way to donate is to consider giving us some second-hand books that we will then sell on. We know that our supporters love to read, and that they read

more widely than the period with which Chawton House Library is most closely connected. We would therefore like to encourage donations for our own Book Fair, to be run on the model of the Newberry Library Book Fair, but on a smaller scale (we're not quite sure how we would deal with the logistics of 110,000 second-hand books arriving in Chawton!). We are currently accepting donations of second-hand books and audio-books in every genre, and published at any time. We ask only that they be in reasonable condition. You can post these books for the attention of our operations manager, Emma Heywood, or indeed bring them in person if you are able to make the trip to Chawton. All donations will be collected in the library, and then offered for resale at the Chawton House Library Book Fair, to be held on Saturday, 5th December.



Please put the date in your diary, and come and join us for a browse, tea and conversation, and leave having supplemented your own book collection, and knowing your money has gone to a good cause.

All proceeds from the Chawton House Library Book Fair will go directly into our acquisitions budget, to enable us to expand our collection of early women's writing, and improve our secondary collection.

Gillian Dow

LIVES NOT LIBERTIES: FINDING FEMINISM AMONG THE TRADITION VENERATING THE WORTHY FEMALE

Currently a PHD candidate at the European University Institute in Florence, Wendy Robins' research concentrates on the work of Catharine Macaulay and early feminism. She was a Visiting Fellow at Chawton House Library in November 2008.

I verily think, Women were formerly educated in the knowledge of Arts and Tongues, and by their Education, many did rise to a great height in Learning. Were Women thus Educated now, I am confident the advantage would be very great: The Women could have Honour and Pleasure, their Relations Profit, and the whole Nation Advantage.¹

Bathsua Makin's concerns over lost educational opportunities for women was expressed at the end of the seventeenth century, but this fear regarding the supposed decline in girls' education lasted well into the nineteenth century, and was expressed from both the aristocratic and the middling classes. This is in contrast to much current scholarship that has made significant leaps demonstrating the variety and extent of women's literacy, scholarship and authorship during the long eighteenth century.

Makin tied women's education to the benefit of the nation at large, placing the issue of women's situation and knowledge within a social and political context. With this rhetorical device, Makin allows for women to have significant force within the creation of state and society. Makin followed her point with examples of female worthies and educated ladies that included royal and aristocratic notables such as Elizabeth I, Queen Christiana of Sweden, and Makin's contemporary, Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle. This lost experience and education of women is alluded to by the radical historian Catharine Macaulay in her *Letters on Education* (1790) a hundred years later, when she complained of the 'entire

neglect of our immediate ancestors in the education of their daughters'.²

This belief that women had lost educational opportunities ties many educational treatises, such a prevalent genre of the period, with the tradition of venerating the 'female worthies' of the past: from history, mythology and scripture. The 1696 *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* by Judith Drake, begins in a similar vein:

... there have been Women in All Ages, whose Writings might vie with those of the greatest men, as the Present Age as well as past can testify ... I pretend

not to imitate, much less to Rival those Illustrious ladies, who have done so much honour to their Sex, and are unanswerable Proofs of, what I contend for ...³

Makin and Drake's contemporary, the republican theorist John Toland, also considered the role of the worthy female as one spike in his heterodox attitude to Christian authority. In *A lady's religion in a letter to the Honourable My Lady Howard* (1697), he inferred 'that women were potentially capable of apprehending the highest philosophy, virtue and religion',⁴ and hence possibly capable of priesthood. A later work by Toland, *Hyppatia* (1720) 'was intended to celebrate the vast numbers of women who have distinguished themselves by their professions and performances in learning',⁵ and to use the legend of the life and brutal death of the ancient female philosopher as a commentary on the church. This rhetorical use of the female worthy to build an argument against authority

and highlight other forms of inequity was one strain of debate, although not a common one among the genre. More consistent is the use of the female worthy as a device whereby the attacks on women's nature are countered by concrete examples.



The Female Worthies: or, Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Ladies, of All Ages and Nations, ... (1766)

The idea of the worthy female was enshrined in the two volume eponymous history, *The Female Worthies, Or, Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Ladies of all Ages and Nations*, from 1766. In the preface the editor considered that historical evidence undermined the assumed sexual hierarchy:

Should we look into history for parallels and comparisons between the two sexes, we shall find, that nature has been no less indulgent to the female sex than to the male with respect to those noble faculties of mind ... and if there are not so many instances of the former as of the latter, various reasons may be assigned for such deficiency.

As with so many texts, the source of the problem remains the woeful state of modern female education, which, spurred on by the demands of the competitive marriage market, is geared to developing female accomplishments and adornments. Underlying the problem is the lost humanist education of a previous era, which many commentators appear to have believed had been widely available to gentle and aristocratic women. It is this lost education and the modern fashion for trifling accomplishments that has added fuel to 'The vulgar prejudice on the supposed incapacity of the female sex, in regards to works of learning and genius'. The preface claims that the soul resides in the human mind and since the former can have no sex, then it surely follows that the intellectual capacities of both sexes should be the same. This is an identifiable element of the early feminism contained in Drake's *Essay* where she is also concerned with the notion of the equitable nature of the soul and how there are no innate ideas that separate males and females.

The author of *The Female Worthies* speculates that a look two centuries past will be sufficient to demonstrate how earlier women were conversant with linguistic, scientific and philosophical enquiries, and conjectures that women were as accomplished educationalists as were men:

She [an educated mother] knows what those acquisitions are, which will make a man shine at the bar, in the pulpit, in the senate, and in the cabinet; and neglects no means to qualify her children for the one or the other.

Given the masculine monopoly over these professions, this is a bold claim, and allows for female instruction and understanding of the oratorical and rhetorical skills needed for such overtly public duties. As with Makin's early pamphlet, women's education is crucial to the security and success of the nation.

In *The Female Worthies* learned and exemplary women from across the ages sit alongside each other, alphabetically rather than chronologically arranged. *The Female Worthies* follows a didactic tone emphasising traditional female virtues and, with a few exceptions such as Cleopatra, omits women of dubious

The Female Spectator

Spring 2009

In this issue of the Female Spectator, two of the Library's recent Visiting Fellows present articles on research themes that they were able to explore while at Chawton. The Library's activities past and future are highlighted by a review of the successful one-day symposium on the eighteenth-century garden, and a look ahead to the Library's forthcoming book fair.

Editors:

Academic: Gillian Dow

General: Helen Scott

Contents	Page
The Chawton House Library Book Fair - An Appeal for Donations Gillian Dow	I
Lives not Liberties: finding feminism among the tradition venerating the worthy female Wendy Robins	2
Tracing Jane Austen's Readership in New England Sandra Alagona	6
'A Resource Against the Tedium of Life': Reflecting on the Eighteenth-Century Garden Stephen Bygrave	10
Dates for Your Diary	12

character:

Their vicious and immoral lives, without the appearance of one virtue to speak for them, would rather serve to corrupt the minds than afford any useful instruction for the conduct or behaviour of the modest part of the fair sex.⁶

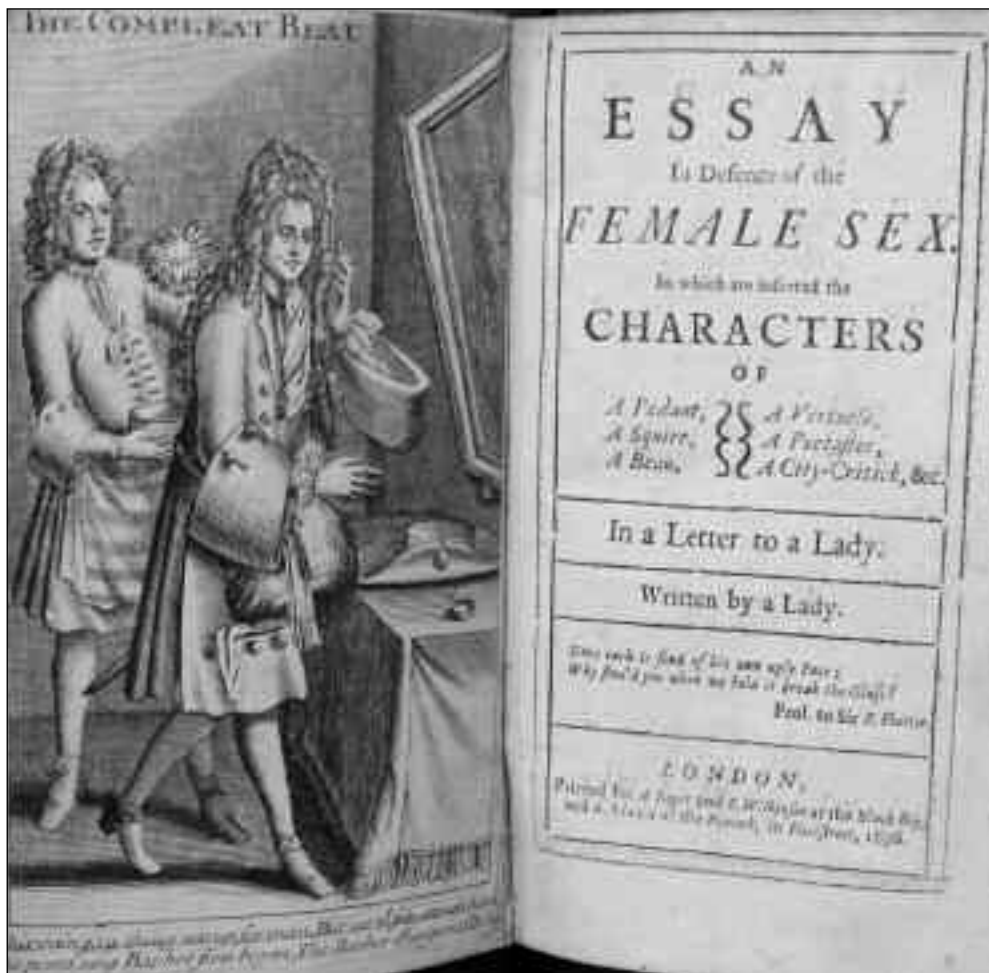
There is little separation of the history of these women from the instructive morals that young female readers were to gain by reflection on their lives. The inclusion of Sappho with a frank discussion of her possible lesbianism, however, renders the collection somewhat eclectic in its moral ascription. What is of value, however, is that a learned humanist education is elevated to an essential facet of (gentle) women's lives and there is an attempt to summarise elements of the *querelles des femmes* – the renaissance debate on women – by inserting brief commentary on some aspects of the debate, such as the engagement of esteemed Dutch writer Maria von Schurman with works by the Italian Lucretia Marinella. It also, in places, provides debates over authorship, such as with *The Whole Duty of Man* from 1657 arguing in favour of Lady Pakington over Richard Allestree, although modern scholarship favours Allestree. *The Female Worthies* was in this sense a compendium of the *querelles des femmes* and a modern didactic text. Hence it retains the elements of the rhetoric arguing for women's essential role in maintaining social and political harmony, and presents them as crucial linchpins in

the (re)production of the power elite. *The Female Worthies* is therefore nostalgic about a lost age of female authority and knowledge, but keen to impart strong moral values regarding contemporary femininity.

This compendium of learned females also draws upon other works including George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* from 1752 (which was republished in 1775). Ballard's aim, as he claimed in the preface, was to rectify the imbalance both between the numbers of men and women represented in biography, and also between foreign works on illustrious women and those of women of Great Britain. Ballard's work spurred other productions, including the *Poems by Eminent Ladies* published three years later, which acknowledged that it was nature more than education that inspired the poets therein, and contained works by living writers such as Elizabeth Carter. This anthology includes Lady Chudleigh's 'The Ladies Defence, (or a Dialogue between Sir John Brute, Sir William Loveall, Melissa and a Parson)', a satire on marriage, where the protagonist Melissa defends her sex against patriarchy, false piety, and seduction, demonstrating how the triumvirate of law, church and custom curtailed women's independence.⁷ The compilation excludes the polemicists and, by concentrating on the poets, is part of a developing literary division of genres along gender lines. The poetical form had an endearing appeal for both the defence and the veneration of women – for it allowed them an acceptably witty form in which to carve out a niche of

female achievement. Poems however maintained the quarrelsome and relatively frivolous aspects of the debate on women, and were cultural comments rather than political agenda. The political pamphlet and later, the novel, were more forceful modes of challenging women's status. This combination of emphasis on the literary achievements of women, or their moral force, allowed for new methods of women's discourse and debate.

By the time the genre of the female worthy had been picked up by a more determined feminist in the form of Mary Hays, Catharine Macaulay had become one of the female notables. In Hays's six-volume duodecimo *Female Biography* (subtitled: *or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women of all Ages*



An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex (1696)

and Countries) Macaulay's thirty-page biography is sandwiched between a three line entry on the ancient goddess, Mæro, and three hundred pages on Mary, Queen of Scots. *Female Biography* did not seek to classify these women either by their historical epochs, or by some other associative elements: queens, goddesses, republicans, and mistresses mingle equitably in Hays's homage. As with these other biographical anthologies, Hays's collection was a tribute and a reference work, and less radical and critical than her work of the 1790s, such as *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in Behalf of Women* (1798), influenced by the works of her friend, Mary Wollstonecraft.

Later Hays wrote historical works aimed at young readers and both a female and a youthful audience was the intended readership for *Female Biography*. In the preface she sets out her case not only for women's advancement, but eventual superiority of females:

I have at heart the happiness of my sex, and their advancement in the grand scale of rational and social existence. ... A woman who, to the graces and gentleness of her own sex, adds the knowledge of the other, exhibits the most perfect combination of human excellence.⁸

Hays's personal engagement exemplifies the changing boundaries among works aimed primarily at women, from the abstract and rhetorical, to the immediate and sentimental. Readers faced with *The Female Worthies* of 1766 were exposed to a format and style reminiscent of established humanist rhetoric concerned with women as maintainers of social and political cohesion, fundamentally of the higher social orders, and concerned with the elementary nature of matter and the soul. These lost facets of humanist education were lamented by many educational treatises; however, by the end of the eighteenth century the emotional well being of the reader, and her personal development towards human excellence were the mode in which early feminism progressed.

Hays's work was more comprehensive but heavily indebted to these predecessors (and acknowledges such), and in some of its portraits, Mary Astell's for example, she merely adapted the text of *The Female Worthies*. Whilst Hays cites these earlier biographical works on Astell, she downplays Astell's feminist polemic. There is no evidence in the biography that Hays herself sought out Astell's work, nor does she cite any of Astell's own early feminist maxims. She acknowledges that *Reflections Upon Marriage* was forcefully written in favour of the privileges of women – whereas *The Female Worthies* uses the term 'rights and privileges' (my emphasis). This is an interesting omission given that Hays was one of the radical set of the French Revolution era, familiar with the growing discourse on political rights. Hays claimed that Astell's work was a satire, as she does with Drake's *A Letter to a Lady, written by a Lady*, omitting the full, and more proto-feminist title *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* as cited in *The*

Female Worthies. Hays also fails to reference Astell's other feminist work: *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest* (1694).

There may have been political or religious reasons behind Hays's desire to downplay Astell's proto-feminist stance, if indeed she read her works. Unwilling perhaps to acknowledge that a seventeenth-century High Church Tory could identify similar gender inequities as herself, Hays may have considered Astell's work part of older polemical disputes that were no longer relevant. A different conclusion may also be that these biographies were aimed at young women and girls, for whom the polemical arguments in favour of women's emancipation may have been considered too advanced or potentially misleading. Finally of course, there was the role of the market. Biography was more saleable than early feminist polemic: more controlled and less dangerous to the delicate minds of young female readers. Whichever way, it would appear that the lives of exemplar women were of greater interest to early feminists such as Mary Hays than their works, exacerbating the problems of modern scholars to find a direct discursive tradition or debate on gender rights amongst the pro-female lobby across the long eighteenth century.

¹ Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues* (London: Printed by J. D., to be sold by Tho. Parkhurst, 1673), p. 3.

² Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education* 1790 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1996), pp. 61-62.

³ 'Preface', *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (London: Printed for S. Butler, 1696). This essay was ascribed to Mary Astell in *The Female Worthies: or, Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Ladies, of All Ages and Nations, ...* (London: Printed for S. Crowder, and J. Payne, 1766), but *First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799*, Moira Ferguson, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana State Press, 1985) gives Judith Drake as the author.

⁴ Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the crisis of Christian culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 53.

⁵ John Toland, *A Collection of Several Pieces of John Toland*, 2 vols. (London: J. Peele, 1726) vol. 2, p. 191, cited in Champion, *Republican Learning*, p. 53.

⁶ Anon., *The Female Worthies*, successively: vol. I, p. vi; vol. II, p. 167; vol. I, p. vi & p. x.

⁷ See 'The Ladies Defence' in *Poems by Eminent Ladies* (London: R. Baldwin, 1755), pp. 197-226. This was originally published in 1701 in response to 'The Bride-Woman's Counsellor' (1699) by John Sprint. See M. Ezell, 'Introduction,' *The Poems and Prose of Mary, Lady Chudleigh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. xxiii.

⁸ Mary Hays, *Female Biography*, 6 vols., (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), vol. I, pp. iv-v.

TRACING JANE AUSTEN'S READERSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND

Sandra Alagona is a PhD candidate at Claremont Graduate University, whose dissertation explores and identifies the ways in which Jane Austen and Margaret Fuller engaged the revolutionary ideas of their times. She was a Visiting Fellow at Chawton House Library in 2008.

Literary research is often marked with tangential strands that lead the researcher to interesting and important questions.

During the course of my visiting fellowship to Chawton House Library in November and December 2008, one such strand appeared with exciting connections. Within R.A. Austen-Leigh's *Austen Papers, 1704-1856* are a series of fourteen letters between Sir Francis William Austen, one of Jane Austen's sailor brothers, a Miss Eliza Susan Quincy of Boston, Massachusetts, and her sister, Anna.¹ The exchange documents how Jane Austen's letter to Martha Lloyd of 12 November 1800² became the property of Eliza Susan Quincy, and also traces the cordial correspondence and friendship which emerged between the Admiral and the Quincy sisters between 1852 and 1856, becoming the only New England readers and *aficionados* of Jane Austen with a direct connection to her family. As an American, the name Quincy is familiar, and because of this, my eye passed right over the name of Admiral Austen's correspondent when the letters

first came to my attention in November 2007. But early in my fellowship period, questions about Austen's nineteenth-century American collectors developed in conversations with Jacqui Grainger of Chawton House Library, and with attendants of the 'Cult and Commerce of Jane Austen' day conference at the University of London's Institute of English Studies. 'Just who *were* these Americans and *why* were they so eager to obtain Austen memorabilia so early? Was Jane Austen really so popular in America at the time?' was repeatedly asked. Yet when Deirdre Le Faye reminded the group assembled at Senate House that Eliza Quincy came from a prominent family in Boston, the questions still remained. For despite Le Faye's and Brian Southam's attention to Miss Quincy, the true magnitude of her family's position in Boston remains obscure for many in Britain.³ Yet what caught my attention when Ms. Le Faye mentioned Eliza

Quincy was still not Quincy herself, but her family's connection to the other half of my research: Margaret Fuller (1810-1850). Fuller, an American Transcendentalist, essayist, and journalist, best known for her treatise *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) and her time as literary critic and war correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune*, had read, admired, and was recommending Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* in October 1830, a full two years before

Carey and Lea of Philadelphia brought out the first American editions of Austen's works in 1832 and 1833.⁴ How had Fuller obtained Austen's novels, and what role, if any, could the Quincys have played in her knowledge of them in the first place? To begin answering these questions, it is necessary to understand who the Quincys were, what position they held in early nineteenth-century Boston society, and the extent of the correspondence with the Austens.



Admiral Francis Austen, brother of Jane Austen, corresponded with Eliza Quincy of Boston and her sister Anna

Eliza Susan Quincy (1798-1884) was the eldest daughter of Josiah Quincy (1772-1864) of Boston and Eliza Susan Morton (1773-1853) of New York City. Never marrying, Eliza Susan is best known as the editor of her father's biography of his father, Josiah Quincy, Jr. (1744-1775), who died when Eliza's father was still a boy.⁵ Josiah Quincy was a Congressman for Massachusetts between 1804-1813, mayor of Boston from 1823-1828, and

became the president of Harvard University in 1829, a post which he held until 1845. Southam characterised the Quincy pedigree as being 'of distinguished Founding Father stock,' which partially describes the family.⁶ For, as respectable as Josiah Quincy's pedigree was, it must be noted that he was first cousin to Abigail Smith (1744-1818), daughter of William Smith and Elizabeth Quincy, who went on to marry John Adams in 1764, who in turn became the second president of the United States in 1797. In 1825, Abigail and John Adams' son, John Quincy Adams, became the sixth president of the United States. In her letter of 2 March 1852, Eliza was quick to point out her family's connection to President John Adams by showing his association with her grandfather Josiah and their defence in 1770 of the British soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre. As a military man himself, Quincy believed this would matter to Austen.⁷

Eliza's proof of pedigree and the genuine gratitude her family showed at being entrusted with one of Jane Austen's letters was enough to impress Francis Austen into a cordial correspondence with her.

In 1856, the Austen-Quincy correspondence expanded to include Anna when she and her husband, Robert Waterston, travelled to England and visited Francis Austen and his family at Portsdown Lodge in Portsmouth. From Anna's 13 August 1856 letter to the Admiral, we know the visit went well and that she and her husband were invited back to Portsdown Lodge. For the Admiral's equally appreciative account of their visit, we must turn to Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe's article, 'A Jane Austen Letter', published in *The Yale Review* which includes Austen's letter to Eliza Susan dated 19 June 1856.⁸ Howe further includes another letter from Francis Austen written on 19 May 1863 in response to one received from Eliza which enclosed a copy of her father's address to the Union Club of Boston.⁹ This letter also shows that Austen had sent the Quincys copies of books written by his daughter, Catherine Anne Hubback, though he does not name her.¹⁰ After this 1863 letter, Howe includes those written to Eliza Susan Quincy by James Edward Austen-Leigh on 28 November 1870 and 31 December 1870, asking and thanking her for the painstaking and detailed copy of Jane Austen's November 1800 letter which Eliza Quincy included in her 13 December 1870, alluded to at the end of chapter ten of *Austen Papers*. After Eliza Quincy's death in 1884, the scrapbook in which the Austen letters were kept remained in the Quincy family, eventually becoming the property of Fanny Huntington Quincy (1870-1933), Eliza's great-niece, granddaughter of her brother Josiah Quincy (1802-1882). Fanny Quincy became, in 1899, Mrs. Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, the same who wrote the piece for *The Yale Review*, and this is the Mrs. M. A. DeWolfe Howe which Le Faye identifies in the provenance for Letter 26.¹¹

With the correspondence traced, I turned back to Margaret Fuller and the question of her knowledge of Jane Austen. Eliza Quincy made it clear in her first letter to Francis Austen that '[t]he late Mr. Chief Justice Marshall, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and his associate Mr. Justice Story, highly estimated and admired Miss Austen, and to them we owe our introduction to her society'.¹² In fact, Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835), a native of Virginia, at the age of 71, 'had read all of Jane Austen's works'.¹³ This means Marshall had read Austen as early as 1826, six years before the Carey and Lea editions were published. In fact, Marshall recommended Jane Austen to Justice Joseph Story (1779-1845) of Massachusetts this same year in a letter dated 26 November after Story failed to include Austen in his list of female literary favorites when he addressed Harvard's Phi Beta Kappa undergraduate honor society in August 1826.¹⁴ As Story's son, William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), explained in response to Justice Marshall's letter, 'It is due to my father to say, that he fully recognized the admirable genius of Miss Austen. Scarcely a year passed that he did not read more than one of them, and with an interest

that never flagged'.¹⁵ The influence of the Supreme Court justices cannot be overlooked with regard to Margaret Fuller, particularly as Justice Story was also from Massachusetts and associated with both the Quincys and the Fullers.

In 1826, Fuller was sixteen years old. Her father, Timothy Fuller, was in the midst of his third political appointment, having served in the Massachusetts State Senate from 1813-1817, and in the US House of Representatives between 1817-1825. In 1825, he began a term in the Massachusetts House of Representatives once again as a member of the Republican party. It is worth noting that in the early nineteenth century, 'Republican politicians in Massachusetts were mostly ambitious, middle-class men outside the Federalist network of wealth and family connections'.¹⁶ This criterion applied to both Timothy Fuller and Joseph Story, while Josiah Quincy - Eliza's father - and John Marshall were both wealthy Federalists. These political differences are noteworthy in Massachusetts of the Early Republic because Timothy Fuller's constituents were in Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University, a staunchly Federalist district, as was Boston. This would seemingly put him at odds politically with Josiah Quincy, but by 1825, they were both back in Massachusetts and out of the Washington political scene, Fuller in the state House of Representatives and Quincy as Boston's mayor. In June 1825, Margaret and her parents attended 'a lavish reception given at the home of Mayor Josiah Quincy for the Marquis de Lafayette, just then concluding his sixteen-month triumphal tour of America'.¹⁷ It is facile to say that this constitutes proof of intimacy between the two families, but it does demonstrate that the families were acquainted, if only professionally, through politics. Margaret Fuller was also attending school in Cambridge again after having been at Dr. Park's Boston Lyceum for Young Ladies from 1821-1822 where 'her penchant for sarcasm and ridicule ... had alienated some of her Boston schoolmates'.¹⁸ Yet, in the summer of 1826 the Fullers moved out of their Cambridgeport home and into the Dana Hill mansion, a quarter of a mile from Harvard and situated on the Boston road.¹⁹ This placed Timothy Fuller in a more affluent, and socially important, location.

Margaret's precocious intellect and voracious reading appetite ensured that she would not only be well versed in the classics of literature, but also modern literature. The literary and intellectual renaissance being experienced in Cambridge in the 1820s was due in large part to the influx of ideas and texts to the community via many emerging and emigrating scholars returning to or entering Harvard-centric Cambridge following the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812.²⁰ So while Timothy Fuller's political connections to Josiah Quincy and to (Federalist and later Whig) John Quincy Adams, for whom both he and Joseph Story campaigned in his 1825 and 1828 presidential bids, respectively, may have exposed his daughter to some of the finest Massachusetts families, the atmosphere for fruitful literary exchanges was ripe for someone like Margaret Fuller. That most of her male friends belonged to Harvard's Class of 1829 is as

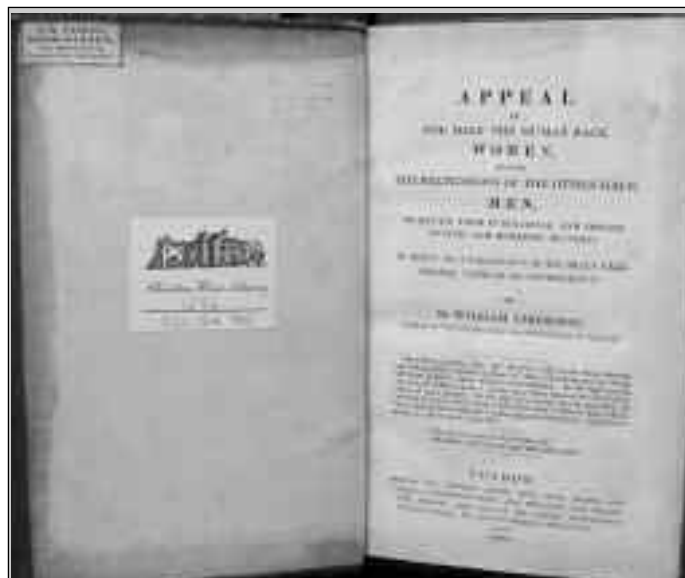
noteworthy as the fact that she was friends with several of the professors and their wives. Several possibilities, thus, appear for Fuller's knowledge of Austen: 1) she could have learned about the novels from the Quincys; 2) she could have learned about them from any of the literary professors with whom she was friends; 3) she could have learned about them from any of her Harvard or Boston-Cambridge friends; 4) her father may have recommended them to her on learning about them from Joseph Story; 5) or she may have learned about them from Justice Story himself after his appointment to the faculty of Harvard Law School in 1829, or from his 'star pupil' and her close friend, George S. Hillard.²¹

The Quincy option appears weakest because the two families were mixing in different circles between 1826 and 1830; the Fullers, and Margaret in particular, in Cambridge while the Quincy daughters were in Boston. Furthermore, of the five Quincy daughters, only Anna was closest in age, younger than Margaret by two years. Eliza Susan was twelve years her senior, while Abigail, Maria Sophia, and Margaret Quincy were six, five, and four years older. Though it is true that several of Fuller's Cambridge friends were older than her, I believe the social distance, if not the small geographic distance between Cambridge and Boston (not above six miles - a good hour and a half's walk today), would have been enough to keep the middle class Fuller from socialising frequently with the more affluent Quincy girls. Certainly, her surviving correspondence does not show any contact with the Quincys, though this is not definitive proof that they did not correspond. What is known is that Mrs. Eliza Morton Quincy later attended Fuller's 1839 'Conversations' series for women in Boston.²² The next two possibilities, that she learned about Austen's works from Harvard professors or from any of her friends, are not borne out through her correspondence either. However, just as she recommended *Pride and Prejudice* to her friend James Freeman Clarke in a letter, someone may have alerted her similarly in an unrecovered or lost letter. There is also the possibility that she learned about the novels simply in conversation, something completely unrecoverable in history unless someone takes the trouble to transcribe or write an account of such a conversation. To date, however, no such record has surfaced. The last two possibilities, that she learned about them perhaps first or secondhand from Joseph Story appears most plausible to me. If William Wetmore Story's account of his father's knowledge of Jane Austen is to

be believed, Justice Story was already familiar with her work in 1826 when Justice Marshall wrote to him. Story's willingness to champion the intellect and abilities of Austen's contemporaries in his Phi Beta Kappa address shows that he would have done the same for Austen, particularly as he admired her so. We know Eliza Susan Quincy attributes her family's knowledge of Austen to Story in part, thus it is very likely that he would have recommended Jane Austen to others of his acquaintance, perhaps including his students.

How the novels were obtained is now the next point and the least clear. During Fuller's childhood in the 1810s, England's trade with America was hampered in part because of Napoleon's blockades, and also by the three year War of 1812 with the States. That English books came into the United States directly from London and were bound in the US

became apparent to me while I consulted William Thomson and Anna Wheeler's *Appeal of One Half the Human Race ...* in Chawton House Library's primary collection.²³ This volume, published in London in 1825, bears a bookbinder's sticker for J.A. Parker at No. 4 Athenian Buildings, Franklin Place, Philadelphia.²⁴ James Raven makes it clear in *The Business of Books* that the English book trade with America was a thriving enterprise: "The perilous Atlantic crossings and the frequent interruptions of war were constant obstacles,



The Chawton House Library copy of William Thomson & Anna Wheeler's Appeal of One Half of the Human Race ... (1825), with the Philadelphia bookbinder's label in the top left corner of the inside cover

but booksellers and agents improved the information about the publication of books and pamphlets'.²⁵ In fact, 'in the Federalist period', and in New England in particular, American independence increased the 'clamour for things European'.²⁶ The War of 1812 coupled with Raven's argument and evidence certainly help explain why, of all of Austen's novels, only *Emma* appeared in print, perhaps as a pirated copy, out of Philadelphia in 1816. This edition published by M. Carey was sold by Wells and Lilly of Boston. Between 1816 and 1832, however, no other Austen title appears from an American publisher. This means the novels would have been purchased through English bookselling agents in the United States who advertised their imported titles in newspapers with the cry, 'In the last ships'.²⁷ Margaret Fuller may have borrowed copies from her friends as book borrowing was a standard practice among them, but who may have lent her Austen's works is unknown. The Boston Athenaeum, the principle cultural entity in the area at the time, does not have a borrowing record for Fuller, though she may have read there and is known to have attended lectures and art exhibits there.²⁸ Additionally, whether or not

Timothy Fuller purchased the novels for his daughter is unknown, and sifting through Boston booksellers' invoices and receipts will require more time than a tangential investigation can yield. For now, we must be satisfied with the knowledge that Jane Austen was an acknowledged and popular author with many Boston-Cambridge intellectuals.

¹ *Austen Papers*, 1704-1856, R.A. Austen-Leigh, ed. (London: Spottiswood, Ballantyne, & Co., 1942), pp. 296-320.

² This is Letter 26 in *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd ed., Deirdre Le Faye, ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1997).

³ Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), pp. 273-274; Brian Southam, *Jane Austen and the Navy*, 2nd ed. (Greenwich, London: National Maritime Museum Publishing, 2005), pp. 315-317, p. 321. The most recent article which glances at the Austen-Quincy connection is Farnell Parsons, 'A Note on a Jane Austen Connection with the Massachusetts Historical Society: Justice Story, Admiral Wormley, and Admiral Francis Austen', *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal On-Line* 23.1 (2002).

⁴ 'Margaret Fuller to James Freeman Clarke, October 25, 1830', *The Letters of Margaret Fuller: Volume VI: 1850 and Undated*, 6 vols., Robert N. Hudspeth, ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1983-1994), pp. 169-170.

⁵ Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior, of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1744-1775*, Eliza Susan Quincy, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1875). There are several Josiahs in the Quincy clan. Eliza's grandfather was known as Josiah Junior because his own father was a Josiah as well. To carry the name forward, one of Eliza's brothers was also a Josiah, and so was one of this Josiah's sons.

⁶ Quincy, p. 315.

⁷ *Austen Papers*, 1704-1856, p. 300.

⁸ M. A. DeWolfé Howe, 'A Jane Austen Letter', *The Yale Review*, New Series 15 (1925-26), pp. 319-335.

⁹ Howe, p. 330.

¹⁰ For brief information on Catherine Hubback's literary output, see the Biographical Index to *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 492.

¹¹ *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 371.

¹² *Austen Papers*, 1704-1856, p. 297.

¹³ Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall: Volume IV: The Building of the Nation, 1815-1885*, 4 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), p. 79.

¹⁴ Beveridge, p. 79; Joseph Story, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Story: Volume 1*, 2 vols., William Wetmore Story, ed. (Boston: Little and Brown, 1851), pp. 503-505. Story

included Elizabeth Smith (1776-1806), Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806), Hannah More (1745-1833), Anna Barbauld (1743-1825), Fanny Burney (1752-1840), and Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823) in this list.

¹⁵ Story, p. 506. He goes on to describe how *Emma* and its characters entered their family circle as Justice Story sat for his son while the latter sculpted a marble bust of his him.

¹⁶ Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life, Volume 1: The Private Years*, 2 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992, 2007), p. 10.

¹⁷ Capper, p. 87.

¹⁸ Capper, p. 65.

¹⁹ Capper, p. 92.

²⁰ Capper, p. 84.

²¹ Capper, p. 99.

²² Capper, p. 293; 'Margaret Fuller to [?], November 25, 1839', *The Letters of Margaret Fuller: Volume II: 1839-41*, 6 vols., Robert N. Hudspeth, ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1983-1994), pp. 101-102.

²³ William Thompson and Anna Wheeler, *Appeal of One Half the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain them in Political, and thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery: In Reply to a Paragraph of Mr. Mill's Celebrated "Article on Government"* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green; and Wheatley and Adlard, 1825).

²⁴ A cursory Internet search using Google.com shows that Athenian Buildings was a popular address for Philadelphia printers and publishers in the nineteenth century.

²⁵ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2007), p. 145. See particularly chapter 5, 'Investing in Books: The Supremacy of the Booksellers', and chapter 9, 'Promoting the Wares', which elucidate the nature of the business with colonial America and United States.

²⁶ Raven, p. 146.

²⁷ Raven, p. 146.

²⁸ Morini, Carolle, 'Margaret Fuller', email to the author, 23 February 2009. Ms. Morini is an archivist and reference librarian at the Boston Athenaeum. The Athenaeum does list the 1814 London edition of *Mansfield Park* and the 1818 London edition of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in its present holdings. At present I do not know when these were acquired. Fuller's letters and journals document her attendance at and reactions to cultural exchanges at the Athenaeum, as do the letters and journals of some of her friends, such as Transcendentalist philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson.

‘A RESOURCE AGAINST THE TEDIUM OF LIFE’: REFLECTING ON THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GARDEN

A symposium on gardens and what they meant in the period of Chawton House Library’s collection seemed a natural event for it to host. Rain was forecast on 7 April, the day for which it was arranged, but the rain kept off and the sun shone on all who gathered for a one-day symposium entitled ‘“A Resource Against the Tedium of Life”: Reflecting on the Eighteenth-Century Garden’. The symposium was the first event of the Southampton Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies, launched at Chawton last October. It saw experts reflect on conceptions of the eighteenth-century garden in a room from which they could look out at an example – deer, ha-ha and all: the first speaker, David Cooper remarked that he had no need to show us pictures because he could point out of the window. A special feature of the day was a tour of Chawton House’s own landscape garden.

Opening proceedings, Professor John Oldfield, Director of the Southampton Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies, stressed the importance of collaboration not only between academic disciplines but also between Chawton House Library and SCECS. Steve Lawrence, CEO of Chawton House Library, emphasised the new dimension SCECS had added. Admitting he was no more than ‘a slash-and-burn gardener’ himself, Steve praised the title of the symposium ‘A Resource against the Tedium of Life’ (from Charlotte Smith’s 1788 novel *Emmeline*), as still a true indication of the role gardens may play.

Chawton House in its landscape garden

There was not any tedium to be had in the three papers from different disciplines – respectively philosophy, musicology, and literary studies – that formed the core of a day. David Cooper, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at the University of Durham, led off with an urbane survey of the ways in which theories of the picturesque attempted to mediate or to reconcile culture and nature. Cooper’s talk showed how the picturesque represented a critique both of the formalism of French gardens, such as that at Versailles, which did not allow for the experience of ‘nature’ and of the ‘improvement’ represented famously by Capability Brown (and satirised by Austen) which failed to epitomise the variety and intricacy of nature. On this account, the kind of managed landscapes that would be described as picturesque might embody what Addison called ‘artificial rudeness’.

The vogue for them was shortlived however: by late in the eighteenth century tourists were deserting the garden for the lakes or the Alps. As often, however, the commonplace histories of different disciplines do not mesh with each other. Stephen Groves, a PhD student in Music at the University of Southampton supervised by Tom Irvine, Deputy Director of SCECS, was able to show that the musically eclectic practices of Continental European composers constituted them as a kind of *avant garde* that the English resisted. Those practices, he told us in a wide-ranging paper entitled ‘Resisting the Picturesque: English musical conservatism and the age of the landscape garden’, have also been described as ‘picturesque’. Groves used musical examples from Haydn’s symphonies and C.P.E. Bach’s keyboard suites to ask both philosophical and



historical questions. The philosophical questions were to do with the representational and even narrative possibilities of music, the historical question was essentially why English composers did not employ the 'picturesque' resources associated with Austro-Hungarian composers. But did that (much later) descriptive term mean anything when applied to music rather than gardens or pictures? How could music represent the picturesque (or anything else)?

After lunch (of savoury cakes and ratatouille provided by the new French chef visiting Chawton) the library displayed some of Chawton's beautifully hand-illustrated books on gardening, landscape architecture, botany and the picturesque. Included in these was Price's *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the sublime and the beautiful; and, on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape* (1810), David Cox's *The Young Artist's Companion; Or, Drawing-Book of Studies and Landscapes Embellishments. Comprising a Great Variety of the Most Picturesque Objects Required in the Various Compositions of Landscape Scenery, Arranged as Progressive Lessons* (1825) and Mary Lawrance's *Sketches of Flowers from Nature* (1801). The third edition of *The Tour of Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1823; the first miniature edition, with coloured plates), was also included in the display, and gave delegates an opportunity to see a work that had been referred to by David Cooper in his talk, and a key example of the fashion for satirising the vogue for the picturesque.

Next, June Parkinson, Chair of the Hampshire Gardens Trust (a charity which, as she reminded us, has a 25-year commitment to the house and garden) led us all on what, following Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park*, she called 'a rambling fancy', a tour of the gardens at Chawton. The delegates were shown how the various gardens and other spaces were being restored to the way they were conceived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whilst at the same time the garden is being put to practical use as an educational resource for the children of Chawton Primary School, who are learning to cultivate produce from beds laid in the walled garden.

What Repton called 'propriety and convenience' were not then, in the case of Chawton House, antithetical to the

aesthetic senses of the garden that had preoccupied the symposium so far. The last paper of the day showed some consequences of such an opposition. In it Stephen Bending, from English at the University of Southampton, explored a range of meanings imposed on women in gardens. The theoretical discourse around landscape gardens tacitly assumed the gardener to be male (women were allowed flower gardens); for men rural retirement could be the means of representing themselves as leisured but not luxurious, thoughtful but not indulgent. As Bending showed us through some revealing case-studies of eighteenth-century women

gardeners, things were different for women. Elizabeth Montagu took the opportunity for leisured reflection assumed by her rural retirement but she was not exactly typical because she was fabulously wealthy. Rural retirement for other women was not always such a freely-willed, honorific act as it was for Montagu. More often, as Bending showed from their unpublished letters, rural retirement could be a punishment, sometimes for sexual disgrace. Elizabeth Rowe lamented the lack of visitors, Mary Coke was confined in her Notting Hill home, and Henrietta Knight, Lady Luxborough was aware that the sexual scandal that forced her into retirement would pursue her.

Bending's talk was a spirited reminder that the fact a garden may be 'A Resource Against the Tedium of Life' does not mean it is impervious to forces such as gender or economics outside of it. Such reminders showed the value of the day. At conferences people

rarely confer, but the format allowed for plenty of discussion from the floor about issues the speakers raised – or failed to raise. The usual knowledgeable questions from a Chawton House Library audience made up of 45 delegates from within and outside academe taxed the speakers about gender, about English aesthetic conservatism, what happened to the picturesque and about how gardens were perceived by the person in the garden. At the end, Alex Neill expressed his thanks and that of his co-organiser Stephen Bygrave to Gillian Dow for her work on the logistics of the day. This team from SCECS hopes that the gardens day may prove a model of the small symposium focused on a single important topic and will initiate a series of such interdisciplinary events. All readers of *The Female Spectator* are cordially invited to join us in the future.

Stephen Bygrave, University of Southampton



An illustration from Mary Lawrance's Sketches of Flowers from Nature (1801), which was on display at the symposium



DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

Free Wednesday Afternoon Seminars

Chawton House Library is hosting free Wednesday Afternoon Seminars every month, at which Visiting Fellows currently in residence will present their work in progress. The next seminar will be held on 24 June, 2-4pm. Please see the library website for further details.

Thursday 25 June

Dramatised Talk: Jane Austen & Character: An Actor's View

A dramatised talk by actress Angela Barlow. Mrs Bennet, Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Emma and many other favourite Austen characters make appearances in Angela Barlow's entertaining talk on the creation of character in Jane Austen's novels. Using parallels with her own acting experience, she suggests ways in which this subtle and humorous author might have worked.

6.30pm Reception with wine. Tickets £15.

Tuesday 30 June

Regency Gardens

Afternoon talk, tours of the garden. Speaker Cassie Knight on Regency gardens and the restoration of Edward Austen Knight's walled garden at Chawton House Library followed by "Tea with Mrs Knight" (recipes from the Knight family cookbook, circa 1790). Event starts 2.30pm. Tickets £12.

Thursday 9 – Saturday 11 July

Conference: New Directions in Austen Studies

To celebrate the bicentenary of Jane Austen's arrival in the village of Chawton, Chawton House Library is holding a three day conference. Confirmed speakers include: Linda Bree, Emma Clery, Deirdre Le Faye, Isobel Grundy, Juliet McMaster, Kathryn Sutherland, Janet Todd and John Wiltshire. The conference will also include a closing concert, entitled "A Chawton Album: Music from the Austen Family Music Books", which will be recorded.

To book tickets for any of the above events please call the events manager, Sarah Cross on 01420 541010.



The Female Spectator

The Female Spectator is the newsletter of Chawton House Library, a British company limited by guarantee (number 2851718) and a registered charity (number 1026921).

MISSION

The Library's mission is to promote study and research in early English women's writing; to protect and preserve Chawton House, an English manor house dating from the Elizabethan period; and to maintain a rural English working manor farm of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

TRUSTEES

Dr. Sandy Lerner, Chairman
Mr. Len Bosack
Dr. Linda Bree
Dr. Reg Carr
Mrs. Gilly Drummond, OBE DL
Prof. Isobel Grundy
Ms. Joy Harrison
Mr. Richard Knight

PATRONS

Prof. Marilyn Butler, CBE
The Hon. Mrs Harriet Cotterell
Mrs. Mary Fagan, JP
Mr. Nigel Humphreys
Mr. Brian Pilkington
Prof. Michèle Roberts
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selborne, KBE FRS
Dr. Brian Southam
Mrs. Claire Tomalin, FRSL

CHAWTON HOUSE LIBRARY

Ms. Lindsay Ashford, Press & Communications Assistant
Mr. Alan Bird, Head Gardener
Mr. Keri Cairns, Horseman
Mr. Ray Clarke, Maintenance Technician

Mr. Martin Clements, Housekeeping Assistant
Mr. David Coffin, Assistant Gardener
Mrs. Sarah Cross, Events Manager
Dr. Gillian Dow, Chawton Fellow
Ms. Sam Gamgee, Housekeeping Assistant
Ms. Jacqui Grainger, Librarian
Mrs. Susie Grandfield, Public Relations Officer
Ms. Emma Heywood, Operations Manager
Mrs. Sally Hughes, Housekeeper
Mr. Stephen Lawrence, Chief Executive
Mrs. Angie McLaren, Head Horseman
Mr. Ray Moseley, Fundraising & Marketing Assistant
Miss Sarah Parry, Archive & Education Officer
Mrs. Corrine Saint, Administrator

NORTH AMERICAN FRIENDS OF CHAWTON HOUSE LIBRARY
The Library's 501(c)(3) organization in the United States.

824 Roosevelt Trail, #130
Windham, ME 04062-400
Telephone & Fax: 207 892 4358

Professor Joan Klingel Ray, President
Ms. Kathy Savesky, Secretary

CHAWTON HOUSE LIBRARY

Chawton House, Chawton, Alton, Hampshire GU34 1SJ
Telephone: 01420 541010 • Fax: 01420 595900
Email: info@chawton.net
Website: www.chawtonhouse.org

Designed and printed by Wyeth Print Group Ltd. 01420 544948
Typeset in Caslon Old Face.

© Chawton House Library, 2009