Subversive bodies: embodiment as discursive strategy in women's popular literature of the long eighteenth century

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SUBVERSIVE BODIES: EMBODIMENT AS DISCURSIVE STRATEGY IN WOMEN'S POPULAR LITERATURE IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

In partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In

The Department of English

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For Bob and Betty
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Abstract

“Subversive Bodies: Embodiment as Discursive Strategy in Women’s Popular Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century” examines literary representations of the body as strategies of resistance. This study demonstrates that Manley's *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, Haywood's *Female Spectator*, and Burney's *Journal and Letters*, as well as unpublished receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations, challenge the prevailing masculinist notion of a passive, distinct topography of womanhood and lay the groundwork for a feminist tradition of recognizing the body as an explicit part of experience. Tracing the origins of today's critical perspectives, my study draws on the insights of recent feminist theories of the body but remains historically contextualized through its focus on medical science and law. It demonstrates that the bodies in Manley, Haywood, Burney, and unpublished receipt books challenge the bodily constructions and associated gender meanings that the disciplines of medical science and law have traditionally reinforced. My analysis deepens our contemporary understanding of the complex relations between gender, bodies, and discourse in general.
Chapter 1: Writing the Body: An Anatomy of Power

I. Introduction

Last year, on International Women's Day, I was teaching at the American University in Bulgaria and serving as the faculty co-sponsor of our women students' chapter of The Network of East-West Women, an international feminist organization. I attended a program that our student group had organized as part of the activities to celebrate the international diversity of our group of women on campus. Our membership included women from Romania, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia, Albania, Montenegro, Turkey, France, England, Bulgaria, and the United States of America. Our viewpoints and our feminisms were markedly different in some ways, which was very probably influenced by our perspectives on nationalism, globalism, on whether or not we were seeking NATO or EU membership, on our politics related to communism and its recent fall, and on our personal experiences. However even given these distinct differences, on International Women's Day a common concern brought us together—the celebration of the recently published Bulgarian edition of Our Bodies Our Selves and a presentation by the Bulgarian activists and translators who brought this work to press. In spite of our communities' distinct and frequently debated differences, on this day we came together to focus on, educate others about, and advocate for women's health. As I listened to my students ask questions about the role of feminism in Eastern Europe, about the potential impact of
this book on women in Bulgaria, and about their own bodies, I was reminded of Boston 1969. I wondered about the possible similarities and differences between that moment in the States just over thirty years ago and this moment in Bulgaria in 2002. In 1969, I was eight years old. It would be another two years before Our Bodies Our Selves was published in the States and another twelve years before I found Our Bodies Our Selves for myself. However, sitting in the former communist party headquarters that currently serves as the campus of AUBG, I could not get the implications for this connection between 1969 and 2002 out of my mind.

As I reflect on my experience of International Women's Day and consider my work in relation to the studies that have preceded it as well as to the larger project of feminism, I am reminded that the body is foundational not just to American feminism but to feminisms beyond our borders as well. The premise on which my project is grounded—the relevance of the body—is, then, an old one and locates my study in the historical and on-going concerns of global feminisms. Fundamental to my study is, therefore, the premise that bodies matter. My aim is to recover the relevance of the body to experience in women's popular literature written during the long eighteenth century. In this chapter, I introduce the focus of my study, suggest a feminist cartography of the body, discuss the theoretical stance that underlies this project, and lay out the chapter-by-chapter organization this study will follow.
II. **Focus of Study**

In *The Poetics of Sexual Myth: Gender and Ideology in the Verse of Swift and Pope*, Ellen Pollak argues that the myth of passive womanhood was the dominant discursive framework for knowing and assessing women's lives. Pollak argues that the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries mark a critical point in the codification of modern strategies for conceptualizing women. As patriarchal notions of divine-right monarchy were rejected by political theorists, as benevolist attitudes began to infiltrate religious thought, as empiricist philosophy increasingly designated the human subject as the locus both of psychic and of referential truth, new terms in keeping with these individualist traditions gradually evolved to accommodate the ongoing subordination of women to men in social, political, economic, intellectual, and domestic life. Fuller and more complex strategies began to emerge for resolving the inconsistency between the increasing autonomy of the masculine subject, in a culture which increasingly affirmed the prerogatives of individual desire, and the systematic denial of either desire or autonomy in women. (2)

While Pollak focuses on the "codification of modern strategies for conceptualizing women" in the major works of Pope and Swift, I continue this line of inquiry but take as my focus the strategies for conceptualizing women as represented through the Enlightenment's scientific and legal constructions of women. My thesis is that an analysis of women's writing on the body demonstrates the relevance of the body to experience, dismantles Cartesian truths, and reveals an embodied knowledge, unaccounted for by Enlightenment science. I contend that an analysis of selected literature of the long eighteenth century (ranging specifically from 1652-1812), including the novel, periodical essay, journal, instruction manual, and receipt book, reveals that representations of embodiment were for women writers a central strategy for questioning what Pollak characterizes as the "systematic denial of either desire or
autonomy in women" (2). During this period, women writing literary works, such as Delariviere Manley, Eliza Haywood, and Fanny Burney, and women writing published and unpublished medicinal texts, such as Jane Sharp and countless housewives and daughters writing medical receipt books, addressed the significance of the physical consequences of the body. Their works demonstrate the role embodiment plays in the construction of subjectivity and the re-gendering of objectivity. In spite of a scientific tradition that suggested otherwise, their works demonstrate the centrality of embodiment to revisionary definitions of knowledge, subjectivity, and objectivity and lay the groundwork for a feminist theory of the body.

I argue that these selected texts demonstrate a non-dualist conception of subjectivity that challenged the Cartesian division of mind and body. This mind/body split was fundamental to systematic oppression against women in that it privileged the mind over the body. In a Cartesian system, the body is characterized as the fleshy casing that houses the mind but is separate from it. Such a view suggests a disembodied mind or subjectivity. Connecting the mind with rationality, science, and the masculine and the body with animality, nature, and the feminine, Descartes' "I think; therefore, I am" solidified the subordination of the feminine to the masculine by fixing rationality along rigidly-drawn, essentialized sex and gender lines.

I am not arguing that these particular early modern women writers were directly challenging Descartes' division. Given the lack of educational opportunities for women at the time, I suspect they had not read Descartes, with the one exception of Fanny Burney who seems to have had an unconventional education in her role as amanuensis.
for her father, Dr. Charles Burney. However, women would have been privy to discussions of, and, perhaps even, periodicals, pamphlets, and newspaper articles on, the then current debate between religion and "philosophy" (science), which represent the two primary views (the Christian and the Aristotelian-Galenic perspectives) that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inherited. Aristotle's and Galen's work on the body and sexual temperament, or what today we call gender, influenced science well into the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the institution of Christianity placed constraints on science that has had a substantial impact on research since the Renaissance. Thus, prevailing "philosophies" on the scientific conceptualization of the female body, such as Aristotle's, Galen's, and Descartes', were indeed being critiqued although primarily from religious viewpoints. Women joined the debate through their writing on the body, which challenged the relevance of and social implications for scientific views from a radically different vantagepoint. By moving the living body from margin to center and recognizing the consequences of bodily experience, including bodily passion and pain, as a framework for knowing and assessing women's lives, these early modern women writers joined the dialogue and challenged the dominant sexual politics of the long eighteenth century. Women's writing on the body during the long eighteenth century displaced the myth of passive womanhood with accounts of lived bodily experience as a subversive framework for knowing and assessing women's lives.
III. An Alternative Cartography of Womanhood

Each of the literary texts in this study foregrounds embodiment as a strategy central to the disruption of the prevailing masculinist perception that mapped woman as passive surface and pinned (pinned) her within rigidly-defined socio-sexual space.

By the eighteenth century, the passive surface of the body was targeted as the topography of womanhood. The inscribed body was not unlike the inscription of details, definitions, borders, and boundaries that fix a topographical map. Thus, a topographical map serves as a useful model for the instantiation of Cartesian space and exposes how a dualist view is inadequate to an account of feminine subjectivity as it was manifested in popular literature by women during the long eighteenth century. A brief explanation of the insufficiency of the conventional model will be productive in ascertaining that which is necessary to the construction of a feminist theory of the body.

On a topographical map, borders are neatly delineated and boundaries regulate space on a flat and one-dimensional surface. A river, for instance, is neatly contained within its clearly defined edges; however, actual rivers often overflow their banks and daily rechart their course. Other examples as well, such as the constant erosion of mountain ranges and ocean shorelines and the uncontainable flow of airstreams, cannot be represented on the topographical surface, which is defined by its pretense of stasis, regulation, and control. While I am not arguing that topographical representations are unproductive, I am arguing that they are not adequate to an account of experience. A feminist cartography resists the surface-orientation of conventional mapping and replaces its passive topography with a fluid, permeable, and multi-dimensional model,
closer to that of ocean or air currents, which can be described as multi-directional, changeable, uncontainable, and relational.

The topographical map charts clearly-defined boundaries and fixes space into separate, transparent units, not unlike the Cartesian division of mind and body and its implications for the division of bodies and space. Descartes' central aim was to cut through sensory perception to get to clear and distinct truth. The drive for clarity and distinctness overshadowed any attention to experience. A Cartesian cartography, in its explicit effort to circumvent the senses, is not sympathetic to bodily passion and pain or to a recognition of the body's location in the murky, obscure, and often ungratifying mosaic of human experience. Within the Cartesian context, the passion and pain of bodies are marginalized. Unlike the conventional elevation and centering of spiritual anguish, the abused, physically-suffering body is disregarded as of merely secondary importance and is hidden from view. However, within women's accounts, the physical body is not secondary. It is not contingent to experience; rather, there is no experience without physical bodies. Corporeality is central to their texts and the notion of the passive, inscribed surface is challenged by women's bodily experience.

A feminist remapping of the body necessitates a model that challenges the notion of a passive, fixed, inscribed surface. It remaps corporeality as the central medium through which we mediate the world and foregrounds the permeable, fluid, and visceral body and the implications for its relationship to time and space. Bodies are, therefore, located and uncontainable. A feminist theory of the body must be willing to forego the static topographical surface.
A feminist theory of the body must be willing to chart a new cartography for knowing and assessing women's lives in relation to, rather than separate from, space. It must recognize the fluidity of boundaries and, therefore, the permeability of the body—skin, nostrils, breasts—which replaces the traditional conception of the body's separation from mind and space (as though bodies were in space as objects in a container). Within a feminist view, bodies, like space, are permeable. On a metaphoric level, permeability suggests the ways in which the body interacts with and reacts against the politics of cultural manipulation and control. Bodily fluids, for instance, become cultural issues rather than essentializing biological determinations. Gendered identities are recognized as volatile and episodic. A feminist view recognizes the body as the medium through which we experience the world.

A feminist theory of the body is one that is directly relevant to our lives, our acquisition of agency, and our capacity to empower other women to begin their own journeys. As Gloria Anzaldúa warns in *This Bridge Called My Back*, words without actions are just noise (iv). Unlike the abstract masculinity of scientific conceptualizations, feminist conceptualizations of the body have direct implications for agency and action. A cartography that denies the relevance of the rich and often painful contours of human experience perpetuates the pretense of mapping the body as a fixed, passive, and transparent surface. By contrast, a feminist theory of the body hinges on the relevance of viscerality, lived experience, and location to the acquisition of agency and exposes the insufficiency of a traditional model based on fixed boundaries, static borders, passive surfaces, and a subordination of the body to the mind. Failure to
recognize the limits of a topographical model relative to the potentially-complex ambiguities of experience marks not only the representational map (theory) but one's corporeal style of living (practice) with restrictions that inhibit and bind lived space and agency. The shift in theoretical perspective broadens our understanding of not only historical literature but also contemporary experience since a Cartesian cartography still plays a critical role in the assessment of bodies and experience. A feminist theory of the body transgresses the conventional topographical approach to life and literature. Whether developed in relation to eighteenth-century women's literature or twenty-first century critical concerns, a feminist theory of the body changes the way we view and analyze women's lives.

IV. Theoretical Stance

Instrumental to my initial articulation of questions out of which this study was formed is Michel Foucault's genealogical method, which takes as its focus the historically contingent nexus of power/knowledge in relation to the materiality of the body; however, Foucault neglects the sexed body. Because Foucault's method of analysis neglects the sexed categories and because a study of embodiment risks a reproduction of the very essentialism that it seeks to challenge, I turn to recent feminist theories of the body that recognize the relevance of embodied experience, social meanings, and historical location but call into question views that evince biological reductionism. While I recognize my inheritance from Foucault, it is on this point of the sexed body that I take my independence from him and turn to a fusion of feminist standpoint and materialist theories. In this section, I lay out the theoretical stance from
which I approach my analysis of women's representations of the body during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as juxtaposed against contemporary medical and legal conceptualizations.

Deeply rooted within Western tradition, the disciplines of medicine and law have been influenced historically by philosophical presuppositions and conventional gender, class, and race attitudes. By the eighteenth century, each discipline was well on its way to establishing institutional forms and was held up as a marker that displayed the apparent "progress" of society. Paradoxically, it was in part this notion of "progress" that influenced the institutionalization of medicine and law. While the accomplishments of both medicine and law emancipated individuals from the risks and prejudices incurred by outdated practices, they simultaneously subjugated individuals to biased assumptions that had come to be viewed as universal givens.

Historical research provides examples. Enlightenment science made new discoveries about the female reproductive system yet continued to promote an anatomical concept of the "ideal" human body, which was constructed along rigid masculinist lines and based on an analytic tradition of abstract masculinity. This tradition described the feminine as derived from and inferior to the masculine ideal, which implies that the model was masculine, meaning anything else, that is the feminine, is derived from, subjected to that model for its definition. Such a construction suggests the effacement and exclusion of femininity since the feminine has no independent basis of characterization or definition. It is wholly derivative, and its definition comes from the model, which is masculine. So, if female bodies have any
features that are not present in or represented by the male body, they are flaws in relation to the ideal. Any empirical evidence to the contrary was dismissed.³ Therefore, science promoted an anatomical model and, by extension, medical practice that neglected women's bodies and healthcare, rejected evidence that did not support popular patriarchal presuppositions, and pathologized what it could not explain.⁴ Within the discipline of law, measures were taken to promote greater equity through legal and penal reforms yet certain groups were still subjugated by laws based on dominant gender, race, and class distinctions. Individuals located at the margins of acceptable normative categories were criminalized.⁵

An examination of historical record demonstrates that the apparent progress of society was not progressive but contingent, random, and politicized. If, in a general sense of the term, progressive suggests a forward movement toward the general improvement of people's condition, then an absence of improvement suggests a lack of progress. If progress implies that historical shifts and institutional developments proceed in a linear fashion, develop logically from one to the next, build cumulatively, and are transparent, then the historical record read in this manner demonstrates a lack of progress. More importantly, the logical structure of such a general interpretation of history precludes consideration of historical evidence that fails to support the presupposition that history always progresses in such a linear and logical manner. The presupposition itself renders illegitimate concrete evidence of regression, politicized agendas, multi-directional power relationships, and excluded knowledges. In contrast, an interrelational view of history, society, and institutions provides an opportunity to
explore the origins and consequences of those historical shifts, social structures, and institutional developments in terms of the gaps, discontinuities, and politics that have shaped and influenced their emergence.

Traditionally, medicine and law have represented two paradigmatic sites through which bodies have been constructed as subjectivities. Each of these sites, which represent specific fields of knowledge, constitutes the power relationships that produce individual subjectivities and manifest what the poststructuralist might call a double bind. In other words, there are neither power relationships without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute power relationships. Power and knowledge directly imply one another.

Within a relational view of history, power relationships are not fixed and unidirectional but contingent and multi-directional. They simultaneously emancipate those individualities from and subjugate them to outdated practices. By emphasizing historical context—which is the project of genealogical study—Foucault rejects the notion of a subject as outside of a particular field of events or knowledge. Historicity is always at stake in an analysis of the way that bodies materialize; the "history of bodies" is correlative to their materiality. Foucault writes that the purpose of *The History of Sexuality* is in fact to show how deployments of power are directly connected to the body—to bodies, functions, physiological processes, sensations, and pleasures; far from the body having to be effaced, what is needed is to make it visible through an analysis in which the biological and the historical are not consecutive to one another, as in the evolutionism of
the first sociologists, but are bound together in an increasingly complex fashion in accordance with the development of the modern technologies of power that take life as their objective. Hence I do not envisage a 'history of mentalities' that would take account of bodies only through the manner in which they have been perceived and given meaning and value; but a 'history of bodies' and the manner in which what is most material and most vital in them has been invested. (History of Sexuality 151-152)

As Jana Sawicki states in "Feminism and the Power of Foucauldian Discourse," "the sword of knowledge is double-edged" (56). It is double-edged because the knowledge that categorizes the female, for instance, as a type produces the medico-legal forms of power to which she is subject as well as the forms of resistance available to her. As a type, "female" can be represented as visceral and sexed—a concrete body—and as gendered subjectivity—an individuality. Thus, knowledge produces power relationships that not only constrain the female body and, by association, female agency within a particular historical context and its particular assumptions about femaleness but also offer her mechanisms for resistance to those constraints and assumptions. Sawicki succinctly explains that

power relations are established within a historical field of conflict and struggle which contains within it possibilities of liberation and domination. . . . This is not liberation as transcendence of power or as global transformation, but rather as freeing ourselves from the assumption that prevailing ways of understanding ourselves and others, and of theorizing the conditions for liberation, are necessary, self-evident, and without effects of power. (56)

An examination of power relations in their specific historical contexts exposes the inadequacy of transparent analytic models and reveals possibilities for emancipation and subjugation. As Sawicki argues, power relations not only operate in a historical
location but also are made possible because they are historically located. As I have argued, the codification of prevailing discursive strategies for conceptualizing women during the long eighteenth century were tied to biased assumptions grounded in the myth of passive womanhood. Women's writing on the body, on the other hand, evinces a gap in eighteenth-century constructions of femininity. It is in the concrete historical evidence of this gap, which women's writing provides, that discursive strategies that resist the prevailing models that constructed femininity as inferiority can be found. As such, an investigation of the eighteenth-century disciplines of medicine and law in relationship to material bodies and gendered subjectivities exemplifies the effects of Sawicki's double-edged sword, which is that power relationships simultaneously bind bodies to and deliver them from dominant cultural assumptions and practices. Applying Foucault's questions to the specific issues of gender implications for power relationships, feminist critic Sandra Bartky correctly argues that to "overlook the forms of subjection that engender the feminine body is to perpetuate the silence and powerlessness of those upon whom these disciplines have been imposed" (Sawicki 49). Recognizing the sword of knowledge as double edged takes into account the possibility for simultaneous liberation and subjection and allows one to isolate the gaps within and breakdown of a notion of historical or institutional progress, of linear and cumulative history, and of an evolutionary humanity. Consideration of female bodies isolates and, thereby, highlights these gaps, or discontinuities, allowing them to be more clearly articulated. Therefore, an investigation of medico-legal conceptualizations of female bodies demonstrates the discontinuities between stated purpose and practical
application, between what these institutions declare they are about and what they
demonstrate they are about, between received knowledge and excluded knowledge,
between outdated assumptions and real bodily experience which is incongruent with the
assumptions. Isolating discontinuities is not an end in itself but a means through which
one can disable traditional assumptions by revealing their historical contingency. The
discontinuities are significant in that they provide the concrete location from which real
change can be effected. Thus, isolating discontinuities is the starting point; analyzing
those discontinuities illustrates that history is indeed contingent; and recognizing
contingency is the crucial groundwork from which change can be effected.

The perceptions of femaleness constructed by medical science, for instance,
reinforced the patriarchal presuppositions on which those perceptions were based. To
this end, medical science constructed maleness as ideal form and femaleness as inferior
copy. In effect, medical science had constructed an anatomical model for masculinity
and femininity that supported patriarchal assumptions about access to power and
production of knowledge. As Evelyn Fox Keller has suggested in "Gender/Science
System: or, Is Sex to Gender as Nature Is to Science?" anatomy was never as much at
stake as was maintaining a particular politics of power. In other words, anatomical
inquiry was ultimately "rooted not in biology but in politics, . . . a consequence of an
implicit contest for power" (39, my emphasis)—the race for and possession of privilege.
Thus, the construction of early modern and Enlightenment models for male and female
anatomy—is "first and foremost political" (39), only secondarily scientific. Or, as
Judith Butler concludes in her article "Variations on Sex and Gender" on Herculine
Barbin and the body, what is at stake "is not her anatomy, but the ways in which that anatomy is 'invested'" (515).

Locating particular political agendas within institutional practices highlights a misconception about empirical data, that is, that it can be objective and is thus apolitical. While the search for knowledge may be grounded in a desire to reveal truth, the assumption that truth produced from the analysis of empirical data is irrefutable and absolute is flawed, as is the assumption that facts are objective. On the contrary, the context in which they are produced and the audience for whom they are produced always influence facts. Empirical data is not sufficient to the task of revealing what is generally labeled Truth with a capital "T." Empirical data, however, can produce truths with a lower case "t," or what is more accurately labeled "received" (accepted) knowledge. Received knowledge is produced within specific historical contexts and power relationships that are shaped by politics, location, and particularity and does not stand apart from these contexts. Or, as Nietzsche argues in The Genealogy of Morality, power produces truth.

During the eighteenth century, institutional reinforcement of patriarchal presuppositions was not limited to science alone. It extended well beyond the laboratory to the eighteenth-century courtroom, philosopher's pen, and even into the child's schoolroom. Similar to the case of medical science, courtroom practice, philosophical discussion, and educational curricula were not transparent and neutral but often opaque and always political. Furthermore, it is through a particular politics of power that privilege is maintained and access to and production of knowledge,
economics, mobility, and agency become possible. The masculinist agendas and the patriarchal social structures that in the eighteenth century produced the "truths" (i.e., received knowledges) about eighteenth-century life and bodies become evident as scholarship exposes the gaps (discontinuities) within the disciplines of medicine and law—two institutions which have historically dictated what knowledge was to be received and, thus, accepted and what knowledge was to be rejected and, thus, subjected to presuppositions that excluded its consideration as valid. Thus, this study suggests an anatomy of power that is contingent, relational, and politically charged. By contrast, theories which aim to impose neat causal relationships on a series of selective historical facts are artificial in that they force meaning and interpretation by applying a neat and linear theory onto historical records which are neither neat nor linear and cannot support such a view. On an ethical level, a contingent, relational, and politicized view is more inclusive than ahistorical views as to what kinds of texts are considered valid for academic research as well as more edifying in that it cuts through narrow and restrictive disciplinary and methodological attitudes and allows for the possibility of change. Therefore, this analytical framework can reveal the extent to which patriarchal presuppositions were reinforced through philosophical discussion, medical development, and legal administration. Applying this framework to a consideration of female bodies during the long eighteenth century isolates the assumptions that produce universals exposes the discontinuities on which they are based and provides the reader with a method for analyzing both received and subjugated knowledges and identities.
Skeptical about interpreting historical process as linear, cumulative, and progressive, Michel Foucault critiqued the concepts of institutionalized totalities and continuous histories. Contrary to the view of some theorists, his focus is not on a humanistic subject who is located at the center of reality and possesses a centralized but repressive form of power but rather the power relationships that produce individuals. For Foucault, power is not substantive; it is neither an object nor a subject. It is not "an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain people are endowed; it is the name given to a complex strategic relation in a given society" (Gordon Power/Knowledge 236). Unlike the humanistic subject, who is self-contained, the Foucauldian subject is simultaneously emancipated and subjugated. The Foucauldian subject is fragmented, de-centered, and ambiguous. While some have argued that such a framework rejects identity and, thus, agency, it does not. Rather, it produces particular, changing manifestations of each. It therefore rejects a rigid subservience to and uncritical acceptance of normalized modern identities, which have been taken as universalized givens. Thus, contrary to the criticisms of some theorists, Foucault's power/knowledge regime is not a totalizing theory of power, knowledge, or history but rather a framework for discursive critique. As Jana Sawicki has suggested in "Feminism and the Power of Foucauldian Discourse," it is "an instrument for criticizing theories" (165). Foucauldian analysis does not aim to legitimize a particular theory, perse, but "looks for its dangers, its normalizing tendencies . . . how it might hinder research or serve as an instrument of domination—despite the intentions of its creators" (166). Foucault's genealogical method provides a framework that is critical to this
study, which seeks to locate, question, and critique assumptions and associated practices during the long eighteenth century that had come to be viewed as universal givens, to expose normalizing tendencies, and to recognize the possibilities for liberation and tendencies toward subjugation within power relationships.

Feminists from a broad range of theoretical camps as well as disciplines have appropriated particular tenets of Foucauldian analysis for their own investigations.¹⁸ As Margit Shildrick argues in *Leaky Bodies and Boundaries: Feminism, Postmodernism and (Bio)Ethics*, “Foucault has demonstrated [that] power and knowledge are productive and indissolubly linked forces; and though Foucault himself fails to remark it, in patriarchal society the dominant discourses are those which consolidate and extend the male social order” (43). His Panoptic model, for instance, illustrates the dynamics of power relationships, and, as Foucault himself demonstrates, can be applied to any social agency. Analyzing the medical establishment in terms of Foucault's schema highlights the social/hegemonic tendencies of that establishment, exposes the gaps from which medicine has emerged, and can be appropriated to demonstrate the ways in which medicine became a paradigmatic site for the construction of subjectivity along sexed categories. For instance, maleness is the standard by which the female body has been historically measured. Since the corporeal body is inseparable from the power practiced on it, the body in some ways becomes the practice of that power. What must be redressed in terms of Foucault's methodology is how power and practice change as the sex of that corporeal body changes.
Foucault’s bodies were constructed without attention to sexed categories and gender issues. When the lived body is acknowledged as a location of subjectivity in Foucault and in Nietzsche before him, that body is constructed as masculine. In *Leaky Bodies and Boundaries*, Magrit Shildrick argues that the body is not simply text. It is both “surface of inscription and site of material practices, each of which speaks to a sexed specificity” (10). Bodies are constructed by a combination of disciplinary (individual) practices and regulatory (social) powers. Shildrick argues that “although the body to which [Foucault] refers is largely unmarked by gender, it must not be forgotten that it is also crossed and mediated by other quasi-structural, but in reality equally discursive, categories, such as class, ethnicity, (dis)ability and sexual preference” (*LBB* 47). As McNay correctly insists, we must “explore how meanings, particularly representations of gender, are mobilized within the operations of power to produce asymmetrical relations amongst subjects” (*FF* 35). Or, as Shildrick more clearly expresses, “what is at issue for feminism is how any body becomes en-gendered as feminine or masculine” (*LBB* 47).

A feminist appropriation of Foucault's method is useful to my study because it recognizes the relevance of the body, insists on historical contingency, and isolates discontinuities. These three premises raised questions that initiated my own line of inquiry into eighteenth-century women's writing on the body, particularly as it departs from the prevailing Enlightenment views that neglected it. However, even as I recognize my debt to Foucault, I must also mark my independence from him. While
Foucault can be usefully appropriated for a feminist project, he does not specifically address the sexed body. It is on this point that I must turn from Foucault.

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the body has been central to feminist discourse and action since the inception of American feminism's first wave. As I briefly look back over the last 30 years, I am reminded that even those feminists interested primarily in scientific constructions of the body and challenging the conceptualizations that we have inherited from a masculinist analytical tradition and Cartesian view have articulated the body from different camps. During the 70s, the body and its politics framed countless feminist discussions and grassroot manifestos in the States; a radical *l’écriture féminine* provided the theoretical focus for the Lacanian revisions of Luce Irigaray and Hélène Cixous on the continent. In 1978, Catherine Simpson, who was the editor of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, was credited with putting science on the feminist agenda with her special issue on *Women, Science and Society*. With the 80s emerged the standpoint theories of Sandra Harding, Merrill Hintikka, Nancy Hartsock, and Patricia Hill Collins, who drew on Enlightenment empiricism but aimed for a revisionary feminist conceptualization of knowledge. This feminist construction of knowledge recognized the relevance of the corporeal and was historically and geographically located. It aimed to produce "truer" pictures of reality by attending to the historically neglected voice of the oppressed. The often-associated object relations theories of Nancy Chodorow and Jane Flax also insisted on the marginalized and neglected views of women, particularly mothers, but from the perspective of their feminist revisions of Freud and Lacan. Also by the 80s
and into the 90s, poststructuralist theory had risen to prominence and was recognized as highly relevant to the aims of feminist revisions of science. Poststructuralists, most notably the work of primatologist Donna Haraway, fused the views of feminist materialism and social constructionism with science to argue against feminist empiricist claims that privileged the margin over the center. As such, this postmodern theoretical fusion rejected the possibility of a universal discourse, master narrative, or modernist framework of good/bad or true/false constructions in its effort to construct a feminist theory of the body that recognizes all "truths" or knowledges as partial, situated, and embodied.²³

Positioning myself in a single camp, exclusive of any other, is inadequate to the needs of my project and my conceptualization of the female body as it relates to women's writing on the body and the scientific constructions of the body these women were writing against. As such, my work necessitates a view that grants both the relevance of located, particular, visceral bodies and historically contingent social meanings and discursive practices. A fusion of feminist standpoint and materialist theories accommodates this view. Standpoint theory's feminist epistemology provides a perspective that is grounded in the corporeal and recognizes the relevance of historical contingency to the production of a more comprehensive vision of reality. Standpoint's premise that knowledge is embodied through experience, which takes into account the relevance of the visceral body, is directly relevant to my analysis of embodiment as a discursive strategy of resistance in women's writing on the body. As Alison Jaggar has argued in "Love and Knowledge: Emotion in Feminist Epistemology," it is through the
gap of bodily knowledge that we create strategies of resistance. Discomfort, pain, and suffering are recognized as the locations from which women have written the body as a source of an embodied knowing that the Cartesian view could not account for. In "The Knowledge in our Bones," Anne Scott advises that to "make use of this bodily perspective, however, theorists must learn to attend to the discourse being generated by their bodies" (116). I argue that selected women writers during the long eighteenth century laid the groundwork for listening to the body. Their work offers a discursive strategy for knowing and assessing womanhood that disrupts the scientific models they inherited. My study demonstrates that women writers during the long eighteenth century challenged the Cartesian view of body as biochemical mechanism, lifted the mind from its Cartesian vat, replaced the wax injected cadaver (malleable and static) with the living (porous and fluid), transgressive body, and reconnected the knower with her experience.

Even though I draw on the insights of standpoint theorists, I remain critical of some aspects of their perspective. For instance, standpoint theory advocates the view of the oppressed over that of the oppressor. While I admit the logic of standpoint's argument that the marginalized individual can potentially see more clearly the ideology of oppression because of her marginalized location, I ultimately see this argument as an unproductive inversion of traditional patriarchal attitudes. I do not agree that the view from the bottom may hold more truth (because it holds more skepticism) than the view from the top. While critical reflection is crucial to analysis, it should not be measured solely based on one's degree of marginalization. The suggestion that the greater an
individual's marginalization the greater will be her critical awareness is a dangerous
inversion of conventional misogynist views. While I do not privilege the marginalized
over the hegemonic perspective, I do, however, take critical note of the discontinuities
that emerge when the critical field of vision moves from center to margin.

Because I recognize the value of multiple viewpoints, social meanings, and
discursive practices, I turn to the postmodernist work of feminist materialism,
particularly Haraway's articulation of partial, embodied knowledges. This theoretical
fusion allows for knowledges to be recognized as located and thus partial, which
disrupts the possibility for a master narrative or totalizing theory of knowledge
(knowledge as the reification of being). It is in its situatedness that knowledge can be
assessed from many fields of vision, and it is in this recognition of partiality that simple
inversion becomes inadequate to the task of creating useful social knowledges. As
Haraway argues in "Situated Knowledges,"

We need to learn in our bodies . . . how to attach the objective to our
theoretical and political scanners in order to name where we are and are
not in dimensions of mental and physical space we hardly know how to
name. So, not so perversely, objectivity turns out to be about particular
and specific embodiment, and definitely not about the false vision
promising transcendence of all limits and responsibility. The moral is
simple: only partial perspective promises objective vision. This is an
objective vision that initiates, rather than closes off, the problem of
responsibility for the generativity of all visual practices. (174)

It is through Haraway's articulation of a "persistence of vision" that she demonstrates a
distinctly feminist revision of objectivity as "situated knowledges" (173), which
assumes the responsibility of inclusion, partiality, and the relevance of bodies.
Haraway argues that objectivity is not detached, self contained, and formalizable but is a process and critical. Science, then, becomes

the paradigmatic model not of closure, but of that which is contestable and contested. . . . The science question in feminism is about objectivity as positioned rationality. Its images are not the products of escape and transcendence of limits, i.e., the view from above, but the joining of partial views and halting voices into a collective subject position that promises a vision of the means of ongoing finite embodiment, of living within limits and contradictions, i.e., of views from somewhere. (180)

Haraway's characterization of objectivity as "positioned rationality" and "partial views" that guarantees "a vision of . . . ongoing finite embodiment" (180) is fundamental to my own view of an eighteenth-century feminist revisioning of the then current scientific image of objectivity, which replaces the malleable corpse with the particular living body. I, therefore, agree with Scott that a "legitimate epistemology must draw on the triple resources of social discourse, critical reason, and embodied experience" ("The Knowledge in our Bones" 116). While some may argue against an embodied experience because the risk of biological reductionism or a renewed essentialism is too great, I argue that the greater risk lies in not listening to the knowledge we know our bodies provide.

The risk for me in using only standpoint theory lies in its focus on the marginalized voice, which jeopardizes the significance that broader cultural meanings and language offer. However, there is equally a danger in relying solely on a social constructionist viewpoint, which suggests that experience is retrievable only through discursive practices and social meanings. Here, the biological body is at risk of being consumed by social discourse and thus both bodily experience and agency, which are
conceptualized as constructions, are at risk because constructions cannot be agents.\textsuperscript{25} It is, therefore, based on these theoretical needs—the relevance of the located and particular living body to experience, a recognition of the partiality of all "truths," the implications for an embodied knowledge that redresses the threats of a renewed essentialism or return to biological reductionism, and the representation of the body in language and culture—that I do not position myself or my work within the lines of a single feminist camp but argue instead for a fusion of standpoint theory and feminist materialism. Drawing on a Foucauldian grid of analysis and the insights provided by a fusion of feminist standpoint and materialist theories of the body, this study demonstrates that women's writing on the body during the long eighteenth century recognized the relevance of the body to experience, reconceptualized the masculinist image of objectivity, destabilized fixed conceptions and, as such, demonstrated that resistance is inevitable, dangerous, and everywhere.

V. Plan of Study

My premise is that embodiment is central to each of the texts I examine. Analyzing the role of corporeality in each of these works reveals that women used embodiment to write against not only a masculine literary tradition but also what Linda Nicholson has called the "abstract masculinity" that has shaped and influenced the scientific conceptualization of women. This study aims to recover what Delariviere Manley would call "the seeds of things buried" or representations of womanhood that are drawn by women themselves and reflective of women's actual lived experience, an account that is tied to the lived body and located in a particular time and place.
I argue that by moving the living body from the margin of the page to the center of the text, by valuing the female body, and by exploring subjectivity in light of the physical, sexual, and psychological consequences of the body, women writers began a "feminist" tradition of destabilizing binary oppositions that are one of the roots of the systematic oppression against women. Such a dualist view places limitations not only on the way we construct femininity or subjectivity but also on the ways in which we read writers whose constructions are outside of the norm. I draw on the insights of recent feminist theories of the body that take into account the visceral, lived, and sexed body as it is located in time and space in order to reveal a discursive framework that is central to these writers' efforts at challenging the myth of passive womanhood.

Chapter 2, "The Pathologized Body," examines the evolution of the medical institution during the long eighteenth century, the scientific construction of the female reproductive body, and associated gendered meanings as a context for subsequent discussions of women's discursive representations of the body. In the chapters that follow this one, I demonstrate that women's writing on the body disrupts an Enlightenment notion of rigid and fixed socio-sexual categories, focuses on the experiential and particular rather than the observational and ideal, and challenges prescribed meanings. While I show that a number of feminist studies have recently investigated this issue, it is worth sketching out the highlights since the remainder of my own study is dependent on what we have learned from theirs.

In chapters three, four, and five, I examine women's discursive representations of the body. My choice of texts for investigation assumes a broad definition of
women's writing, which includes the novel, periodical essay, and journal (all conventional to studies in eighteenth-century literature). However, because of the feminist premise that is foundational to my overall project, my study also includes texts, such as women's receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations, that traditional studies in literature and culture, or the history of medicine, have neglected.

Chapter 3, "The Mutilated Body," turns to the dissected body (or corpse) as the Enlightenment's paradigmatic figure for truth, which can be demonstrated through an examination of both the literary and medical discourse of the period. In this chapter, I show that women's writing, particularly the journals of Fanny Burney and the periodical essays of Eliza Haywood, challenges this paradigm in their alternative focus on the living, experiential body. In Chapter 4, "Medical Practice and the Body," I demonstrate that a focus on medicine and healthcare as scientific and professionalized perpetuates a hierarchy of received knowledge that is misleading within the context of Restoration and eighteenth-century life, writes out of history beliefs about the relevance of the body to experience, and diminishes the role of non-professionalized practice in the history of medicine. Women's receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations redress these concerns and provide us with new resources for studying women's writing on the body and fresh insights into early modern cultural studies. Chapter 5, "The Criminalized Body," brings gender issues to the question of crime and exposes the ways in which the eighteenth-century legal discursive space worked in conjunction with the medical institution to target not only specific outsider acts but also particular outsider bodies. Investigating legal discursive space along gender lines opens up new readings
of the ways in which female bodies were constructed as outsider, were marginalized, and ultimately were criminalized under the law. This chapter demonstrates that it was not only the bodies of outlaws, pirates, and badmen that the law constructed as transgressive but also the bodies of women. My reading of Delariviere Manley's *The New Atalantis* shows how women already knew then what we are only beginning to understand about them today—that the social implications for a scientific construction of the body placed women in a precarious and marginalized location with regards to the law. Women paid for, with their bodies and their lives, the constraints placed on them by the law, which I show perpetuated the Enlightenment's scientific hostility toward women.

Chapter 6, "Creating Sustainable Bodies," articulates the major conclusions I have drawn based on this study of embodiment as a discursive strategy of resistance in women's popular literature during the long eighteenth century. While this chapter treats the major tenets of the study, it also looks ahead to what has emerged from this study—the implications for creating a sustainable body, for women during the eighteenth century and for scholarship during the twenty-first. Drawing on the recent insights of work in the field of sustainable development for second and third world countries, I propose that sustainable development also has a place in literary scholarship and feminist theory. The paradigm of creating a sustainable body raises questions that are crucial to feminist revisionings of the body, eighteenth-century studies, and the larger project of academic scholarship. Therefore, instead of only looking backwards in my
conclusion, I also look forward to the ways in which bodies are sustainable and the study of eighteenth-century literature continues to have direct relevance for us today.

My aim for this study is a recovery of the female body that will shed light on the ways in which these early modern women writers saw embodiment as central to the disruption of the patriarchal myth of passive womanhood. This analysis challenges traditional analytical approaches that have historically neglected women's contributions in literature, medicine, and society. It also disrupts critical opinions that have read women's writing on the body as the reproduction of an essentialized femininity and a biological reductionism that these authors are, in fact, writing against.

VI. Endnotes

1 The examples here are voluminous and include surgical practices and procedures that actually healed rather than killed patients, antibiotics that fought disease, and vaccines that fought the spread of epidemics. For a discussion of this topic relevant to the eighteenth century, see chapter 5 on medical practices. In terms of the law, the vote for women, civil rights, and Roe v. Wade can be seen as legislation that emancipated individuals from the prejudices incurred by outdated thinking. For a discussion of this topic relevant to the eighteenth century, see chapter 6 on legalized bodies.


3 For my full discussion of this topic, see chapter 3. See also Thomas Laqueur's work, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990, which has been instrumental to my investigation.

4 For my analysis of women's discursive embodiment that challenged prevailing scientific conceptualizations of the female body during the long eighteenth century, see chapters 3, 4, and 5.
For my analysis of the ways in which the law criminalized the female body, see my subsequent chapter 6 on criminalized bodies.

I use the terms "material," "materialize," and "materiality" here and throughout the dissertation in a specifically feminist poststructuralist sense. Materiality does not suggest an essential femininity, an essential female body, or even a foundational ground on which a feminist is obligated to construct a theory that would accommodate the tenets of feminism. Rather, "materiality" in this sense is, to borrow from Judith Butler, "the site at which a certain drama of sexual difference plays itself out" (Bodies that Matter 49). As Butler has argued, "to invoke matter is to invoke a sedimented history of sexual hierarchy and sexual erasures which should surely be an object of feminist theory" (Bodies that Matter 49). I provide an extended discussion of materiality in terms of sexual difference later in this chapter. For Butler's discussion, see Bodies that Matter, 27-55.


Balbus' argument in "Disciplining Women: Michel Foucault and the Power of Feminist Discourse" is based on three inaccurate assumptions about the Foucauldian model for the power/knowledge dynamic. In "Feminism and the Power of Foucauldian Discourse," Sawicki has also noted Balbus' misreading of Foucault. She identifies the three flawed assumptions on which he bases his argument as follows: "power is possessed by a presocial individual, a class, a people;" "power is centralized, in the law, the economy, the State;" "power is primarily repressive" (164). Sawicki provides an accurate reading of Foucault that represents "power as exercised rather than possessed, as decentralized rather than exercised from the top down, and as productive rather than repressive" (164).

Later in this chapter, I will articulate these discontinuities, or gaps, from a distinctly feminist perspective. Drawing on the insights of Haraway, Goodison, Jaggar, and others, I will demonstrate that it is from the location of this historically contingent gap that one can argue the possibility of an embodied knowledge and, thereby, disable traditional assumptions about the relationship between bodies and knowledge.

In "The Gender/Science System: or, Is Sex to Gender as Nature Is to Science?" Evelyn Fox Keller takes as her focus the way in which the Nobel Prize became a site for gender contest in the Barbara McClintock case. Because Keller's discussion of power is relevant to my own discussion, I will quote her at length. Keller argues that it is
precisely in the context of such a competition that the question of difference itself becomes a contested zone—our conceptualization of difference molded by our perceptions (as well as the reality) of power. In other words, in this context at least, the very debate between duality and universality both presupposes and augments a prior division between an "us" and a "them," bound in conflict by a common perception of power. It refers not to a world in which we and they could be said to occupy truly separate spheres, with separate, noninteracting sources of power and authority—in such a world, there would be no debate—but, rather, to a world perceived as ordered by a single source (or axis) of power that is at least in principle commonly available; a world in which duality can be invoked (by either side) to create not so much a separation of spheres an inside and an outside—in other words, as a strategy of exclusion. (40)

Later in this study I provide a concrete example of the way in which medical facts are influenced by their socio-historical contexts. For this discussion, see my argument on morbid anatomy, particularly the scientific atlases of William Hunter, in chapter 4.

I am indebted to the insights provided me by early modern scholar Professor Susannah Brietz Monta, who has pointed out that the recent scholarship on early modern executions, most notably martyrs executed as traitors, complicates Foucault's analysis of executions in *Discipline and Punishment*. A brief review of literature leads me to a fascinating topic to pursue, particularly the shift in representations of and social and gender implications for the maimed and mutilated body (violence) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Challenging the usefulness of the Foucauldian apparatus for early modern studies in her article "Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England," Susan Dwyer Amussen argues that a method for examining the relationship between violence and power during the early modern period in England must be "broader than that suggested by Michel Foucault, as it goes beyond the state's use of punishment; the political and juridical structure of early modern England was far more diffuse than the 'monarchical "superpower"' of early modern France" (4). In particular, Amussen finds "that Foucault's emphasis on state power over the body in the ancien régime misses the attempts of early modern society to discipline the soul" (4, n.11). I find Amussen's argument substantive and engaging but would suggest that her use of specific historical examples (corporal punishment), particular historical applications (to discipline the soul), and a particular geographic location (early modern England) in which this violence occurred does not diminish the efficacy of Foucault's approach as she suggests, but, in fact, highlights its validity. In other words, as Foucault argues and as I have demonstrated in this chapter, the foundational premise of his grid of analysis is that

13 In "Two Lectures," Foucault states that "By subjugated knowledges I mean two things: on the one hand, I am referring to the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemisation" ([*Power/Knowledge*](#) 81). He is not referring to the study of (i.e., semiology or sociology) but rather "the immediate emergence of historical contents. And this is simply because only the historical contents allow us to rediscover the ruptural effects of conflict and struggle that the order imposed by functionalist or systematising thought is designed to mask. Subjugated knowledges are thus those blocks of historical knowledge which were present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systematising theory and which criticism—which obviously draws upon scholarship—has been able to reveal" (81-82). On the other hand, subjugated knowledges entail "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their tasks or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges. Located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. I also believe that it is through the re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges . . . that criticism performs its work" (82). It is "disqualified" knowledge that is the textual focus of this dissertation. As I show in Chapter 4, for instance, scholar Liza Picard locates her discussion of women's receipt books in a chapter entitled NonQualified Medical Advisors. It is on "low-ranking" texts such as these, which were written by the
"unqualified" and dismissed and "disqualified," that my study "performs its work." See Chapter 4 for this discussion as well as my conclusion chapter that draws a socio-structural parallel between women's healthcare in the eighteenth century and sustainable development work in the twenty-first century.

14 In *Bodies that Matter*, Judith Butler puts it succinctly: "Foucault's genealogy is . . . a specifically philosophical exercise in exposing and tracing the installation and operation of false universals" (282 n8).

15 For such views, see Isaac D. Balbus' "Disciplining Women: Michele Foucault and the Power of Feminist Discourse" and Sheldon S. Wolin's "On the Theory and Practice of Power." Wolin, for instance, argues that the "irony of Foucault's attack on the pretensions of totalizing theory is that his own notion of the production of truth represents a power-laden conception of the theory, which is the equal of the claims made by any theory—intoxicated totalizer of the past" (200). Wolin misses the point, which is only one of the many misreadings within his essay. Foucault is clear that his methodology does not aim to be a prescriptive theory. Furthermore, for Foucault, there is no non-perspectival position from which to judge. This includes his own position; he does not deny its perspectival, historical, and dangerous aspects. Jana Sawicki concurs; in "Feminism and the Power of Discourse," she argues that Foucault, himself, "would have been the first to admit that one could do a genealogy of the genealogist. As an engaged critic the genealogist does not transcend power relations. Indeed, the very idea of power-neutral theory is one that Foucault's own genealogies continually questioned" (162).

16 For instance, in "Disciplining Women," Isaac D. Balbus incorrectly argues that Foucault dispenses not only with individual sexual identity but with individual identity tout court. An attachment to an identity that one recognizes and is recognized by others is not the inevitable outcome of any form of social interaction but rather the result of the form of interactions peculiar to the technologies of the self which proliferate in the contemporary disciplinary society. The celebration of an individual identity that is somehow unrealized or distorted in that society does not contest but merely confirms its power. . . . It follows that the struggle against the disciplinary society must be waged against, rather than on behalf of, sexual, or any other form of, identity. (146)

In "The Knowledge in our Bones," Anne Scott has argued that the problem with a narrowly focused poststructuralist argument for social construction is that everything (gender, race, class, etc.) is ultimately a construct and constructs cannot be agents. I discuss this point in more detail later in this chapter.
As Paul Rabinow has already argued in his introduction to the *Foucault Reader*, the "search for a general theory of history is not on his agenda. In fact, it is, in Foucault's diagnosis, part of the problem" (13).


This issue of *Signs* (vol. 4, no.1, 1978) addressed the issues of women's roles in the field of science and feminist revisions of the masculinist constructions of science.


25 For examples of this viewpoint, see Judith Butler's Gender Trouble (1990) and Bodies that Matter (1993).
Chapter 2: The Pathologized Body

"Let us not desert one another; we are an injured body."
Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*

I. Introduction

What Catherine Morland suspected in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, feminist theory has now taken up as a major field of study. The insights of recent feminist theories of the body provide new avenues for reading and research that have not, until only recently, been available and that open texts to new interpretations and fields of study to necessary revisions. One area of recent investigation is the medical institution, its influence on scientific construction of the female body, and the extent to which that construction is influenced by patriarchal agendas. This field of study raises questions, such as, What are the medical models for the female reproductive body during the Restoration and Eighteenth Century? On what were these models based? What shifts and changes occur during the long century? What are the social implications of scientific constructions of the body?

In an effort to address these issues, this chapter examines scientific constructions of the female reproductive body and their influence on associated gendered meanings as context for my subsequent discussions of women’s discursive representations of the body during the long eighteenth century. In this chapter, I lay out the historical backdrop on which my following chapters depend. I demonstrate that from Aristotle through the Enlightenment, scientific conceptualizations pathologize the female body and sustain a view of it as defective. A brief overview of medical history demonstrates that Enlightenment science, with its roots in the Italian Renaissance and classical
anatomical texts, portrays a female body that is inferior and defective. In order to demonstrate specifically the analytic tradition's influence on eighteenth-century conceptualizations of the reproductive body, I draw on primary source material, particularly medical instruction manuals, used during the long eighteenth century. Additionally, I draw on recent feminist critiques of the history of reproductive medicine from Aristotle through the eighteenth century to illustrate the ways in which what Evelyn Fox Keller has named the "gender/science system" has informed scientific inquiry and influenced the gendered meanings associated with bodily constructions. While feminist revisionary histories of medicine have been done before, it is worthwhile to sketch out in this chapter the prevailing eighteenth-century scientific conceptualizations of the body that have direct bearing on my arguments in subsequent chapters. Using primary source materials and current feminist studies, I demonstrate that classical and early modern medico-scientific representations were a predominant source for the devaluation of the female body.

II. Scientific Conceptualizations of the Female Body

From the fifteenth until the seventeenth centuries, a one-sex model dominated medical discussions of the body. The seventeenth century’s one-sex model can be traced back to Aristotle, whose writings produced the "first systematic development of a scientific explanation of woman's inferiority... provid[ing] a detailed and seemingly rational justification... that was to be accepted for centuries" (Tuana, "The Weaker Seed: The Sexist Bias of Reproductive Theory," 147). In his one-seed gestation model, woman played no significant role in reproduction other than providing the container in which the male sperm deposited human form. While Galen's revision of Aristotle's
theory involved fusion of male and female seed, the female part remained colder and less active, thus inferior and less important. Galen's contribution, therefore, created some bit of equality in the reproductive process by his assertion that male and female seed (both males and females produce semen) must fuse for conception. Even so, classical theory remained highly influential, which is demonstrated by the seventeenth century's reluctance to move away from a one-sex model and the continued association of heat with, among other things, generative life force.

According to Aristotle's biology, on which the seventeenth-century model depends, heat is fundamental to generative life force: "That which has by nature a smaller portion of heat is weaker" (GA 726.b.33). Thus, because the female body contained a smaller portion of heat than did the male body, her body was arguably the weaker body. During the seventeenth century, Aristotle's reproductive theory—which isolated heat as its central premise—continued to dominate scientific views of the body. This lack of heat, it was assumed, accounted for "numerous alleged physiological and psychological differences between women and men" and was used "to justify the perception of these differences as 'defects'" (Tuana 148). It was believed that this female lack of heat diminished women's body size, strength, and longevity. Aristotle writes that "[t]he male is larger and longer-lived than the female . . . the female is less muscular and less compactly jointed" (HA 538.a.23-538.b.8). Without this primary heat, women were unable to produce fertile seed on their own and were not therefore considered partners in the generation of life. However, there was rising debate on this point as evidenced by Galen's disagreement with Aristotle.
Anatomical drawings from this period reinforce the one-sex model and illustrate the male as the superior form and the female as the inferior one. In early modern sketches, such as those by Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré, male bodies are depicted as muscular, solid, and connected. Women’s bodies, on the other hand, are portrayed primarily as smooth surfaces and organs are not connected one to the other. The internal cavities of women are drawn as relatively empty when compared to contemporaneous drawings of men, which detail skeletal structure, muscular form, and a range of distinct organs. These illustrations were based on classical knowledge of the human anatomy and relied heavily on presuppositions, particularly about the inferior female anatomy, rather than on concrete evidence from medical dissection. For example, anatomical depictions of the uterus and vagina by both Vesalius (1543) and Paré (1517?-1590) resemble an internal penis and provide a phallic representation of the female genitalia.² The ovaries were drawn as a female version of the male "stones" or testes; the clitoris as an inferior male "yard" or penis. When internal organs were drawn, the left side of the female body was shown to route blood through the cleansing organ of the kidneys while the right side bypassed the kidneys. As such, female offspring were believed to originate from the polluted, impure female blood, while male offspring originated from the cleansed, pure blood. Illustrations such as these as well as anatomical descriptions in instruction manuals and medical books continued to describe female genitalia in terms of a male model through the eighteenth century. Discursive representations produced for public consumption in medical instruction books, like the visual images on which they were based, supported this view of the polluted, impure, defective female body. However, even though descriptions were similar in instruction
books, the narrative commentary and associated gender implications provided varied. A comparison between the popular Aristotle's *Master-Piece* (1684) and Jane Sharp's *A Midwife's Book* (1671) illustrates this interpretive difference.

According to Angus McLaren in "The Pleasures of Procreation: Traditional and Biomedical Theories of Conception" the "best known" and "best example of the popular works on sexuality was *Aristotle's Master-Piece*" (328, 329). First published in 1684, *Aristotle's Master-Piece* was the most widely used text of its kind, more than any other medical text, and went through more editions than any other sex manual from its first printing in 1684 until the end of the eighteenth century (329). My research shows twenty-nine editions had been printed by the end of the century, specifically 1791, with other editions appearing in English (from Scotland, England, and America), German, and French from the date of the first edition through 1920. Anonymously authored, *Aristotle's Master-Piece* drew on the work of Nicholas Culpeper, Albertus Magnus, and common folklore (McLaren 329) and was attributed to William Salmon. McLaren argues that *Aristotle's Master-Piece* is valuable, in part, because its reception reflects the changing attitudes about and perceptions of sexuality from the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries. McLaren writes that "over time it was viewed by the respectable as being in increasingly bad taste. In fact, it changed very little and, if anything, became more modest in its anatomical descriptions. It would come to appear vulgar, however, because it crystallised and maintained what were in effect late seventeenth-century beliefs about sexuality" (329).

*Aristotle's Master-Piece* describes the female reproductive organs as an inferior imitation of the male organs. Accordingly, "a Man . . . is different from a Woman in
nothing else but having his Genital members without his body: and this is certain, that if Nature having formed a Man, would convert him into a Woman; she hath no other task to perform, but to turn his Genital member inward, & a Woman into a Man by doing the contrary" (97). For instance, *Aristotle's Master-Piece* describes the man's yard as "an official Member, and the Tiller of Mans Generation, compound, and made of Kin, Brawrs, Tendones, Veins, Arteries, Sinews, and great Lygaments. . . . And as the Philosophers say, the quantity of a common Yard, is Eight or Nine Inches, with measurable bigness, proportioned to the quantity of the Matrix" (184). Unlike the "yard" that is attached to the body with its series of detailed tendons, sinews, and "great Lygaments," the associated female "matrix" or uterus is "movable upon sundry occasions, often falling low or rising high" (110), causing the bouts of hysteria and fainting fits common among women. His depiction of the female clitoris and uterus depends on this description. He describes the clitoris as "a substance in the upper part of the Division, where the two wings concur and is the Seat of venerial Pleasure, being like a Yard in Situation, Substance, Composition and Erection, growing sometimes out of the Body two Inches, but that rarely happens, unless thro' extream lust or extraordinary accident" (105) and is "like that of the Yard, *viz.* Erection, where Erection is for motion and attraction of the Seed" (115). Thus, the clitoris is a smaller, less effective penis. Furthermore, just as the visual images suggested a century before, the discursive representation maintains that "the main difference being that one is more solid than the other, and that the chief reason of changing Sexes is, and must be attributed to heat or cold suddainly or slowly contracted, which operates according to its greater of lesser force" (98). As for the "stones" or ovaries in women, they are
"commonly called the Testicles, altho' they perform the same Action as mens, if rightly considered, yet are they different in their situation, magnitude, temperament, substance, form and coveting" (112). The woman's stones are like that of men's in that they "operate in preparing the Seed" (118); however, they are different in that they are located internally, smaller, and colder than men's.

By contrast, Jane Sharp in *A Midwife's Book* (1671), appearing thirteen years prior to the first edition of *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, provides descriptions that are heavily influenced by classical theory, common folklore, and prevailing views but suggest different analyses. In her section "Of the likeness of the Privities of both sexes," she draws on Galen and current conceptualizations of the body but makes a departure from both in her analysis. She writes that

\[\text{Galen}'\text{saith that women have all the parts of Generation that Men have, but Mens are outwardly, womens inwardly. The womb is like to a mans Cod, turned the inside outward, and thrust inward between the bladder and the right Gut, for then the stones which were in the Cod, will stick on the outsides of it, so that what was a Cod before will be a Matrix, so the neck of the womb which is the passage for the Yard to enter, resembleth a Yard turned inwards, for they are both one length, onely they differ like a pipe, and the case for it; so then it is plain, that when the woman conceives, the same members are made in both sexes, but the Child proves to be a Boy or a Girle as the Seed is in temper; and the parts are either thrust forth by heat, or kept in for want of heat; so a woman is not so perfect as a Man, because her heat is weaker, but the Man can do nothing without the woman to beget Children, though some idle Coxcombs will needs undertake to shew how Children may be had without use of the woman. (37)\]

While Sharp's physical characterization of male and female genitalia is similar to other characterizations of the period, her editorial commentary at the end of the description is different. While she portrays women as inverted males, she rejects the argument that suggests that women are not capable of generating life force. Unlike her male
counterparts, Sharp argues an essential role for women in conception. For instance, Sharp's description of the clitoris, like those contemporaneous with hers, compares it to the male penis. She writes that "this Clitoris will stand and fall as the Yard doth" (93). However, she argues that the function of the clitoris is to make "women lustfull and take delight in Copulation" (93). Unlike the conventional view that associates lust with negative portrayals of femininity, Sharp argues that if it were "not for this they would have no desire nor delight, nor would they ever conceive" (39). Sharp re-maps female pleasure on the sexual body of a woman and associates desire with conception.

Menstruation provides a specific example of the way in which early modern conceptualizations portrayed not only the female body but also female functions as defective. Aristotle's Master-Piece (1684), for instance, claims that the "terms" or menstruation is the process by which the "Womb [is] well cleansed" (13) and made fit for conception. It also equates menstruation with semen. This view, which depends on Aristotelian theory, demonstrates that menstruation is evidence of female defect produced from a lack of essential bodily heat. Aristotle's justification in the Generation of Animals is that "'semen begins to appear in males and to be emitted at the same time of life that the menstrual flow begins in females' and that 'in the decline of life the generative power fails in the one sex and the menstrual discharge in the other' (GA 727.a.5-10). Since menstrual flow, like the ability to emit semen, commences at puberty and ceases with old age, Aristotle correctly concluded that the menstrual cycle was associated with the reproductive process. Because he portrayed the female body as an inferior copy of the male form, he incorrectly concluded that menstruation was the female equivalent of male semen. Tuana concurs and points out that "Aristotle claims
that these differences are accounted for by the fact that women are unable to 'cook' their semen to the point of purity—thus 'proof' of their relative coldness. Lacking heat in comparison to man, woman's semen is not transformed and looks like blood. It is also more abundant because woman is unable to reduce it through the infusion of heat" (148-149).

Unlike other writers who characterize menstruation as a sign of women's impurity and defect, Sharp describes the "Monthly courses of women" or "terms" as "a sign that such people are capable of Children; it preserves health to have them naturally, but if they be stopt there must be danger" (215). Sharp adds that "they are of no ill quality naturally, but are onely superfluous moisture and blood the Female sex abounds withal; for when they stop, the Child in the womb is supplied by them" (215-216).

Unlike the social implications for menstruation argued in *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, Sharp concludes that the "Monthly courses" prove women's generative capacity and "are of no ill quality" (215). Sharp's conclusions not only precede *Aristotle's Master-Piece's* by thirteen years but also are more medically accurate.

*Aristotle's Master-Piece* is influenced by Gallenic theory on the point of conception. It follows the argument for a two-sex model of reproduction that claims the "Seeds of the Man and Woman mixing and fermenting" produces "Conception or Geniture" (18). Even though *Aristotle's Master-Piece* claims that both the male and female seed contribute to conception (women have internal testicles and, like men, during copulation, must their "eject" seminal fluid, which contains their seed), "it is apparent that the Seed of man is the chief efficient and beginning of action, motion, and Generation" (28). If, however, women "covet and greedily long for things contrary to
Nutriment, . . . desire proceeds from a former contraction of evil humours, occasioning impure Blood in their containing Vessel, within, and often occasions abortion and miscarriage" (20).

Sharp's perspective on conception contains similarities to prevailing theories but ultimately departs from them. On male and female roles in conception, Sharp writes that

Mans Seed is the agent and womans Seed the patient, or at least not so active as the mans. Aristotle\textsuperscript{5} denied that women had any seed at all; and Jovianus Pontanus\textsuperscript{6} would prove this by the Moon, which Aristotle likeneth to women in act of Procreation, who held that the Moon doth nothing but bring moist matter for the Sun to work upon in things below, but Hermetick Philosophy\textsuperscript{7} will prove, that the moisture the Moon brings, hath an active principle as well as the Sun: and so doubtless women are not only passive in Procreation, but active also as well as the man though not in so high a degree of action: her seed is more watry, and mans seed full of vital spirits, more condensed, thick and glutinous; for had the womans seed been as thick as the mans, they could never have been so perfectly mingled together" (52-53).

Sharp aligns herself with current views of the female seed as the subordinate to the male but rejects the Aristotelian view that women are not partners with men in generating life force. Sharp asserts the active nature and life force of the female seed. She also interprets difference as natural, as opposed to defective, and justifies it as foundational to male and female seeds being "perfectly mingled" and, thus, to conception.

Barrenness and miscarriage provide one last example that illustrates the inscription of defectiveness on both the body and character of women. The author of *Aristotle's Master-Piece* asks,

If any ask why a Woman is sooner barren than a Man? I answer, the Cause is, the natural Heat, which is more predominant in the latter than in the former; for since a Woman is more moist than a Man, as her Courses do most evidently demonstrate, as also the softness of her Body; 'tis also apparent, that he doth exceed her in Native heat; and as for that
heat, it is the chief thing that concocts the Humours, and changes them into the substance of the See, which Aliment the Woman wanting, grows fat, when a Man, by reason of that heat, melts his fat by degrees, and his Humours are dissolved, but by the benefit thereof they are elaborated into Seed: and this may, for the better Confirmation of what I propose be added, That the Woman is not so strong as a Man, nor so wise and prudent, nor hath so much reason, nor is so ingenious in contriving her Affairs, whereby the Faculties are hindered in their operation. (9)

This passage contains social implications concerning intelligence, morality, and industry that are tied directly to the female's inability to produce sufficient, life-generating heat. Social implications are associated with the lack of heat and provide justification for women's inferiority based in "proven" bodily inferiority. The lack of heat also was given as the explanation as to why women's genitalia were imperfectly and internally formed and why their brains were less sophisticated and active, or projective, than men's were. Aristotle writes that "Of all the animals, man's brain is much the largest and the moistest" (GA 784.a.2-3). Because of her smaller, less sophisticated brain, woman was, then, "more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike. She is furthermore, more prone to despondency and less hopeful than the man, more void of shame, more false of speech, more deceptive, and of more retentive memory" (HA 608.b.10-12). Based on Aristotle's biological assumptions, the late seventeenth century constructed females as the inferior, defective, secretive, and even devious sex.8

Later in *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, the author locates the causes of barrenness on the specific surface of the woman's body. *Aristotle's Master-Piece* claims that this is "most commonly through the defect of the Genitals, Vessels, Blood or Menstrum" (79). He describes,
[t]he defect then in the Genitals frequently happens in Women through the strict closure of the mouth of the Womb, which by that means denies the Seed entrance, or through the narrowness of the parts or share-bone, that will not admit the Yard entrance, or many times by reason of some Ulcers of excrescencies in the neck of the Womb, to which may be added the defect of the Seed, by reason of some Distemper in the Generative Vessels, which the Woman may perceive by the little, or no satisfaction she receives in the act of copulation; sometimes again Children are wanting, when the Woman being too young, her Courses are not come down, or that she is too old they cease to flow. (79)

Barrenness is also described as caused by a lack of female seed (85), "when the Woman grows fat" (87), when the "Whites which are contracted by an inordinate Erudition of an excrementitious Humour" (87), by irregular menstruation due to being too young or too old (89, 90), and by "violent lust [which] contracts a heat that destroys the Seed, and renders it incapable of coagulating, and mixing with the Blood" (89). Thus, the defect is located either on the surface of female body (closed cervix, narrow vaginal walls, ulcerous vaginal walls, and defective eggs) or in the lack or excess that defines her (she is too young, too old, too fat, too excremental, too irregular and/or too lusy). While the first cause attributes barrenness to insufficient heat, which also provides "proof" of women's social inferiority, the second cause pinpoints that inferiority in the defective female body. Women were constructed as the inferior copy of an original ideal—both physically and ontologically. As Margrit Shildrick has argued in Leaky Bodies and Boundaries: Feminism, Postmodernism and (Bio)Ethics, the “internal location of female testes, as the ovaries were called, or of the penile vagina was explained as a lower stage of anatomical development and was consistent with the contemporary discourse of female inferiority” (28). Based as it was in Aristotelian theory and then Galen's discoveries, these descriptions set the standard for medical science for 1500 years.
Even after the early eighteenth century replaced the one-sex model (in which the female is container only) with a two-sex model (fusion of male seed and female egg), the construction of women’s bodies as cold continued. This construction had implications for the pervasive view of the defective female body. Women's colder bodies were believed to cause slower metabolism, which meant that women did not burn food as quickly as men, “thus leaving residues of fat and blood which are necessary for the nutriment of the foetus and for the eventual production of milk” (Maclean 34). However, during the early part of the century, both menses and milk were viewed as evidence of the polluted, unclean, inferior female body. Furthermore, unlike the self-contained and self-containing male, females leaked; or, as Elizabeth Grosz argues in *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*, “women’s corporeality is inscribed as a mode of seepage” (203). Such a view reinforced the Cartesian construction of and social implications for the male body as self-contained and the female body as an inferior imitation. During the eighteenth century, theories of spermatic preformation reinforced this view.

Spermatic preformation, the predominant eighteenth century theory of reproduction, claimed that the complete homunculus was contained in the sperm; activated by being placed in the female uterus; and thus the fetus was fully formed with the sperm and only needed time to grow larger. The definition of menstruation as “the loss of vital blood and the confirmation of an internal build-up of noxious waste material” in the woman’s body, “further underlined the dissipation of women’s bodily vigour and their reduced intellectual capacity” (Shildrick 34). Shildrick argues that “the very sign of fertility, the menses, has been regarded as evidence of women’s inherent
lack of control of the body and, by extension, of the self” (34). Women, who had gained some bit of reproductive equity through the epigenetic theories of the seventeenth century, lost that position with the rise of spermatic preformation theories. While an ovist argument did rise in opposition to the spermatic theory, the animunculists, such as Leuwenhoek, quickly won out. As in the earlier Aristotelian model, the eighteenth-century woman once again lost sexual ground and was re-mapped as passive container without a part in the generative process except as the passive container in which the complete homunculus would grow during gestation.

As the two-sex model replaces a one-sex model or as constructions of bodily difference replace constructions of bodily unity, the construction of personhood shifts away from a model that relied on bodies to a model that divides body from mind and that privileges mind over body. This shift from bodily unity to bodily difference can be located in the Enlightenment's Cartesian cogito ‘I think/therefore I am,’ which ”signaled the privileging of mind over body. The self-present, self-authorising subject became he who could successfully transcend his own body to take up a position of pure reason uncontaminated by the untrustworthy experience of the senses” (Shildrick 25-26). As is evident in much of the popular writing of the period, the view which came to dominance was that of the objective, rational observer who could transcend experience and the senses. The experiential became subordinate to the rationalistic. This ontological shift, which developed out of the scientific departure from theories founded on bodily unity to embrace those now based on bodily difference, was philosophically reinforced by patriarchal presuppositions about social implications for masculinity and femininity. Shildrick argues that “it is surely significant that the point at which
evidence of bodily difference became undeniable, and indeed accepted as the new orthodoxy, was the point at which the mind/body split of the Enlightenment decisively shifted the parameters of subjectivity, and constructed personhood as other than the body” (30). While male/female difference was not new to the Enlightenment, “what was new in post-Enlightenment (scientific) thought was the increasingly hierarchical structure of the by now familiar opposition between male-culture and female-nature” (26). This opposition is foundational to the notion of the moral deficiency and intellectual inferiority of the female sex. As Shildrick argues,

> Once the body itself had been devalued by its disengagement from the controlling mind, then the explanation of female inferiority found new grounds, and one must suppose that the ideological interest in maintaining the premise that female bodies were imperfectly formed male ones was greatly weakened…. What is striking here, however, is the way in which the construction of the medical knowledge about gendered bodies moves between the standards of sameness and difference without in any sense revising the attribution of inferiority to the female form. Where once the female was simply represented as a deficient version of the male ideal, the new knowledge constructed women as radically different from men, but no less made relative to and devalued against a male standard. In other words, difference was recognised but the hierarchy was maintained. (31)

Instruction books printed later in the century demonstrate this point. Baron Albrecht von Haller's *Primae lineae physiologiae [First lines of physiology]* (1779) provides a representative example. According to the advertisement at the front of the book, this 1779 edition of Haller's *First Lines of Physiology* was printed for Charles Elliot in Parliament Square, Edinburgh; however, the first edition was published in 1747 as a "correction and improvement of Boerhaave's Institutions, by adding the new discoveries of Morgagni, Winslow, Albinus, Douglas, &c." (np). Because of its success, three other additions followed in 1751, 1764, and 1766. The 1779 edition is a corrected version of
the 1766 edition. My research shows that Haller's text enjoyed continuous reprinting in English, Latin, French, and German throughout the eighteenth century, with the first American edition appearing in 1803 and the last reprint appearing in Germany in 1995-1996.

The primary difference between Haller's medical text and earlier ones is that it bases its descriptions on the work done to that point in morbid anatomy. References are made throughout the text to dissections of the human gravid uterus. Earlier texts do not draw on morbid anatomy and, as a result, do not contain this level of detail. What is noticeable in Haller's text is that while the descriptions are purportedly more "scientific," the end result is that they say essentially the same thing as the earlier descriptions. Take the case of the description of the clitoris, for example. Haller's description is as follows:

At the entrance of the vagina are prefixed two cutaneous productions or appendages, called nymphææ, continued from the cutis of the clitoris, and from the glans itself of that part; and these, being full or cellular substance in their middle, are of a turgescent or distendible fabric, fagged and replenished with sebaceous glandules on each side, such as are also found in the folds of the prepuce belonging to the clitoris. Their use is principally to direct the urine, which flows betwixt them both from the urethra, that in its descent it may be turned off from clinging to the body, in which office the nymphææ are drawn together with a sort of erection. These membranous productions descend from the cutaneous arch surrounding the clitoris, which is a part extremely sensible, and wonderfully influenced by titillation; for which it is made up, like the penis/ of two cavernous bodies, arising in like manner from the same bones, and afterwards conjoining together in one body, but without including any urethra. It is furnished with blood-vessels, nerves, and levator muscles, and a ligament sent down from the synchondrosis of the os pubis, like those in men, like unto which the clitoris grows turgid and erect in the venereal congress, but less in those who are very modest; but from friction, the clitoris always swells up and is erected. (452-453)
In earlier accounts, the male and female semen commingle to effect conception. By the time of Haller's work (1779), the male only produces semen, or the generative component. Haller explains that when a woman is invited either by moral love, or a lustful desire of pleasure, and admits the embraces of the male, whose penis, entering the vagina, is rubbed against its sides, until the male seed breaks out and is poured out into the uterus. It then excites a convulsive constriction and attrition of the very sensible and tender parts, which lie within the contiguity of the external opening of the vagina, after the same manner as we observed before of the male. By these means the return of the venous blood being suppressed; the clitoris grows turgid and erect, more especially in lustful women; the nymphæ swell on each side, as well as the venal plexus, which almost surrounds the whole vagina, so as to raise the pleasure to the highest pitch: in consequence of which there is expelled, by the muscular force of the constrictor, but not perpetually, nor in all women, a quantity of lubricating mucous liquor, of various kinds. The principal fountains of this are seated at the first beginning or opening of the urethra, where there are large mucous sinuses placed in the protuberant margin of this uriniferous canal. Moreover, there are two or three large mucous sinuses, which open themselves into the cavity of the vagina itself, at the sides of the urethra, in the bottom of the sinuses which are formed by the membranous valves sulcated upward. Lastly, at the sides of the vagina, betwixt the bottoms of the nymphæ and the hymen, there is one opening, on each side, from a very long duct; which, descending towards the anus, recives its mucus from a number of very small follicles. (453-454)

What Galen had described as women's equal role in conception, or the production of seminal fluids, is by the late 1700s reduced to lubrication for the male ejaculation.

Haller, therefore, reasserts that women did not have a generative role in reproduction. This is furthered evinced in the following description, which not only is interesting in terms of the medical explanation but also in the way that the representation of body parts and processes are now gendered. Haller explains that the same action which, by increasing the pleasure to the highest degree, causes a greater conflux of blood to the whole genital system of the female, occasions a much more important alteration in the interior parts. For the hot male semen, penetrating the tender and sensible cavity
of the uterus, which is itself now turgid with influent blood, does there excite, at the same time, a turgescence and distention of the lateral tubes, which are very full of vessels, creeping betwixt their two coats, and now stiff with the great quantity of blood they contain; and these tubes, thus copiously filled and florid with the red blood, become erect, and ascend, so as to apply the ruffle or fingered opening of the tube to the ovary. In the truth of all these particular changes, we are confirmed by dissections of gravid or pregnant women, under various circumstances; also from the comparative anatomy of brute animals, and from the appearances of the parts when diseased. (454)

This example demonstrates an incongruity evident in representations of the reproductive body; as scientific knowledge increased, so too did the divisions between the male and female roles in reproduction. Associated with these reproductive divisions along sex lines were discursive representations that reinforced socio-sexual subordination along gender lines. Such gendering is blatant in descriptions of the clitoris, as seen above, which "grows turgid and erect in the venereal congress, but less in those who are very modest . . . more especially in lustful women" (453) and of "hot male semen" that "penetrat[es]" the "tender and sensible cavity of the uterus" (454). This description suggests the continued influence of an Aristotelian characterization of heat as the essential generative life force, of maleness as active, and of femaleness as passive.

Morbid anatomy, on which Haller claims he bases his work, scientifically constructs the female body as an inferior imitation of the turgescent, distended, erect male body.

Gendering along sexed categories can also be seen, even if less obviously, in the social implications of medical descriptions given. For instance, a "woman" is now "invited" for sex rather than the earlier more equitable characterizations of male and female sexuality and sexual desire. This invitation is made either by "moral love" or "a lustful desire of pleasure," which ostensibly divides women along moral grounds as either good or bad and marks the distinction between the morality of love and the
immorality of lust. This distinction indicates a lewdness associated with female
pleasure while a morality is associated with female love. Furthermore, the "male seed
breaks out and is poured out into the uterus" (453), the passive container awaiting the
active sperm. While the female clitoris is characterized as "erect" and stimulation is
said to "raise the pleasure to the highest pitch," the consequence of this pleasure is the
production "by the muscular force of the constrictor, but not perpetually, nor in all
women, a quantity of lubricating mucous liquor" (453). The lubrication, however, is to
aid in release of the sperm from the erect penis, not to increase her pleasure. While
difference was recognized, it reduced the female to a subordinate position in sex. On
the social level, this difference divided women not only along class lines but also into
rigid categories that would be represented by images associated with the saintly angel in
the house motif, implying death and domesticity, or her antithesis, implying the
corrupted living female body and the public arena. This polarization of women along
binary lines of good or bad, associated with upper or vulgar class categories, can also be
seen in descriptions that oppose the "modest" to the "lustful" woman. Prior to the late
1700s, female sexual desire as well as sexual delight (orgasm) was considered
necessary components for conception. By the mid to late eighteenth century, female
sexual desire, unlike male sexual desire, had become a class issue, and sexual delight
had become effaced beneath the façade of propriety.

As for conception, Haller chronicles the contemporary debate between the
spermatic preformationists, whom "to the father . . . have attributed every thing; chiefly
after the seminal worms, now so well known, were first observed in the male seed by
the help of the microscope, which are observed with truth to agree in figure with the
first embryos of all animals" (457) and the ovists, whom "other anatomists, not less
celebrated or less worthy of credit, have taught that the fetus existed in the mother and
maternal ovary; which the male semes excites into a more active life, and likewise
forms it variously, so as to shew it just brought into life, and make its presence
manifest" (457). In the end, Haller concludes that "it appears, therefore, certain to me,
that no cause can be assigned for it below the infinite wisdom of the Creator himself"
(459). He does, however, argue that

the more frequently, or the more minutely, we observe the long series of
increase through which the shapeless embryo is brought to the perfection
necessary for animal life, so much the more certainly does it appear, that
those things which are observed in the more perfect fetus have been
present in the tender embryo, although the situation, figure and
composition seem at first to have been exceedingly different from what
they shew themselves to be at last; for an unwearied and laborious
patience has discovered the intermediate degrees by which the situation,
figure, and symmetry, are insensibly reformed. Even the transparency of
the primary fetus alone conceals many things which the colour added a
little after does not generate, but renders conspicuous to the eye. And it
sufficiently appears that those parts which eminent anatomists have
supposed to be generated in after times, and to be added to the primeval
ones, have been all contemporary with the primeval parts, only small,
soft, and colourless. (459)

Thus, unlike the earlier epigenetic theories, Haller supports preformationist theories in
which the embryo contains the whole of the animucule, and gestation is the process of
its increase in parts. Such a view returns the female to her subordinate role in the
reproductive process.

By the mid-eighteenth century descriptions of human breast milk had changed.
Haller describes human milk as

white, thickish, sweet, and replete with a very sweet essential salt, which
grows sour spontaneously, but is tempered by the oil and lymph added to
it. It has also a volatile and somewhat odorous vapour, a good deal of fat
or oily parts, a larger portion of a white crassamentum or cheesy curd,
and still more of a diluting water; and again, in the crassamentum, are contained parts of a more earthy, alkalescent, or animal nature. But when the chyle is once changed into serum, by fasting a considerable time, the milk becomes brackish, alkalescent, and displeasing to the infant. As the chyle, so the milk frequently retains the nature of the aliment and medicines taken into the stomach. The cause of this increased secretion in the breasts, seems owing to the revolution, in consequence of the plentiful uterine secretion being suppressed, by which the fetus was nourished; in the same manner as a diarrhœa is suppressed by increasing the perspiration. For it has been observed, that true milk will sometimes make its way through other parts besides the breasts, and even escape through wounds. And there is otherwise between the uterus and breasts, some kind of nervous sympathy, and a similar fitness for generating a white liquor. For the uterus in infancy, and during the time of pregnancy, manifestly generates it. But the inosculations between the mammary and epigastric arteries, though true, are so small, that they can have but a very little share in this account. (481)

Earlier manuals provided detailed explanations of how to choose an appropriate nurse or how to dry up breast milk, which suggests that misconceptions about witches' milk (colostrum), humours, and so on were still believed. Haller, on the other hand, discusses the value of colostrum—the first milk—for the health of the infant. He correctly claims that the "first milk, which is like whey, termed colostra, loosens the tender bowels of the infant, and purges out the meconium, to the great advantage of the infant" (483). Other doctors at this time concur with Haller. For instance, in The Complete English Physician; Or, An Universal Library of Family Medicines, Dr. George Alexander Gordon claims that the "best medicine for expelling the meconium is the mother's milk, which at first is always of a purgative quality . . . . for if children were permitted to such as soon as they shew inclination, there would be no occasion for medicines to discharge the meconium" (57). He also argues that breastfeeding one's infant has benefits for the mother as well. He writes that to "prevent the milk fever nothing is more efficacious than putting the child early to suck the breast, or to get them
frequently drawn by the nurse, at least for the first month, if she does not intend to suckle it herself" (55).

According to Haller, menstruation begins "about the 13th year, or somewhat later, nearly at the same time when semen begins to form itself in the male" (442). Unlike earlier accounts which represent the menstrual flux as the evacuation of impure blood, Haller writes that the

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\text{discharge of blood from the vessels of the uterus itself, is demonstrated by inspection in women who have died in the midst of their courses; and in living women, having an inversion of the uterus, the blood has been seen plainly to distil from the open orifices. . . . But that this is a good and sound blood in an healthy woman, appears both from the foregoing and innumerable other observations. (443)}
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In *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Thomas Laqueur argues that even after empirical models had been established for anatomical science, there was still resistance to revising traditional models of the female reproductive body. This resistance, which stretches from the Aristotelian through the eighteenth-century’s construction of the reproductive body, effaces the female role in reproduction and philosophically reinforces the devaluation of the female body as inferior and subordinate to the male.\(^{15}\) This medical and philosophical devaluation of the female body highlights the influence that patriarchal presuppositions held over the production of any empirical evidence to the contrary.

When medical instruction books for women finally did become available, they often perpetuated traditional misconceptions and prescribed harmful treatments. As John Leake, M.D.\(^{16}\) reports in his *Medical Instructions towards the Prevention and Cure of Chronic Diseases Peculiar to Women: In which, their Nature is fully explained, and their Treatment clearly laid down divested of the Terms of Art, for the Use of those*
affected with such Diseases, as well as to the Medical Reader (1787)¹⁷ \"[l]ittle ha[s]
been said of Female Diseases in a practical and intelligible manner . . .; for although
Tissot in his Advice to the People, and Buchan in his Domestic Medicine, have written
excellently and judiciously on diseases in general; they have, in a great measure,
 omitted those peculiar to women\" (15). In his own work, Leake critiques these outdated
views of the female body and takes as his objective to "examine and explode such
customs and vulgar errors as tend to prejudice the understanding and injure health; to
point out the dangerous abuse of powerful medicines, and afford women more
competent ideas of their own disorders, as well as the most gentle and effectual methods
of treating them\" (9). Widely popular during the eighteenth century and going through
as many as six editions, Leake's work is one of the first within the medical community
to take aim at customary views of women and, as such, represents a voice of opposition
within the established medical profession as it relates to the female body.

While Leake makes a courteous bow to medical science and the physicians who
have practiced and published before him,¹⁸ he also clearly states that it is his aim to call
attention to and seek redress for the "vulgar errors" (9) that the medical establishment
have perpetuated with regard to the female body and women's health. In his
introduction to Medical Instructions, Leake writes that

To follow what we disapprove, and act in contradiction to our own
feelings, to be afraid of doing justice and speaking truth, argues the most
temporising and slavish conformity to customs, `more honored in the
"breach than the observance." I can say with great truth, that I have long
thought something like the following work might be productive of
general good, and that nothing, in my power, has been wanting to make
it answer that desirable and important end. (17)
Later in his introduction, Leake further characterizes the "vulgar errors" of science as "tyrant custom" and writes that "many of those very medicines and modes of practice, which have so much captivated their enamored votaries, like others which went before them, will be viewed by posterity as airy nothings, the very baubles and bagatelles of the science" (32 my emphasis). Leake's discussion of menstruation, or the "periodical discharge," is an example of the way in which he takes on the established, longheld views of female anatomy and health.

In his chapter dedicated to a full discussion of "periodical discharge," Leake opens by redefining menstruation, particularly in light of misconceptions passed down from antiquity. He writes that,

\[
\text{it should be remarked, that a woman's constitution is endowed with the power to prepare a larger quantity of vital fluid called blood, than is necessary for the immediate (fulfillment?) of her own body; the overplus being intended for the nourishment of her child in the womb; and lest it should over-fill the vessels and incommode her constitution, when she is not pregnant, provident nature has ordered it off by the womb once a month; it is therefore properly called the Menses or Monthly Discharge. (46)}
\]

In this passage, Leake re-characterizes women's blood as critical to the reproductive process. By using language, such as "endowed with the power," "vital fluid," "necessary," "nourishment," and "provident nature", Leake assigns positive characteristics to what historically was deemed one of the defective components of the female body.

Later in the text, Leake takes on the medical establishment's dependence on a scientific inquiry that remained based in antiquity and the Renaissance. He refutes outdated and empirically inaccurate explanations. Leake writes that
The periodical discharge is not sanious or malignant, as many have
supposed, but a sanguineous fluid, equally pure with that circulating in
the blood-vessels; otherwise it would have been very unfit to nourish the
child in the womb, whose body is, as it were, built up by the redundant
blood retained in the mother's constitution, during pregnancy, for that
special purpose. (54)

In this passage, Leake challenges misconceptions about female menstruation that can be
 traced all the way back to Aristotle's biology. By remarking that the periodical
discharge is neither "sanious" nor "malignant," Leake refutes the notion of a defective
female anatomy. He labels women's menstrual blood as "equally pure" with the other
blood in the body, rejecting Galen's notion that women's blood, because it must be
"evacuated," is polluted, watery, and impure. Finally, women's "redundant blood" has a
"special purpose," the nourishment of the fetus—a refutation of spermatic
preformationists who insisted, with the ancients and Renaissance thinkers before them,
that it is only the male who could generate life. Under this view, the purpose of the
female reproductive body was only a location in which the fully formed fetus would
lengthen and grow. Leake advises that

Women need not, therefore, look upon this critical evacuation, as the
monthly task of nature to purify the blood; . . . some have too hastily
concluded that this discharge does not necessarily arise from the
institution of nature, but rather is the effect of luxury and excess,
prevailing in the more civilised parts of Europe, which pervert and
change the original state of the constitution. But we need only take a
review of the particulars already advanced, to shew the fallacy of this
opinion, and to prove that in the human subject, at least, the periodical
discharge is essential to the female constitution, and necessary towards
the production of her species. (54-56)

Once again, Leake argues against the "fallacy" of former opinion, in order "to prove"
that menstruation is "essential" to the reproduction of the female sex of the species.

Menstruation is not the "effect of luxury and excess" but the cause of the female
constitution and, therefore, not a marker of its defectiveness. Leake rejects notions that claim that the menses contributes a "noxious quality to it humours" (56) or has an influence "of stopping the fermentation of liquors, and killing vegetables by the slightest touch" (59), which were "absurdly and unworthily imputed to women" (56).

Leake described these "vulgar Errors" as "the offspring of ignorance and over credulity, equally inconsistent with reason or the law of nature" (56).

Even though Leake called attention to the "vulgar errors" (9) of medical science, he was very much of his time. His assumptions about women's character and women's education show this. Words and phrases, such as "prudent conduct of women" (50), "improper" (52), "pernicious" (52), "proper" (53), "harmonises the passions of the one, and renders the other irresistibly pleasing" (56), "prudent caution" (64), "the intention of nature, in acting conformable to her own laws" (64), "the delicacy of female education" (65), and "weak, delicate, and hysterical, or so irritable, as to be affected with flurry of spirits, on slight occasions" (160), signify his assumptions about the general character of women. When discussing childbirth, Leake associates a woman's character with her health and the health of her offspring. He writes that "[t]he prudent conduct of women, at this critical juncture, when a kind of revolution if brought about in the constitution , is of the utmost importance to their own future health, as well as that of their offspring" (50-51). Here, as in other places in the text, Leake advises that prudence of lifestyle is relevant to one's productivity in childbearing. For Leake, the "preservation and recovery of health rather depend on temperance and the regulation of the passions" (32), the first component on his list for a healthy regimen and productive medical practice.

As for chronic diseases in general, Leake attributes them as "the offspring of
intemperance and irregularity of the passions, which, by weakening the nervous
influence, impair both appetite and digestion, and render the natural discharges of the
body irregular and defective" (29). Intemperance renders the body defective; imprudent
behavior is the foundation of disease. Behavior serves as a barometer for disease and
death.

Later in the text, Leake discusses abortion and barrenness along conventional
class lines. He writes that abortion and barrenness

more evidently appears by infirmities peculiar to women of superior
rank, from which those of more humble stations, are almost entirely free. The poor female cottager who uses exercise in the open air, who eats the coarse, but wholesome bread of industry and drinks from the cooling stream, is seldom troubled with those maladies which afflict the rich and indolent, undone by the abuse of plenty. Her body is not like that of the modern fine lady robb'd of its native vigor by unseasonable indulgence, or her mind tortured by imaginary wants; her nerves are not convulsed by insults of passion, or the excesses of midnight dissipation. So far from being barren, she generally becomes the mother of a numerous and healthy offspring, which, like young oaks of the forest, planted by the hand of nature, without the imperfect, artificial help of a nursery, by nature simply live and thrive. (141-142)

In this passage, Leake draws on class distinction to argue the subtle point that abortion
and barrenness can be the result of an imprudent, indolent, and indulgent lifestyle.

There we see a division of women along class lines and issues of morality; this division
is pervasive in eighteenth century medical texts and would in the nineteenth and
twentieth centuries move across race lines as well. Along class lines, Leake's analysis
privileges the exercise and industry of the poor over the excess and indolence of the
rich. As opposed to seventeenth and early eighteenth century versions, such as
_Aristotle's Master-Piece_, Leake focuses on character and behavior as a basis of
barrenness and natural abortion or miscarriage. The "abuse of plenty" robs vigor,
deludes the mind, and frays the nerves. The more indulgent the lifestyle the more at risk the pregnancy. The mother is then culpable. *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, on the other hand, focuses on the defective female body (as opposed to the defective female character). Thus bodily unity of the one-sex model was replaced by bodily difference. Even so, the female remained culpable, whether because of her biological body or her behavior and/or character. In the earlier part of the century, barrenness in women was due to a defective female body. By the time Leake is writing, the medical perspective had shifted to one that recognizes bodily difference and, in turn, viewed barrenness and miscarriage as a result, not of a defective body, but of defective behavior. Either way, it is the woman who is at fault. In both models, the woman is culpable. If it is not her body, then it must be her behavior. The resulting medical analysis remains ultimately the same even though the individual texts and the evidence are different.

Leake's assumptions about the general mission of medical science are telling and locate him squarely within the parameters of prevailing social views on women. He writes that

> as to its proposed end, is the most noble and useful of all others, having nothing less for its object than the Preservation and Recovery of health, which is the very basis of human happiness; for sickness and diseases not only rob us of all enjoyment, but, at last, of life itself. If the means by which it ought to be effected have sometimes been abused, that is not a fault of the Science, but of those who are unworthy to profess it. The useful part of medicine stands in no need of a mark to cover its real form; the more it is unveil'd, the more its native excellence will be displayed; but where it has made use of meretricious arts to delude and seduce the unwary, let it be stripped of such tinsel ornaments, and stand exposed to open view. (37)

Even though Leake uses his text to draw attention to and correct outdated scientific misconceptions and potentially harmful medical practices, he aligns himself with
prevailing views concerning the social implications for a medical profession, medical science, and its general mission as they relate to women. On women's participation in healthcare, Leake writes that it "would, indeed, be unnecessary that women should attend to physic in a methodical and scientific manner; the idea of every woman being her own physician, on all occasions, is ludicrous in terms, and would be no less so in its application" (20). While Leake does not refrain from correcting factual errors in science, he does not address their associated gender implications.

Leake's work serves as a representative example of the way in which differences were recognized but the hierarchies were maintained. While Leake describes and corrects earlier medico-scientific errors, on a societal level, he genders the feminine in the conventional role of subordination. His work illustrates Shildrick's argument that

\[\text{in directing its attention to the mastery of the natural world, and given the close identification of the female with nature, the scientific project of the Enlightenment may be conceptualised as inherently hostile to women. Moreover the discursive circulation of both those heavily gendered binaries has grounded a belief in the deficient moral capabilities of the female sex.} \] (26)

Femininity was constructed as deficient and inferior, and in need of management. These "proven" anatomical binaries had dire social implications. They inscribed on the body of the female a deficient intellectual and moral capacity and provided scientific "evidence" for their gender-biased presuppositions that would serve as an impenetrable fortification for arguments against any real equality, socially and legally, for women until suffrage.21 While Shildrick illustrates the Enlightenment’s hostility toward women, this hostility did not end with eighteenth-century discourse but has penetrated twentieth-century scholarly discourse on the history of medicine in its dismissal of women’s contributions as “domestik” or “kitchen physik.”
At the turn of the twenty-first century, the current medical model is frighteningly reminiscent of eighteenth-century models. The eighteenth-century model devalues the female body as polluted, diseased, and inferior to the male ideal. It characterizes the female body as defective and in need of management, locates generative life force within the male sperm and subordinates the female reproductive organs to passive container, and finally divides mother from fetus as unconnected, distinct, and separate entities. This model continues to inform current constructions of the female reproductive body. Shildrick argues that the medical model of the late twentieth century details a construction of the mother’s body that is, at best, “a container, a bounded space with which certain processes occur. At worst, the maternal body may be effaced altogether” (25). The development of New Reproductive Technologies (NRTs) is evidence of a model that continues to locate passivity, defect, and necessary management on the side of the maternal body. The Baton Rouge daily newspaper, *The Advocate* (January 1999), reported on the advances of NRTs. The technological advance reported was the medical recommendation that the woman in question not only take hormone therapy but also receive in vitro fertilization. In this case, the female was the individual that the medical community treated. It was her body that was in need of medical management and her body that was considered defective. The male was not treated even though the article reported that he was said to have only a low to normal sperm count. Whose body is protected? Whose body is managed? Whose body is defective? On whose body does the medical community choose to perform? The implications are clear. The development of NRTs has increasingly fragmented women’s bodies. Wholeness is undermined in two directions according to
Shildrick: “First, the reproductive organs of women are referred to as discrete entities to be directly managed. . . . Second, the status of the fetus or embryo, even the pre-conceptus at times, is characterized as free-floating, independent, radically other than the mother herself” (25). The evidence suggests that we remain dangerously connected to outdated bodily constructions and inaccurate medical models. Petchesky argues that sonogramic visual imagery and Martin and Sherwin argue that current medical and legal discourse treat the fetus as a subject in its own right, separate and disconnected from the mother. The law supports such a view. The most recent evidence is the Supreme Court's 16 October 2002 decision to allow "pro-life" license plates in Louisiana. Pro-choice license plates did not make it past the legislature. It is interesting to note the extent to which medical science and legal discourse work in conjunction with one another. The twentieth century medical model, like the eighteenth-century model, continues to protect and privilege the male body, his sperm, and his accountability in the reproductive process. This is not such a huge leap from eighteenth century variations, which simultaneously pathologize and criminalize the female body while it protects and releases the male from full accountability.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women were constructed as, at best, the passive container that held the complete homunculus (fully formed child) until its increase in parts and subsequent birth. This medical model for the reproductive body perpetuates a masculinist agenda that devalues women as it constructs the living female body as unclean, diseased, lacking, and even absent. Subsequent chapters explore this early modern medicalization of the female body in light of women's literature during the long eighteenth century and their discursive representations of the body, particularly
focusing on their portrayals of the mutilated body (see Chapter 3) and the diseased body (see Chapter 4). I demonstrate that women's discursive representations of the body, unlike their male counterparts, disrupt an Enlightenment notion of rigid and fixed sociosexual categories, focus on the experiential and particular rather than the observational and ideal, and challenge prescribed gendered meanings. I also examine the associated ways in which the eighteenth century's medicalized body was further constrained by law and address the criminalized female body. (see Chapter 5). I argue that prevailing views neglect the relevance of experience to a conceptualization of the body; women's representations challenge these views. Additionally, associated legal views of the female body constrained it. Women's representations disrupt those constraints.

III. Endnotes

1 In *De usu partium* (trans. M.T. May), Galen writes, “just as mankind is the most perfect of all the animals, so within mankind the man is more perfect than the woman, and the reason for his perfection is his excess of heat, for heat is Nature’s primary instrument” (Cornell UP, 1968: 630). Hierarchical binaries are concretely established by the time of Galen in science.

2 The illustrations by Vesalius and Paré are representative examples of the phallic representation of female genitalia. These illustrations are among the holdings of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London.

3 See Galen (c. 129-c. 200), *De usu partium corporis humani* 14.2.297-8. Basing his work on Hippocrates, Galen's humoral theory was the accepted theory until the sixteenth century.

4 Associated social implications concerning conception have bearing on seventeenth and early eighteenth-century deliberations on rape. The author of *Aristotle's Master-Piece* provides this telling story:

   Of late saith he, there happened a great disturbance amongst us, which ended not without Blood shed; and was occasioned by a Virgin, whose Chastity had been violated, descending of a noble Family, and ever before that time held to be of unspotted fame. Now several there were who charged the Fact upon a Person of Note, viz. A Judge President of a City in Flanders, who strongly denied the Fact, saying that he was ready to swear it upon the holy Evangelist, that he never so much as penetrated
her Body, or broke ther Membrane of her Virginity, and that he would by
no means therefore be taken for the Father of the Child that was not his:
and further alledged that he verily believed that it was a Child born in
seven Months, and that hemmself was many miles distance from the
Mother of it when it was conceived, whereupon the Judges before whom
the hearing was, decreed That the Child should be viewed by Able
Physicians, as also Expereinced Women, and that they should make their
report, who having made diligent inquiry, all of them with one accord,
concluded the Child (without respecting/ who was the Father) was a
Child Born within the space of Seven Months, that it was carryed in the
Mothers Womb but 27 Weeks, and some odd Days, but if she could have
carried it to full 9 Months, the Childs Parts and Limbs would have been
more firm and strong, and the Structure of the Body more compact, and
last, for the Skin was exceeding loose, and the Brestbone that defends the
Heart, and the Swordlike Gristle that lies over the Stomach were higher
than naturally they should be, not plain but crooked, and sharp Ridged,
or pointed like those of young Chickens that are hatched at the beginning
of the Spring. . . . These and the like weighty matters being considered,. . . the supposed Father was pronounced innocent, upon proof that he was
a hundred miles distance all that month in which the Child was begot:
own as for the Mother she strongly denied that she knew the Father,
being forced in the dark and that through fear and surprize was left in
ignorance: though Physitians are of opinion, that if a Woman prove with
Child, it cannot be accounted a Rape, for unless she cast forth her Seed
to commix with the Mans (which imploys a willingness in her to be a
Copartner in the Act,) the Child cannot be formed: but my opinion is,
that poor silly Girls, struggling to defend themselves in case of such
violence, and not in such fear and perplexity regarding the nicety of
containing their Humour, the Seminary Vessels by an natural proneness
will open, and the Seed in such cases, whether they desire it or not, will
flow, to commix with the Mans in the Matrix, and by coagulating with
the Blood that descends to nourish, it will form the Child: and thus much
for these particulars" (71-74).


6 See Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503), Neapolitan medical author and teacher
at the University of Salamanca. In her critical edition of Jane Sharp's The Midwives
Book, Elaine Hoby explains that "Sharp echoes Culpeper, Directory, 29, which gives
Pontanus' De rebus cœlestibus as its source" (52 n.9).

7 By Hermetick Philosophy, Sharp would be referring to the mystical philosophical
writings in the Corpus Hermeticum, probably written during the third century and
attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Elaine Hoby explains that Sharp is drawing on
Culpeper's Directory, 29-30, for this information (53 n.1).

However, some physicians in the late eighteenth century would depart from such a view. See my later discussion of John Leake's revisionary work on the female reproductive body.

The insights of Elizabeth Grosz's phenomenological-feminist approach to a study of embodiment have influenced my own work, particularly her discussion of corporeal flows. Grosz argues that "the female body has been constructed not only as a lack or absence but with more complexity, as a leaking, uncontrollable, seeping liquid; as formless flow; as viscosity, entrapping, secreting; as lacking not so much or simply the phallus but self-containment—not a cracked or porous vessel, like a leaking ship, but a formlessness that engulfs all form, a disorder that threatens all order? I am not suggesting that this is how women are, that it is their ontological status. Instead, my hypothesis is that women's corporeality is inscribed as a mode of seepage. My claim is not that women have been somehow desolidified but the more limited one which sees that women, insofar as they are human, have the same degree of solidity, copy the same genus, as men, yet insofar as they are women, they are represented and live themselves as seepage, liquidity. The metaphors of uncontrollability, the ambivalence between desperate, fatal attraction and strong revulsion, the deep-seated fear of absorption, the association of femininity with contagion and disorder, the undecidability of the limits of the female body (particularly, but not only, with the onset of puberty and in the case of pregnancy), its powers of cynical seduction and allure are all common themes in literary and cultural representations of women. But these may well be a function of the projection outward of their corporealities, the liquidities that men seem to want to cast out of their own self-representations" (203).


Haller's view is representative of the prevailing view of the time, which privileged the spermatic over the ovist preformationist theory. Person's contemporaneous argument testifies to this fact. Samuel Foart Simmons' English translation of Claude Person's *Elémens d'anatomie raisonné [Elements of anatomy and the animal oeconomy]* (1775) traces the medical history of the reproductive process and summarizes the progression of theories from the Aristotelian view that "the male semen as alone capable of forming the fœtus, and believed that the female only afforded it a lodging in the womb, and supplied it with nourishment after it was perfectly formed" (256). He explains that this view was replaced by the Gallenic theory which afforded females a more equitable role in reproduction, which was that "the fœtus as being formed by the mixture of the seminal liquor of both sexes, by a certain arrangement of its several particles in the uterus" (256). Person shows that when the "vesicles or eggs were discovered in the ovaria or female testicles . . . the two former opinions were exploded in favor of a new doctrine" (256). In this new theory, "each vesicle was said
to include a little animal almost compleat in all its parts; and the vapor of the male semen being conveyed to the ovarium, was supposed to produce a fermentation in the vesicle which approached the nearest to maturity, and thus inducing it to disengage itself from the ovarium, it passed into the tuba fallopiana, through which it was conveyed into the uterus" (257). After Leeuwenhock's microscope and discovery of "many animalcula floating in the seminal fluid of the male" (258), this theory was replaced by preformation theories, both spermatic and ovist. Person claims that the ovist theory "seems to be wrong; and the opinion now most generally adopted is, that an impregnation of the ovum, by the influence of the male semen, is essential to conception" (259).

13 In an earlier section in which Haller discusses meconium, he explains that the excremental feces, which are collected in the fetus during the whole time of its residence in the womb, amount to no great quantity, as they are/ the remains of such thin nutritious juices, percolated through the smallest vessels of the uterus. I frequently observe, that the bladder is almost empty in the fetus. However, there is generally some quantity urine, collected in a very long conical bladder. But in the cavity of the intestines, there is collected together a large quantity of a dark green pulp, which may possibly be the remains of the exhaling juices, like the feculent remains, which area sometimes left in the other cavities of the body that are filled with exhaling juices, and such as I have sometimes observed even in the vaginal coat of the testicle. (465-466)

In *The Complete English Physician* (1785?), George Alexander Gordon describes meconium as the "matter contained in the stomach and bowels [which] is generally passed after the birth by the mere effect of nature" (56-57). The "mere effect of nature" he refers to iscolostrum, or first milk.

14 Thirteen years before Aristotle's Master-Piece and almost 100 years before Haller's *First Lines of Physiology* was printed, Jane Sharp's *The Midwife's Book* (1671) takes up the issues of lactation and nursing. Sharp writes that It hath been much argued whether the mother or some other women be best to nurse the child; surely I should think the mother, in all respects, if she be sound and well, because it agrees better with the childs temper; for the milk of the mother is the same with that nutriment the child drew in, in the Womb. (270)

However, while Sharp's general advice on this point is ahead of her time, the specific guidelines that follow the general suggestion is based on misconception and is incorrect. She writes that "When the blood is too full of Whey [liquids] it breeds thin milk, which gives little nourishment, and the children by sucking of it fall into Fluxes [diarrhea], and looseness of the belly" (270). As is later proven, the first milk or colostrum is essential to the evacuation of the meconium.

15 The effects of this devaluation of women can be seen in legal discourse. As a case in point, under marriage law, when a woman becomes a wife she loses "individual" status.
She becomes *feme-covert*, or in other words, coverture means that her rights are consumed by the rights of her husband. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

16 John Leake's other published works include *Practical Observations on the Acute Diseases incident to Women*, under the following heads: observations on Child-bed Fever, deduced from the Symptoms of that disease taken from the living body, and examination of its morbid appearances after death; with the methods most conducive to its cure, illustrated with cases and forms of medicine adapted to each. and *A Lecture Introductory to the Theory and Practice of Midwifery, including the History of that Science, with a view of its several branches, and the proper means of attaining true knowledge of the whole. To which is added, a Syllabus of obstetric Lectures, with the Description and Use of the New Forceps, illustrated by copper-plate prints of that Instrument.* Dr. Leake also frequently gave public lectures on midwifery, pregnancy, and diseases related to women and children. In addition to his medical practice, publishing, and speaking, in 1765, Dr. Leake purchased land near the Westminster Bridge and wrote up a plan for the construction of a lying-in hospital for indigent and unmarried women, who suffer "many severe Hardships" and who on that account [being indigent and unmarried] are rejected elsewhere; they unanimously resolved to receive such as are found to be *Objects of real Want*, not doubting that this Resolution, which is *founded in Humanity*, will meet with the countenance and approbation of the Public; many melancholy Instances having occurred, where unfortunate Women, overwhelmed with Shame, and destitute of hope, money, or friends, have been driven to *Despair* by such complicated *Misery*, and were tempted to *destroy themselves or to murder their Infants!* (Leake 14)

According to Leake's records, by the date of publication of *Medical Instructions* (1787) over 6000 women had been admitted to and treated without fee at the Westminster Lying-in Hospital.

17 I have modernized the spelling in passages quoted from Leake's work.

18 While Leake certainly makes a bow to medical science in his praises of the work of Syndeham, Van Swieten, M. Rousen, Arbuthnot, Fuller, Cheyne, Tissot, and Buchan, he does not shirk from calling a dunce a dunce. He writes that Health is so important a blessing, that people are entitled to the best information they can get concerning, and to the privilege of seeing with their own eyes; instead of being hoodwinked and led blindfold by the delusive promises of advertising quacks with borrow'd names, impostors, and water-doctors, who pretend to discover the face of the disease on the surface of urine, as in the very mirror of truth, but in reality see nothing there so clearly as the patients ignorance and their own gain. (*Medical Instructions* 35-36)

19 This, however, is my reading of Leake's text. He, on the other hand, seems to attribute the "error of the ancients" to have "taken rise from a passage in the *Mosaic*
Law, forbidding all commerce between the sexes till after purification by ablution or bathing, a custom which still prevails among the Jewish and Eastern women" (55). Even given this attribution, the issues on which he directs his focus specifically challenge the inaccuracies that began in Aristotle's theories of the female body and were perpetuated by the scientific inquiry of both the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods.

20 A similar example appears later in the text. Leake writes that Observation and repeated experience clearly present us with the following facts. Ill health, to which women are subject from causes in common with men, will frequently bring on an obstruction of the menses; such as an hereditary bad stamina, or consumptive habit, but if health can be restored, this evacuation, like others natural to the body, will again return without much assistance from medicines. Hence it is evident, that the effect has been mistaken for the cause, and the cause for the effect, to the great injury of the female constitution. (77 Leake's emphasis)

21 One of the consequences of women's inequality, particularly in terms of assumed moral deficiency of women is that women were more easily targeted than men and suspect of crimes of passion, particularly those women without the privilege and power of money and class on their sides.
Chapter 3: The Mutilated Body

"I agree no farther than in Supposition to this Common-Place Argument made use of by the Enemies of our Sex: . . . as I am not Anatomist enough to know where there is really any such Difference or not between the Male and Female Brain."

Eliza Haywood, *The Female Spectator*

I. Introduction

In this chapter, I demonstrate that women's accounts of the mutilated body reveal disparities not accounted for by their male counterparts, literary or scientific. In light of my opening discussion of the miscellaneous poems of Jonathan Swift and subsequent argument that literary dissection invites a medical parallel, I examine the field of morbid anatomy and particularly the anatomical sketches and narrative descriptions of William Hunter, whose work puts forth the ideal as the standard by which truth and objectivity were measured. By reading Swift's literary dissections in light of Hunter's, I demonstrate the impact that then current scientific conceptualizations of the female body had on the literature of the long eighteenth century. I contend that in literature, like in science, the prevailing paradigmatic figure of truth had become the methodically maimed and dissected cadaver of the female body. By way of contrast, I turn to Fanny Burney's chronicle of her own surgically mutilated body, her account of her radical mastectomy. Unlike scientific writing on the body that foregrounds the characteristic and idealized form, Burney's narrative emphasizes the particular and actual. Focussing on the violence and pain of the surgical procedure, Burney's account reconnects the body to knowledge through experience and demonstrates a re-gendering of a historically masculinist image of objectivity, which separates body from knowledge. This re-gendering of objectivity is, however, not new with Burney and can
be seen as early as Eliza Haywood's 1744 *Female Spectator*. At this point in the chapter, I turn to Eliza Haywood, the eighteenth-century's most prolific professional woman writer. My examination of the *Female Spectator* juxtaposed against Addison and Steele's *Spectator* illustrates the ways in which female and male personas gender objectivity and the influence these disparate objectivities have on the representations of women that each periodical produced. My analysis demonstrates that women's writing on the body, as represented in the individual papers of the *Female Spectator*, foregrounds the relationship between the physical body and lived experience. I argue that by creating a feminized form of the spectator persona, Haywood disrupts what had become by 1744 a masculine monopoly on women's periodicals, critiques the patriarchal construction of proper womanhood, and challenges the Enlightenment's disembodied objectivity with her own persistent vision of an embodied knowledge.

**II. Literary Dissection and the Female Body**

It is no longer outlandish to suggest that men have misrepresented women and, furthermore, that those misrepresentations violate and have had damaging effects on the women targeted. In eighteenth-century literature, Pope's Belinda is raped, Swift's Celia "sh--s", and Richardson's Clarissa is killed off. None of these women come to a good end. The lives they model for their female readership is a litany of how *not* to live rather than how to live. Their concerns are trivialized, by eighteenth as well as twenty-first century standards. Stripped naked, Celia is portrayed as a spewing, oozing, stinking cosmetic disaster. In mock-heroic fashion, Belinda fusses mightily with her hair and bodkins. Clarissa, the ungrateful daughter, runs away from home and gets her just desserts in the end although not without first assuming a corpse-like sainthood.
Like the gods of ancient Greece or even Augustan Rome, the neoclassical deities of an enlightenment literati looked down, watched, and were wrathful judges of the female characters who lived out their lives on the page. By butchering female issues and amputating women's real concerns, these authors dissect womanhood into a collection of inconsequential parts.¹

Jonathan Swift's anti-pastoral "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" provides a representative example of the way in which Swift dissects femininity with the sharpness of surgical steel. While his title and the nymph's name, Corinna, suggest a pastoral backdrop,² both are juxtaposed against the clarifying second half of the first line, "Pride of Drury-Lane" (1), which displaces Corinna from her pastoral roots to an urbanized London. Instead of a garden-like bower, the only garden she can claim is a overcrowded city one called Covent, which is not really a garden at all, and her "bow'r" is reduced to an urban tenement building "Four Stories" up. As for the beautiful young nymph, Swift describes her as "a batter'd, strolling Toast" (4), suggesting a hard-luck life and infamous reputation among her peers. As for the pastoral's customary shepherd, he is not only silent, "no Shepherd sighs in vain" (2), but also absent. In his place, Swift provides "some Cull" who may be "passing by" and "Watchmen, constables and Duns,/ From whom she meets with frequent Rubs" (52-53), suggesting that these unwanted companions represent the seamier side of London, the petty thieves, jail wardens, police, and creditors. The pastoral's conventional music—the babbling brooks, chirping birds, or songs of love accompanied by the shepherd's strumming of the lute—is replaced with the punishment of "Bridewell . . . dreams" of the "Lash" and our young nymph Corinna's nightmarish "screams" (41-42). The fragrant blossoms of
the pastoral landscape are replaced with "Fleet-Ditch's oozy Brinks,/ Surrounded with a Hundred Stinks" (47-48). Not only is the "beautiful young nymph" not located in a magical bucolic setting, she is haunted by the darker realities of urban life. Her landscape is infested with overcrowded tenement houses and jails, city stench and drunken noise, and expectant creditors and prowling criminals, all of which are aspects of the landscape on which this poem turns. While Swift often focuses on environmental and architectural landscapes in his fictions, I suggest that this murky underbelly of the urban environment is not the pivotal landscape of the poem.

In "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," Swift portrays the nymph herself as the mappable topography of the poem. Unlike the seventeenth-century's fetching shepherdess, Swift's beautiful nymph Corinna is depicted as an unseemly collection of disparate parts, betraying his Cartesian conception of man-as-machine. Swift catalogs his undressing of Corinna, from the head downward, with the meticulous detail of a surgeon dissecting a specimen. For instance, Corinna "seated on a three-legg'd Chair,/Takes off her artificial Hair" (9-10); picks "out a Crystal Eye./She wipes it clean, and lays it by" (11-12). She then "Pulls off with Care" (15) "Her Eye-Brows from a Mouse's Hide" (13) and "in a Play-Book smoothly lays 'em" (16). Swift moves down her face to what appears to be soft, plump cheeks as Corinna extracts the "Plumbers . . . That serve to fill her hollow Jaws" (17-18) and "Untwists a Wire; and from her Gums/A Set of Teeth completely comes"(19-20). From her voluptuous cleavage, she "Pulls out the Rags contriv'd to prop/Her flabby Dugs and down they drop" (21-22). Her curvaceous body is further reduced when she takes off her "Steel-Rib'd Bodice" (24) and "The Bolsters that supply her Hips' (28). There is virtually no part of her public
appearance that is natural. She applies her complexion with cosmetic "daubs of white and red" (34). Her hair, eyes, eyebrows, teeth, cheeks, breasts, hips, and hourglass figure are all artificial and conceal the lack beneath them. As Swift scans Corinna's naked body, he exposes the "Shankers, Issues, [and] running Sores" (30) that fester on its surface and mark its deterioration. In what is a cold and methodical dissection, Swift butchers Corinna into the disassembled fragments of a public self that "Must ev'ry Morn her Limbs unite./ But how shall I describe her Arts/To recollect the scatter'd Parts?/Or show the Anguish Toil, and Pain, /Of gath'ring up herself again?" (66-70). Stripped naked and dismembered, Swift's mutilated nymph functions on one level as a symbolic image of the "mangl'd Plight" (65) of humanity in decay.

"A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" is representative in tone and objective to Swift's other miscellaneous poems that dissect women into disparate parts and reduce femininity to cosmetic tasks and scatological functions. Published together with "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" in a quarto pamphlet in 1734, Swift's "Strephon and Chloe" and "Cassinus and Peter" chronicle, respectively, the end of the newlywed's honeymoon for Strephon as he "smelt [Chloe's] noysom Stream/Which oft attends that luke-warm Stream" (179-180) and the exposure of Caelia's "foul Disgrace" (112). Other miscellaneous poems about women also portray the female body and female space as darkly symbolic surfaces, as in the example of Celia's face towels "Begummed, besmattered, and beslimed/With dirt, and sweat, and ear-wax grimed" (45-46) that appear in "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1730). In each of these poems, the woman's anatomy is dissected and her dismembered body symbolically maps the deterioration of society and the fallen condition of humankind. In Swift's Landscape,
Carole Fabricant argues that "for Swift, the geographic and architectural aspects of his environment were invariably linked to prevailing social and economic conditions" (1). He "transformed the concrete features of his environment into a symbolic depiction of his society and his own position (or lack of position) within it" (3). Unlike Alexander Pope's inverted world of "Windsor Forest" for instance, Swift's world "is a disconcerting state of uncertainty and flux; it is a landscape on the brink of upheaval, threatening imminent collapse or dissolution, composed of things about to 'tumble down' or melt into 'fairy-land' or 'sink' into watery depths" (Fabricant 12). Swift's antipastoral, similar to his other uses of landscape, represents the state of the nation and, unlike Pope's more hopeful version of the same, reveals the misery and decay of a society, its politics, its religion, and its inhabitants. While Fabricant treats Swift's canon, she only briefly mentions the miscellaneous poems, such as "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed," "The Lady's Dressing Room," "Strephon and Chloe," and "Cassinus and Peter," all of which are antipastoral and all of which are vivid examples of Swift's interest in this "other" landscape, the female anatomy, as a symbolic depiction of society.

Swift's miscellaneous poems on women demonstrate that the Swiftian landscape extends beyond the borders of the strictly environmental and architectural figures of society to the human body or anatomy. Extending the Swiftian landscape to include anatomical topographies and observing the precision of Swift's narrative dissections invites an association with then contemporaneous medical science. Drawing on Barbara Stafford's study *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine*, Jean-Paul Forster argues that because
Dissection and anatomy were inseparable, the body became the epitome of the 'visible natural whole made up of invisible dissimilar parts': 'the organic paradigm or architectonic standard for all complex unions' which could be divided 'into assessable parts'. The body and its metamorphoses are all that and much else in Swift. They are at the centre of his questioning of man's worth. Denuding the body enables him to ferret out hidden frailties and to uncover sham in the same way as structural devices pierce the surface of the language, that "dress" of thought by means of which writers all too often clothed their lies and errors. *(Jonathan Swift: The Fictions of the Satirist 124)*

While Forster's study does make brief references to the miscellaneous poems on women, its focus is male characters and, particularly, issues of "dress" as they relate to character in Swift's prose, poetry, and fiction. As such, he does not explicitly address the obvious implications for gender in the miscellaneous poems. Even so, Forster's argument is relevant to a discussion of Swift's miscellaneous poetry, particularly as Corinna's body marks the feminine "epitome of the 'visible natural whole made up of invisible dissimilar parts.'" While Forster argues that the body is "at the centre of [Swift's] questioning of man's worth" (124),¹ I would argue that the female body is "at the centre" of something greater than a simple "questioning" of one's value. While Swift is able to "ferret out [his vision of] hidden frailties and . . . uncover [the] sham" (124) of artifice through his narrative dissection of Corinna's body, the reader is able to "ferret out" and "uncover" the obscured but underlying relationship of the mutilated female body to larger systemic concerns during the Enlightenment. Not so dissimilar to Pope's "rich China vessels, fallen from high, In glittering dust and painted fragments lie!" *(The Rape of the Lock, III, 158-160)* or Richardson's stone cold corpse of Clarissa, who in her death assumes a sainthood she could not achieve in life, Corinna's "mangl'd Plight" not only symbolizes a "truth" writers understood about a fallen humanity and deteriorating society but also suggests a masculinist view of the female body as topography that, like
wax, is imprintable, malleable, and mappable. Like Corinna's dismembered body, Clarissa's cadaver does not push back, lies fixed in its reduced form(lessness), and becomes a surface on which Enlightenment truths are inscribed without apparent resistance. This literary relationship between mutilated body parts and Enlightenment truths suggests an association between narrative dissection and morbid anatomy.

The juxtaposition between Clarissa's corrupted body and her saintly corpse represents a paradigm prevalent within eighteenth century literature and science. The living Clarissa is portrayed as an undutiful daughter (she is not obedient to her father's wishes), as ill and in need of care that medicinal remedies cannot cure (sickness is the finger of Providence), and as corrupted (she is raped by Lovelace). Her lack of duty, virginity, and health blemish her reputation and predestine her downfall. The corpse of Clarissa, on the other hand, is illuminated in sainthood. Pages and pages are dedicated to her deathbed scene as well as others' reactions to it. In death, Clarissa achieves what is wholly unavailable to her in life—the recovery of her reputation and thus her identity. In life, she loses both. Thus, it is only through her death that Clarissa assumes sainthood and becomes a symbolic figure of truth in the text. Following in the philosophical footsteps of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Drew Leder demonstrates that "the corpse, not the live patient, became the paradigmatic figure of truth" (*The Absent Body* 45). Such a paradigm renders the living body absent and limits the possibilities for acceptable truths to those found on the body of a lifeless cadaver. It is, then, in Richardson's binary opposition between the living, breathing Clarissa and the stone cold corpse of her body that we can see portrayed in fiction that which eighteenth-century science modeled in anatomy theatres, university lectures, and printed atlases across
Europe: the malleable, imprintable, mappable, objectifiable corpse rather than the living, breathing, body as the paradigmatic figure of truth for Enlightenment science.

What happens, however, when the roles of corpse and live patient are inverted? What happens when the living body usurps the position of the dead body? What happens when the live patient takes the place of the corpse as paradigmatic figure? These questions intimate the broader focus of this chapter—an examination of the role incorporation plays in subjectivity and the acquisition of agency and the ways in which women writers' discursive embodiment has effected this paradigm as well as the associated gendering of objectivity that it makes possible.

At the same time Swift was carving Corinna into her cosmetic parts, Pope was severing Belinda's "locks," and Richardson was writing Clarissa into her grave, Enlightenment Science was becoming increasingly fascinated by the strides it could make through studies in morbid anatomy. The female cadaver had become a focus of anatomical science and the female reproductive body an uncharted landscape to be explored. Similar to expansionist invasions into the virgin territory of the Americas, the female body became a human territory unprotected from the blade of scientific expansion and, thus, another landscape, albeit human, to conquer and manipulate. While authors were butchering women on the pages of literary texts, surgeons were mutilating women on dissecting tables in anatomy theatres across Europe. I am not arguing that dissection, in general, or female dissection, in particular, is inherently misogynist; however, the discursive representations of women based on these literary and medical dissections demonstrate temporal, social, and gender-related parallels, which produced damaging effects.
III. Reading Gender in Scientific Writing on the Body

Anatomical drawings from the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries represent not only the medical insights of Enlightenment science but also reflect cultural and social relationships as well as contemporary constructions of gender, sex, and sexuality. Morbid anatomy rose to prominence under the tutelage of William Hunter, who saw it as his aim to depict a topography of the “natural” body, by which he meant the ideal body or a composite form of the body. Hunter described his anatomical sketches as topographies and, by implication, his cadavers as unexplored territories. As an anatomist/surgeon, Hunter portrayed himself in militaristic terms, particularly as the general who aimed to seek out, invade, and conquer new territory in the name of (expansionist) medical development. In Hunter’s case, the location of imperial expansionism or the territory to be conquered was the female corpse. As Brooks has argued, Hunter's notion of topography was foundational to and a precursor of the study of cartography. By the early nineteenth century, this notion of the natural body presented in idealized and, thus, composite form would be replaced by the noninterpretive, noninterventionist method of photographic x-ray. However, even this method is clearly influenced by Hunter’s and was more interpretative than scholars initially assessed it to be.

Morbid anatomy (dissection) not only marks distinct changes in the practice of medicine, the conventional hierarchy of medical practitioners, and the teaching of medicine but also reflects cultural norms in art and society that must be taken into consideration as one examines the relationship of dissection to representations of femininity. Before I analyze Hunter's imagistic and discursive conceptualizations of the
female body, it is worth making a brief detour into the history of morbid anatomy to highlight the influence that institutionalization had on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' scientific construction of the female body.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, physicians enjoyed a privileged position in society as gentlemen. Their method was an observational one, which can be described as passive. Similarly their education can also be viewed as passive in that they attended lectures only; there were no practicums or internships as is usual today. There were apprenticeships in medicine available; however, these were only open to young men in their early teens and administered by surgeons and apothecaries, not physicians. As late as 26 January 1795, Aris's *Birmingham Gazette* ran an advertisement that, like most, called for a well-educated youth who comes well recommended:

AN APPRENTICE wanted, by a SURGEON and APOTHECARY in good Business. A youth, properly educated, may meet with a Situation, attended with peculiar Advantages. He will be treated as one of the Family. An adequate Premium will therefore be expected.  

Technical training and tasks ranged from menial domestic duties to trade-specific skills, such as observing post-mortem examinations. As Joan Lane in "The Role of Apprenticeship" reports,

Clearly educational levels and requirements varied enormously from the poorest crafts, through the prosperous trades to the professions, but no indenture normally specified that the apprentice would be taught anything more than the master's 'art and mystery,' in the sense of craft rather than any secret of the trade. However, a literate and numerate apprentice in medicine was clearly essential, and in 1727 the Barber-Surgeon's Company required that 'apprentices shall be called in and examined by themselves touching their skill in ye Latin tongue. (65)"
For example, James Yonge recorded his duties as "slavery . . . but such as usually chyrurgeon's mates were obliged to perform in the navy: For boiling gruel, barley water fomentations, washing rollers, and making lint, spreading plaisters and fitting the dresses, was wholly on my hands, besides often emptying the buckets they went to stool in, a nasty and mean employment." In fiction, the hero of Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random*, who served as a surgeon's apprentice, "assured his would-be master, Launcelot Crab, that his skills included being able to 'bleed and give a clyster, spread a plaister and prepare a potice'". In life writing, in *The Autobiography of a Lancashire Lawyer* (Boston, 1883), John Taylor chronicled the tasks he hated which eventually resulted in his change to the law profession. He writes,

I studied hard, learned the Linnean names and doses of drugs; attended seven surgical operation; worked from nine to nine daily, Sundays included; made mercury ointment in the old style by turning a pestle in a mortar for three days in succession, to amalgamate the quicksilver with the pigs grease; made up what the doctor called his 'Cathartic acid bitter mixture', as a sort of fill-up for every purgative bottle, and almost every disease that 'flesh is heir to'; made up boluses of a teaspoon of preserve with half-a-grain of opium, as a sedative, . . . and did many things during that six months which gave me a distaste for the practice of medicine, and made me desirous of other employment. (22)

In the early eighteenth century, there remained a social and professional divide between physician (observational) and surgeon (practical), resulting from the surgeon's earlier association with barbers rather than the scientific community. The early eighteenth century saw a decline in the barber-surgeon relationship with the appearance of the surgeon apothecary, who is different from the apothecary who just sold and dispensed drugs. While the Barbers-Surgeon's Company finally dissolved in 1745, this centuries' old "professional" relationship between barber and surgeon attached a social stigma to the surgeon's profession. The apprenticeship advertisements for well-
educated (classical education in Greek, Latin, and Math) boys from good families helped to diminish the negative association with the old barber's trade. As a result, surgeon-apothecaries' social status began to increase steadily during the eighteenth century. Lane reports that in Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire and Wiltshire, "a total of 11,138 apprenticeships was recorded in the half century between 1710 and 1760; of these, 124 referred to surgeon-apothecaries, who formed 1.11 per cent of all the apprentices registered" (67). Her research shows that of the 124 boys, 17 were fatherless, seven had fathers described as gentlemen, five as clerics, five as substantial traders (malsters, curier, vintner, mercer) and other medical practitioners (a physician, an apothecary, and a surgeon), two as of humble origins, and one as blacksmith, and one as parkkeeper (67). The Medical Register for the year 1783, which according to W.F. Bynum was the third, final, and most "complete and accurate" edition of the register (105), shows that of the 3,166 medical practitioners in England, 2,607 (or 82.3%) were surgeon-apothecaries.11 These statistics represent the increase of social status of a trade that was on its way to becoming a recognized and respected profession. As Lane claims, "The surgeon-apothecary is one of the eighteenth century's most interesting examples of personal and professional upward social mobility and of steadily enhanced status, not only in London, where the 'surgeon-princes' had always prospered, but also in the English provinces, where their houses, marriages and affluence were worthy of contemporary comment" (58).12

During the first part of the eighteenth century Paris led the race in private courses, teaching hospitals, and dissections, but by mid century this changed. Just as England began to dominate France in the military, political, and economic arenas, it
also overshadowed France in medicine and in the use of hospitals for teaching by mid-century. In addition, the Edinburgh Medical School was founded in 1726 and became the preeminent center for medical education by the 1770s. At the time, the primary approach used in medical education was Hermann Boerhaave's system, which was based on the teleological and experimental Newtonian natural philosophy and the maxim that understanding general causes prepares students for general practice. In "Ornate Physicians and Learned Artisans: Edinburgh Medical Men, 1726-1776" Christopher Lawrence argues that "the student attending the full medical course at Edinburgh was endorsing a particular ideological position . . . that medicine was a learned occupation, practised properly only by a relatively small, Latin-speaking elite" (155-156). The medical profession was, at this time seeking a new-found, more elite status and distinguishing itself from its apprentice and trade origins. However, the clinical teaching for which Edinburgh was known did not actually begin until approximately 20 years after the school first opened.14

Alexander Monro's teaching as a surgeon reflected his interest in topographical anatomy. He was known as a Boerhaavian, who taught the "science of medicine" and "a local anatomical, surgical approach to disease" (161). Monro's work was crucial to the movement that married medicine and surgery, which meant that surgery was no longer attached only to apprenticeship but now was viewed as an academic discipline.15 Monro's son, Alexander Monro II, performed 36 post-mortems during the 1750s and 1760s according to a commonplace book in the Monro Collection at the University of Otago.16 Like his father, he used post-mortems to study the pathological nature of disease and, later in his career, claimed the discovery of the local anatomical spread of
breast cancer. Monro discovered the anatomy of the origin of the lymphatics. Drawing on Jean-Louis Petit's earlier work, in his own Lectures on Surgery, Monro "stressed the general role of the lymphatics in spreading disease and paid particular attention to their place in cancer of the breast. This disease, he taught, arose from an ulcerated scirrhus and begins without previous inflammation. When presented with a case the surgeon should "examine" the lymphatic glans at the edge of the pectoral muscle and in the axillae. These glands "are felt by relaxing the arm and pressing the points of the fingers deep into the axilla." Untreated, the disease progresses through the stage of adhesion to the skin (which is accompanied by itching), to local erosion and finally to death within twelve months. For any hope of a cure the lymph glands must be removed: "my father has mentioned that of the 60 cases where he had the operation performed not above five remained free of the disorder five years after the operation."

Monro himself gave a breakdown of eighteen cases and their relative survivals, but the time periods are not clear (Lawrence 166). It is this new form of medical experience and the institution of the hospital as a training site that, in part, yielded the teaching and practice of morbid anatomy on a broader scale and raised the medical community's status of surgeons to that of university-trained physicians.

During the eighteenth century, morbid anatomists produced scientific atlases, which contained illustrated plates and brief narrative descriptions, to document their findings in the anatomy theatre. The aim of the atlas was to quantify and, thus, scientifically objectify the results of their dissections. As Daston and Galison have explained, their aim "was and is to standardize the observing subjects and observed objects of the discipline by eliminating idiosyncrasies—not only those of individual
observers but also those of individual phenomena" (84-85) and "to make nature safe for
science, to replace raw experience—the accidental and contingent experience of specific
individual objects—with digested experience" (85). From the seventeenth through the
nineteenth centuries, truth to nature was the maxim in the field of morbid anatomy.21
The collaboration between Dutch artist and engraver Jan Wandelaar and professor of
anatomy at Leyden Bernhard Albinus exemplifies this relationship between truth and
nature.

In the preface to [Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis hominis
(1747)], Albinus describes his goal and working methods in considerable
detail, and in terms that seem self-contradictory by the standards of
visual accuracy in depicting his specimens, and to creating images of "the best pattern of nature." To the former end, he goes to lengths until
then unheard of among anatomists to meticulously clean, reassemble,
and prop up the skeleton, checking the exact positions of the hip bones,
thorax, clavicles, and so on, by comparison with a very skinny man made
to stand naked along side the prepared skeleton. (This test cost Albinus
some anxiety as well as time and trouble, for the naked man demanded a
fire to ward off the winter chill, greatly accelerating the putrefaction of
the skeleton.) Still worried lest the artist err in the proportions, Albinus
erected an elaborate double grid, one mesh at 4 rhemish feet from the
skeleton and the other at 40, and positioned the artist precisely at that
point where the struts of the grids coincided to the eye, drawing the
specimen square by square, onto a plate Albinus had ruled with a
matching pattern of "cross and streight [sic] lines." (89-90)

However, research demonstrates that the scientific atlas does more to highlight the
accidental and contingent nature of experience than to "replace" it with "digested
experience"—or pure objectivity, an impossibility even in nineteenth century atlases
which used photographic means of representation. In other words, whether examining a
seventeenth or a nineteenth century atlas, the "image of objectivity" aspired to and the
one presented is incongruous. William Hunter's The Anatomy of the Human Gravid
Uterus (1774) demonstrates this incongruity.
A close examination of Hunter's atlas highlights the way in which cultural context (science, society, art) influences scientific analysis. His anatomical sketches and associated narrative descriptions serve to re-enforce cultural presuppositions about the inferiority of women. Typical images dominate seventeenth through mid-nineteenth century atlases. The ideal "purports to render not merely the typical but the perfect" (88). The characteristic image "locates the typical in the individual" (88). The shift in what the phrase "Truth to nature" meant from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century reflects a shift in the understanding of "objectivity" related to the practice of morbid anatomy. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an ideal image would be drawn from a series of skeletons or corpses so as to represent a universal though not particular skeleton. By the nineteenth century, such a view had been replaced by the aim to represent actual skeletons/corpses rather than idealized versions.

William Hunter's preparation of cadavers and subsequent paintings draw on the seventeenth and eighteenth-century understanding of "truth to nature" and depict an idealized, "naturalized," life-like image of a dissected cadaver. His drawings represent artistic conventions of the period as well as the prevailing medical and social representations of femininity, i.e., Albinus' earlier depiction of the female skeleton that demonstrated its anatomical inferiority and thus weakness when compared to the male skeleton as well as associated narrative interpretations that portrayed the female body in these scientific "atlases" as topographies of exploration and conquest. His preparations, depictions, and later narrative explanations are representative of prevailing scientific and sociological ideas about masculinity and femininity.
William Hunter's images are disturbing essentially because they are simultaneously life-like, in that they are reminiscent of eighteenth-century artistic conventions in portraiture and naturalism, and grotesque, in their violent depiction of flesh flayed-open. The second plate from William Hunter's *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (Birmingham, 1774), which depicts the vivisection of a uterus of a woman who died suddenly during the ninth month of pregnancy, is a representative example. The woman appears to be standing in a life-like pose with a white sheet, an apparent bow to modesty, draped around the top of her thighs. Her thighs are spread slightly as one might do to increase stability while in a standing position. The fabric around the top of her thighs is draped elegantly in folds, reflective of artistic portraits of the nude female body. Her thighs and buttocks are fleshy and soft in appearance. The lines of her body are curvaceous and full-figured. Highlights and shading are applied to thighs, buttocks, and lower back to enhance the naturalness of form, texture, and roundness as well as to provide the appearance of a natural setting in which a source of direct light might be projected onto and, thus, provide a soft lighting to the ride side of her body.

In contrast to the life-like pose, the fleshy roundness of the body, draped fabric, and soft lighting is the clinical vivisection of a torso, with its head and arms amputated. The torso is flayed-open from the vaginal opening below the clitoris to the top of the chest cavity, with the severed, vivisected flaps of skin, tissue, and blood vessels folded back and pinned onto the thighs. Protruding from pinned down flaps of vivisectioned skin and tissue is the wax-injected dark wall of a bulbous uterus with nine-month fetus intact. The violence of the sharp lines and flayed flesh of the
vivisection is made even more unsettling by the naturalistic pose and soft life-like form of the rest of the body.

While Hunter used thirteen different subjects at various stages of pregnancy in his atlas and his aim was to provide individual representations, his notion of the individual object would have been that object that was characteristic of anatomy in general rather than characteristic of particular differences. In his "Preface" to the *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, Hunter argues that based on "the elegance and harmony of the natural object" the "simple portrait, in which the object is represented exactly as it was seen" was preferable to and more accurate than "the representation of the object under such circumstances as were not actually seen, but conceived in the imagination" (n.p., also qtd in Gaston and Dalison 93). Having said this, he clarified his use of "exactly as it was seen." He explained that the use of several cadavers to produce a composite form was preferable to the use of just one subject since that one "will often be somewhat indistinct or defective in some parts" ("Preface" n.p.). He argued that an image "made up perhaps from a variety of studies after NATURE, may exhibit in one view, what could only be seen in several objects; and it admits of a better arrangement, of abridgement, and of greater precision" ("Preface" n.p.). Thus, Hunter's figure was not presented "exactly as it was seen," but as an idealized composite form portrayed in a natural setting and artistic manner. As Daston and Galison point out, "Hunter's specimens, like all anatomical 'preparation,' were already objects of art even before they were drawn, injected with wax or dyes to keep vessels dilated and 'natural'-looking even after death" (93).
Published posthumously, *An Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus, and its Contents* (1794) is the manuscript William Hunter was working on at the time of his death. Because his scientific atlas, published twenty years earlier, contained only brief explanations of the plates, Hunter intended to amend this by publishing a full description of his dissections and methods. He died before he could publish the manuscript. M. Baillie, a former colleague and the editor of Hunter's 1794 *Anatomical Description*, undertakes the task of bringing Hunter's work to print. Of it, he writes that he made "no alteration, except when there was a very obvious reason for it; and this has happened only in a very few instances" (ix).

This volume is valuable for its descriptions and what Hunter's language conveys about the methods he used to effect beauty and naturalism in his cadavers. A representative example is his technique for the placenta. To make the blood vessels more conspicuous, he recommends that "a blow-pipe be thrust into the substance of the placenta" (46) and used for delivering "wax of different colours" to distinguish between arteries, veins, and cells" (47). He then details his method:

> While the placenta and membranes adhere to the uterus, make a slit into the coat of the navel string; there introduce a blunt probe, and force it into the cells of the adjacent part of the placenta; then withdrawing the probe, insinuate an injecting-pipe, and tie it firmly with a broad thread round the navel string. You will then find that you can by that pipe fill the whole placenta uniformly in its cellular part, and likewise all the veinous system of the uterus and decidua. (47)

Hunter's use of language reflects the brutality underlying the disconcerting life-like poses his images strike. Beneath the surface of natural body positions, draped fabric, and soft lighting is Hunter's "thrust," "blunt probe," and "force," indicating the brutality of the procedure. In order to effect a natural body, he had to produce a mutilated one.
Daston and Galison concur and argue that even though "Hunter claimed to have moved 'not so much as one joint of a finger' of his specimens, he considered it part of truth to nature to inject the womb with 'some spirits to raise it up, as nearly as I could guess, to the figure it had when the abdomen was first opened'" (93). During the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, scientific atlases, like Hunter's, aimed for "truth to nature" but resorted to techniques characterized by their controlled violence to obtain the naturalistic portrayal they sought, which was to emphasize the ideal and characteristic composite as opposed to an actual and particular object. Hunter's use of language itself maims and disembodies bodies. It is in their historical specificity (relationship to art) and use of language (relationship to metaphors of the battleground, colonizer, and the colonized) that Hunter's atlas and narrative descriptions can be productively analyzed.

Hunter's anatomical illustrations of the human gravid uterus reflect an eighteenth-century medical image of objectivity. This image or vision of objectivity privileged the ideal over the actual, the separate and distinct over the relational and fluid, and, ultimately, the fixed cadaver over lived body. Hunter's images reproduced prevailing cultural contexts, which underlie then current gender norms. As Donna Haraway has argued in "Situated Knowledges," objectivity depends on a "persistence of vision" (173). For Haraway, the "eyes have been used to signify a perverse capacity—. . . in the history of science tied to militarism, capitalism, colonialism, and male supremacy—to distance the knowing subject from everybody and everything in the interests of unfettered power. The instruments of visualization . . . have compounded these meanings of dis-embodiment" (173). We witness this dis-embodied visualization
in Hunter's militant language and in the colonized corpses he produces and, later in this chapter, Addison's detachment from others as he speculates that it is through distance that his vision approaches clarity. In Swift's maimed bodies of Corinna, Celia, and Chloe, and in Richardson's corpse of Clarissa, male supremacy dominates the real-world message of the text and reduces the images of the women to their separate and distinct parts and post-morbid conditions. However, an examination of women's writing on the body yields an alternate image of objectivity.

IV. Women's Writing on the Body and an Image of Objectivity

In 1812, Fanny Burney records what had been for her a devastating event—the loss of her right breast to cancer. In her description of the radical mastectomy, her narrative reflects a vision of objectivity that is not accounted for in the scientific atlases produced by surgeons during the century. Unlike morbid anatomy's construction of the idealized and characteristic body, Burney's construction is tied to the particular and the experiential.26

Phrases such as “the glitter of polished steel,” “dreadful gland,” “Knife rackling against . . . bone,” “scraping,” “speechless torture,” and “excruciating . . . agony” litter Burney’s account of her September 11, 1811, radical mastectomy. Because ether would not come into use as an anaesthetic for another 35 years and chloral inhalations, such as chloroform, for another 36 years, Burney’s primary surgeon Dr. Dubois administered only a wine cordial prior to the surgery. Other than the sedative effect produced by the cordial, Burney underwent the surgical procedure fully conscious, which had such an effect on her that "not for days, not for Weeks, but for Months I could not speak of this terrible business without nearly again going through it! . . . even now, 9 months after it
is over, I have a head ache from going on with the account . . . which I began 3 Months ago, at least, I dare not revise nor read, the recollection is still so painful" (VI, 613).

The surgery took place in Burney's home in the salon. On the morning before the procedure, she arranged to have it "fitted with preparations, & . . . recoiled [from] the sight of the immense quantity of bandages, compresses, spunges, Lint -- -- Made me a little sick" (VI, 609). Because she had been told that the surgery would take place in a reclining chair, Burney was nonplussed when Dr. Dubois "ordered a Bed stead into the middle of the room" (VI, 610) and was "Astonished, I turned to Dr. Larry, who had promised that an Arm Chair would suffice; but he hung his head, & and would not look at me. . . . I now began to tremble violently, more with distaste & horror of the preparations even than of the pain" (VI, 610). As she mounted the bedstead, Burney recollects wanting to "escape" and feeling "desparate," but re-gained her composure even though her maid and one of her nurses "ran off" in tears (VI, 610). Burney reports that while she resisted Dubois' "commands *en militaire*," she "was compelled, however, to submit to taking off [her] long *robe de Chambre*, which [she] had meant to retain" (VI, 610). Even in the midst of "7 Men in black" (VI, 610, her surgical team), shrieking nurses, piles of bandages and compresses, an unexpected and unwanted bedstead, and the anticipation of unimaginable pain, Burney still retained enough composure to feel a slight offence at being "compelled" to remove her robe for the procedure. The surgery, itself, lasted twenty minutes, during which Burney recalls only "Twice, I believe, I fainted" (VI, 613).

The Medical Report of Burney's mastectomy was written by the chief pupil of the Baron de Larrey, one of the five surgeons and two students that composed the
medical team. What follows is my translation of the medical report, which was written in French. In his report, Dr. Larrey's student records that

the surgical removal of a cancerous tumor attached to the right pectoral muscle took place at 3:30 p.m., on September 30, 1811. The operation was made by Mr. Le Baron Larrey, and assisted by Professor Dubois, the Doctors Moreau, Ribes, [Hereau] & Aumont, in a very serious and courageous manner. Before the procedure began, Larrey gave a brief address to say that in the case of an operation as grave as this one, he did not offer anything more than the hope of success. Because the malady was so serious, the patient experienced several violent spasms after the operation and into the night. She was given calmative, anti-spasmodic remedies for the spasms, but also suffered from headache, nausea, vomiting, weakness and fatigue throughout the remainder of the night. By 10:00 a.m. the next morning, she was beginning to recover. Dr. Larrey prescribed a cream of rice bouillon and to drink chicken water [broth] and a decoction of gummed barley and lemon acid [juice], alternatively. (VI, 616)

The medical report is interesting not as much for what it says but for what it does not say. Comparing the medical account with Burney's demonstrates the differences between the detached and participatory views that each represents. While Burney's narrative, as mentioned above, chronicles the painful “scraping,” “speechless torture,” and “excruciating . . . agony” and horror of the “Knife rackling against . . . bone,” it is not only Burney's sensory descriptions that make her account so unsettling and differentiate it from the medical report but also her almost obsessive attention to the details of the procedure. In her journal, she re-lives each agonizing stage of the surgery as if she and we, her readers, were re-experiencing it at the moment of narration. This technique of calling attention to the horror of mutilation and the intensity of pain makes the account all the more immediate and more disconcerting, distinguishing it from the masculinist views represented above through literature, morbid anatomy, and medical reporting.
Burney characters the cancerous tumor as "jaws," which "this experiment could alone save me from" (VI 611). By 1811, the year of Burney's mastectomy, Monro had developed and completed many successful operations against tumors. Dr Antoine Dubois had served as *chirugien-major* during the war at Melun in 1792, was elected Professor of Surgery in 1795 at the Ecole de chirurgie, and was considered the leading obstetrician in the French Empire. Dominique-Jean Larrey was by this time famous for his skill as an army surgeon in more than sixty battlefields from the Pyramids to Waterloo and would be appointed *chirurgien en chef de la grande armée* in 1812. Still, Burney faced this procedure not as the means to her health but as an "experiment" that might save her from the "jaws" of cancer. Even though Burney's surgical team consisted of seven accomplished physicians, neither their accomplishments nor the procedure provided her any sense of security. Instead of a sense of security and the expectation of recovery that one might feel today when going into the operating room, Burney's account highlights her sense of "desperation" and "hopeless[ness];" she described her pre-operative self as "sadly resolute to be wholly resigned' (VI, 612). Furthermore, her physicians themselves must have also felt something similar to her own sense of impending doom as Burney reports on several occasions that Dubois "stammered, & could not go on" (VI, 611), that "while Dr. Larry kept always aloof, yet a glance shewed me he was pale as ashes" (VI, 611) or that "I then saw my good Dr. Larry, pale nearly as myself, his face streaked with blood, & it expression depicting grief, apprehension, & almost horrour" (VI, 614). Even with her own as well as her physicians' fears to deal with, Burney confronted the experiment "in defiance of a terror that surpasses all description" (VI 612) and with an uncommon fortitude.
Similar to Burney's account of her preparations for the operation and the moments leading up to it, her description of the surgical procedure itself is a detailed narrative of twenty minutes of sheer terror. Instead of an anesthetic, her face is covered with "a cambric handkerchief" that "was transparent, however, & I saw, through it . . . the glitter of polished Steel—I closed my Eyes. I would not trust to convulsive fear the sight of the terrible incision" (VI, 611). Also through the cambric, she watches Dubois describe with his forefinger "a straight line from top to bottom of the breast, secondly a Cross & thirdly a circle; intimating that the WHOLE was to be taken off" (VI, 611).

Her narrative of the procedure chronicles what she calls "the most torturing pain" (VI, 612). She describes the moment when "the dreadful steel was plunged into the breast—cutting through veins—arteries—flesh—nerves—I needed no injunctions not to restrain my cries. I began a scream that lasted unintermittingly during the whole time of the incision" (VI, 612). Her description of the actual removal of the beast should be quoted exactly as she wrote it in her journal:

So excruciating was the agony. When the wound was made, & the instrument was withdrawn, the pain seemed undiminished, for the air that suddenly rushed into those delicate parts felt like a mass of minute but sharp & forked poniards, that were tearing the edges of the wound—but when again I felt the instrument—describing a curve—cutting against the grain, if I may so say, while the flesh resisted in a manner so forcible as to oppose & tire the hand of the operator, who was forced to change from the right to the left—then, indeed, I thought I must have expired. I attempted no more to open my Eyes,—they felt as if hermetically shut, & so firmly closed, that the eyelids seemed indented into the Cheeks. The instrument this second time withdrawn, I concluded the operation over—Oh no! presently the terrible cutting was renewed—& worse than ever, to separate the bottom, the foundation of this dreadful gland from the parts to which it adhered—Again all description would be baffled—yet again all was not over,—Dr Larry rested but his own hand, &—Oh Heaven!—I then felt the Knife ling against the breast bone—scraping it!—This performed, while I yet remained in utterly speechless torture, I heard the Voice of Mr.
Larry,—(all others guarded a dead silence) in a tone nearly tragic, desire every one present to pronounce if any thing more remained to be done; The general voice was Yes,—but the finger of Mr. Dubois—which I literally felt elevated over the wound, though I saw nothing, & though he touched nothing, so indescribably sensitive was the spot—pointed to some further requisition--& again began the scraping!—and, after this, Dr. Moreau thought he discerned a peccant attom—and still, & still, M. Dubois demanded attom after attom—. (VI, 612-613)

Burney's account testifies to the relevance of pain and experience. Her understanding of what has happened to her depends on her experience and is influenced by her pain. Knowledge, as is represented by Burney's account of her radical mastectomy, is tied to pain and experience. Her experience is also foundational to her sense of her self, her identity, and is neither separate nor detached from that experience. As such, Burney’s account of her radical mastectomy raises the central issues at stake in this study of discursive representations of the body. For instance, Burney’s full account includes the medical report of the surgical procedure; however, she does not refer to it in her narrative. Why was this description not adequate to her needs of writing through her experience or writing to Esther to relay this information? What did the student surgeon omit that made it crucial that Burney pen her own account?

Comparing the two accounts demonstrates telling differences between a medical view and a patient’s view or, said another way, between observational and participatory accounts. These two distinctly different views demonstrate a shift from a detached image of objectivity or a disembodied knowledge, which is based on the cadaver, to an experiential image of objectivity or embodied knowledge, which is based on the living body. Unlike the writing on the body found in scientific atlases or medical reports, Burney's writing on the body presents an actual and particular view (an embodied knowledge) based on her own excruciating experience. This particularization of form
(one's body and the substance, or body, of one's text/genre) and re-gendering of
objectivity can be seen in the differences between Addison and Steele's *Spectator* and
Haywood's *Female Spectator*.

V. Re-gendering Objectivity

*The Female Spectator* holds a position of historical, literary, and social
importance as the precursor of the woman's magazine that focuses primarily on
women's issues, bodies, experiences, and relationships. Eliza Haywood set new
standards in journalism for writers (who could speak), topics (what could be discussed),
and form (how writers would present themselves and their content). In her role as
female spectator, Haywood sets herself apart from her predecessors, Addison and
Steele, whose spectating relies on a panopticon-like surveillance and whose morality
depends on a vision of the male ideal. In contrast, Haywood's departure, like Burney's,
hinges on her insistence on the necessity of lived experience to the production of
knowledge. Unlike the spectator, the female spectator writes candidly about her own
age, vanity, promiscuousness, pleasure, and diversions in order to educate a female
readership. The female spectator foregrounds the relationship between the physical
body and lived experience to the construction of feminine subjectivity. In feminizing
the spectator, Haywood disrupts what had become by 1744 a masculine monopoly on
women's periodicals and critiques the patriarchal construction of proper womanhood.

With the lapse of censorship and an increased literacy among a growing
middle class, the periodical essay became a popular genre during the eighteenth century.
Readership of periodicals such as *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* grew to unprecedented
numbers. *The Spectator*, for instance, was printed six days a week and cost one penny
per issue. The first series ran from 1 March 1711 to 6 December 1712, with a total of 555 issues. Until the Stamp Tax of 12 August 1712 was levied, circulation ran at about 3000 copies per day. Even though *The Spectator*'s distribution was large and his audience was extensive, Addison sustained the illusion of an intimate coterie of readers, which probably increased the paper's marketability among the eighteenth-century's fashion-conscious, consumer-oriented, and socially-obsessed middle class. Periodical essays which focused on women and women's issues also grew in number and increased in popularity during the period; however, most of the popular titles were actually written by men, such as John Dunton's *The Ladies Mercury* (1691-1697), Bernard Mandeville's *The Female Tatler* (1709-1711), Jasper Goodwill's *Ladies Magazine or the Universal Entertainment* (1749-1753), Christopher Smart's *The Midwife, or the Old Woman's Magazine, by Mary Midnight, with a Preface by Fernando Foot* (1750-1753), Oliver Goldsmith's *Lady's Magazine, or Polite Companion for the Fair Sex* (1759-1763), and G. Robinson's *Lady's Magazine, or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (1770-1832).

There were only a few periodicals actually written and edited solely by women. Of the seven women's periodicals printed from 1724-1756, six were written by Eliza Haywood. The records of the *Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (29 May 1998) show that Eliza Haywood wrote and edited the *Tea Table* (1724), which ran for thirty-six numbers from 21 February to 22 June 1724, the *Parrot* (1728) which was written under the pseudonym of Mrs. Penelope Prattle and ran for four numbers from 25 September to 16 October 1728, *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) which ran for two years from April 1744 to March 1746, the *Parrot, with a Compendium of the Times by
the authors of the 'Female Spectator' (1746) which lasted only nine numbers from 2 August until 4 October 1746, and the Lady's Weekly Magazine (1747) which was written under the pseudonym of Mrs. Penelope Pry and of which only one issue of 19 February 1747, remains, which is housed at the Oxford University Bodleian Library. According to the British Union Catalogue of Periodicals, Haywood also wrote the Young Lady by Euphrosine (1756) which appeared only seven times from 6 January to 17 February 1756. The only other periodical written and edited solely by a woman during 1724-1756 was Frances Moore's Old Maid, by Mary Singleton, Spinster (1755-1756) which ran for thirty-seven numbers from 15 November 1755 to 24 July 1756. While seven papers during this thirty-two year timeframe may seem like an accomplishment for early modern women in print, all but one of these periodicals were written by Haywood herself; thus, the accomplishment is not as representative of women's role in print as it is of Haywood's persistent and prolific publishing career.

Of Haywood's periodicals, The Female Spectator sustained the longest run, enjoyed the most success, and is considered the first periodical written by and for women. Her publisher, Thomas Gardner, reissued individual essays before the first run had even ended; in 1748, a collection was published in a four-volume set that would go through nine issues and editions over the next thirty years; in 1747, The Female Spectator was translated into German, in 1750 into French, and in 1752 into Italian (King and Pettit 1). According to Benson's study Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage, The Female Spectator also had an American readership, was '"frequently advertised' in the New York, Philadelphia
While *The Female Spectator* enjoyed great popularity among its eighteenth-century readership and was favorably reviewed in Clara Reeve's literary critical work, *The Progress of Romance* (1785), it fell out of fashion during the nineteenth century and was virtually ignored until the early twentieth century. According to Ann Messenger's study *His and Hers: Essays in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, the early scholarship on Haywood's *Female Spectator* found it to be a weak imitation of Addison's *Spectator*. Messenger that notes that George F. Whicher in *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* "calls the Female Spectator a 'bold attempt to rival Addison upon his own ground'" (109), George S. Marr in *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century* "thinks the Female Spectator has received more attention than it deserves" (109), Walter and Clare Jerrold in *Five Queer Women* "find the Female Spectator 'a poor continuator to Addison and his colleagues'" (109), Robert D. Mayo's *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815* places the Female Spectator "squarely in the tradition of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*" (109), and Cynthia Leslie White in *Women's Magazines, 1693-1968* writes that the *Female Spectator* continues "in the old traditions" (109). Messenger cites David Macaree's study *A Triumvirate of Eighteenth-Century Periodical Editresses* (Transactions of the Samuel Johnson Society of the Northwest) as one that illustrates Haywood's periodical as a departure from rather than imitation of Addison's; however, his work is problematic and his conclusions are limited by his choice of primary text—*The Female Spectator: Being Selections from Mrs. Eliza Heywood's Periodical (1744-1746)*, which was the only published edition.
available at the time of his research. While Priestley's edition is valuable in that it provided much-needed access to the *Female Spectator*, her edition is limited by the minimal number of essays included, inaccurate reproduction of texts, and her selections, which are more a reflection of the temper of the late 1920s than of Haywood's work. For these reasons, Priestley's edition is not representative of Haywood's paper as a whole and is, therefore, inadequate to an analysis that aims to recover Haywood's critical and revisionary strategies. While research has been somewhat limited by the lack of a published edition of the full run of *Female Spectator*, scholarship over the last twenty years has revealed Haywood's contributions to the genres of the periodical essay and the conduct and advice book and to the development of the woman's magazine.

The *Female Spectator* is also important to literary criticism and gender studies for its critique of conventional representations of women. Through the voice of the *Female Spectator*, Haywood challenges masculinist portrayals of "proper" womanhood. Haywood's criticism of the conventional representations of women can best be appreciated through a direct comparison between her representations and her predecessor's, *The Spectator*. The male spectator writes from an omniscient position. This location implicates an authoritative voice as well as the inherent separation between writer and reader. This division reproduces the Cartesian split between mind and body or subject and object. By contrast, the female spectator locates herself within her historical, cultural context. From this position, the female spectator acknowledges the relevance of lived bodily experience and foregrounds the interdependent relationship between writer and reader, thereby challenging the strict binarism the spectator enforces. Through the female spectator's resistance to spectator form, she
facilitates a non-dualist account of subjectivity and a non-masculinist image of objectivity. In short, she reconnects the body to experience or knowledge. In terms of content, the female spectator openly criticizes spectator morality, the lack of educational opportunities for women, and restricted domestic roles. She advocates action and mental energy as the basis of women's growth and survival. While the female spectator acknowledges the patriarchal, socio-historical context in which women live, she advocates alternatives for finding self-acceptance and self-approval—a way of being woman in a received, male-dominated society. What follows is a close reading of the central role of incorporation in the *Female Spectator*, as juxtaposed against its periodical predecessor, as it can be seen in Haywood's use of narrative persona, purpose, readers and writers, politics, and social criticism related to issues of education, marriage, and reform.

Both Addison and Haywood open their periodicals with brief biographies of the author, which characterize persona and intent. Addison opens his *Spectator* papers on Thursday, 1 March 1710-1711, with his "own History" (101) because he claims that he will take responsibility for "the chief Trouble of Compiling, Digesting, and Correcting" (191). His biography begins six hundred years prior to his birth in the "small Hereditary Estate, which, according to the Tradition of the Village where it lies, was bounded by the same Hedges and Ditches in William the Conqueror's Time that it is at present, and has been delivered down from Father to Son whole and entire, without the Loss or Acquisiton of a singel Field or Meadow" (101). Addison marks his territory and locates his authorial space in a tradition well established with privilege, boundaries, and limits. From William the Conqueror, Addison jumps ahead six centuries to his
birth and infancy, of which he writes, "there being nothing in it remarkable, I shall pass it over in Silence" (102). His adolescence is more telling even if no more eventful. He describes himself as a sullen youth, who studied hard, was well read, and considered a good student in spite of not participating verbally in class. Even though he "scarce uttered the Quantity of an hundred Words; and indeed do[es] not remember that [he] ever spoke three Sentences together in [his] whole Life," he was a "Favourite of [his] School-master, who used to say, that [his] Parts were solid and would wear well" (102). Because he had an "insatiable Thirst after Knowledge," he made the conventional grand tour expected of young men in his class and then "returned to [his] Native Country with great Satisfaction " (102). During his later years, he admits that he is frequently seen at various coffee houses, theatres, and the exchange but is infrequently known, except for about "half a dozen of my select Friends. . . . In short, where-ever I see a Cluster of People I always mix with them, though I never open my Lips but in my own club" (103). He draws on the way he "live[s] in the World" as the paradigm for his role as author of *The Spectator*. Addison explains,

> Thus I live in the World, rather as a Spectator of Mankind, than as one of the Species; by which means I have made my self a Speculative Statesman, Soldier, Merchant and Artizan, without ever medling with any Practical Part in Life. I am very well versed in the Theory of an Husband, or a Father, and can discern the Errors in the Oeconomy, Business and Diversion of others, better than those who are engaged in them; as Standers-by discover Blots, which are apt to escape those who are in the Game. I never espoused any Party with Violence, and am resolved to observe an exact Neutrality between the Whigs and Tories, unless I shall be forced to declare myself by the Hostilities of either Side. In short, I have acted in all the Parts of my Life as a Looker-on, which is the Character I intend to preserve in this Paper. (103-104)

Privileging an observational over a participatory position, he qualifies himself as "well versed" in the "Theory" without "any Practical Part in Life" (103) and proposes to
manage *The Spectator* as he has "all the Parts of my Life as a Looker-on" (104), whose vision is sharpened by distance and politics through neutrality. Addison's spectator persona is characterized by its alienation from others, detached, observational perspective, and neutrality of politics.

Madam Spectator draws on the general framework of the spectator persona but departs in critical ways from the specific traits as delineated by Addison. Madam Spectator's departure from the conventional persona can be characterized by an experiential perspective and oppositional politics. While Addison eliminates experience as a factor on which he will draw in the *Spectator*, Haywood depends on it. She promises her readers "that in the Pictures I shall give of myself and Associates, I will draw no flattering Lines, assume no Perfection that we are not in reality possess'd of, nor attempt to shadow over any Defect with an artificial Gloss" (I 17).36 Haywood and her company of writers will focus on the particular rather than the ideal. Departing from the impersonal stance and detached views of the *Spectator*, the *Female Spectator*'s biographical section includes an admission that she "never was a Beauty, and am now very far from being young" (I 17). She admits having experienced

as many Scenes of Vanity and Folly as the greatest Coquet of them all.—Dress, Equipage, and Flattery, were the Idols of my Heart.—I should have thought that Day lost which did not present me with some new Opportunity of shewing myself.—My Life, for some Years, was a continued Round of what I then called Pleasure, and my whole Time engross'd by a Hurry of promiscuous Diversions.—But whatever Inconveniences such a manner of Conduct has brought upon myself, I have this Consolation, to think that the Publick may reap some Benefit from it. (I 17-18)

Not only does Haywood argue from a place of experience but also she uses this experience (not the sterile observation of others' experience or the privilege of male
lineage) to account for authorial credibility. She argues that by examining her own experience through the lens of reflection she is able to "see into the secret Springs which gave rise to the Actions I had either heard, or bee Witness of—or judge of the various Passions of the human Mind, and distinguish those imperceptible Degrees by which they become Masters of the Heart, and attain the Dominion over Reason" (I 18). Through reliving "[a] thousand odd Adventures" that she "temper'd with Reflection," Haywood posits the authority of her pen. She states that "[w]ith this Experience, added to a Genius tolerably extensive, and an Education more liberal than is ordinarily allowed to Persons of my sex I flatter'd myself that it might be in my Power to be in some measure both useful and entertaining to the Publick" (I 18).

Unlike Mister Spectator, who sets himself apart from his readership, giving detached and, at times, contemptuous observations, Madam Spectator joins her audience, bridging the hierarchical gap between writer and reader by offering "wisdom" drawn from experience and sharing heartfelt advice with equals. She explains that she began writing "by setting down many things, which being pleasing to myself, I imagined would be so to others" (I 18). Madam Spectator openly acknowledges that she has "run through as many scenes of vanity and folly as the greatest coquet of them all" (I 17). It was out of Eliza Haywood's experiences that Madam Spectator developed. Haywood candidly acknowledges the inconveniences and hardships of her life, but claims,

I have this Consolation, to think that the Publick may reap some Benefit from it:—The Company I kept was not, indeed, always so well chosen as it ought to have been, for the sake of my own Interest or Reputation; but then it was general, and by Consequence furnished me, not only with a Knowledge of many Occurrences, which otherwise I had been ignorant of, but also enabled me, when the too great Vivacity of my Nature
became temper'd with Reflection, to see into the secret Springs which
gave rise to the Actions I had either heard, or been Witness of—to judge
of the various Passions of the human Mind, and distinguish those
imperceptible Degrees by which they become Masters of the Heart, and
attain the Dominion over Reason. (I 18)

According to Haywood, a primary distinction of the female point of view lies in the
difference between detached observer and engaged participant. Mister Spectator writes
from an omniscient position, which implicates both an authoritative voice as well as an
inherent separation between writer and reader; Madam Spectator communicates her
involvement in the social and an equality between writer and reader.

Another component of Mister Spectator's detached perspective, which he reveals
in the first edition of his periodical, is his distinct political neutrality. Madam
Spectator's oppositional politics, on the other hand, is evident as early as her Dedication
to the Dutchess of Leeds, Lady Mary Godolphin. Madam Spectator's opening line
establishes that "As the chief View in Publishing these Monthly Essays is to rectify
some Errors, . . . it was necessary to put them under the Protection of a Lady, not only
of an unblemish'd Conduct, but also of an exalted Virtue, whose Example may enforce
the Precepts they contain, and is Herself a shining Pattern for others to copy after" (I
15). Ostensibly, Haywood's opening functions simply to lay out the Female Spectator's
objective in "Publishing these Monthly essays" (to "rectify some Errors" or reform) and
characterize the person to whom they are dedicated (who "is Herself a shining Pattern
for others to copy after" or Lady Mary Godolphin). The objective of reform through the
example of "an unblemish'd Conduct, but also of an exalted Virtue" seems straight
forward, particularly in terms of eighteenth-century mores. However, re-reading this
opening in light of the paragraph that follows it substantiates that what lies just beneath
the surface of Haywood's text (in her references and allusions) is instrumental in clarifying the *Female Spectator's* departure from Addison's *Spectator*. Thus, Haywood's dedication to Lady Mary Godolphin functions as a set piece for the issues to be addressed in the upcoming periodicals and provides the *Female Spectator* with a political presence (patriotism, liberty, and Whig politics), a critical tone (errors to be rectified), and a *modus operandi* based on the experiential (Britain's shining example, Lady Mary Godolphin), that critically separates *The Female Spectator* from its predecessor, Addison's *Spectator*.

Unlike the politically-neutral *Spectator*, the *Female Spectator* suggests a political presence through its characterization of Lady Mary Godolphin as the descendent of "a Marlborough or a Godolphin, dear as those Patriot Names will ever be while any Sense of Liberty remains in Britons" (I 15). Through a narrative bow to Mary Godolphin—the maternal granddaughter of John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, and paternal granddaughter of Sidney Godolphin, England's first *de facto* Prime Minister under Queen Anne—Haywood establishes a Whig presence for her periodical although she claims that it is "not therefore, Madam, that You are descended" from them. Even though, in this phrase, Haywood separates the shining example from her military and diplomatic heritage, the explicit separation highlights rather than diminishes the connection and presents an underlying assertion of the patriot cause and a politics fashioned from the eighteenth-century debate on "Liberty." Through a seemingly downplayed though pointedly clear association of "a Marlborough or a Godolphin" with "those Patriot Names," Haywood invokes the patriot cause, links it to a British "Sense of Liberty," and marks her politics as anything but *Spectator* neutral.
The reference to Marlborough and Godolphin and the association of their names with the patriot cause locates Haywood on the anti-Walpolian side of this political struggle for power. The "patriots," a faction of dissenting Whigs, were led by laissez-faire economist Adam Smith and William Pitt, who was a disciple of his grandfather and father, who had in 1756 led Britain into the Seven Years' War (or as Lawrence Gipson has called it, the Great War for the Empire). Following in the political footsteps of his father, Pitt eventually succeeded to the position of Prime Minister under George III (1783) and brought with him renewed interest in the patriot campaign for imperial expansion, not a cause that Walpole or his political allies would have supported and part of the larger problem that brought his administration to its end with the general election in 1741 and Newcastle and Hardwicke's vigorous campaign for a coalition government and expansionist policies. Additionally, the patriots were convinced of the necessity of freedom from governmental interference.

These two primary platforms—expansionist international policies and limited governmental interference—would carry contradictory labels as they crossed temporal and geographic borders; for instance, nineteenth-century Britain would label this position as "liberalism" while twentieth-century America would label it "conservatism." Use of nineteenth- and twentieth-century labels confuse eighteenth-century politics and its web of oppositional viewpoints. For instance, the Tory view, supported by writers such as Swift, Pope, Johnson, and Goldsmith, argued for strength of government through strength of the monarchy. Could such a loyalist viewpoint be labeled liberalism today? As the fictional Mr. Primrose, Goldsmith's literary mouthpiece, argues in *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766),
[The great] who were tyrants themselves before the election of one tyrant are naturally averse to a power raised over them, and whose weight must ever lean heaviest on the subordinate orders. It is the interest of the great, therefore, to diminish kingly power as much as possible; because whatever they take from it is naturally restored to themselves; . . . What they may then expect may be seen by turning our eyes to Holland, Genoa, or Venice where the laws govern the poor, and the rich govern the law. I am then for, and would die for, monarchy . . . every diminution of [the monarch's] power . . . is an infringement upon the real liberties of the subject. The sounds of liberty, patriotism, and Britons have already done much; it is to be hoped that the true sons of freedom will prevent their ever doing more. I have known many of those bold champions for liberty in my time, yet do I not remember one that was not in his heart and in his family a tyrant. (93-95)

The fictional Mr. Primrose's Tory argument indicates the intensity of this debate as it pits monarch against patriot and the "true sons of freedom" against pretenders for liberty. Accordingly, Primrose's patriots are self-serving tyrants and their "sounds of liberty" are "an infringement upon the real liberties" (95) of the people—"the true preserver of freedom" (94). Even while the good Vicar advocates for the power of the people (certainly a liberal Democratic position), his argument that "every diminution of [the monarch's] power" diminishes "the real liberties" disrupts political borders that might otherwise lead to a neat parallel between an eighteenth- and a twenty-first-century two-party political structure.

Furthermore, power struggles within individual parties also render such a structural parallel difficult. As can be represented by the divergent policies of Walpole and Pitt, the sounds of liberty ring different tones according to where one stands on the campaign for imperialism. By naming Churchill and Godolphin "dear Patriots," Haywood champions a Whig coalition politics of militaristic and diplomatic expansion, which is simultaneously an attack on the political heirs of a Walpolian administration who were still vying for power at the time. On 22 December 1744, the platform of the
new coalition government was announced. In her 3 January 1745 issue of *The Female Spectator*, Haywood records that "Even now while I am writing, a Messenger of Joy arrives:—Fame sounds her Golden-Trump with Energy Divine, and thus reports:—Our Island's Genius rouses from his dreary Bed,—shakes off inglorious Sloth, and once more active, inspires his chosen Sons with Godlike Fires to quell Oppression, save the sinking State, and recall long banish'd Virtue to her ancient Seat" (II 318). She welcomes the coalition government and describes it as "Our Island's Genius" who will "with Godlike Fires . . . quell Oppression" and "save the sinking State" (II 318) from the limited domestic vision of and abuse of political favors by Walpole and his allies. She characterizes the "Patriot Band" as the "uncorrupted few . . . unawed by Frowns, unbought by Smiles, or all the glittering Toys a Court bestows; alike impregnable to Force or Fraud, Strangers at once to softning Luxury and overbearing Pride, and Foes to all Ambition but that of doing Good" (II 318). She criticizes Walpole and his allies for "all the Impositions, Deceits, Perjuries, Oppressions, Misrepresentations, and other enormous Crimes which these State-Harpys have been guilty of to the Nation" (II 319) and characterizes them as "those Court Moths, those Canker-Worms of the State [who] will be no longer suffered to gnaw even into the very Vitals of our Constitution, but be expell'd and driven from all the nobler Part of the Creation, and henceforth compell'd to associate only with their Fellow-Insects" (II 319). Whether dropping a name in the Dedication, celebrating the formation of a coalition government, or criticizing the administrations of Walpole and Carteret, Haywood advocates an oppositional politics in *The Female Spectator*. 
Similarly, eight years earlier, Haywood dedicated her satire *Evoaai* (1736) to Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, a known Tory sympathizer during the reign of Queen Anne. The dedication combined with the novel's anti-Walpolian focus might on first glance re-locate Haywood to the anti-Whig side of the eighteenth-century English political fence. However, a closer look reveals that this dedication and, thus, political allegiance is consistent with her later one. Like in her later periodicals, *Evoaai* criticizes Walpole's administration, which does not suggest Tory sympathies or opposition to the Whig party as a whole. In 1736, the year of *Evoaai*’s publication, Walpole was still in power even though that power was increasingly being destabilized by the opposition.

By 1744, the year in which the first issue of *The Female Spectator* appeared, Walpole had lost the general election to a coalition of former allies and opponents, had been forced to resign (1742), and Carteret had replaced him but was himself soon after forced to resign (1744)—a coalition government was in the making although not without setbacks and rivalries. Even forty years after Walpole was dismissed as Prime Minister, in-party fighting continued between the Whigs led by North (the Minister who was considered to have botched the resolution of the 13 American colonies), those led by the Earl of Shelburne (who would eventually be succeeded by William Pitt, the younger), and those led by Charles James Fox (who was supported by Edmund Burke). Following in the footsteps of his father, William Pitt would eventually win this battle for power and be appointed by George III as Prime Minister in 1783, a post he would hold for almost twenty years (1783-1801, 1804-1806). While insider struggles for power characterize one aspect of the complexity of eighteenth-century politics, shifting
party alliances for personal advancement characterize another. The most notable case is, of course, Jonathan Swift, who on the dismissal of the Whig administration under Queen Anne and the resultant rise of the Tories, led by Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, to power in 1710 shifted parties and became the Tories' chief political propagandist.

For the twenty-first century reader who attempts to understand eighteenth-century politics by simply applying the current two-party model onto a reading of the eighteenth-century, Haywood's dedications of her political satire *Evoaai* to the dowager Duchess (a Tory sympathizer) and of her periodical essays to the Lady Mary Godolphin (a descendent of the patriot cause) might seem to reveal a gross contradiction of political allegiance over this eight-year time span. This example illustrates that a twenty-first century model is an ineffective framework for understanding eighteenth-century politics. Imposing a twenty-first century two-party structure on the eighteenth-century Whig and Tory parties and attempting to draw distinct lines between the platforms of the two parties (along current use of liberal and conservative labels) will, at best, produce an oversimplification of eighteenth-century politics and, at the worst, render them incomprehensible. Labels, whether eighteenth-century or twenty-first century, can be likened to today's ever-popular political soundbites that go a long way toward constructing convenient categories but stop just short of substance. Haywood's two dedications illustrate that, on the one hand, eighteenth-century politics are anything but simple and, on the other, *The Female Spectator* contains an underlying and, at times, overt political presence throughout its two-year run. Unlike the politically-neutral spectator, the female spectator resists political neutrality. Haywood's papers
demonstrate the relevance of the political to the personal, particularly in terms of revising then current constructions of femininity, for women in the eighteenth century.

The *Female Spectator*'s politics is not limited to a reference in the Dedication but is addressed in subsequent periodicals. On 9 November 1744, a correspondent named Curioso Politico from White's Chocolate-House attacks Haywood on just this point. She includes the letter and her response to it in her next issue, published on 4 December 1744. Politico addresses the *Female Spectator* as a "*Vain Pretender to Things above thy Reach!*" (II 292), criticizes her for raising the "Expectations of the Public by such *mountainous* Promises as you have done" (II 292), claims that "Sieges, Battles, Rencounters and Escapes have filled the World with Clamour, but not been able to move the peaceful Bosom of the *Female Spectator*" (II 293), and justifies himself by concluding that "I have alledg'd no more against you than is the Sense of most of the Wits, as well as Men of Fashion I converse with, as it is probable you may hereafter have further Reason to be convinced of from others beside" (II 294). In his letter, POLITICO openly admits that he "never had any very great Opinion of your Sex as Authors" (II 292). The following passage is representative of the misogynist attitude that lies as the foundation of POLITICO's critique:

I thought . . . you had Cunning enough to confine yourselves within your own Sphere. . . . Are you not under most terrible Apprehensions that, instead of the Woman of Experience, Observation, fine Understanding, and extensive Genius you would pass for, you should be taken for an idle, prating, gossiping old Woman, fit only to tell long Stories by the Fire-side for the Entertainment of little Children or Matron, more antiquated than yourself? (II 292-293)

Haywood challenges POLITICO's anti-female bias and erroneous claims. In her response to POLITICO's attack, she turns the tables on her attacker and claims that "Several of the
Topics he reproaches me for not having touch'd upon, come not within the Province of a
Female Spectator," especially since "such Accounts . . . are every Day to be found in
the public Papers" (II 295). She notes dispassionately that "Armies marching,—Battles
fought,—Towns destroyed,—Rivers cross'd" are not traditionally the topics treated in
journals and essays but in the daily newspapers. Politico's criticism is empty because,
in the first place, the Female Spectator never set out to cover such topics, which she
addresses in Book I and which Politico remarks on in his letter. In the second place,
while the historical development of the newspaper and periodical essay are related,
while they are both types of journalism, and while they both increased in popularity at
about the same time, they remain two distinct genres. The first originated in sixteenth-
century Germany and focused on the daily news; the second originated in late sixteenth-
century France (Montaigne) and England (Bacon) and focused on topics of wider
general interest. Haywood knew this; so should have her correspondent. His
argument that her paper is "widely inconsistent with the Proposals of your first setting
out" (II 293) is inaccurate and misrepresents the case as he pinpoints only one part of
the Female Spectator's plan, which he previously admits to having read in its entirety
and fails to comment on other relevant aspects. While his argument certainly sounds
logical (particularly if the reader is not familiar with the first issue of The Female
Spectator), it is not supportable and demonstrates his blatant manipulation of both
Haywood's text and literary history to support erroneous claims. The Female Spectator
then defends the topics she did lay out in her first issue and has addressed in subsequent
issues, arguing that she

will not pretend to measure what Extent of Power the Guardian angel
entitled the Liberty of the Press may yet retain . . . but in a Constitution
such as our's happily is, . . . [e]very one here, who contributes to the
Support of the Government, has a Right to be protected by the
Government in any decent Attempt made for the Discovery of iniquitous
Practices in those of the highest, as well as the lowest Stations of Life.
. . . It would then be hard, if those who contentedly bear the Expence of
Fleets and Armies, of Subsidies, Negotiations, Congresses and
Embassies, should not have the Privilege of enquiring how, and for what
Ends their Money is laid out . . . I know of no Law nor Reason to
restrain us from examining into the Conduct of [the King's] Ministers,
his Admirals, or Generals, when suspected to have taken Measures
destructive, or to the Honour or Interest of the Kingdom. . . . The
meanest Person has also an equal Right with the greatest, to expect a
satisfactory Account in every thing relating to the Common-Wealth:—
He has his all at Stake as well as the most Opulent, and in case of any
foul or unskilful Play in those who are entrusted with the shuffling of the
Cards, must share in the same Ruin. . . . In this Road, therefore, I have
travelled since the Beginning of these Lucubrations, and from this I shall
not through the whole Course of them depart. (II 296-298)

In the first issue of The Female Spectator, Haywood invokes her "learned
Brother of ever precious Memory" and "in imitation" of him provides the reader with
information about her associates, "the chief Intent of the Lucubrations\[^{42}\] hereafter
communicated" (I 17), and a brief autobiography. The "learned Brother" refers to
Haywood's predecessor Joseph Addison, who in Spectator, No. 10, describes his
"Fraternity of Spectators" and recommends his paper to the daily Perusal of those Gentlemen whom I cannot but consider as
my good Brothers and Allies, I mean the Fraternity of Spectators who
live in the world without having any thing to do in it; and either by the
Affluence of their Fortunes, or Laziness of their Dispositions, have no
other business with the rest of Mankind, but to look upon them. Under
this Class of Men are comprehended all contemplative Tradesmen, titular
Physicians, Fellows of the Royal Society, Templers that are not given to
be contentious, and Statesmen that are out of Business; in short, every
one that considers the World as a Theatre, and desires to form a right
Judgment of those who are the Actors on it. (159-160)

In The Female Spectator, Haywood forms her own sorority of female spectators and
establishes a company of writers who assist her in gathering facts, details, stories, and
the secrets of Europe. Unlike Addison's "Fraternity of Spectators," who "live in the world without having any thing to do in it; and . . . have no other business with the rest of Mankind, but to look upon them," Haywood's *Female Spectator* openly draws on her experience of "A thousand odd Adventures" (I 18). Like the Spectator, Madam Spectator alludes to the stage and its actors; however, she employs the metaphor for a different purpose. She writes that "tho' I shall bring real Facts on the Stage, I shall conceal the Actors Names under such as will be conformable to their Characters; my Intention being only to expose the Vice, not the Person" (I 20). As a female author during the mid-eighteenth century, the female spectator must steer clear of being misperceived as a judgmental gossip or scandalmonger. As such, she states that "I would, by no means, however, have what I say be construed into a Design of gratifying a vicious Propensity of propagating a Scandal.—Whoever sits down to read me with this View, will find themselves mistaken" (I 19-20). Scandal papers and novels had, by this time, fallen out of fashion and sullied the credibility of women writers. This was not an issue that male writers would have to address in their periodicals. Without any additional explanatory commentary, Addison declares "right Judgment" as one of his primary objectives in *The Spectator*, and Steele entitles his popular periodical *The Tatler* because he "resolved also to have something which may be of entertainment to the Fair Sex, in Honour of whom I have taken the Title of this Paper" (5). In addition to his "Fraternity of Spectators," Addison argues that

there are none to whom this Paper will be more useful than to the Female World. I have often thought there has not been sufficient Pains taken in finding out proper Employments and Diversions for the Fair ones. . . . The Toilet is their great Scene of Business, and the right adjusting of their Hair the principal Employment of their Lives. The sorting of a Suit of Ribbons, is reckon'd a very good Morning's Work; and if they make
an Excursion to a Mercer's or a Toyshop, so great a Fatigue makes them unfit for any thing else all the Day after. . . . This, I say, is the state of ordinary women; tho' I know there are Multitudes of those of a more elevated Life and Conversation, that move in an exalted Sphere of Knowledge and Virtue, that join all the Beauties of the Mind to the Ornaments of Dress, and inspire a kind of Awe and Respect, as well as Love, into their Male-Beholders. (160-161)

While Madam Spectator claims that the "sole Aim of the following Pages is to reform the Faulty, and give an innocent Amusement to those who are not so" (I 20), she does not represent the "Female World" merely in terms of their "Toilet." However, when she does address women's "anti-chambers" in the Female Spectator, she revises not only their customary use but also the conventional object of beautification. In her periodical published on 4 February 1745, Madam Spectator suggests that "If the married Ladies of Distinction begin the Change, and bring Learning into Fashion the younger will never cease soliciting their Parents and Guardians for the means of following it, and every Toilet in the Kingdom be loaded with Materials for beautifying the Mind more than the Face of its Owner" (II 362). In The Female Spectator, women not men are the central focus. Women are no longer viewed in relation to "their Male-Beholders." Men are no longer the standard by which women are measured. Women become the standard by which writers like Haywood measures her vision of heroics and virtue. Thus The Female Spectator's story is not about a man's test of honor, but a woman's. Furthermore the woman tested is, unlike the affluent Physicians, Fellows, and Templers of the fraternity of spectators, no longer just of the aristocratic class. Haywood's sorority of female spectators crosses lines of class and age and as often as not belong to the poor or middleclass. As Dale Spender has argued in Mothers of the Novel, Haywood was among the first to assert the validity of middle class experience, among the first to insist on the significance and the humanity of 'ordinary
people' and among the first to explore the conflict of interest between the classes and sexes. And in so doing she helped to modify the very essence of a story and its meaning. (93)

As such, the stories *The Female Spectator* offers are not only very different from but also representative of a larger cross section of society than those the *Spectator* can tell.

Another distinction of the shift evidenced by the female point of view is Haywood's social critique. Madam Spectator acknowledges the prevalence of Spectator morality within society but openly criticizes it. She censures "Men of the best Understanding" who say that "Learning puts the Sexes too much on an Equality, it would destroy that implicit Obedience which it is necessary the Women should pay to our Commands" (II 363). She characterizes the conventional eighteenth-century view on education as paradoxical. Madam Spectator writes that the:

> Objection, therefore, that I have heard made by some Men, that Learning would make us too assuming, is weak and unjust in itself, because there is nothing would so much cure us of those Vanities we are accused of, as Knowledge. . . . O BUT, say they, Learning puts the Sexes too much on an Equality, it would destroy that implicit Obedience which it is necessary the Women should pay to our Commands:—If once they have the Capacity of arguing with us, where would be our authority? NOW will I appeal to any impartial Reader, even among the Men, if this very Reason in keeping us in Subjection does not betray an Arrogance and Pride in themselves, yet less excusable than that which they seem so fearful of our assuming. (II 362-363)

Cleora, a correspondent, agrees with the *Female Spectator* that the appearance of fashion is too prevalent in the mind of the female sex; however, this transgression is "most commonly the Fault of a wrong Education; . . . it is therefore only the Men, and the Men of Understanding too, who, in effect merit the Blame of this, and are answerable for all the Misconduct we are guilty of" (II 354-355). Cleora censures men as "too imperious" and "tenacious" (II 355) and locates the blame of the lack of
education in religion, society, and convention. She writes that "God and Nature has
endued them with Means, and Custom has established them in the power of rendering
our Minds such as they ought to be" (II 355). After making her case that women are not
only as capable of virtue and religion as men but also of understanding "those Sciences
which the Men engross to themselves" (II 355), Cleora suggests "that Dress and Shew
are not the Essentials of a fine Lady, and that true Beauty is seated in the Mind" (II
35557). Madam Spectator concurs:

THOSE Men are certainly guilty of a great deal of Injustice who think,
that all the Learning becoming in a Woman is confined to the
Management of her Family; that is, to give Orders concerning the Table,
take care of her Children in their Infancy, and observe that her Servants
do not neglect their Business:—All this no doubt is very necessary; but
would it not be better if she performs those Duties more through
Principle than Custom? and will she be less punctual in her Observance
of them, after she becomes a Wife, for being perfectly convinced, before
she is so, of the Reasonableness of them, and why they are expected
from her? (II 356)

While Madam Spectator does not oppose marriage, she does challenge the domesticated
"angel in the house" view of womanhood and characterizes those who maintain this
view as unjust.43 Raising "the woman question" and arguing against this narrow and
confining view of the sphere of domesticity, Madam Spectator claims that the married
woman "ought to be . . . the Repository of [her husband's] dearest Secrets, the
Moderator of his fiercer Passions, the Softner of his most anxious Cares, and the
constantly chearful and entertaining Companion of his more unbended moments" (II
356). Notwithstanding the "constantly chearful and entertaining" component, this
revisionary role for the new and improved eighteenth-century wife is characterized by
its multi-task oriented description that includes confessor, mediator, counselor, and
friend.
From a twenty-first century perspective, this description may be considered problematic and even dysfunctional; however, for the eighteenth-century woman, this description associates the responsibilities of the married woman with the responsibilities of the priest, attorney, psychologist (scientist), and friend. Such an association with the church, law, science, and the virtues of friendship would certainly raise the status of the role of wife from her contemporary legal status as that of a slave to his master (or, similarly, of the colonized to colonizer that was demonstrated earlier through Hunter's representations). This passage disrupts the conventional view and suggests that a wife should be considered her husband's companion rather than an extension of his household property.

In a later periodical, Madam Spectator will make this apparent connection to slavery overt by writing that the "Power" of a husband, who thought that "he was Master, and as such would be obey'd" could "break her Spirit, and make her wholly subservient to his Will, 'till at last his Tyranny got the better, and has now reduced her to the most abject Slavery" (I 161). During the eighteenth century, the law considered the duties of both wife and daughter to husband and father as that of a slave to his or her master. The *Female Spectator*'s admittedly problematic re-characterization does, however, elevate the status of married women and critique the legal duties binding them. According to Madam Spectator, women groan under the Curse entailed upon us for the Transgression of Eve. 'The desires shall be to thy husband, and he shall have rule over thee.' BUT we are not taught enough how to lighten this Burthen, and render ourselves such as would make him asham'd to exert that Authority, he thinks he has a Right to, over us. . . . THE World would infallibly be more happy than it is, were Women more knowing than they generally are; and very well worth the while of those who have the Interest of the
Female Part of their Family at Heart, to instruct them early . . . . (II 357-358)

Foreshadowing the later criticisms of Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Haywood asserts that women's education is inadequate to exposing the injustice of the "authority he thinks he has a right to over us" and to "make him ashamed." Haywood advocates education as a means to women's equity in marriage.

Like the *Spectator*, *The Female Spectator* advocates a check on the enormous and increasingly popular growth of luxury, a reformation of morals, and the improvement of manners. On morality, for instance, Madam Spectator writes that she has known certain individuals "so excessively fond of the marvellous, that they have had the confidence to report things, not only beyond what was ever heard of in the course of nature, but also beyond what she is capable of performing" (73). Even though Madam Spectator warns against the dangers of spreading the "common lies we often hear" (72) and affirms the virtues of truth, she moves beyond *The Spectator* and passive considerations of morals and manners, making a call to action and advocating mental energy as the essential basis of women's growth and survival. She calls into question even the science on which women's social constructedness is based. In her paper published on 4 February 1745, Madam Spectator argues that

If by the Texture of the Brain as some pretend to alledge we are less capable of deep Meditations, and have a Multiplicity of volatile Ideas, which, continually wandering, naturally prevent our fixing on any one Thing; the more Care should be taken to improve such as may be of Service, and suppress those that have a contrary Tendency. THAT this is possible to be done, I believe, those who reason most strongly this way, and pretend to understand the Mechanism of our Formation best, will not deny. BUT I agree no farther than in Supposition to this Common-Place Argument, made use of by the Enemies of our Sex:—The Delicacy of those numerous Filaments which contain, and separate from each other what are call'd the Seats of Invention, Memory, and Judgment, may not,
for any thing they can prove to the contrary render them less strong; but as I am not Anatomist enough to know whether there is really any such Difference or not between the Male and Female Brain, I will not pretend to reason on this Point. (II 360-361)

Haywood critiques the pretense of the scientific construction of women "made use of by the Enemies of our Sex" and calls into question their conclusions. Opposing the efficacy of such a view, Haywood recommends that it is further education, not the "Delicacy of those numerous Filaments" that "separate from each other what are call'd the Seats of Invention, Memory, and Judgment" and, as such, provides reading lists as well as suggestions about how to proceed. Madam Spectator argues that "Reading is universally allowed to be one of the most improving, as well as agreeable Amusements; but then to render it so, one should, among the Number of Books which are perpetually issuing from the Press, endeavour to single out such as promise to be most conducive to those Ends" (I 17). She suggests that in order "to be as little deceiv'd as possible, I . . . get as well acquainted as I can with an Author, before I run the risque of losing my Time in perusing his Work" (I 17). Entertainments such as music, dancing and the reading of poetry and novels may be used as diversions for relaxation, but should not be too heavily indulged. Madam Spectator recommends philosophy, mathematics, and history as "the serious Employments of a young Lady's Mind" (II 361). She proposes that

All that Restlessness of Temper we are accused of, that perpetual Inclination for gadding from Place to Place;—Those Vapours, those Disquiets we often feel merely for want of some material Cause of Disquiet, would be no more, when once the Mind was employ'd in the pleasing Enquiries of Philosophy. . . . PHILOSOPHY is, therefore, the Toil which can never tire the Person engag'd in it:—all its Ways are strewed with Roses, and the farther you go, the more enchanting Objects appear before you, and invite you on. (II 359-360)
Geography, an eighteenth-century branch of mathematics, is included as useful subject matter for young women, in that "they may travel the World over, be acquainted with all its Parts, and find new Matter to adore the Infinite Wisdom, which presiding over and throughout such a Diversity of contrary Climes, suits every one so as to be most pleasing and convenient to the Inhabitants" (II 361). History also must be included as it cannot fail in engaging the Mind to Attention, and affording the strongest Precept by Example:—The Rise and Fall of Monarchies;—the Fate of Princes, the Sources from which their good or ill Fortune may be deduc'd;—the various Events which the wonderful Effects which the Heroism of particular Persons has obtained, both to curb Oppression in the Tyrant, and Sedition in the Subject affords an ample Field for Contemplation, and at the same time too much Pleasure to leave room for any Amusements of a low and trifling Nature. (II 361)

Madam Spectator not only provides women with a monthly periodical for their instruction and entertainment but also a recommended booklist for mental calisthenics. She advocates reading as the means to an education and education as the basis for women's growth and survival.

Issues of luxury include concerns about dress, cosmetics, and equipage, all of which were popular subjects and frequently addressed in eighteenth-century periodicals. For instance, in Addison and Steele's The Guardian, which came out three months after the first series of The Spectator ended and was published six days a week from 12 March to 1 October 1713, references to a lady's tucker appear in no less than six issues. Approximately one year earlier, in The Spectator, No. 34 (Monday, April 9), Addison reasserts his "Resolutions to march on boldly in the Cause of Virtue and good Sense" (177), which his "worthy Friend the Clergyman . . . proceeded to take Notice of the great Use this Paper might be of to the Publick, by reprehending those Vices which are too trivial for the Chastisement of the Law, and too fantastical for the Cognizance
of the Pulpit" (176). While both law and religion legislated and preached against the vice of inappropriate dress during the Cromwellian Protectorate, such laws and sermons grew out of fashion after the Restoration. As Addison explains in *The Guardian*, No. 116,

There are many little Enormities in the World, which our Preachers would be very glad to see removed; but at the same time dare not meddle with them, for fear of betraying the Dignity of the Pulpit. . . . I have heard a whole Sermon against a White-wash,47 and have known a coloured Ribbon made the Mark of the Unconverted. The Clergy of the present Age are not transported with these indiscreet Fervours, as knowing that it is hard for a Reformer to avoid Ridicule, when he is severe upon Subjects which are rather apt to produce Mirth than Seriousness. For this reason I look upon my self to be of great Use to these good Men; while they are employed in extirpating Mortal Sins, and Crimes of a higher Nature, I should be glad to rally the World out of Indecencies and Venial Transgressions. (621-622)

After providing a justification for even taking up such topics, Addison states his point of view: "Thus much I thought fit to premise before I resume the Subject which I have already handled,48 I mean the naked Bosomes of our British Ladies. I hope they will not take it ill of me, if I still beg that they will be covered" (622). In this and other issues, he also takes up the subject of cosmetics and beauty. For instance, in *The Guardian*, No. 158, Addison recalls a dream in which he was conveyed . . . into the Entrance of the Infernal Regions, where I saw Rhadamanthus, one of the Judges of the Dead, seated in his Tribunal. On his left Hand stood the Keeper of Erebus, on his Right the Keeper of Elysium. I was told he sat upon Women that Day, there being several of the Sex lately arrived, who had not yet their Mansions assigned them. I was surprized to hear him ask every one of them the same Question, namely, what they had been doing? (634).

A country woman approached and answered "An't please your Worship, says she, I did not live quite Forty Years; and in that time brought my Husband seven Daughters, made him nine thousand Cheese, and left my eldest Girl with him, to look after his House in
my Absence, and who I may venture to say is as pretty a House-wife as any in the
Country" (635). Rhadamanthus then "smiled at the Simplicity of the good Woman, and
order'd the Keeper of Elysium to take her into his Care" (635). Another woman was
called upon, she reply'd,

I have been the Wife of a Husband who was as dear to me in his old Age
as in his Youth. I have been a Mother, and very happy in my Children,
whom I endeavoured to bring up in every thing that is good. My eldest
Son is blest by the Poor, and beloved by every one that knows him. I
lived within my own Family, and left it much more wealthy than I found
it. Rhadamanthus, who knew the Value of the old Lady, smiled upon her
in such a manner, that the Keeper of Elysium, who knew his Office,
reached out his Hand to her. He no sooner touched her but her Wrinkles
vanished, her Eyes sparkled, her Cheeks glow'd with Blushes, and she
appeared in full Bloom and Beauty. A young Woman observing that this
Officer, who conducted the happy to Elysium, was so great a Beautifier,
long'd to be in his Hands, so that pressing through the Croud, she was the
next that appeared at the Bar. And being asked what she had been doing
the five and twenty Years that she had past in the World, I have
endeavoured, says she, ever since I came to Years of Discretion, to make
my self Lovely and gain Admirers. In order to it I past my Time in
bottling up May-dew,49 inventing White-washes,50 mixing Colours,51
cutting out Patches,52 consulting my Glass, suiting my Complexion,
tearing off my Tucker,53 sinking my Stays54—Radamanthus, without
hearing her out, gave the Sign to take her off. Upon the Approach of the
Keeper of Erebus her colour faded her Face was puckered up with
Wrinkles, and her whole Person lost in Deformity" (636-637).

Juxtaposed against one another, these two women portray conventional representations
of womanhood—the one who goes the way of Erebus, the son of Chaos who personifies
darkness and whose name was given to the cavernous approach leading into Hades, and
the other who goes the way of Elysium, the eternal habitation of the blessed. Like the
countrywoman who preceded her, this matron described a life of selflessness,
generosity, and submission as the role of the good mother and the good wife. Such an
"angel in the house" life not only gained this matron entrance into the land of the
blessed but also returned to her her youthful beauty. On the other hand, the twenty-five
year-old, who spent her adolescence primping and being fashionable, not only descended into the gloomy pits of the damned but also was "faded," puckered", and deformed by Erebus' approach. (637). Other answers given to Radamanthus, such as playing at crimp (a fashionable card game), condemning the "Follies of the Times" without keeping "the same watchful Eye over [one's] own Actions," and a firm resolution to change one's life without ever actually getting around to the changing, directed women along the path of Erebus. For Addison, the lines separating the mythological Erebus (darkness) and Elysium (light), which during his dream metaphorically stand in for immorality (hell) and virtue (heaven), are fixed along the narrow prescriptions defining perceptions about eighteenth-century womanhood. For the submissive and subservient life, one regains the beauty of youth. For the frivolous life, one loses the beauty of youth. While Addison's dream suggests an attitude that denigrates female concerns about beauty and beautification as not only trivial but also wicked, it simultaneously privileges beauty as the reward for a life well lived. Such a reward and punishment system (devised by a male mythological god and enforced by male keepers of eternity and damnation) seems if nothing else then at the least hypocritical. However, beyond revealing a hypocritical system of masculinist justice and consequences, this story also discloses an underlying prescription for womanhood that is not only constraining (subservient wife and selfless mother) but also impractical.

In the Female Spectator, Haywood also addresses questions of beauty and affectation; however, instead of portraying them as metaphorical rungs on the feminine ladder of eternal damnation, she describes them in practical terms as a "Foible too common in both Sexes, but more particularly ascribed to those of my own" (III 151, my
emphasis). Haywood broadens a Spectator focus by including men in her examination. J.M.'s letter and the Female Spectator's response to it demonstrate differences in focus, perspective and, therefore, in the resultant conclusions drawn. After praising her periodical, of which he says "Every Body is sensible of, and confesses the Merit of your Writings, and I am but one among the Million of your Admirers" (III 151), he argues that

The Female Spectator has, indeed, remonstrated, that if half the Assiduity which is paid to the Person were employed in embellishing the Mind, Women might easily vie with us Men in our most valuable Accomplishments: but I am sorry to observe, that there are Ladies, who, tho' they read with Pleasure what they imagine is a Compliment to their Sex, make no manner of Progress towards their own particular deserving it. (III 151-152)

Like the Spectator, who focuses solely on women's relationship to issues of beauty and analyzes femininity in terms of a masculine ideal, J.M. also takes women as his focus and measures the "fair sex" in terms of the male. Similar to the Spectator's conclusions, J.M. also finds that women just do not stack up in the category of "valuable Accomplishments." In his observations (of his sisters, as he admits that he has not yet married), J. M. claims that he will descend not so low as to take Notice of the Curling-Irons, the False-Locks, the Eyebrow-shapers, the Pearl-Cosmetick, the Italian Red, or any of those injudiciously called Face-mending Stratagems, or even of the studied Leer, or the forced Languor, of the Eye, nor of the screwed-up Mouth, or strained Pout of the under Lip, nor of a thousand other unnatural Modes and Gestures of the Body, however ridiculous they who practise them may appear; but it is that kind of Affectation in the Manners, which, more than all I have mentioned, deprives them of that Respect they would otherwise command from our Sex. (III 152)
It appears that J.M. not only noticed what he "descend[ed] not" to but also carefully catalogued a virtual shopping list of eighteenth-century cosmetology. J.M. asks the Female Spectator to prevail with the Ladies to be as well satisfied with themselves at Fifty as at Fifteen; to convince them that there are Charms, which are not in the Power of the old Gentleman with the Scythe and Hourglass to mow down; and that it is entirely their own Fault if they do not find him in reality more a Friend than an Enemy, since, for one Perfection he deprives them of, they may, if they please, receive a thousand from him. (III 156)

However, even though J.M. claims that women should be "as well satisfied with themselves at Fifty as at Fifteen" and that "it is entirely their own Fault" if they are not, he undermines both arguments in a previous statement. He writes, "How doubly absurd is it, then, when People of an advanced Age and gross Body, give themselves those childish and affected Airs, thereby losing all the Praise of what they are, by endeavouring to excite Praise for what they are not, nor can ever be!" (III 156). How then can a woman of fifty be "well-satisfied" if, by definition and perception, when she is "of an advanced Age" she is with "gross Body" (my emphasis III 156). Later in his letter, J.M. associates the body of a forty year-old woman with "the Decays [her Age] has brought on" (III 157). Throughout the letter, J.M. represents the 40 – 50 year old female body in terms of decay, deformity, and even gross-ness. He then concludes by rallying support from the Female Spectator to publish and support his argument, of which he says that he knows "no Doctrine which would more become you to inculcate into your Fair Readers, nor that would preserve them so effectually against falling into Errors of all kinds" (III 157). Ostensibly, the errors he singles out are those of females who, he argues, could be more accomplished if they behaved in a more male-like
fashion and, thus, were less vain. Imposing a distinctly conventional framework (masculinity as the model on which the feminine is judged) onto his observations, J.M. produces a distinctly conventional argument—women are inferior and would be less so if they adopted those superior male behaviors. The pervasive error that the text demonstrates and that Madam Spectator critiques is his own—a field of vision that is too narrow and drawn exclusively along sex lines, which produces the inaccurate conclusion of women's culpability for their social inferiority.

In her response, Madam Spectator challenges J.M.'s portrayal of age and vanity as female-specific issues. She neither disputes the case that time decays bodies and, thus, "there is somewhat of an Irksomeness to growing old" (III 160) nor that the "Affectation of appearing younger than we are is certainly the most gross of any we can be guilty of, because it . . . render[s] a Person ridiculous" (III 158). However the representation of the aged body that the Female Spectator constructs differs from that produced in J.M.'s letter. Madam Spectator redirects the focus on age from J.M.'s "gross Body" to the "permanent, solid, and spiritual . . . Advantages of riper Years" (III 158) and asks

What is there, after all, that is so terrible in being known to have more Years over our Heads than we had twenty Years ago"—Is not the Desire of a long Life natural to us all? . . . Why then do we . . . endeavour as much as we can to conceal we have arrived at it, and run back into all the Follies of Youth to cheat the Discernment of those that see us, and give the Lie to Time? (III 157-158)

The Female Spectator reconstructs a view of the aging process that links it with the blessing of long life rather than the curse of decay. She turns the issue on its head and characterizes concealment, not the body, as gross, particularly as regressive and dishonest behavior. Unlike J.M.'s associations, which link the aging process along the
negative lines of gross bodies, Madam Spectator's associate the aging process along positive lines of "a Stock of Knowledge and Experience" through which

Age will find sufficient in itself to compensate for the Loss of Youth. . . . Every imperfection of the Person will be swallowed up and lost in observing the Beauty of the Mind and Manners, and all who know will both esteem and love her. . . . So, whoever acts up to the Character Heaven has placed her in Life, and does not deviate from Reason and from Nature, will have such Attractions in her Behaviour as will entirely take off the Attention from any personal Blemishes or Decays, be they ever so great. (III 158)

The Female Spectator validates the maturity that age yields rather than denigrating the bodies that age will inevitably deteriorate. Unlike the correspondent, she does not limit aging or affectation specifically to the female body.

Having disrupted J.M.'s conventional portrayal of femininity, Madam Spectator then turns a critical focus to the broader issue, left untreated in J.M.'s argument, and that is foundational to his primary error. She explains that

as ridiculous as little kinds of Affectation are in our Sex, they are yet less supportable in the other.—When a Man, with all the Advantages of a liberal education, a general Conversation in the World, and who ought to know that his least Merit is a handsome Face, shall tremble at a Pimple, and be alarmed at the very Thought of a Wrinkle, how strangely does he degenerate from the Intent of Nature! Yet, that such may be seen every Day sauntering in the Park, at Court, at all our great Coffee-Houses, and in most public Places, I believe none of my Readers need to told. (III 159-160)

The Female Spectator challenges the sexist focus of J.M.'s argument by demonstrating that men are also rendered "ridiculous" by the folly of their own "Affectation." Education, which has been the great divider between the sexes, and "a general Conversation in the World," which that education and customary attitudes toward the sexes make possible, provide significant reasons why affectation is "less supportable" in men. Even so, Haywood re-iterates her point that vanity is not gender-specific. She
claims "that the Necessity of submitting to the Laws of Nature should make us endeavour to be easy under a Change which we know all must suffer" (my emphasis III 160). She challenges her readers, female and male, to recognize that it is not the body but the affectation that is "the most gross" (III 158) and to replace misguided vanities with "the many solid Advantages which age bestows" (III 160). By demonstrating the inadequacy of J.M.'s analytical lens, broadening the focus to include men, and substituting a behavior-oriented framework (for detecting gross affectations) for a gender-specific representation (that prescribes gross bodies along gender lines), the *Female Spectator* challenges a conventional view of femininity and a customarily sexist reading of vanity.

The *Spectator* and the *Guardian* construct women's use of tuckers, ribbons, patches, and face washes as part of the transgressive nature of femininity and portray their roles as that of Christian soldiers who must "march on boldly in the Cause of Virtue." In contrast, Madam Spectator treats issues of dress as simple matters of practicality. To demonstrate that the transgression lies less in moral defect than in the clear and present danger of real impracticalities, Madam Spectator provides a little story that illustrates her point.

It was on one of the former of those unhappy Days, that a young Creature, who, I dare answer, had no occasion to leave any one at Home to look after her best Cloaths, came tripping by with one of those Mischief-making Hoops, which spread itself from the Steps of my Door quite to the Posts placed to keep off the Coaches and Carts; a large Flock of Sheep were that Instant driving to the Slaughter-House, and an old Ram, who was the foremost, being put out of his Way by some Accident, ran full-butt into the foot-way, where his Horns were immediately entangled in the Hoop of this fine Lady, as she was holding it up on one side, as the genteel Fashion is, and indeed the Make of it requires:—In her Fright she let it fall down, which still the more encumbered him, as it fix'd upon his Neck;—she attempted to run, he to disengage himself,—
which neither being able to do, she shriek'd, he baa'd, the rest of the Sheep echo'd the Cry, and the Dog, who follow'd the Flock, bark'd, so that altogether made a most hideous Sound:—Down fell the Lady, unable to sustain the forcible Efforts the Ram made to obtain his Liberty;—a Crowd of Mob, who were gathered in an Instant, shouted.—At last the Driver, who was at a good Distance behind, came up, and assisted in setting free his Beast, and raising the Lady; but never was finery so demolished:—The late Rains had made the Place so excessive dirty, that her Gown and Petticoat, which before were yellow, the Colour so much revered in Hanover, and so much the Mode in England, at present, were now most barbarously painted with a filthy Brown;—her Gause Cap half off her Head in the Scuffle, and her Tete de Mutton hanging down on one Shoulder. The rude Populace, instead of pitying, insulted her Misfortune, and continued their Shouts till she got into a Chair, and was quite out of Sight. (III 105)

Unlike the Spectator's suggestion that tuckers, stays, ribbons, and patches are symptomatic of some greater feminine evil, the Female Spectator, in Book XV (6 July 1745), disrupts the religious and moral overtones lurking in the margins of her predecessor's text and treats hoops as a simple matter of impracticality in one's dress. Haywood presents her case in a straightforward manner: hoops get in one's way on the street, provide the source of a potential danger to the women wearing them, and are, therefore, impractical. The Female Spectator explains that

if the Ladies would retrench a Yard or two of those extended Hoops they now wear, they would be much less liable, not only to the Inconveniencies . . . but also to many other Embarrassments one frequently beholds them in when walking the Streets. How often do the angular Corners of such immense Machines . . . catch hold of those little Poles that support the numerous Stalls . . . and throw down, or at least endanger the whole Fabrick, to the great Damage of the Fruiterer, Fishmonger, Comb and Buckle-Sellers, and others of those small Chapmen. (III 104)

Hoops are not symptomatic of evil but of "inconvenience," potential "embarrassment," and probable danger "to the great Damage of the Fruiterer, Fishmonger Comb and Buckle-Sellers and others of those small Chapmen" (III 104). Her recommendation is
simple: "either to take Chair or Coach, or to leave their enormous Hoops at Home, whenever they have any Occasion to go out on a Monday, or Friday, especially in the Morning" (III 105).

*The Female Spectator* re-genders objectivity by expanding her field of vision to men as well as women. As soon as men are viewed as objects of the spectatorial gaze, they can no longer be held as the standard by which women are measured. Once men are observed under the spectator's social microscope, they, too, can be dissected and their behaviors examined. The conventional gendering of objectivity, whether on the anatomist's table or the writer's page, is based in a model that sets up the male as the model (the subject whom) by which females (the object that is) are measured and assessed. Once the subject is transferred to the object position, the model changes and so does its gendering. In *The Female Spectator*, the customary male subject is transferred to an object position, the conventional model by which women are measured is destabilized, and objectivity is re-gendered based on a field of vision that includes both males and females on the same plain and a re-direction of the lens that takes as its focus the particular instead the ideal. Haywood's re-gendering is not, then, a simple inversion that privileges the feminine over the masculine but one that disrupts and complicates the prevailing view while simultaneously rendering males and females on a more level playing ground.

Literature reflects social drama and, like society itself, is socially constructed. It is often on the printed page that an individual works out the tensions of these dramas. Both Addison and Haywood, harking back to Shakespeare, remark that the stage, with its two sets of players, functions as a microcosm of society. The "actors" play out the
lives; the other "actors"—called audience—respond. The theatre functions as a metaphor for the social, a microcosm of social interaction. In *Spectator* #219, Addison writes that "we are here as in a Theatre, where every one has a Part allotted to him."
The audience's response to parts played out mirrors society's response. As Aristotle reminds us in the *Poetics*, we are affected by what takes place—moved through sympathy and fear to action. Also the stage actor functions as useful analogy for the social actor, or individual in society, just as the stage works as a model for that community of individuals. Michael G. Ketcham, in ""Inward Disposition of the Mind Made Visible,"" points out that even though the theatre is inherently an imaginative space, its scenes come out of the depth of true human sentiment; the stage is "a model of true social community . . . a refinement in sensibility . . . achieved through the play of gesture" (47-48). It is often through theatrical performances, which mirror social performances of ambiguity, that issues are "openly" grappled. Literature, like the stage, functions as microcosm, points to issues of public as well as private concern, and invites a working out of that which seems socially problematic.

The comparison between Addison and Steele's *Spectator* and Haywood's *Female Spectator* demonstrates that the debate on gender roles had intensified by 1744, had become more transparent to the public, and prefigured later feminist critiques on similar issues. While rigid social boundaries harness gender distinction, they produce gender ambiguities rather than clarities. Even though narrow prescriptions of sexuality fostered increased moralizing during the eighteenth century, this moralizing neither increased the stability of fixed gender roles nor decreased the eighteenth-century's fascination with sex. Actually, what happened was quite the opposite; established gender roles
were destabilized and sex became a national pastime. Terry Castle writes that the eighteenth century is "without exaggeration, a culture of travesty" (156) and it was this "travesty" that opened literary and social space for the debate on virtue and morality, the dismantling of fixed gender roles, and their associated meanings that we see in Haywood's *Female Spectator*.

Even though Haywood draws on her "Learned brother," she re-genders both the persona and its worldview. As a result, the social microcosm constructed by Haywood is radically different from the one portrayed by Addison. Female subjectivity as it is constructed by Eliza Haywood in the *Female Spectator* hinges on her use of the particularized body to demonstrate the relevance of women's lived experience to the acquisition of agency. Some critics suggest that Haywood relinquishes critique in order to advocate convention. While the female spectator persona is certainly not the Haywood who basked in the scandal novel or who returned to the scandal sheet with her publication of *The Parrot, with a Compendium of the Times* (2 August to 4 October 1746), she still paints a grim picture of women's conventional roles in the eighteenth-century social landscape. The female spectator critiques the ways in which women were customarily represented and perceived as well as the dangers, irritations, inconveniences, and violations with which women had to contend. Haywood advocates re-form, which should be distinguished from a reform that insinuates women's culpability as is evidenced within spectator morality. Haywood calls for a re-forming of the ways in which women construct, represent, and perceive themselves. While some critics have suggested that Haywood effaces the hardships of daily life, I have demonstrated that she exposes those hardships through the examination of her own and
other women's experiences in order to empower women with the knowledge that is necessary for them to educate and re-form themselves. As such, Haywood's texts demonstrate an embodied knowledge. Haywood's departures from spectator form and function disrupt the conventional gendering of objectivity and mark her as an eighteenth-century "feminist" predecessor of form—the woman's magazine—and function—women's social critiques.

VI. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the impact of the scientific conceptualization of the female body during the long eighteenth century extended beyond the medical community and can be seen in the literature of the period, particularly Jonathan Swift's miscellaneous poems. Both in medical documents and literary publications, a prevailing paradigmatic figure of truth had become the female cadaver. I have argued that women's writing on the body evinces a shift from science's static, malleable corpse to the living, experiential body. When the living body replaces the cadaver as paradigm, location becomes relevant and experience is valued and takes on significance. Women's writing on the body, as represented through Burney's account of her radical mastectomy and Haywood's focus on the relevance of experience in the *Female Spectator*, replace the prevailing views that depend on a distanced and detached objectivity, neutral politics, and separate, distinct, and malleable body with a view that values location and contingency, an objectivity that recognizes the relevance of experience and partial knowledges, a politics that intersects with the personal, and a body that is the porous, fluid domain through which we experience the world. My analysis demonstrates that women's writing on the body foregrounds the relationship
between the physical body and lived experience. Burney and Haywood's writing on the body challenges the Enlightenment's scientific conceptualization of the female body and its dependence on a dis-embodied objectivity with their own persistent visions of the relevance of embodied knowledges.

VII. Endnotes

1 Issues of bodily mutilation are certainly not limited to the eighteenth century but continue to have relevance today. See feminist critics bell hooks' *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1992) and Lisa Jones' *Bulletproof Diva: Tales of Race, Sex, and Hair* (1994) for an examination of the ways in which print, filmic, and cultural misrepresentations are damaging to the women. For recent discussions of representations of the body, see Susan Bordo's *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (1993); Katie Conboy et al's *Writing on the Body* (1997); Elizabeth Grosz's *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (1994); and Alison M. Jaggar and Susan Bordo's *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing* (1989).

2 Swift's anti-pastoral "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" is reminiscent of Robert Herrick's pastoral "Corinna's going a Maying" (*Hesperides* 1648).

3 According to Harold Williams' bibliographical study of "The Lady's Dressing Room," its publication sparked several rejoinders and sequels, such as "The Gentleman's Study In Answer To the Lady's Dressing-Room (1732), Chloe Surprized: Or, The Second Part of the Lady's Dressing-Room (1732), The Dean's Provocation For Writing The Lady's Dressing-Room (1734), and Caelia's Revenge. . . . Being an Answer to the Lady's Dressing-Room (1734). These unattributed responses to Swift's miscellaneous poem could possibly be the stuff of an interesting conference paper or short article. See Harold Williams, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, Vol. II, p. 525, headnote. What Williams did not note was the *Female Spectator's* revision of Celia-Strephon story in her 5 April 1745 periodical. The essay includes a poem purportedly written by Strephon to Celia, who attributes to her veins, limbs, head, and other body parts the greatness of all Europa. As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, Haywood does not, in this instance or on other issues, construct a simple inversion of the masculinist tradition in her "feminist" revisions. She does, however, elevate Celia as the force that motivates Strephon to better himself and, in the end, advocates this sort of reform for both women and men. Haywood's female bodies and gendered spaces are not, like Swift's, darkly symbolic surfaces but representative of a landscape of redemption. For the *Female Spectator's* revision of Swift's Celia-Strephon story, see volume II of the *Female Spectator*, pages 425-432.

4 Later in the chapter, Forster continues this same line of argument in reference to Swift's "coprophilia and his 'excremental vision' [which] are, in fact, one aspect of this


9 Cited in Lane, 75-76. Apprenticeship registers from the eighteenth century have survived and are held in the Public Record Office, Kew. These registers, which according to Lane are organized by county and chronology up to 1760, are a rich resource for the study of the legal and political ramifications of the surgeon-apothecary as well as other kinds of apprenticeship. For instance, the 1709 Stamp Act (8 Anne, c.9) fixed the tax scale on premiums paid to the master. In 1747 (20 Geo. II, c.19), an act was passed that allowed any apprentice whose premium was less than 5 pounds to register a complaint with the local justices. In 1757 (30 Geo. II, c.24), indentures were no longer legally necessary and were replaced by a stamped deed which laid out rules as well as a job description for apprentices. For a full discussion of this issue, see Lane, p. 60-61.


12 Lane points out that not all trades enjoyed this increase in respect and profitability during the eighteenth century. She writes that "other honourable, ancient crafts that fell in public esteem and profitability in the decades of William Hunter's lifetime [1718-1783], pushed downwards by the changing fashions (the staymaker), by mass-production methods (the metal and leather trades) or even by an altered international situation (the gunsmith)" (58). However, as the surgeon-apothecary rose in social status, so did the amount of the premium charged for apprenticeship. In The Complete English Tradesman (1738), Daniel Defoe remarks that the "custom of paying a premium arose . . . from the optional gift the child brought to his new master's wife, 'to take motherly care of him', and this was gradually converted to case" (127, cited in Lane, 68). See also Daniel Defoe's The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd (London 1724), pp. 10-11, and The Family Instructor, 2 vols, (London, 1715), vol 2, p. 261.

13 A close reading of Jonathan Swift's work related to the body and particularly to anatomy and disease demonstrates his indebtedness to Hermann Boerhaave's medical discourse at the first half of the century. See Boerhaave's work Aphorisms (London, 1715). For a brief discussion of Boerhaave's influence on Swift's conception of man, see Jean-Paul Forster's Jonathan Swift: The Fictions of the Satirist, pp. 194-196.

14 For instance, it was not until 1748 that Rutherford gave his first clinical lecture at Edinburgh; however, he did so to gain additional students and thus receive more money rather than for pedagogical reasons (Lawrence 156).


These passages, cited in Lawrence, are from Alexander Monro's *Lectures on Surgery* (1776), Royal College of Surgeons, England, Ms 42a 62, II, pages 180-286.

In "The Politics of Health and the Institutionalization of Clinical Practices in Europe in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", Othmar Keel points out that the hospital and/or the institutional structures (infirmaries, dispensaries, maternity hospitals, private schools tied to these structures) served as a framework for different types of clinical training (academic/nonacademic, public/private, official/free, formal/informal). What is important is that these structures had already become training sites (clinical observation of patients, therapeutic trails) and the loci of the accumulation of medical and surgical knowledge before clinical teaching (academic) was systematically underway. In other words, this hospital-type institutional system became the site of a new form of medical experience (clinical) and an instrument of the production and accumulation of knowledge and know-how for the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, 'obstetricians' and others of the eighteenth century before becoming the site of university teaching and reproduction of this same knowledge and know-how. (256)

According to Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's study of the changing conceptions of objectivity and subjectivity as represented in scientific image making from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, the word "atlas" was first used in 1596 by Gerard Mercator for his map of the world; see *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World*, with an introduction by B. Van 'T Hoff (Rotterdam, 1961), 17. By the first part of the eighteenth century, the use of the term spread to astronomical maps. See Deborah J. Warner, *The Sky Explored: Celestial Cartography, 1500-1800* (New York, 1978). E.J. Labarre's *Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of Paper and Paper-Making* (2nd ed., London 1952), 10-11, reports that in the eighteenth century the word indicated an oversize format. By the nineteenth century, the term was used for illustrated scientific works with oversize format. Eventually, "atlas" came to designate the whole genre of scientific picture books (124 n.3).

For additional studies on this topic, see Ludmilla Jordanova's "Gender, Generation and Science" and Londa Schiebinger's "Skeletons in the Closet."

A similar argument can be made as to skeletal illustrations. See Londa Schiebinger's "Skeletons in the Closet."

Other plates from Hunter's atlas also depict a disturbing view of the life-like and naturally posed but flayed flesh of the human female cadaver. Because of the length
and scope of this chapter, I provide only one representative example. For other examples see William Hunter's *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* (1774).

24 Frances Power Cobbe had an influence on other feminists during the nineteenth century and inspired their writing against the maiming and mutilation of vivisection. Cobbe's work against vivisection inspired other women writers to examine the connections between cruelty of scientists on animals with cruelty of men (as husbands) to women (as wives). See Cobbe's work *The Modern Rack: Papers on Vivisection: Life of Frances Power Cobbe: by Herself*. For a historical study, see also Elston's "Women and Anti-vivisection in Victorian England" in Rupke, ed., *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*.

25 By the late nineteenth century, with the use of the photographic x-ray, medical science would move closer to an objectivity that privileged the actual and particular over the ideal and characteristic. The mid-nineteenth century marked the transitional period, which recognized interpretation as the potential enemy but was not yet ready for a noninterventionist objectivity. While the late nineteenth century also aimed for truth to nature, the definition had now changed from an earlier seventeenth-century emphasis on a characteristic and natural objectivity to one of mechanical objectivity, or the photographic x-ray. For a full-length discussion, see Daston and Galison's study, "The Image of Objectivity," in *Representations*, Vol. 0, Issue 40, Special Issue: Seeing Science (Autumn, 1992), pp. 81-128.

26 In *The Wanderer; or Female Difficulties* (1814), Burney transfers her personal experience onto the body of her female character Elinor, who "plunged a dagger into her breast" (359). Reminiscent of Burney's radical mastectomy, "blood gushed out in torrents" (359) from Elinor's butchered breast. Just as the physicians, maids, and nurses who were attending Burney in her salon were uniformly affected by the seriousness of her situation, Harleigh was also affected and so petrified with horror he could with difficulty support either her or himself; yet his presence of mind was sooner useful than that of any of the company; the ladies of which were hiding their faces, or running away; and the men though all eagerly crowding to the spot of this tremendous event approaching rather as spectators of some public exhibition than as actors in a scene of humanity. (359-360)

A surgeon "of eminence" arrived on the scene; however, "Elinor would not suffer the approach of the surgeon; would not hear of any operation, or examination; would not receive any assistance" (360) even though the surgeon "declared that if the wound were not dressed without delay no human efforts could save her life" (361). Elinor's "[l]ooks of fiery disdain were the only answers that she bestowed to the pleadings of Mrs. Maple, the shrieks of Selina, the remonstrances of the surgeon, and the entreaties of every other" (360). The similarities between the scene in Burney's salon and the one in her novel as well as the language used to describe them demonstrate that personal experience found fictive voice in *The Wanderer*. 
The Licensing Act of 1647 prevented the publication and distribution of unauthorized materials. Censorship laws lasted until the end of the eighteenth century (abolished briefly at the time of the French Revolution in France) for most of Europe; however, in England, censorship of printed materials lapsed in 1695. According to Daniel McDonald, *The Oxford Gazette* (1645, later *The London Gazette*) held the monopoly on printed news during the forty-eight year period covered by the Licensing Act. After the Licensing Act was allowed to lapse, new newspapers and journals appeared immediately, including Tory papers, such as Abel Roper's *The Post Boy* (1695-1736), Jean de Fonvive's *The Post-Man* (1695-1730), and Charles Leslie's *The Rehearsal* (1704-1709) and Whig papers, such as George Ridpath's *Flying Post* (1695-1731), Samuel Buckley's *The Daily Courant* (1702-1735), and John Tutchin's *The Observator* (1702-1712). By 1709, "there were at least eighteen London newspapers, issuing some fifty numbers a week" (McDonald xii). McDonald argues that the growth of the essay was connected to the growth of the English newspaper. While papers focused exclusively on the current news items, essays branched out to address popular subjects. (See my discussion in this chapter of Eliza Haywood's related argument from *The Female Spectator*, Book VIII, 4 December 1744.) During the sixteenth century, Montaigne's *Essais* (1580) in France and Francis Bacon's *Essayes* (1597) in England established the word and popularized the form. The essay would increase in popularity during the seventeenth century (Sir William Cornwallis, Abraham Cowley, John Dryden, and Sir William Temple) and become "a vehicle for personal reflection, social criticism, anecdote, literary judgment and entertainment. By 1709, when Addison and Steele joined in writing *The Tatler*, the form was well suited to serve . . . the broadly educated man of letters who wished to comment briefly and casually on a wide range of subjects" (McDonald xi).

Joseph Addison, Eustace Budgell, and Thomas Tickell revived *The Spectator* for eighty numbers (Nos. 556-635), three times a week (Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays), from 18 July to 20 December 1714.


King and Pettit's edition of the *Selected Works of Eliza Haywood* (2001) includes the first full reprint of *The Female Spectator* since the collected edition published in 1748 by Thomas Gardner. Prior to the publication of the King/Pettit edition, researchers who wanted to examine the full run of *The Female Spectator* were limited to copies held in


That Addison's "Parts were solid and would wear well" looks forward to Henry Tilney's assessment of the parts and wear of Catherine Morland's gown in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*. During a discussion with Mrs. Allen and Catherine Morland, Henry Tilney differentiates himself from Mrs. Allen's husband, who like other men "commonly take so little notice of those things" and never knows "one of [her] gowns from another" (Austen 1072). Presenting himself as a man who "understand[s] muslins" and knows the difference between them, Tilney metaphorically suggests that, like the old schoolmaster, he understands "parts" and "wear." In response to Mrs. Allen's question, "And pray, sir, what do you think of Miss Morland's gown," Tilney responds that "It is very pretty, madam . . . but I do not think it will wash well. I am afraid it will fray" (Austen 1072). Metaphorically, Tilney's assessment of the fabric and wear of Catherine's gown suggests his assessment of the fabric and wear of Catherine herself.

All references to the *Female Spectator* are to King and Pettit's edition of the *Works of Eliza Haywood* (2001). For ease of access to citations provided in this chapter, all parenthetical references to Haywood's *Female Spectator* first list the particular volume of the *Female Spectator*, in which the cited essay can be found, and then the page number in the King and Pettit edition, on which the quotation is located.

Lady Mary Godolphin (1723-1764) married Thomas Osborne, 4th Duke of Leeds, in 1740. She is the granddaughter of John and Sarah Churchill, 1st Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. This alliance with Godolphin and, through her, Churchill marks Haywood's politics as oppositional to Delariviere Manley's politics. Manley takes to task the Duke of Marlborough in her political novel *The New Atalantis*.

Lady Mary Godolphin "descended from a Marlborough or a Godolphin" through her mother, Lady Henrietta, who was the eldest daughter of John Churchill, the 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) and Sarah, the dowager duchess (1660-1744), "who until her death on 18 October 1744 was the 'matriarch, gadfly, and "immortal, undecaying Toast" of the patriot opposition to Walpole" (quoted in King and Pettit, Vol. II, *Works of Eliza Haywood*, p. 445, n.2, from Francis Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford, 1991), p. 1). It is interesting to note that Haywood dedicated her anti-Walpole satire *The Adventures of Evoaai* (1736) to the Duchess of Marlborough. Lady Mary Godolphin's father was Francis Godolphin and
her grandfather was Sidney Godolphin, the 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712). Sidney Godolphin was the leading minister under Anne—Britain's first de facto Prime Minister—until 1710. In their notes, King and Pettit correctly argue that the "reference to the 'Sense of Liberty' associated with these 'Patriot Names' aligns The Female Spectator with the tradition of opposition polemics" (445, n.2).

39 In *The Age of Exuberance: Backgrounds to Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, Donald Greene characterizes the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763 as "The Great War for the Empire,' as one of its most eminent historians, Lawrence Gipson, terms it" (4). Greene argues that the outcome of the Seven Years' War, "in the political and economic spheres at least, was a decisive victory for expansionism over isolationism" (4). He does not, however, indicate a specific source for his Gipson citation.

40 Haywood's use of "dear Patriots" associates Churchill and Godolphin with advocates of an aggressive expansionist policy and looks ahead to the political and economic imperialism produced by the results of The Great War for the Empire or the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and Pitt's leadership for the patriot cause.

41 See endnote #27 above for a brief discussion of the historical development of the newspaper and the periodical essay.

42 Haywood's use of "Lucubrations" suggests that the "Learned Brother" whom she will imitate may not only be a reference to Joseph Addison, as King and Pettit argue in the endnotes to their edition to *The Female Spectator* (2001), but also to Richard Steele, who, under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, wrote and published *The Tatler* from 1709-1711, and to Jonathan Swift, who initiated the use of the name with his *Bickerstaff-Partridge Papers* (1708), which were published as a parody of the astrologer John Partridge's ridiculous predictions in his almanac *Merlinus Liberatus*. In this passage, the Female Spectator draws on Isaac Bickerstaff's use of "lucubrations." In *The Tatler*, No. 1, Bickerstaff writes that he is "obliged in Honour to go on in my Lucubrations" (11) or studied thoughts. In *The Tatler*, No. 240, he uses the more literal definition of study done at night "by Candle-light for the Good of his Countrymen" (105). The political association raised in this definition is also of interest, particularly since, on the one hand, Addison claimed that *The Spectator* would remain politically neutral and, on the other hand, Madam Spectator is, in this passage, laying out her "Chief Intent," which can be argued includes a political component. Earlier in this chapter, I have demonstrated that *The Female Spectator* contains both underlying and overt political references.

43 In Book XVII, Madam Spectator provides her view on the matter of separation and divorce:

> When both Parties are, however, equally determined to maintain their different Opinions, though at the Expence of all that Love and Tenderness each has a Right to expect from the other, and instead of living together in any manner conformable to their Vows before the Altar, it is the Judgment of every Member of our Club, that it is a less
Violation of the sacred Ceremony which joined their Hands, to separate
entirely, than it is to continue in a State, where, to Persons mutually
dissatisfied, the most trifling Words or Actions will by each be looked on
as fresh Matter of Provocation. (III 145)

44 The example to which I am referring is Haywood's illustrative story about the ills of
marriage as represented by Dalinda, a "poor mistaken Woman, and Macro, who
no sooner was possess'd of the Power [of husband], than he made her see
a sad Reverse to all her Expectations:—He was so far from regulating
the Affairs of her Estate and Family according to her Pleasure, or as she
had been accustom'd to do that he plainly shew'd he took a Pride in
contradicting her;—he consulted her Inclinations in nothing, and even
before her Face gave Commands, which he knew would be the most
disagreeable to her, and which if she offer'd to oppose, told her in the
rudest manner, that he was Master, and as such would be obey'd.—At
first she rav'd, reproach'd him with Ingratitude, and vow'd Revenge:—
but what, alas! Could she do!—she had taken no Care that proper
Settlements, in case of Accidents, should be made, and was asham'd to
have recourse to any of her Kindred, whom she had disgraced and
disoblige'd, by so unworthy a Match.—The Resentment she testify'd
therefore only served to render her Condition worse, and add new
Weight to the galling Yoke she had so precipitately put on:—he
retrench'd her Equipage and Table; set Limits even to her Dress;—would
suffer her neither to visit, nor be visited, but by those he approved, which
were all Creatures or Relations of his own, and such as she had been
little used to converse with;—deny'd her even Pocket-Money;—took
every Measure he could invent to break her Spirit, and make her wholly
subservient to his Will, 'till at last his Tyranny got the better, and has
now reduced her to the most abject Slavery. (I 61)

Because I only cite excerpts in my text, I have provided the story in its entirety here.

45 Rae Blanchard's "Richard Steele and the Status of Women" identifies three popular
categories of writers during the eighteenth century: conservatives, wits, and reformers.
Blanchard argues that Steele does not fall exclusively into any one of the three. She
claims that unlike the conservatives, Steele valued women's intellect—although within
boundaries. Unlike the wits, Steele did not commodify women as targets of witty word
games. Unlike the reformers, Steele was unable to advocate fully for women's rights
and responsibilities outside of the household. Blanchard concludes that while Steele
held certain conventional ideas about the roles of women in society, he did not bar the
doors to women's advancement (325-355).

46 References to the tucker, the piece of cloth, usually linen or muslin, attached to the
neck of a lady's gown that covered the top of the breasts, appeared in The Guardian,
numbers 109, 116, 121, 132, 134, and 140. All but one of these numbers (#132) has
been attributed to Addison (McDonald 575). Steele had earlier raised the issue in The
Spectator, No. 113.
A white-wash was a cosmetic cure for a red or blotched face. While the Vicar, Mr. Charles Primrose, did not preach a sermon on white-washes in Goldsmith's novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, he did make his opinion on the use such treatments quite clear. The Vicar reports that

As we expected our landlord the next day, my wife went to make the venison pasty: Moses sat reading, while I taught the little ones; my daughters seemed equally busy with the rest; and I observed them for a good while cooking something over the fire. I at first supposed they were assisting their mother; but little Dick informed me in a whisper that they were making a wash for the face. Washes of all kinds I had a natural antipathy to; for I knew that instead of mending the complexion they spoiled it. I therefore approached my chair by sly degrees to the fire, and grasping the poker, as if it wanted mending, seemingly by accident overturned the whole composition, and it was too late to begin another. (32)

I agree with McDonald, that it "is hardly conceivable that Addison did not intend this as a bold pun" (622, n. 10).

According to McDonald, dew that was "gathered during May was thought to have cosmetic and medicinal properties" (636, n. 11).

See endnote #47 above on white-washes.

Mixing colors was for cosmetic use, for instance for rouges for the cheeks or lips.

Patches were "bits of black silk worn on the faces of fashionable ladies, either to conceal blemishes or to heighten the whiteness of their complexions" (McDonald 181, n.7). During the eighteenth century, use of patches became increasingly popular among the beau monde. See also *Spectator* No. 81 for a reference to a popular political use of patches among the fashionable set.

See endnote #46 above on tuckers.

During the eighteenth-century, stays were typically made of coarse linen or cotton, stitched closely from top to bottom with rows of cane or whalebone for stiffening inserted. Lacing was in the back and shoulder straps either went over the top of the shoulders or slightly off the shoulders according to the style of the dress being worn. Fashionable stays were made of brightly-colored rich fabrics, such as damask or silk, were at times embroidered, and were often worn as part of the bodice of the dress.

Madam Spectator is not, however, without sense of humor on this point. In *The Female Spectator*, published 24 May 1744, she presents "the Copy of a Bill owing to [Rebecca Facemend] from a Gentleman [Cornet] now in the Army, . . . as I am convinc'd all the Items in it are genuine, it afforded me a good deal of Diversion and I believe will not be unacceptable to the Publick" (I71). The items in Cornet's bill
evidence that "even among the military Gentlemen, there are some, who . . . find it an
insuperable Difficulty to bring themselves to that Hardiness and Neglect of personal
Ornaments, which suits with the Life of a Soldier" (1:71). The items and costs listed
for payment are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For a Riding Mask to prevent Sunburn</td>
<td>1 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Night Mask to take away Freckles</td>
<td>1 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 6 Pounds of <em>Jessamin</em> Butter for the Hair</td>
<td>6 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 12 Pots of cold Cream</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 4 Bottles of <em>Benjamin</em> Water</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 30 Pounds of perfum'd Powder</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 3 Boxes of Tooth-Powder</td>
<td>0 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Sponge Tooth-brush</td>
<td>0 2 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Hair Tooth-Brush</td>
<td>0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 6 Bottles of perfum'd Mouth-water</td>
<td>1 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Silver Comb for the Eye-brows</td>
<td>0 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 2 Ounces of Jet Powder for ditto</td>
<td>0 18 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 4 Boxes of fine Lip-salve</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For an Ounce of best <em>Carmine</em></td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 6 Bottles of Orange Flower-Water</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 12 Pounds of Almond Paste</td>
<td>6 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 2 Pounds of <em>Bergamot</em> Snuff</td>
<td>8 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 3 Bottles of Essence ditto</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 6 Pair of Dog-skin Gloves</td>
<td>1 10 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the *Female Spectator* does characterize this list as evidence of an "Effeminacy"
in men (which places items such as cold cream, jet powder, and orange flower-water on
the side of the feminine), she also states that "there is an affectation in this also" (II:72)
and in this case the affectation is a man's not a woman's. As neat as it would be within
this argument, this reader cannot hold the *Female Spectator* to twenty-first century
tenets of feminism. Haywood's suggestion that Cornet's cosmetics list reflects an
"Effeminacy" also reflects her location as an eighteenth-century woman, who, at times,
makes distinctions along conventional gender lines. While her social criticism and this
chapter demonstrate that this example is more the exception than the rule for the *Female
Spectator*, it is a case in point that Eliza Haywood remains an eighteenth- not a twenty-
first-century feminist.
Chapter 4: Medical Practice and the Body

"Trust not the physician, his antidotes are poison."
Shakespeare, Timon of Athens

I. Introduction

As discussed previously in Chapter 3 on the mutilated body, the eighteenth-century's theoretical science failed to account for viscerality and pain in its descriptions and conceptualizations of the body. As I will show in the opening of this chapter, the practical experience of sickness and pain as well as the associated means for treatment figure significantly in the journals and novels of the eighteenth century. This discursive presence of bodies racked by pain and corpses consumed by disease suggests the conditions of real life bodies and a pervasive expectation of dying rather than recovering during the long eighteenth century.

In this chapter, I address the more practical aspects of how pain was dealt with and demonstrate that just as theoretical science failed to account for the discursive self in its privileging of the ideal over the particular, the achievements of medical science failed to fully filter down to medical practices during the long eighteenth century. As a result, medical healthcare was more often than not home healthcare; however, women's contributions to healthcare and management of disease, which figured prominently during the century, have been marginalized by scholarship and research. My subsequent analysis of women's receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations demonstrates their social significance, brings to light a new source of data for early modern studies, and exposes a gap in the history of medicine and culture.
Following a brief overview of my argument, I provide a historical contextualization of the institutionalization of medical practice and practitioners during the long eighteenth century and illustrate the providential worldview in which disease was embedded. I then demonstrate the lack of impact that scientific advances had on actual medical practice, provide examples of those practices, and illustrate the associated skepticism in which professionalized medicine was received. In contrast to the examples provided by institutionalized medicine, women's receipt books provide a different view of eighteenth-century healthcare. I demonstrate that previous scholars' misrepresentations of receipt books are of critical concern in that they bury the significant cultural, medical, and gender information these collections offer about early modern life and appropriate to men what were clearly women's contributions. My analysis of women's receipt books excavates that significance and re-appropriates for women what is and was theirs.

II. Literary Bodies, Pains, and Practices

Almost five months to the day before Charles II was restored to England from political exile in Holland, Samuel Pepys writes the first entry in his diary, which he would continue for the next nine years of his life. Although lost from public view throughout the eighteenth century, the diary was finally published in 1825. Given its immediate success with a Victorian reading public, the diary went through a number of editions and reprints through 1899, making it "one of the best-known books, and Pepys one of the best-known figures, of English history" (Latham xi).\(^1\)

The first year of the new decade would be a turning point in both in Pepys' personal life and the life of the nation. In 1660, Pepys received Montagu's patronage
and, with it, political, professional, and financial advancement. As for "the condition of
the state," England's newly-elected parliament met for the first time since ousting
Cromwell; the First Duke of Albemarle, Lord George Monke, had taken over the
government as its Chief-Captain; Montague was back in place as the Councilor of State
and General-at-Sea; and by June of that year, the restored Charles and his brother, the
Duke of York, were once again on English soil.²

It is under this set of circumstances that Pepys opens his diary,

Blessed be God, at the end of the last year I was in very good health,
without any sense of my old pain but upon taking of cold. I lived in Axe
=yard, having my wife and servant Jane, and no more in family then us
three. My wife, after the absence of her terms for seven weeks, gave me
hopes of her being with child, but on the last day of the year she hath
them again. (1660)

The opening thoughts of one of England's most celebrated national figures focus not on
politics, economics, or even the promise of a restored monarchy, but on health—his
own and his wife's. While the entry concludes with a brief discussion of the current
"condition of the state,"³ the journal begins with prayerful appreciation that his "old
pain" has not returned and for "very good health."

The "old pain" that Pepys recalls in this entry and throughout the next nine years
of the diary refers to his acute suffering from bladder stones, which on 26 March 1658,
Pepys had surgically removed by his physician, Dr. Thomas Hollier.⁴ Even though the
surgery for the stone had become somewhat commonplace by 1658 and Hollier had
performed thirty successful lithotomies in that year alone, without the aid of anesthesia
it was a brutally painful procedure⁵ and without an understanding of septicemia,
chances of surviving surgical procedures during the seventeenth century remained
dismal. Understanding the life and death risks involved, Pepys was tied with a rope to
the makeshift operating table set up in the private home of Mrs. John Turner.6 Hollier made an incision (about three inches long) from the bottom of the anus to the scrotum and then cut into the bladder. It then took 50 seconds for Hollier to retrieve the stone, which was said to weigh two ounces and to be the size of a tennis ball. The surgery was, for the most part, a success.

While the surgery left Pepys sterile (the result of Hollier's butchery), he lived to talk about the surgery, and talk about it he did. For the next eleven years of his life on each anniversary of his surgery, Pepys held a "festival" at his home to celebrate surviving this dangerous but necessary surgical procedure. As he records on 26 March 1660,

This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut of the stone at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury-court. And did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me. But now it pleases God that I am where I am and so am prevented to do it openly; only, within my soul I can and do rejoice and bless God, being at this time, blessed be his holy name, in as good health as ever I was in my life. (26 March 1660)

In March of 1660, Pepys was not at home in Axe-Yard but on board the *Swiftsure*, waiting for the *Naseby* to be fitted out as the admiral's flagship, on which he would sail to Holland as part of an entourage that would bring Charles II and the Duke of York back to England. While Pepys records this year's celebration as a "very merry" one, his great fear of the stone's return remains constant. Throughout the diary, he meticulously records associated pains,9 skeptically seeks out second opinions,10 and tries various remedies.11 While the presence of pains, opinions, and remedies do not diminish his annual thanksgiving for good health, they do expose an underlying anxiety about and obsession with sickness and disease.
Throughout the diary, Pepys' focus on health extends also to those around him, including Mrs. Jem, his close associates, and his wife Elizabeth. In 1660, Pepys did not yet know that he was sterile and had not yet reconciled himself to a childless marriage. Thus, two years after his surgery, he and Elizabeth were still trying to have children. In this entry, he records that her menstruation was seven weeks late. He was in hopes of a pregnancy, which would never take place. His concern about Elizabeth's menstrual cycle and reproductive health is recorded only after concerns for his own health but before issues of politics and the state. This first entry is consistent with the remainder of the diary, in which health—his own and others—continues to be a recurrent focus.

As England's preeminent diarist, Pepys allows us insight into the concerns and events of eighteenth-century daily life. As this first entry illustrates and as the remainder of the diary substantiates, issues of health, sickness, and disease take precedence over concerns about the "condition of the state," the promise of restoration, and even Pepys' personal finances. Pepys' meticulously recorded diary illustrates that sickness and disease posed life-threatening obstacles that plagued eighteenth-century life.

As in Pepys' journal, issues related to health, sickness, and disease also appear frequently in the popular literature of the long eighteenth century. The Vicar of Wakefield's wife spends her time cooking, preserving, and conserving, the duties of an eighteenth-century kitchen and kitchen physik; his daughters prepare face washes for cosmetic purposes. While Rivella may have been miraculously cured of facial scarring from the pox, Flavia in Six Town Eclogues, Harriet in Sophia, Mrs. Manby in The Old Manor House, and Eugenia in Camilla all suffer the damaging effects of permanent scarring. Moll Flanders frequents lying-in rooms, delivering some babies
and burying others. In *Tom Jones*, Sir Allworthy barely survives his quackish-physician's attempts to save him from a life-threatening fever; Bridget, on the other hand, dies. Cecilia goes mad but lives; Clarissa stops eating and dies. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Emily St. Aubert's mother and father both fall ill; her mother does not survive. In *Sense and Sensibility*, Marianne becomes so ill that Mrs. Palmer must remove her infant from the house. In *Northanger Abbey*, Mrs. Tilney contracts a fever and dies suddenly, before the novel even begins, as does Emma Woodhouse's mother. Sickness and death become set pieces in novels. Sick rooms set the stage for crucial scenes; deathbeds define the characters lying on them. Well-dressed quacks are exposed and ushered out; apothecaries are fetched and treat fevers and fainting. Bawds pretend to be midwives and provide abortifacients alongside sexual services in brothels; licensed midwives deliver some babies and bury others. Sick rooms, diseased bodies, and female corpses litter the pages of popular fiction during the long eighteenth century and reveal this darker side of the Age of Enlightenment.

### III. Overview of Argument

Medical instruction books became increasingly available during the Restoration and eighteenth century. Some, like Nicholas Culpepper's *Pharmaecopeia* (1652) or William Turner's *New Herball* (1562), translated the medical community's Latin texts (definitions, instructions, and remedies) into English for use by a growing reading public. Others, like the widely popular "conduct book" series written by Hannah Wolley, served as collections of everyday curatives and preventatives. Still others, which make up the majority of instruction books, focused on the professional or apprentice audience and provided descriptions and characteristics of diseases.
While instruction books have taken on many forms and focused on various audiences, they have not received equal attention from scholars. The lack of eighteenth-century published work on women's health and disease, the lack of published medical instruction focused toward a female audience, and the perpetuation of misconceptions about female anatomy and women's health suggest just how firmly enlightenment science and the medical establishment held in place the conventional view that the male anatomy was the model on which the female anatomy (an imitative and defective model) and, thus, women's bodies, health, and diseases could be compared. During the early part of the century, papers printed important news items, such as how many people attended the King's most recent appearance at the Banqueting Hall for the "touching" for the Evil. Three decades earlier, scientists had discovered insights into "natural philosophy," such as Harvey's circulation of the blood, even though they still did not know how to apply them to daily medical practices. It is within this broadly defined cultural and scientific context for health and healthcare practices that women's contributions were made. Despite the wide margins of practice drawn by monarch (divine intervention) and medicine (science), women's remedies were often dismissed as magic, witchcraft, quackery, or the naïve cures of "kitchen physik" and the housewives themselves as witches, quacks, and nonqualified or even negligent caregivers. The lack of current scholarly attention given to women's medicinal recipe collections suggests just how entrenched in conventional views scholarly practice remains today. Textual choices and analytical decisions are transparent and highlight a politics of knowledge that is not only misleading but also neglectful of widely held beliefs and practices.
Even given the evidence of scientific hostility toward the feminine, skeptical public opinion, and the lack of connection between medical science and medical practice, historians of early modern medicine and social history—in their effort to identify “progress”—often dismiss non-professionalized medical practices as popular mythology and disregard what these practices suggest about early modern bodies and culture. My subsequent analysis of the relations among science, common practices, and women's receipt books offers a discussion of the significance of the transparency of scholarship's choices, misrepresented beliefs, neglected practices, and what this relationship suggests about bodies and culture. In the Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century History, Mary E. Fissell remarks that over the past fifteen years social historians have “revitalised” the study of eighteenth-century medicine. Drawing on works such as Rousseau and Porter’s The Ferment of Knowledge: Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science, Gay’s The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, and the Porters’ In Sickness and In Health: The British Experience 1650-1850, Fissell argues that “dramatic changes . . . can now be interpreted in the context of gradual shifts in professional structure, medical institutions and Enlightenment optimism about the potential for improving health” (458). However, because eighteenth-century medical practice remained predominantly within the home, under the supervision of family and friends, it “frequently did not involve professional practitioners” (Fissell 458) and did not enjoy "Enlightenment optimism" (Fissell 458).

Over the course of the century, medical practice did see change and improvement, especially the improvement in the status of surgeons as they acquired surgeon-apothecary apprenticeships and, later, training in universities, charity hospitals,
military facilities, and penal institutions. However, these improvements in status and training and the "shifts in professional structure, medical institutions and Enlightenment optimism" not only occurred slowly over the course of the century but also were not immediately relevant to the practice of home medicine. Therefore, the "revitalization" of the study of eighteenth-century medicine and social history remains inadequate in its documentation of women’s contributions to healthcare and dismisses a daily view of medical practice in its focus on scientific “progress.” Archival research demonstrates that "remedies" and "treatments" often labeled kitchen physik were first the domain of sanctioned healthcare practices and not simply the practices of the uneducated. While the gradual shifts that Enlightenment science contributed to the practice of medicine are crucial to historical research, they do not tell the whole story. A focus on medicine as scientific and professionalized perpetuates a hierarchy of received knowledge that is misleading within the context of Restoration and eighteenth-century life, writes out of history beliefs about the relevance of the body to experience, and diminishes the role of non-professionalized practice in the history of medicine. Women’s receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations redress these concerns and provide us with new material for the study of non-professionalized healthcare, revitalize historical and social scholarship on the history of medicine, and provide fresh insights into early modern cultural studies.

IV. The Historical Context

The early modern era was a culture of pain. As Porter and others have demonstrated, "studies of parish records and bills of mortality by historical demographers and epidemiologists have given . . . quantitative dimension to the
ubiquity of sickness in [early] society (Patient's Progress 4). Due to the lack of sanitary conditions and the number of problem deliveries, the infant mortality rate was high; over one-fifth of new-born babies did not survive. Popular misconceptions about common child care practices, like those about breastfeeding, colostrum (witch's milk), teething, and swaddling, increased mortality rates for infants under the age of two. In An Introduction to the History of Medicine, Garrison reports that during the summers of 1669-1671, as many as "2000 babies died of diarrhea in eight or ten weeks," a result of the combination of hot summer weather and a London population that, to escape the intensity of the heat wave, "swarmed to the waterside and the alleys of Wapping, Lambeth, Whitechapel, and Spitalfields, living in filthy, overcrowded tenements" (307). Thus, in addition to misconceptions about childcare that would prove dangerous to infants, environment, living conditions, and population increase contributed to infant mortality rates. In this example, the weather caused large numbers of Londoners to seek the cooler climes available near the waterside. As more people moved into the area, overcrowding became a health risk as sanitation was inadequate to the numbers of tenement dwellers.

A growing population and an environment that was inadequate to the needs of that population increasingly became critical factors in the disease equation throughout the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the population of England and Wales was approximately 5 ½ million. Because of "tumultuous industrial change," shifts in population from country to cities, and people marrying younger and having larger families, the population of England alone had risen to 6 million by 1760 and 9 million by 1801. People flocked to industrialized areas en masse. Because
there were no sanitary drainage systems in place, cesspools bred a level of filth and infection that had dire effects, especially on overpopulated urban areas. Thus, while the population continued to increase during the eighteenth century, it did not realize this increase due to better health care or because people were now living longer. Instead, this rise in population came as a result of enclosures that meant a lack of jobs in rural areas and industrialization that meant opportunities for jobs in urban areas. As job opportunities increased in the urban areas and people moved to the cities, housing and sanitation could not keep up with demand, and overcrowded cities became breeding grounds for disease. As a result, one half of all births "were obliterated by disease and two-fifths of the total deaths were of infants under two years" (Garrison 307). By the 1740s, three of every four children born in London would die before the age of six (Porter, *English Society*, 27). Infant and childhood deaths were common in all classes. For instance, Queen Anne herself had 17 pregnancies in 17 years and all her six live-born children died before the age of twelve. Edward Gibbon, the eighteenth-century historian, was "the only one of his parents' seven children to survive infancy" (Towler 100). For those who survived infancy, the next challenge was to survive contagious childhood diseases, such as measles, mumps, small pox, tuberculosis, diphtheria, meningitis, scarlet fever, typhus, and whooping cough. A teenager who developed a disease like smallpox would not be expected to live. Disease reduced the average life expectancy. According to Peter Laslett in *The World We Have Lost Revisited* (London 1971), the life expectancy of an infant born in the first decade of the Restoration, assuming that infant survived childhood, was thirty-five years. Parish and church
records and the personal diaries and letters of individuals chronicle this bleak image of sickness and suffering.

Pregnancy, labor, delivery, and childbirth were a precarious time for early modern women through the eighteenth century. In *Midwives in History and Society*, Towler and Bramall point out that

Many women obviously dreaded pregnancy because the possibility of death during or after giving birth was a real one. A book, *The Mother's Legacy*, which dealt with this fear, was published in 1622 and within three years had gone through three editions. The writer, Elizabeth Josceline, a primigravida, wrote of her fears for her baby should she, the mother, not survive the birth. She gave advice to those left with the care and upbringing of the child. Nine days after the birth of the child this mother did indeed die. (88)18

In *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, Garrison reports that during the early modern era, obstetrics was "the worst phase of . . . medical practice. . . . In normal labor, a woman had an even chance if she did not succumb to puerperal fever or eclampsia. In difficult labor, she was usually butchered to death if attended by a Sairey Gamp of the time or one of the vagabond 'surgeons" (238). As a rule, only the midwife would attend a woman in labor; however, this was not always the case as is evidenced by the necessity for passing a law in Germany (1580) that prevented shepherds and herdsmen from attending obstetric cases. The early modern birthing scene reveals a lying-in room that was "crowded with people bustling in every direction" (Garrison 238) and, thus, generated a breeding ground for infection.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the construction of lying-in hospitals for the indigent also added to the high percentages of infant mortality because of the lack of knowledge about sanitary conditions and the immeasurable spread of infection and disease as doctors, *accounteurs* (male midwives), and nurses moved from one patient to
the next without appropriate safety precautions, including the simple process of hand washing.¹⁹ According to Anne Lawrence's *Women in England 1500-1700* (London 1994), E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield's *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (London 1989), and Liza Picard's *Restoration London* (London 199), "women were four times more likely to die in the first decade of marriage than men" (Picard 77). Even though misconceptions about childcare, overcrowded urban areas, inadequate sanitation, and increased filth all functioned to stack the proverbial deck against the survival rates for new-borns and their mothers, Garrison places the blame for high infant and mother mortality on the incompetence of midwives. By arguing that "obstetric abuses were remedied to some extent by city ordinances governing midwives, notably those of Ratisbon (1555), Frankfurt on the Main (by Adam Lonicerus, 1573), and Passau (1595)" (237-238),²⁰ Garrison implicates midwives and midwifery across Europe and across three centuries as culpable for the high mortality rates associated with childbirth.

Garrison reproduces a view that was relatively common among many male medical practitioners during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, William Sermon's 1671 treatise *The Ladies Companion, or the English Midwife*, reproached midwives for their lack of skill. In *A Companion for Midwives, Child-Bearing Women and Nurses* (1699), Robert Barret finds midwives not only incompetent but also negligent. He writes that "Poor Women . . . perish daily, together with their children, merely through the ignorance and negligence of those, whose hands they are entrusted to" (A3v, A3r). He indicts midwives of being "over confident of their scanty knowledge" and incriminates them as "guilty of the Crimes I lay to their charge" (A7v,
A7r).\textsuperscript{21} As Jacqueline Bacon demonstrates in her paper "Lazy Adventurers or She-Champions? Legal Authority and Textual Representations of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Midwives," treatises such as Barret's portray the Restoration and eighteenth-century midwife as "incompetent, ignorant, and disreputable, often suspected of crimes ranging from facilitating lewd behavior to practicing witchcraft and infanticide" (1).\textsuperscript{22} Bacon demonstrates that late seventeenth-century writers reproduced the anti-female propaganda and damaging stereotypes pervasive in medieval and early Renaissance texts. As Harley demonstrates, *The Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) was one such text and it "became a potent authority for later demonologists, especially when it began to be frequently republished in the late sixteenth century, as a response to the resurgence of [witchcraft] prosecutions after the lull during the Reformation" (3). As a result, midwives were mythologized as demonic, associated with witches and witchcraft, and portrayed as licentious and disreputable old women living at the margins of society. The most famous literary portrayal during the eighteenth century was probably Samuel Richardson's monstrous madam-midwife, on whom he inscribed "clear sin" by giving her the name of Mrs. Sinclair.

Even though these representations could not be further from the reality of the Restoration and eighteenth-century midwife, the scholarship on midwifery through the 1960s, such as Margaret Murray's *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) and *The God of the Witches* (1952) and Thomas Rogers Forbes' *The Midwife and the Witch* (1966), uncritically reproduce negative images of the midwife in history and in literature. Horsley has shown that there are no records which substantiate such accusations (709), and Harley has demonstrated that midwives were immune from such
charges as it was the "good reputation of a midwife [that] was essential in her trade since it was her best credential and her only advertisement" (1, 6). In spite of evidence that proves otherwise, the mythology of midwifery became ensconced in associations of witchcraft and licentiousness.

Without the information that manuscript materials provide about early modern childbirthing practices and midwifery, print misrepresentations influenced later scholarship. The prevailing views held by the contemporary medical community and perpetuated by twentieth-century historians of the midwife as incompetent, negligent, lewd, cunning, and culpable for the high infant mortality rate are unsupported by archival research and have been overturned by recent feminist scholarship. As Bacon and others argue, archival research demonstrates that the bias held by the medical community and perpetuated by scholarship was not adopted by the Restoration and eighteenth-century public.\textsuperscript{23} From the fifteenth through the eighteenth century and even as far reaching as twentieth-century scholarship, midwives' work was denigrated. This denigration laid an easy foundation on which to base the condescending views about what has been derogatorily labeled "kitchen physik," or women's roles in healthcare.

Disease and death were therefore the general rule in the early modern era. The twin expectations of sickness and mortality, not health and recovery, influenced the way one saw and interpreted the body. Because the Restoration and eighteenth-century body was constantly at risk of disease leading to death, people were more aware of, and troubled about, the slightest bodily symptoms. However, it was rare that one would call a doctor, who would have been quite expensive. Roy Porter, in \textit{Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860}, cites Dr. Samuel Johnson as example of this paradox.
As Boswell has it, Dr. Johnson insisted, against the advice of his physician, that he should be bled to reduce the lymphatic swelling in his legs produced from the fluid retention caused by renal disease. Bleeding was still a common practice at the time, but so was a client-centered doctor/patient relationship. Because most doctors gained entrance into the echelons of the upper class through their profession and education rather than through family name and inheritance, they were obligated to be deferential to their patients, especially to those who were wealthy and aristocratic. However, as is illustrated in the Johnson example above, physicians were obliged to show deference across class lines. People were self-reliant and believed that they had sufficient knowledge to discuss, even diagnose disease.

In addition to and supporting this tendency toward self-reliance were medical drugs that were easily obtainable by non-medical lay persons. In the eighteenth century, those drugs, which today could only be purchased with a doctor's prescription, were sold over the counter. It was common practice to take note of the symptom, to explain it to an apothecary, diagnose it, intervene with a medical remedy, and, independently, treat the disease. When in 1663, Samuel Pepys, for instance, "went down with stomach pains and fever, he puzzled deeply as to the cause, deciding it was 'some disorder given the blood: but by what I know not, unless it be by my late great Quantitys of Dantzicke-girkins that I have eaten" (qtd in Porter, Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860, 23). Later in the century, Fanny Burney purchases Dr. James' Fever Powders to treat her son's consumption. In a letter to her husband, Burney testifies to the relief it offered Alexander. She writes

Our dearest Boy had so much fever & so dreadful a Cough which latter exercised every moment, that, after a second analeptic had failed of cure
though it had procured him, thank god, a good night, I gave him 1 grain of James's powder. This soon operated like magic in relieving his lungs, by stilling his Cough. (Journals and Letters, VI, 477)

Patronized by the laymen and women, apothecaries remained in demand during the Renaissance and eighteenth centuries. While licensed under the auspices of the Royal College of Physicians, they were considered neither professionals nor gentlemen as were university trained physicians. At best, apothecaries were considered shopkeepers, part of the merchant class. However, they provided a service and commodity that for the common household would be more practical than an expensive visit by the doctor. First of all, apothecaries provided a means of securing ingredients as well as ready-made remedies for treatments, preparations, and preventatives. Both individual ingredients and ready-made remedies would have been less expensive than repeated doctors' visits and, certainly, faster and more accessible, since the number of doctors available, particularly in small villages and isolated communities, was limited.

Secondly, the diagnosis of symptoms and resulting prescriptions for a remedy were considered part of their service, ostensibly free of charge. Porter and Porter suggest that while it

might be surmised that, as professional medical provision expanded during the eighteenth century, self-medication would have correspondingly diminished, because more people would consult a doctor instead. But the opposite was probably the case. The more sick people came into contact with doctors, the greater their own preoccupation with health, their hunger for medical knowledge, and their consequent tendency to tamper with the powerful drugs increasingly advertised in newspapers and available in shops. (51)

As a result of their popularity, many of these remedies had long lives on the shelves of the apothecary's shop and some can still be found not only in the eighteenth century but also in drug stores today. Drawing on A. C. Wootton's Chronicles of Pharmacy
Garrison reports that the "formula of the so-called Frankfurt pills, a popular laxative of aloes and rheum, also called Beyer's pills or pilulae angelicae, was transmitted by the inventor, Johann Hartmann Beyer (1563-1625), of Frankfurt, to Jacob Flösser, apothecary at the White Swan, in 1528, and handed down, in succession, to other apothecaries until late in the eighteenth century" (290). Carmelite water (eau de elisse des Carmes), which was an aromatic cordial, was first made in 1611 and patented until 1791. Scot's Pills, which were first compounded of aloes, jalap, gamboge, and anise in 1635 by Patrick Anderson, were patented until 1876 as an aid to general well being and virility. Daffy's Elixir remained on the market as late as 1929 as a panacea for most ailments and a source of longevity. Singleton's Golden Eye Ointment, which is on record as the oldest private remedy sold in England, could still be purchased in England in the 1960s (Garrison 290). And, this past summer, a friend offered me a spoonful of what he called "a sure cure for what was ailing me." I reached for the small bottle sitting on his kitchen window-sill and read, "ipecac." Only a couple days earlier, I had read Garrison's description, which noted that ipecac was "first mentioned as igpecaya by a Portuguese friar in Purchas' Pilgrimes (1625), and brought to Paris in 1672. About 1680, it began to be extensively prescribed as a secret remedy for dysentery by Helvetius and, at the insistence of Louis XIV, the secret was tried out and purchased by the French government for 20,000 francs (1688). During the eighteenth century, the drug fell in popularity; however, it was reintroduced for use in cases of dysentery in 1858 by the Surgeon-Major E. S. Docker" (290, 426). And, as evidenced by the medicine bottles on my friend's windowsill, it remains in use today. I, by the way, graciously declined the remedy.
In addition to buying ready-made medicines, treatments, and preparations from regular sources, such as doctors and apothecaries, the eighteenth-century consumer also used the highly advertised and certainly controversial ready-made nostrums sold by quacks. In what had become a consumer society, vendors appealed to choice, and patients enjoyed the freedom of choice with regard to their health care, not too unlike today. Cost was an incentive. Because commercial vendors of medicines could mass produce and mass distribute their nostrums, they "cost less per unit than pills laboriously rolled individually by the apothecary's apprentice" (Porter and Porter 107). Consumers were also aware that the irregular remedies often contained the same or comparable ingredients as those prescribed by doctors, only at a reduced price since they were produced in bulk. Both doctors' and quacks' "analgesics typically contained opium; emetics contained ipecacuanha; laxatives, senna; stronger purges, mercury or calomel; and . . . regular doctors themselves routinely prescribed certain proprietary nostrums, such as the famous (or notorious) febrifuge, Dr James's Fever Powders" (Porter and Porter 107).27 And, not unlike today, people enjoyed shopping around the medical marketplace for the best buy, the less intrusive treatment, and the product that would work.

Pain and disease were not interpreted as the result of an accidental, random, and unordered world but as evidence of a natural unbalance in an ordered universe. Porter characterizes the eighteenth-century conception of sickness as the outcome when the body balance was disturbed. If the system grew too hot and dry, this came out in fever; if too cool and wet, then it developed a cold. If too little blood were produced, the body lacked nourishment and languished. If excessive blood were generated, for example by eating too much red meat and drinking too much port, one's blood would boil or it would rush to the head: 'hot-blooded' people were
liable to apoplexy (a stroke). Thus sickness was largely seen as personal, internal, and brought on by faulty lifestyle. Such 'distempers' (being out of temper) could be treated by restoring the lost equilibrium; hence 'cooling' herbal medicines, blood-lettings or even cold baths would be good for fever, while plenty of rich food and red meat would cure 'thin blood'. Better still, careful attention to all aspects of 'regimen' or lifestyle, would prevent 'disease' (literally 'dis-ease') in the first place. (Porter, Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860, 72)

Disease and death were viewed as holding moral, spiritual, and religious significance. As Porter explains, "adulterers would contract venereal infections; the idle would be punished with melancholy; and the sins of the parents would be visited on their children. . . . Above all, sickness was regarded as the finger of Providence" (Porter, Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860, 21-22) and was believed to be connected with one's lifestyle. Because illness was viewed as the "operation of natural justice" (Porter 21), it was the vis medicatrix naturae (the healing power of nature) on which one relied for health.  

V. The Schism between Discovery and Practice

Even though early modern England can be described as a culture of pain and disease, it also has been documented as a culture of medical discoveries and medical practices. Numerous scholars such as Gay, Lawrence, Porter, and Rousseau have documented medical progress through the Enlightenment. While, as their studies demonstrate, medicine did realize scientific, institutional, and organizational advancement, these advances occurred slowly, brought with them certain disadvantages, such as skepticism, high cost, limited accessibility, and, even, unnecessary death due to substandard sanitation, and often did not have any real impact on the actual practice of medicine. John Evelyn's chronicle of the final five days (1 Feb - 7 Feb 1685) of Charles II's life illustrates this event.
On Sunday evening, February 1, 1685, the King was feeling unwell but enjoyed an evening, as was usual, in Louise's apartments. Of this evening, John Evelyn writes,

I am never to forget the unexpressible luxury and profanesse, gaming and all dissolution, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day sennight I was witness of; the King, sitting and toying with his Concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland & Mazarine, etc. A French singing boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great Courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2,000 in Gold before them, upon which two Gents that were with me made reflections with astonishment, it being a scene of the utmost vanity; and sure as they thought would never have an End: six days after, all was in the dust. (Diary, 6-8 February 1685)

Evelyn records that after spending the evening in the company of 'Cleveland' (Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland), 'Mazarin' (Hortense Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin), and, of course, 'Portsmouth' (Louise de Kéroïalle, Duchess of Portsmouth), the King went to bed in his own chambers but tossed and turned all night. The next morning, his olive complexion was reported to be as 'pale as ashes' and his speech was impaired. By the time his barber was giving him his morning shave, around 8:00 a.m., the King let out a violent shriek and collapsed, unconscious, into Bruce's arms.

The first physician to arrive was Sir Edmund King, who had witnessed the King's collapse and immediately suggested bleeding. Sixteen ounces of blood were drained from the King's arm. By this time, other doctors had arrived and various treatments were attempted. An additional eight ounces of blood were removed from the King's arm. The King's head was shaved and cantharides were applied. By Monday afternoon, the King enjoyed a brief recovery period; however, on Tuesday morning,
February 5, 1685, the King experienced another "fit" (convulsion), which was witnessed by the twelve physicians that were now in attendance. He continued to suffer from fits of ague (fever) and, by Thursday afternoon around 4:00 p.m., had experienced some exacerbation or paroxysmal increase (convulsions). The King was bled, blistered, purged, cauterized, cupped, and clystered without success. In *Royal Charles: Charles II and the Restoration*, Antonia Fraser estimates that over this five day period fifty-eight drugs were administered, including "white hellebore root (a sneezing powder to clear his nose) and plasters of combined spurge and Burgundy pitch (these were applied to his feet), as well as plasters of cantharides on his head" (446). Other treatments included the use of rock salt and syrup of buckthorn as an enema, an orange infusion of metals in white wine as an emetic, white vitriol dissolved in paeony water, distillation of cowslip flowers, spirit of sal ammoniac, julip of blackcherry water, bezoar stone from an oriental goat, spirits of human skull, cupping-glasses, and red-hot irons, which were applied to "the King's shaven skull and his naked feet" (446). Every effort, however barbaric, ultimately proved unsuccessful. It is telling that Charles, who founded the Royal Society some twenty years earlier, was bled, blistered, purged, cauterized, cupped, clystered and administered over fifty-eight drugs by the twelve Royal Physicians who attended him. The founder of the Royal Society and England's greatest patron of science could neither be cured nor saved by the advances made through the assistance of his patronage.

The Royal Physicians' official verdict on the cause of death was apoplexy (stroke). Even though there was no paralysis, no loss of reason, an onset of fever, and a recovery of speech, it would have been easy to believe in 1685 that "the King, like
many middle-aged men, was suffering from high blood pressure, followed by a stroke, brain damage and finally cardiac arrest" (Fraser 449). Other causes of death have also been proposed and duly discounted, including various types of poisoning, self-poisoning from mercury experiments, and malaria contracted from the ducks in St. James's Park. However, Fraser argues that Raymond Crawfur'd's theory (1909) "still seems the most plausible: the King was suffering from chronic granular kidney disease (a form of Bright's disease) with uraemic convulsions" (450). The best the Royal Physicians could do was speculate on the cause of illness, try a number of treatments using a combination of drugs, hope that one would have a positive effect, and, then, speculate on the actual cause of death. Without autopsy, a definitive answer remains evasive, even today.

The amount of speculation, the physicians’ uncertainty as to the illness and cause of death, and Charles' subsequent death illustrates the striking contrast that existed between medical practice and scientific discovery in Restoration England. By the year of Charles’ death (1685), Andreas Vesalius had founded modern anatomy (1543); Harvey had discovered, lectured on (1615-1616), and published—arguably the most important medical discovery since Vesalius—De Motu Cordis (1628), which described the circulation of the blood as an application of mathematical physics and disproved Galen's concept that had misled scientific investigation of the blood for some fourteen centuries; Jan Swammerdam had discovered red blood-corpuscles (1658); René Descartes had published the first textbook on physiology, De homine (1662); Newton had discovered the law of gravitation (1665); Antonj van Leeuwenhoek had described spermatozoa and red blood-corpuscles (1674), had seen protozoa under the
microscope (1675), and had demonstrated the importance of capillary circulation\textsuperscript{34}; and the first English medical journal, \textit{Medicina Curiosa}, had been published (1684). Even with all of these advancements in scientific investigation and medical knowledge, King Charles II—who had chartered the Royal Society in 1661—could not be saved by its discoveries, descriptions, achievements, or progress. Scientific discovery had not yet fully penetrated medical practice. Because of the lack of impact that early modern science had on healthcare, the King's royal physicians remained dependent on the same kind of remedies that could be found in the kitchens of midwives and early modern households.

While historians credit the Restoration and eighteenth century for scientific achievements, it remained an era that had not yet fully escaped a belief in the mystery and magic of healing. Literature attests to this fact. For instance, during the reign of James I in 1607, only fifty-three years prior to the Restoration of Charles II, Shakespeare bears witness to the mystery of healing in a scene, in which "Strangely-visited people,/All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,/The mere despair of surgery, he cures;/Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,/Put on with holy prayers" (\textit{MacBeth}, Act IV, Scene 3). The "swoln and ulcerous" suggest that these people were probably suffering from tuberculosis or scrofula, a swelling of the lymph nodes in the neck. Shakespeare’s “golden stamp about their necks,/Put on with holy prayers” alludes to the King’s medallion given as a sign that the individual had been “touched” by the king. Touching was believed to cure the King’s Evil—often scrofula or tuberculosis of the lymph nodes in the neck and attributable to milk from cows infected with bovine tuberculosis but other diseases with various symptoms as well—in Shakespeare's 1607
and in Herrick's 1660. During the reign of Charles II, Robert Herrick, a rather reluctant minister, partial pagan, and poet testifies, \(^35\) "O! lay that hand on me./Adored Ceasar! And my faith is such,/I shall be heal'd, if that my KING but touch./The Evill is not yours: my sorrow sings,/Mine is the Evill, but the cure, the KINGS." In a royalist gesture, Herrick metaphorically praises the power of magic invested in his Augustan king. Issues of patronage aside, Herrick's poem suggests that the Evil was believed to be curable by the King’s touch. \(^36\)

Even England's monarch, the champion of Enlightenment science, perpetuated this conception of medicine as magic. Considered a divine gift, the practice of healing by touching was considered partial evidence of the king's divine authority to occupy the throne. Touching, which extended back to Edward the Confessor, remained highly popular during Charles II’s reign. \(^37\) The *Mercurius Publicus* reported that by the end of July 1660, "His Majesty . . . touch'd for the Evil near 1700 persons, and there being at present above 1000 more in London come from several parts attending for the same." According to Liza Picard in *Restoration London*, when "the system was running smoothly Charles achieved the staggering throughput of 4,000 a year" (80).

As evidenced by an advertisement in the *Weekly Intelligencer*, dated 14 - 21 January 1661, this practice, even if divine, was in some ways systematic. The *Intelligencer* reports that "Certain persons who having the Kings-Evil and have been touched by His Sacred Majesty, have yet the Forhead to come twice or thrice." The healing application had to be accompanied by a certificate, signed by minister and church wardens, that verified that this was the patient's first time seeing the King for healing. The process itself was also systematic. Count Lorenzo Magalotti chronicles a
session he witnessed in Newmarket while traveling in England (London primarily) from April - June, 1669. Magalotti records,

As soon as [Charles] appeared the two assistant ministers [i.e. officiating parson] dressed in their surplices began the prayers [in the Book of Common Prayer: omitted from modern editions] with a great appearance of devotion . . . [Charles having taken his seat and the invocations having been read.] His Majesty began the ceremony of touching the patients in the part affected. These were conducted into the King's presence, one at a time and as they knelt before him he touched them with both his hands . . . [After more prayers, during which the King remained seated, and was probably given a chance to wash his hands,] the diseased came again in the same order as before, to His Majesty, who put round their necks a ribbon of an azure colour, from which was suspended a medallion of gold, stamped in his own image. (qtd in Picard, 80)

The Restoration and eighteenth century was an era when the scientific theories of the natural philosophers and materialists, such as Harvey and Hobbes, had not yet had an impact on medical practices. Everyday health care remained dependant on magic, folklore, herbs, and home remedies for their curative and preventative properties. As in the case of Charles II's death-bed scene, doctors even authorized, prescribed, and used herbal preparations and treatments, such as cupping, setons, clysters, cantharides, and bleeding, which one might today characterize as naïve or folkish. However, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, such a dismissive view—based solely on twenty-first century assumptions and developments—yields misconceptions about Restoration and eighteenth-century healthcare practices.

Given the high regard in which self-reliance was held, the belief in an ordered and providential universe, and the lingering attachments to the healing powers available through divine right and even magic during the early part of the century, doctors were viewed with suspicion. The popular literature of the era represents physicians as shrewd, villainous, incompetent, mercenary, and concerned more about the collection of
their fees than the well being of their patients. Jonathan Swift, for instance, wrote that "Apollo was held the god of physick and sender of diseases. Both were originally the same trade, and so continue;" Addison and Steele argued in The Spectator that "when a Nation abounds in Physicians, it grows thin of people;" and Benjamin Franklin, in Poor Richard's Almanack, reminds his readership that "God heals and the Doctors take the Fee." In the Fable of the Bees, even the economist Bernard Mandeville provides a scathing view of the general reputation of physicians:

Physicians valued Fame and Wealth,
Above the drooping Patient's Health,
Or their own Skill: The greatest Part
Study'd, instead of Rules of Art,
Grave pensive looks, and dull Behaviours;
To gain th' Apothecary's Favour,
The Praise of Mid-wives, Priests and all,
That served at Birth, or Funeral;
To bear with th'ever-talking Tribe,
And hear my Lady's Aunt Prescribe;
With formal Smile, and kind How d'ye,
To fawn on all the Family.

According to Mandeville, physicians placed the priority on their own incomes rather than their patients' well being. This affected concerned behaviors rather than perfected medical skill and offered proprietary manners rather than provided efficacious prescriptions. Porter and Porter have demonstrated that literature portrays the Restoration and eighteenth-century doctor as not much more than a professionally educated thief (55). They explain that

It would be foolish to take such jibes and quips au pied de la lettre, or to imply they were uniquely Georgian. Yet certain diatribes against doctors were repeated so frequently as to suggest that the disquiet they voiced was heartfelt and not limp cliché. . . . The Georgian public thus vested no automatic trust in the powers, or even the good faith, of the medical profession as a corporate body blessed with scientific expertise. If
doctors were to be respected, they had to earn that respect as individuals. (55, 58)

The schism between scientific discovery and medical practice as well as the resultant mistrust of the professional medical community was further perpetuated by the scientific community's hesitation to publish papers and pharmocopias in languages other than Latin. Thus, the transmission of medical knowledge was limited in large part to those with a classical education. First appearing in 1618, the *Pharmacopoeia* was one official list of drugs to be sold in London. From a modern perspective, some of the drugs included were quite odd, such as moss from the skull of a man who had died a violent death, saliva from a fasting man, the blood, fat, bile, viscera, bones, claws, sexual organs, and excreta of miscellaneous animals, birds, and insects. Also included were drugs that, due to the financial success of the drug trade in Britain and the resultant Tonnage and Poundage Act of 1660, could be taxed, such as alum, arsenic, frankincense, horns of harts or stags, lapis lazuli, manna, marmelade, mummia, opium, pistachio, rhubarb, and turpentine. Even though some of the ingredients included were quite strange and probably wholly inefficacious and others quite expensive and thus out of reach for the ordinary citizen due to the high taxes placed on them, the medical community cornered the market and restricted the dissemination of information by publishing solely in Latin.

Against the better judgement of his colleagues, Nicholas Culpepper, the infamous astrologer and physician, translated the *Pharmacopoeia* into English for use by the general reading public. He published his own *Complete Herbal and English Physician* (1652), in which he identifies herbs that could be gathered and used in treatments, and the *Physick for the Poor*, in which he describes simple preparations,
such as clysters, suppositories, and purges that could be used to rebalance the
humours. Remedies such as these were not only the domain of the isolated, ignorant,
and poor but also were used within the medical community and even by the Royal
College of Physicians. However, Culpeper paid a high price professionally for
translating the Latin *Pharmacopoeia* into the *English Physician* and was portrayed by
the scientific community as a quack for his efforts to disseminate medical knowledge to
the reading public. It is in this early modern dearth of printed medical knowledge that
alternative forms of instruction for healthcare can be found.

VI. A Brief Description

My archival research at The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine,
London, which is unrivaled as the principal repository for studies in medical history,
has uncovered the largest (over 100) and only extensive collection of manuscript receipt
books available in a single repository. The bulk dates of The Wellcome Institute's
collection are 1544-1878, but the largest single group of manuscripts (over fifty receipt
books) is from the Restoration and eighteenth century. However, because women's
receipt books are in manuscript form and not currently available in modern edition
facsimile, or microfilm, access remains limited and scholarly investigation has been
minimal. Furthermore, there are no full article- or book-length studies published to
date.

VII. The Damaging Effects of Misrepresentation

The references made to receipt books in other studies are often misleading due
to misrepresentations produced from the general inaccessibility of primary source
material, which if accessible would allow the scholar to analyze an individual receipt
book in terms of the genre as a whole, and from a reliance on outdated assumptions
about women's contributions to healthcare, which have only recently begun to be
challenged. Liza Picard's discussion of recipe books in *Restoration London* illustrates
this sort of misrepresentation. Picard writes,

> I have drawn on various contemporary sources. Archdale Palmer's book is a splendid example of the collection of household hints collected and written down, and kept for handy reference in a kitchen drawer, that we have all made, or at least meant to make. He notes the source of every recipe, and the date when he got it. Many relate to those all-important horses, and to such male concerns as how to clean riding boots; but he gives equal care to his daughter's way of 'washing Ribbands cleane' (in castle [castile] soap and fuller's earth) and his sister's 'cure for ye stone' (based on woodlice). Scattered through these invaluable notes are cooking recipes. Obviously Palmer saw his book as a family treasure, to be passed down to future generations in his family. Many families must have possessed such books. Perhaps some of them survive, in dusty cupboards, still. (156)

Palmer's book is not a "splendid" example. It is not representative of this genre as a whole, which is a genre of writing that is primarily written, organized, and collected by and for women, not men. In Picard's analysis, Palmer "notes the source of every recipe," documents "the date when he got it," and saw "his book as a family treasure" (156). All of Picard's pronoun references are in the masculine form and attributions are all to Palmer himself. If perusing a family's papers in an archival repository, one would typically find a woman's, not a man's, receipt book. Given archival protocols, which were set up early in this century, the collection would, of course, be inventoried and catalogued in the name of the father or husband (Archdale Palmer); however, the book itself would be entitled with the name of the wife or daughter for whom it was collected or by whom it was written. These practices suggest that it was likely the Archdale Palmer Collection but probably not the Archdale Palmer Book. Picard’s suggestion that
“many families must have possessed such books,” and that “Perhaps some of them survive, in dusty cupboards, still” (156, my italics for emphasis) implies that she has seen only one receipt book, the one she uses as her example, which might explain its inadequate representation of the genre.

Based on the examples provided from Palmer's Book, one comes away with a view of receipt books as primarily concerning male tasks but "scattered through” (156) with cooking recipes. Picard's inability to see this one collection in relation to the broader picture of receipt books as a genre misleads her ensuing analysis. It is not that receipt books took up "male concerns" as much as they were a repository of household tasks. Boot cleansing, then, would be an example not so much of a male interest than of a household task that would have to be performed.

Furthermore, Picard's use of "scattered through" suggests that the recipes lacked any organizational structure whatsoever and that cooking recipes, in particular, were of secondary importance. It is evident from an examination of receipt books that entries were most often made one at a time with, at times, months or years between one entry and the next. Thus, the predominant organization of the majority of receipt books is a chronological one. However, this neither diminishes the importance of an individual recipe nor excludes the implementation of more useful organizing strategies in other books. On occasion, a letter would be used to mark the type of recipe or a table of contents would be compiled on the last page. St John's collection provides an example. All of the receipts in her book that address mothers and miscarriage are marked with a handwritten, large, boldfaced "M" on the far right hand margin of the page; all receipts that have to do with labor are marked "L;" all receipts that have to do with the afterbirth
are marked "A;" deliveries of infants are marked "D;" glisters are marked "G;" and so forth. (See Figure 4: Mss. 4338, Johanna St. John Her Booke, for the "M" in the right-hand margin to mark this treatment for mange.) Handwritten "tabs" would have made individual receipts easier to find, especially since recipes were not organized into sections according to the particular complaint or body part. For instance, a receipt for a "rankled wound" could very well be found immediately below one for a "Cawdle to prevent Miscarying," making it quite time-consuming to find the recipe one is looking for. (See Figure 4: Ms. 7391, English Recipe Book, for an example of a remedy "For the biting of a mad Dog" that is preceded by "An approved medicine to cause speedy Deliverance the Infant dead or alive." ) In addition to St. John's system of "tabs," some recipes are also marked with an "X" on the left-hand margin of the page. (See Figure 4: Mss. 4338, Johanna St. John Her Booke, for an "X" in the left-hand margin of this treatment for the mange.) Whether the "X" indicates a successful remedy or an unsuccessful one is not entirely clear; however, St. John, like many of the writers and collectors of receipts, implemented a form of organization to help her quickly find the treatments and preparations she needed and marked them as to whether or not they were useful in her experience.46 Other collections have table of contents or index pages, which are most often presented as the final page of the collection. Some collections have no organizing framework at all.

In her own study, Picard twice misplaces her discussion of receipt books. In the first instance, Picard includes her most detailed discussion of receipt books in her chapter on "Cooking, Meals, Food and Drink." This placement would be understandable had she included and cross-referenced an additional discussion in her
chapter on medical practices. However, she provides only one brief paragraph on receipt books in this chapter and misplaces that paragraph in a section entitled "Non-Qualified Advisors," which lists women's receipt books immediately after a discussion of medical quacks and "wise women." While the word "quack" needs no further explanation, "wise women" may. During the eighteenth-century, "wise women" (also called "cunning women") were the female equivalent of the male quack. This derogatory appellation was often used in place of "midwife" to suggest negligence and fraud with the "non-qualified" health care provider. Additionally, "cunning" suggests a negative association between midwifery and witchcraft. Had Picard more fully considered the relationship between eighteenth-century medical practices, licensing laws, and the importance of reputation for practicing midwives, she would not have made this error. The review of medicine provided at the outset of this chapter indicates Picard's placement misses the vital influence receipt books had in the eighteenth-century household and on daily life.

Also included in her chapter on "Non-Qualified Advisors" is a brief paragraph on conduct books and the earliest book on first aid, "by which those who live farre from Physicain or Chirurgeon may happily preserve the life of a poor friend or neighbor until such a man may be had to perfect the cure" (83). Picard jumps from a one paragraph discussion of the recipe book to "the golden age of 'conduct books," which included recipes for home-made simples (medicines, cosmetics, sweetmeats and beverages, alcoholic and otherwise) as well as everyday cooking. She is correct to introduce Hannah Wolley, who “largely cornered the market with a series of publications, such as her *Observations in Physic and Chirurgery*" (83) and wrote other titles as well, such as
the *Guide to the Female Sex, The Ladies Delight*, and *The Cook's Guide*; however, Picard does not remark on the obvious point, which is that for Wolley to have identified the "insatiable market for such 'how to do it' books" (156) there was likely a precursor on which she based her marketable concept: that precursor was the unpublished, hand-written, family-generated receipt book, which was written or compiled by women to be passed down from one generation to the next. There is a high probability that the conduct book genre originated from household collections of receipts and that a first aid book of cures would probably fall into the same category. However, an abundance of quacks and "wise women" advertised in handbills and on hospital gates and served as the low-cost substitute for the more expensive services of professionals and licensed midwives. They (wise women) represent an entirely different economy of "medical" practice. While receipt books are passed down from one generation for the benefit of the next, quacks and "wise women" or "cunning women" were notorious for selling their wares, cures, and services essentially for their own profit. Picard misrepresents receipt books as a genre, misplaces them in the "Non-Qualified" category, neglects their medical significance, and fails to consider their likely relationship to the conduct and first aid books that succeeded them. In doing so, she perpetuates a derogatory view of women's work that underestimates women's contributions to health care practices, both popular and professional.

The most unfortunate of Picard's oversights is the conclusion she draws on the basis of one receipt book. Based on Picard's use of a single example to characterize receipt books as a whole, the modern reader is likely to assume that these collections were primarily a "family treasure" (156) that chronicled a plethora of male treasures,
provided information central to male interests, and "scattered throughout" a few female cooking recipes, cleaning methods, and family cures. While it is not inaccurate to characterize family recipe books as family treasures, Picard suggests that "Many relate . . . to such male concerns as how to clean riding boots" (156). While she does note that Palmer "gives equal care to his daughter's way of 'washing Ribbands cleane' . . . and his sister's 'cure for ye stone'" (156), Picard's choices of examples illustrate male concerns as the primary focus, with secondary attention being given to issues of his daughter's cleaning methods and his sister's curing remedies. This is not the case in the majority of the receipt books, and Picard's singular exemplar misrepresents the focus of those collections, which are women's concerns about and contributions to healthcare, preventative medicines, analgesics, remedies, cosmetic preparations, and cooking. Picard's characterization not only misrepresents receipt books in terms of their inclusive contents but also as a genre. By using "Archdale Palmer's Book" to represent the whole, Picard does a disservice to eighteenth-century scholarship by attributing to men what was a female form of writing and production of knowledge. By use of an atypical example, Picard unfortunately appropriates for men a practice that should be attributed to women. My examination of women's receipt books provides a radically different view.

VIII. Receipt Books and Early Modern Studies

Because studies like Picard's misrepresent recipe books, the field is likely to overlook a wonderful resource for cultural, textual, and women's studies, in general, and for women's contributions to medical practices and healthcare, in particular. In light of
this, I now turn to a description of receipt books and a discussion of what they offer the field.

Women’s receipt books contain medical recipes and memoranda on the properties of various medicinal and cosmetic preparations.\textsuperscript{48} These receipts were often written in the same hand, possibly that of a professional scribe, and stitched together or tied with a string as one volume, which would be passed down from one generation to the next and amended as necessary. Of the receipt books that I examined at the Wellcome Institute, each was initially compiled by one particular woman with recipes attributed to that woman, her female family and friends, other women and family members, and doctors. Attributions were given by listing the person's name or by including a testimonial from that person. One recipe was even attributed to the Duke of Monmouth, certainly legendary. Many of the treatments could be applied to both sexes, that is, treatments for small pox, the great pox (syphilis), a green wound (old sore), a consumption (tuberculosis), the stone (kidney or gall stones), rickets in a child, the pyles (hemorrhoids), an ague (fever), and a moist brain (childhood infection due to imbalance of the humours). A large number of the treatments in each of the recipe books detail preventative preparations and cures for female-specific conditions, such as how to prevent a woman from miscarriage, induce labor, cure swollen breasts, deliver a woman in "two hower," draw up the vulva, stop a "violent overflowing of all M.P.\textsuperscript{49} after miscarriage," and reduce cramps. Also included were cosmetic preparations, such as face washes, breath fresheners, and treatments against scarring as a result of the pox, cankers, and red face. The cooking recipes for biskets, cakes, catshup, and puddings
that are included in receipt books suggest that collections were kept in the central and easily accessible location of the kitchen.

Women's receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations provide fertile soil for new scholarship in fields such as the history of medicine, cultural studies, and women's studies. Women's receipt books challenge Enlightenment representations of the female body that took as its focus the ideal rather than the particular, and the observational rather than the experiential. Conventional scholarship has diminished the role of non-professionalized healthcare practices as, at best, a mythology of medical magic. Correctly interpreted, receipt books chronicle women's bodily experience and provide a basis for substantial revisions to medical history.

Unlike the medical view discussed in Chapter 2 that focused on the female body as defective, polluted, and the imperfect imitation of the masculine ideal, these receipts are prescriptions of the conditions—not bodies—that defect, pollute, and impair health and well being. Unlike medicine, which in the name of science, prescribed not only bodies but also the limitations of those bodies in society, women’s receipt books focused on the conditions that constrained bodies. While eighteenth-century science in its Enlightenment hostility toward female anatomy targeted sex as the root of social, intellectual, and biological limitations, receipt books instead pinpoint social, gender, and economic situations, or conditionality, as the root of bodily defects. Women's receipt books provide new information about the conditions of early modern life.

Women's receipt books suggest an alternative representation of womanhood, one that constructs an experiential, visceral body that is connected to and accounts for the self. As discussed in Chapter 3, this representation of the self is one that is marked by
the mosaic of human suffering and pain. In a culture without aspirin and that had only begun to recognize the highly-addictive risks of opium/laudanum, pain was not only inescapable but also an accepted part of one's life experience. Receipts identify typical ailments and prescribe therapies as a means of eliminating pain and preventing disease and death. In doing so, they re-map the body in its relationship to pain.

The historical context underscores the concrete contributions these receipts and associated practices offered society. "The English recipe book" (Ms. 7391), dating from the seventeenth century until 1822, is a representative example of this point, for included in this recipe collection are receipts that prescribe not against the condition of a "deficient" femininity but against typical ailments that plague bodies—both male and female. The majority of the recipes are attributed to women, for instance Mrs. Rowe's "excellent medicine for a green wound" (f.1.r.), Miss Kettlebey's recipe "For y£ Almond or swellinge of the throat" (f.22.v.), Countess Arundel's "drinke for the Scurviee" (f.41.r.), Miss Sackvill's "singuler medicine that the Smallpox Print shall not be scene on y£ face" (f.64.v.), Mrs Browne's "excellent oyntment for a burne or scauld" (f.107.r.), Miss Marsham's "Cooleing drinke in a Burneinge Ague or Feavor" (f.119.r.), and Miss Fitzhebert's cure for "Quornes" or bunions (f.130.v.). A close examination of receipt books tells us more than simply what herbs or remedies were used for a particular ailment; they outline the conditions and obstacles to health during the early modern era and demonstrate that women recognized what the medical community would not—that is, that it is often the condition of the culture not the category of one's sex that determines health and illness. Receipt book collections demonstrate that those conditions were not a deficient female anatomy that required management, and those
obstacles were not an inferior femininity but rather the conditions inherent to health risks of early modern life—vitamin and mineral deficiencies resulted in outbreaks of scurvy, lack of home and work safety precautions increased the likelihood of serious burns, lack of antibiotics increased the rate of "green" or infectious wounds, and lack of vaccines and the understanding of immunology resulted in outbreaks and epidemics of smallpox and the plague.

Eighteenth-century medical books and the classical texts on which they were based suggest that the early modern woman was at risk of her womanhood and her inherently/anatomically defective female body. Receipt books offer an alternative view. They provide a wealth of information that challenges conventional medical and scientific theories about femininity. While medicine and science perpetuated the myth of the defective female body, receipt books provide a resource on how to manage, not a polluted body, but a polluted environment. Given the limitations of scope of this project, the following argument contains representative examples from the many receipt books I examined but is not an exhaustive study of every one of those sources. As such, a longer, full-length study is clearly necessary.

IX. Analyzing the Texts

The medicinal recipes in receipt books demonstrate that, except in cases that required surgery or in the case of broken bones, self-medication was common practice. Children, who were at the highest risk for disease, are one of the most common subjects for medicinal receipts. Remedies listed for children’s diseases chronicle the most common childhood ailments and conditions, such as vitamin deficiencies, wounds, and bacterial and viral infections. For instance, Mrs. Standin’s recipe for the “Rickets in a
child when it doth not thrive in the lower parts,” is recorded in Ms. 7391 (f. 101.r.); Miss Morecroft’s “gentle purge for Children” (Ms 7391; f. 120.v.); Miss Chamberlain’s recipe for “the Frock or Frost in Childrens mouths”\textsuperscript{50} (Ms 7391; f. 120, v.); Miss Sadleir’s “Pippin posset drinke very excellent and peasing in a Feavor” (Ms. 7391; f. 127.r.); Miss Nash’s recipe for the flock in children’s mouths (Ms 7391; f.127.r.). The number and variety of receipts for children illustrate the frequency of home diagnoses and self-medication in the eighteenth-century household.

The instructions for different strengths and dosages of remedies suggest that bacterial and viral infections were as troublesome for adults as they were for children. The very great number and variety of preparations for coughs, colds, and fevers indicate that infections, particularly upper respiratory, were commonplace. Many of the remedies distinguish between different symptoms and specify different indications. While Miss Hancox’s receipt is a “Soveraigne medicine for any Could” (Ms 7391; f. 107.r.), Miss Jone’s recipe is for a “short dry Cough & for ye Cough from a thin Rheum”\textsuperscript{51} (Ms 7391; f. 147.r.). Old Miss Sanctone recommends a remedy “For one that hath a cough of the Lungs or a Cough a Long time”\textsuperscript{e} (Ms. 7391; f. 121.r.), and Mary Peacock gives directions for a “Syrrupe for ye Tickling of ye Rhume that falls upon the Longes which causeth a faint Cough,” which “is a present help especially for old people” (Ms 7787). The recipes differentiate between dry coughs, which require a soothing medicine, and wet coughs, which require a remedy to function as an expectorant.
In her recipe book (1699), Mary Peacock provides a powder to calm an existing cough and a syrup, or expectorant, for a faint cough that is caused by congestion in the lungs. To prepare the powder, Peacock instructs:

Take half an ounce of prepared fox lung\textsuperscript{52} made into fine powder half an ounce of sulfur of Brimestone\textsuperscript{53} so prepared half an ounce of Liquorish\textsuperscript{54} so powdered, half an ounce of aneseed\textsuperscript{55} so powdered one dram of Elicompain root\textsuperscript{56} so powdered; 2 ounces of brown sugar candy grossly powdered; mingle all these together and keep it in a Box the your pocket and when the cough troubles you, or at any other time, the oftener the better, put as much of the powder as will lay upon a groat under the tongue there let it dissolve, and so swallow it down. (Ms. 7787)

On its face, this recipe may seem to be a rather odd one, probably relegated to the category of local folklore, especially with ingredients such as fox lung, brimestone, and brown sugar. However, a recipe as this indicates not only an awareness of current practice but also of broader medicinal knowledge. According to Culpeper, "fox lung" was an "admirable strengthener to the Lungs" (\textit{Complete Herbal}). Even the College of Physicians included a remedy called \textit{Lohoch e Pulmone Vulpis}, or Lohoch of Fox Lungs that was said to cleanse ulcers in the lungs and breast and remedy phthisicks, or advanced or chronic tuberculosis, in their Latin \textit{Pharmacopoeia}. Lohochs or eclegmata, which were thicker than syrups but not as thick as electuaries (sweetened remedies), were used for diseases and inflammations of the lungs, difficulty breathing, colds, and coughs. The College of Physicians' recipe includes prepared fox lungs, liquorice juice, maiden-hair, annis-seeds, sweet fennel seeds, sugar, colt's foot, and scabious water. Mary Peacock's recipe is a close variation on the Lohoch prescribed by the College. Her recipe not only assumes knowledge of how to prepare the fox lung for use but also how to prepare a Lohoch, directions for which are given in Culpeper's \textit{Complete Herbal} as well as in the Latin \textit{Pharmacopoeia}. This is similar to a River Roads recipe for
Crawfish Etouffee, which would instruct the cook to begin with a roux but would not include directions on how to prepare it as it would be considered common knowledge. In addition, the other ingredients in this receipt illustrate a popular awareness of the medicinal properties of the herbs included. For instance, brimstone, which is still in use in pharmaceuticals today, was thought to aid coughs; liquorice is widely used today as a soothing remedy for coughs; annis seed is still used to treat bronchitis; elcampain root is still recognized as a natural expectorant.

Peacock's recipe for "A Curious Syrrupe for the Tickling of the Rhume that falls uppon the Lungs which causes a faint cough" highlights common knowledge about preparation techniques, medicinal properties of herbs, basic herbal terminology, and strengths and dosages of remedies. To prepare Mrs. Peacock's "Curious Syrrupe," she recommends,

Take the conserve of Roses, syrup of violet, syrup of Liquorish; and the syrup of Diascordium which is the poppy before it be flowered, 2 ounces of each mixed together; and so take now and then a little, put it into the mouth with the point of a knife under the tongue, and so let it dissolve down the throat, it is a present help especially for old people. (Ms 7787)

As in the previous receipt, this one also assumes prior knowledge about preparing remedies. Because Peacock does not include a recipe for preparing the constituent syrups or conserves, we can guess that she considered this common knowledge for herself or anyone else in the household who was using her collection of receipts.

Suggested by the limited amounts needed for this receipt, she may have even kept these preparations on hand.

Preparation of various syrups also assumes knowledge as there are no instructions provided in Mary Peacock's book; yet, according to Culpeper, the
preparations for various syrups are distinct. To prepare Peacock's "Curious Syrrupe," one would have to make or have on hand a conserve of Roses, which requires beating the Rose leaves or petals in this case, weighing them, folding in three pounds of sugar to every one pound of the flower. To prepare a syrup of violet one would "Take of Violet flowers fresh and packed, a pound, clear water made boiling hot, two pounds shut them up close together into a new glazed pot, a whole day, then press them hard out, and in two pounds of the liquor dissolve four pounds and three ounces of white sugar, take away the scum, and so make it into a Syrup without boiling" (Complete Herbal). A much more common protocol is to prepare a syrup of liquorice, one would "Take of green Liquorice, scraped and bruised, two ounces, white Maiden-hair an ounce, dried Hyssop half an ounce, steep these in four pounds of hot water, after twenty-four hours, boil it till half be consumed, strain it, and clarify it, and with Honey, Penids, and Sugar, of each eight ounces, make it into a Syrup, adding, before it be perfectly boiled, red Rose Water six ounces" (Complete Herbal). While the processes are similar, the ingredients, preparation, and longevity of each syrup vary according to the primary herb, root, or flower used.

Peacock's ingredient list demonstrates prior knowledge about the medicinal properties of herbs. In this recipe, she recommends a conserve of roses, which was not only economical (it could last for several years) but was also believed to be effective in treating congestion. Violet, for instance, is still recognized today as a natural remedy against coughs and as an expectorant. Similarly, liquorice is still recognized as a soothing expectorant. Diascordium (as a preparation) would have been especially beneficial to older people because of its mild sedative effect.
Peacock's recipe is representative of other receipts in its use of contemporary terminology. For instance, Peacock recommends the use of a conserve of Roses at the beginning of the recipe. Use of the word "conserve" suggests her understanding between the subtle differences between the preparation of preserves and conserves. Preserves are made primarily from fruits, roots, and barks, which are boiled in water with sugar. Flowers, other than cowslip flowers, were seldom preserved. In the case of flowers, one would make a conserve as above. Terminology is another evidence of a shared knowledge base that was necessary to use Peacock's and others' collections.

Peacock's choice of ingredients also demonstrates her understanding of the varying strengths of different herbs and dosages for different age groups, which indicates that her knowledge was commensurate with then current standards of medical practice. She recommends this cough syrup recipe particularly for elderly people, though it could also be used to treat children, who would need therapies that were milder in their ingredients and strengths than those prescribed for young or middle-aged adults. Many of the individual ingredients in this receipt were recognized by both Culpeper and the College of Physicians as being effective but particularly mild. For instance, roses are a safe and gentle ingredient for strengthening a weak constitution and reducing congestion; violets are said to be a gentle ingredient for reducing fever and acting against infection; diascordium, which has a mild sedative effect, is recommended for safe use on old people and young children.

Coughs and colds, however, are not the only ailments that plagued the body. Multiple remedies for tooth aches, corns, and shingles, salves for the piles (hemorrhoids) and other sores, and ointments for wounds as well as aches, pains, and
swellings of the joints are also included in receipt book collections. Serious conditions and diseases, such as falling sickness (epilepsy and convulsions), moist brain (ear infections in children), the King’s Evil or scrofula (abscess and swelling of the lymph nodes), smallpox, measles, inflammation of the tonsils (mumps), consumption, and scurvy are also addressed individually or in groups. "Sarah Palmer's Book" (Ms. #3740), in which recipes are either written or collected by Mrs. Palmer during the eighteenth century, provides a representative example of remedies commonly used to treat serious conditions. Mrs. Essington's recipe for a "Cordiall water" (See Figures 1 and 2) is one such example and illustrates the broad range of herbs used in individual receipts to fight illness and restore strength.

Figure 1
Ms. 3740. Sarah Palmer and others. Early 18th century. Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute Library, Western Manuscripts Division, London
Figure 2
Ms. 3740. Sarah Palmer and others. Early 18th century. Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute Library, Western Manuscripts Division, London
A transcription of Mrs. Essington's recipe for a "Cordiall water" demonstrates the wide variety of herbs used in the effort to treat serious diseases. She writes,

To make a Cordiall water good against Infections—diseases, as pestelance, burning feavors, smallpox, measles, and to remove any offensive matter from the stomake, especially after a surfett, as also to be given to women with Child being in passions of the Mother, or in other causes of necesitie, and to Children in convoultion fitts. Take of red sage, Salendine, Rosemary, Rue, wormewood, rose solis, mugwort, pemperrnell, oragons, Scabious, egremony, balme, Scorduim, cardus, benedictus, becitony flowers and leaves, Sentory flowers and leaves, St John wort, mary gould flowers made sweet, love Gilloflowers, of each of those halfe a pound; Rootes of Angellico, malepiony, Butter bure, tormentill, gentian, allicumpaing, Snake roote and Scorsenera, of each one ounce, Seeds of Angellica, citerne, each an ounce: slice or beat the Roots, wash the hearbs, pound the seedes, Drie the hearbs between two sheets; and shred them small, mix them well together, and infuse them in two gallons of white wine, and lett them stand eight or tenn dayes cloase covered, then distill them in an ordinary still with a reasonable hott fire and past up your still cloase, so as no aire gets outt, you will have about six quarts of water, save them apart as you please, the first is the strongest and best, when the water growes weake and sowerish then draw no longer. Directions for how to use the water—Give of this water of the strongest 3 or 4 spoonfulls to a man or a woman, though shee be with child; of the second sort 5 or 6 spoonfulls to men or women, of the third and weakest sort to Little children 2 or 3 spoonfulls, it is most usually sweetened with sugar or Sugar Candy and is given Luke warme or cold or by it selfe, it may allso be drunke, and sometimes mixed with cooling & opening Syrups of Lemons, or violets, gilloflowers, cowslips, or Poppies, or in posset drink; varing as they please, it is most properly used, when the stomake is emptie, it may be given with matridate, Diascordium, London Treacle, beazor, Stone Unicornc Horn, or hartshorne, to expell any poysone or any infectious matter from the Stomake or vitall parts, it is very good to be used in contagious and Infectious times, and very proper to be mixed in Juleps to coole and strengthen or to open obstruction or resist malignie and contagious Sicknesses, to mixe 3 or 4 Spoonfulls of the first and second sort in a pint of cooling Julip often aproves.

While general recipes such as this one suggest a lack of understanding about what actually cures “in contagious and Infectious times,” they illustrate a common practice in treatments during the period. Instead of having one drug that works against a particular
ailment, the eighteenth-century woman would use a mixture of several herbs, with various medicinal properties, in hopes that one of the ingredients or the combination of several would effect the health of her patient. As is the case for many of the other individual herbs recommended, a mithridate electuary (a sweetened medicine) contains individual ingredients that had medicinal properties consistent with uses stated for Miss Essington's therapy water according to Culpeper's *Herbal*. For instance, Dittany, St. John's Wort, Poleymountain, Parsley, Hartwort, and Scordium are recognized as herbs to be used to "provoke the terms" (induce labor). Fennel, Poleymountain, and Scordium are recognized herbs to "resist poison." Fennel, Parsley, and Rue are recognized to "ease pain" associated with cramps, gout, and kidney stones. Fennel is used to increase the production of milk in lactating mothers. As a result, this method of combining herbs indicates not a lack of awareness of the specific medicinal properties of individual herbs but rather the lack of scientific understanding of the ailment. In the case of the herbs Miss Essington includes, many of them are still recognized today as herbal remedies, some of which have undergone scientific scrutiny and others still at least enjoy widespread acknowledgement of practical effectiveness.

As is suggested by the testimonials provided with receipts and the frequency of similar recipes recorded in different collections, these treatments would often work. As to how often, that remains unknown as there is no documentation or statistics recorded. However, testimonials frequently accompany receipts, as in the case of Johanna St. John's recipe to cause conception, in which she testifies that "Mrs. Patricke conceived Twice together with it & she advised it to one that had been 9 years marryed on whom it had the same effect" (Ms. 4338, n.p.) or St. John's annotation that her recipe for
preventing miscarriage "made Mrs Sands goe thurow" (Ms. 4338, n.p.) or Cousin B.S.'s guarantee that her recipe in the time of smallpox "will save the face from pitting and will cause the scabs to scale off speedily" (Ms. 3740). Knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs, repeat use, recommendations, and reputation provided a basis of authorization for including a recipe in one's collection.

However, there were then, and are now, dangers. For instance, Miss Essington prescribes rue to be included in her cordial water. Historically, rue was used to treat inflammation, earache, toothache, fever, cramps, hepatitis, dyspepsia, diarrhea, and intestinal worms. Today, the Physician's Desk Reference for Herbal Remedies still recommends rue to be used in treatments to relieve pain associated with menstrual disorders. However, modern research has found and the PDR concurs that rue also functions as a contraceptive and an abortive agent and should not be used as a treatment for a woman in the early stages of pregnancy (520, 1108). While this herb could be used without apparent danger to induce labor for a woman at the end of her pregnancy, if used before she came to term, it would produce miscarriage. The writer of this recipe apparently knew this since she includes in the recipe a note on "Directions for how to use the water" that specifies dosages. She recommends the strongest dosage to be given only to a man or to a woman, who is "with child," or as she writes in the introduction to her receipt, "women with Child being in passions of the Mother, or in other causes of necesitie." Given the ingredients in this cordial water, it would assist in inducing labor (for the woman "with Child being in passions of the Mother") or aid in producing the afterbirth (which would be another cause of "necesitie"). The milder part of the water
could be given in larger dosages to adults; however, "Little children" should only take two or three spoonfuls of the weakest part of the water.

During the long eighteenth century, death could be viewed at times as one of the more merciful results of disease, especially when compared to a life that had to be lived with chronic pain, dementia, madness, or bodily mutilation. Many diseases, such as smallpox, scarred their victims for life. While scarring cannot be located in the same category as chronic pain or madness, it would be devastating for a young person. Sarah Palmer includes her cousin’s “Receipt to preserve the face from pitting in the time of the smallpox” (Ms 3740).

Boil the best cream you can get until it comes to an oil (which will not be til it be brown) and still as the oil appears pour it away into the thing you intend to keep it in, put a little of it into a saucer, melt it, and mingle with it as much powder of sassaperilla as will be upon a six pence. Then with a small feather anoint the face often with it, as soon as the pox begin to have yellow heads: at first use a great deal of the powder; and when they begin to dry up less, and when they are turned into dry scabs, leave off the powder and use the oil of cream only, never letting the face be dry.

Following the receipt Cousin B. S. provides a brief commentary on use of this remedy.

This will save the face from pitting and will cause the scabs to scale off speedily. Be sure they be dry before you leave off the powder, for it is the weight of the corruption that maketh the pits (which the powder will dry up) and the long sticking on of the scabs which the oil will scale off.

Palmer's cousin's commentary not only explains why one should use this remedy but also how to use it effectively. Comparing this early eighteenth-century remedy with Miss Sackville's receipt for "A Singular Medicine that the Smallpox Print shall not be seen on the face" (Ms. 7391), which The Wellcome Institute dates from the seventeenth century through 1822 and may be later than Palmer's receipt, is worthwhile.
in that it sheds light on the efficacy of treatments recommended across temporal and geographical lines. Miss Sackville instructs:

Take a very fat piece of beef well powdered, boil it a great while then take a good quantity of the fattest of the broth and strain put thereto a good quantity of red rose water, beat them well together a good while, and when the pox begins to itch anoint them 3 or 4 times a day with it till they be clean off, and when the pie? Is thorough well, take the broth of powdered beef and mingle it with white wine, wash their face therewith, and it will bring it to the ? and smoothness as before. In any use have a care, you keep not the throat and head too hot. (64)

While these two receipts are from different collections and use different ingredients, they follow the same therapeutic logic. Even though the first of the two contains Sarsaparilla (Smilax), which is still recognized today as an herbal treatment for chronic skin diseases, both recipes recommend an oily salve and powder, with which one would anoint the scabs until they dry while simultaneously keeping the area as moisturized as possible and, then, using the moisturizing salve without the powder once the scabs have fallen away. Whether in Mrs. Palmer's early eighteenth-century book or Miss Sackville's later eighteenth-century recipe, "Preserving the face" for women suggests preserving the desirability of one's offspring for marriage. In an era in which sickness was the "finger of providence" and marriage was the means by which one obtained economic security, a pocked face could indicate an equally pocked, or marred, life and might reduce one's children's chances on a still volatile marriage market. Just as skin color became synonymous with power and propriety for the Victorians, skin clarity might be interpreted as a marker of prudence and propriety in women during the preceding century.103

In addition to the discomforts and diseases that were not sex-specific, receipt books prescribe female-specific remedies, which chronicle the full range of
reproductive health issues with which eighteenth-century women were concerned. These extend from the onset of the “courses” (menstruation) to conception, pregnancy, labor, and afterbirth as well as other diseases, such as the White Fever or Green Sickness (usually occurring in adolescent girls), the French disease (venereal disease), and the overflowing of the Termes or the whites (abundant vaginal discharge, which resembles gonorrhea but is not). These sex-specific receipts provide insight into women's concerns and healthcare for the early modern woman, and their receipt books seem to be the manuscript equivalent of a twentieth-century Our Bodies, Our Selves.

Remedies prescribe how "To heale a Sore Breast" (See Figure 3), which instructed one to "Take Sallade oil, oil of bay, and Turpentine, wax and Rosen, boyle them all together and strayne it Pro.e~:") (Ms.7391, p. 77). Johanna St. John, in "Her Booke," also shares this concern and provides several receipts for this ailment. "For a Kanker in a womans Breast," she recommends a plaster of "Goos dung & celondine beat them well together lay as a Plaster to the sore it will kil the worme & clens tha sore also goats Dung so used only adding a little vineger helpeth for ever" (Ms. 4338); however, for "a Brest ful of Paine," she recommends a salve of "Bean Flower yolks of eggs rosa water beat them together till it be like a salve spread it on a cloth lay it to the Ach" (Ms. 4338). Alternatively, she recommends "A Decoction of Carduus wash it therwith & it will cure tho it be eaten to the ribbs bath it well night & morning & drink therof or of the distilled water" (Ms. 4338) for a canker. Each of these three receipts was found on the same page. While there is not an attribution for any of them, they each appear to be in the same seventeenth-century hand. Even though the hand is similar throughout in style, spelling is not consistent throughout, which suggests
that Johanna St. John herself or another family member, rather than a hired amanuensis, probably copied these recipes into the book. Such a recognition demonstrates that receipt books were not only the province of the upper classes but also of the middle classes as well. Like the pain and diseases they addressed, receipt books also crossed the eighteenth-century's strict conceptualization of societal boundaries.

Figure 3
The number of different remedies suggests that sore breasts and growths in the breasts were not only commonplace but also difficult to prevent and to heal. While none of these remedies would cure a canker that was in fact a cancerous tumor, each might have some beneficial effect. In the first receipt, oil of bay possesses potential for skin sensitization and, thus, would have some bit of effect if not in healing then at least in soothing a sore breast. Turpentine (the resin from pine) is still used today in salves, such as Adams Tarleine Ointment for psoriasis, which can be purchased from Mag Enterprises for $17.95. In the third receipt, Celandine (Chelidonium majus), which is still considered to be effective for removing corns and warts, was said to cause "old, filthy, creeping ulcers to heal more speedily and the juise applied to tetters, ringworms or other spreading canker will quickly heal them too" (Complete Herbal). Culpeper also recommended Celandine to remove warts; he wrote that if "Rubbed often on Warts, it will take them away" (Complete Herbal). In the third receipt, carduus (Cnicus benedictus), which is recognized today for its use in treating arthritis as well as to reduce inflammation, was used to treat tetters, ringworms, sores, and boils. While none of the remedies would have an effect on a cancerous tumor, each of them contains at least one ingredient capable of reducing the associated pain, inflammation, or, in the best scenario, the sore itself.

St. John's Book, like other collections, also contains a series of recipes for reproductive health, from conception to afterbirth. She includes Dr. Row's recipe for pills "To clens the Mother & cause Conception." He recommends using "Aloes Rosata" 2 drams powder of saffron castoreum each 1 dram with a sufficient quantity of syrope of mugwort make it into pills wherof take 3 pills 3 mornings
together" (Ms 4338, n.p.); St. John has not crossed off this receipt with her "x" annotation. She also includes an alternative receipt to cause conception. Even though she provides the associated testimonial that "Mrs. Patricke conceived Twice together with it & she advised it to one that had been 9 years married on whom it had the same effect" (Ms 4338, n.p.), St John marked this receipt with an "x," apparently an indication that the remedy was not efficacious. Mrs. Patricke's receipt requires "a quart of new milk & the whites of 16 eggs beat them well & put them into the milk stir them well together still them in an ordinary still with a soft fire take of this 3 spoonfuls first in the morning & last at night swetned with fine suger fasting 2 howers continue it 3 months together." In the first recipe, Aloe rosata was thought to have a soothing and strengthening effect, particularly since it contained rose water. Castoreum was thought to induce menstruation and mugwort was thought to induce menstruation, hasten delivery, and expel the afterbirth. While this treatment might very well indeed "clens the Mother," there is nothing to suggest that it would increase her chances of conception. While the second of the two recipes does not contain any ingredients that would "clens the Mother" or stimulate menstruation, the soothing treatment of the warmed, sweetened milk day and night might calm the mother enough to conceive on her own.

Like most receipt books, St. John's book includes many receipts to "prevent miscarving," a constant threat for women during their childbearing years. However, not all of the recipes are marked with her "x" notation. Of the first receipt, St. John remarks that "this made Mrs Sands goe thurow [through]." However, St. John does not mark the receipt with her "x". In this receipt, her instructions include
Take near halfe an ounce of cloves brused put them into halfe a pint of red rose water let them Boyle til the water be very red then strain out the cloves & make a syrope of the water with double refined suger take hereof a sponful morning & afternoon & at night in a little sage poset doe the like at any time when any fright or disorder happens to you. (Ms. 4338, n.p.)

Given the ingredients listed above, this receipt would be a pleasing posset that may have a soothing effect, but it does not contain any ingredients that would function to prevent miscarriage. Even though without attribution or testimonial, St. John's receipt "To Prevent miscarrying after any fright or hurt or disorder" (Ms. 4338, n.p.) receives the "x." In this recipe, she recommends

Tost the bottom of a whit manchit Dip pit very well in hot muscadine take it out & strew on it powder of cloves nutmegs & cinommon & apply the crummy side Hott to the navel also garden Tanzy brused in muscadine or Tent & lay the Herb warme to the navel & drink some of the wine & a red rose cake so heat in Tent & layd on in like manner sage & rosemary boilde in milk or if thes cannot be had a draught of cold water after a fright & lye down upon a Bed & gather up your knees is good to settle the mother so is sage water distilled it is good to anoynt the navel & bottom of the belly with oyl of mastick. (Ms. 4338, n.p.)

In this one recipe, there are actually instructions for five separate but related treatments. In the first, a plaster is recommended. While the ingredients might produce a soothing rub, one part of the recipe recommends drinking the wine. Because the wine includes garden tanzy, which is recognized today as an aid in promoting menstruation, this recipe should not be taken internally during pregnancy. During the eighteenth century, garden tanzy was considered an herb that would stop any excessive fluxes, or discharges, which would include menstruation. In the second treatment, sage and rosemary, boiled in milk, are recommended. Even during the eighteenth century, sage was recognized to promote menstruation and expel the afterbirth and thus not recommended for use during pregnancy. However, it could be used safely as a bath to
relieve the discomfort associated with cramps, bad joints, and palsy. Modern research confirms that sage stimulates menstrual flow and should not be taken internally during pregnancy. Rosemary was thought to improve the circulation when applied externally and relieve joint and muscle aches when used as a bath or ointment; however, it should not be used during pregnancy as it induces abortion. A drink of sage and rosemary would not have the desired effect in this case. The third treatment is a drink of cold water. The fourth is distilled sage water, and the fifth is an ointment of oil of mastick.

Other x-ed receipts include Lady Roberds' pottle and an unattributed cawdle. Lady Roberds recommends "The whites of 16 eggs beat very well put to them a pottle of milk distil them with a very gentle fire often stirring them this will not yield above a quart drink a wine glasse morning & afternoon sweetned with suger candy Dr Willis said that chocolatte was the best thing to strengthen the back & fasten a child" (Ms. 4338, n.p.). The cawdle is made with "Red rose\textsuperscript{120} & plantain water\textsuperscript{121} each halfe a pint 2 new layd eggs beaten well a little cinomon some crimson silk\textsuperscript{122} boyle thes sweeten & drink it night & morning Almon milk made with plantain\textsuperscript{123} & compphy rootes\textsuperscript{124} & crums of bread & coriander seeds\textsuperscript{125}" (Ms. 4338, n.p.). While the sweet milk and chocolate of the first recipe would certainly produce a pleasing remedy, it would not produce a treatment sufficient to the task of reducing the chance of miscarriage. In the second recipe, plantain water and comphrey root were thought to reduce excessive flow of any body secretion; plantain herb was considered a remedy to stay all manner of fluxes, even women's courses or menstruation; red rose water was thought to be a soothing drink with sedative properties; crimson silk (red clover) was thought to relieve pain; the
coriander seed in this recipe was probably used as a spice for taste. Given the ingredients in this recipe, it is possible that it might have had the intended effect.

A necessary addition, particularly to an eighteenth-century version of Our Bodies, Our Selves, would be a recipe on how to induce labor "For a woman y\right[ that\ cannot be Delivered" (See Figure 3). This receipt recommends,

\[
\text{Take the amber}^{126}\text{ that looketh thick and white, date stones}^{127}\text{, piony seeds}^{128}\text{ the blacke pickt}^{129}\text{ from them or else take the roote ana. beate them alltogether and let her drink it in a little Mace}^{130}\text{ Ale Then take Sallade oil}^{P} ,\text{ fill it with white lilly flower}^{131}\text{, and set it in the Sun, put 2 grames of milk in it, and anoyn her with it. (Ms. 7391, p.77) }
\]

Amber (Hypericum Perforatum) is also commonly called St. John's Wort and is recognized for its antidepressant and sedative qualities. Date stones, on the other hand, have generally been used to treat chest complaints and do not have the medicinal properties beneficial to inducing labor. Peony seeds are, however, recognized as an emmenagogue (a substance that renews or stimulates the menstrual flow) and as an abortifacient. Mace is simply a spice used for flavor in medicinal and cooking recipes. The Lilly Flower, which is more commonly known as Birthroot, is said to promote menstruation and induce labor. The majority of the ingredients in this recipe suggest its effectiveness for inducing labor.

Johanna St. John includes recipes for "A cordial for a woman near the time of Delivery," "To make a woman have easy Labor," and "To hasten delivery" (Ms. 4338). For the first, she writes

\[
\text{Juyce of resberys}^{132}\text{ 2 ounces strong infusion of clove, July Flowers}^{133}\text{ 4 ounces Juyce of Kermes}^{134}\text{ one ounce halfe a pound of suger boyle this in sliver to a syrope on a gentle fire take here of 2 weeks before delivery a spoonful fasting. (Ms. 4338) }
\]
In this receipt, the primary ingredient would be the juice of raspberries, which is still recognized today as an aid in childbirth. However, recent research warns that it has "a marked hormonal effect on the musculature of the uterus, stimulating normal contractions and inducing relaxation between them" (An Illustrated Herbal), and, therefore, should not be used early in pregnancy. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Culpeper recognized raspberry as an agent to prevent miscarriage as well as to check diarrhea. Kermes may have been effective in reducing fever and hemorrhage; however, all of the other ingredients would function merely to give the syrup a pleasing flavor. She follows this recipe with one to "make a woman have an easy labor." St. John recommends "Oyle of Almons & spirmacitty anoyny the Bottom of the Back & Belly therwith every night" (Ms. 4338). Oil of Almonds is still used today in pharmaceuticals. According to Culpeper, it was thought to relieve soreness. While an "x" marks the first receipt, the second is not so marked. In this sequence of receipts, St. John then suggests "six spoonfuls of Fennel water one of smal cinomon sweeten them with hony let it be drunk all at once" (Ms. 4338, p. 211) to hasten delivery. This receipt is also marked with an "x," which is interesting as Fennel water may well have acted to induce labor as it "helps bring down the courses and cleanse the parts after delivery" (Complete Herbal). Once the woman has gone into labor, St. John recommends a glister to be given. She uses "halfe a pint of new milk corse suger 3 ounces the youk of an egge stir them well together give it let her keep it as long as she can" (Ms.4338, p. 211). Finally, to "settle the mother after delivery," St. John writes that Mrs. Shaw recommends "4 grains of musk mixed with 4 spoonfuls of burnt claret
stop her nose least the sent raise vapors" (Ms. 4338, p. 211). According to *A Modern Herbal*, musk is an antispasmodic, which would have indeed had a settling effect.

A repeated recipe in most all of the collections was some variation on this one that is said to be "*An approved medicine to cause speedy Deliverance the Infant dead or alive*" (See Figure 4).

Take mugwort\(^\text{137}\) and make a bath then of, and let the woman sit therein up to the navell, if she can endure it for weakness, If not seeth the hearbes well in water, and make a plaister thereof and bind it to her navell as hot as she may. Give her as much Myrha\(^\text{138}\) as a hazelnut. Grate to powder and drinke in warm white wine ~~ (Ms. 7391, p. 78)

Mugwort is used as a sedative and antidepressant. It has also been observed to have sensitization properties for relaxation when used in baths and has been documented as an agent used for delayed menstruation and as an abortifacient. Myrrh is generally used for topical treatments of mild inflammations but, during the eighteenth century, was thought also to induce labor and afterbirth. This recipe is similar to many of the others recorded to "bring forth the afterbirth." For instance, Johanna St. John recommends "mugwort root or herbe wch is then most in strenth Boyle it in water tender stamp it fine put to it a little wheat chissel Boyle it a little againe put it in a linnin Bag. Lay it to the Bottom of her Belly as hott as she can suffer it" (Ms. 4338, p. 211) to "bring forth a Dead child or Afterberth." Additionally, she recommends for after pains "Hemp seed\(^\text{139}\) boyled in your cawdle" for bringing away the afterbirth "if the party be not subiect [subject] to a losenes [looseness, also called a loose belly or diarrhea] " (Ms. 4338, n.p.). Since hemp seed was believed to relieve pain, it may indeed have been an effective addition to this receipt. Even though these recipes are from different collections and different parts of England, they are representative of the ways in which
An approved medicine to cause speedy Deliverance the Infant dead or alive.

Take Maywort to make a Boiled decoction and let the decoction be kept up to be ready. If you can make it by decoction, it will be much better. Make a plaster thereof and bind it to the back of the child. If you may first use the site of it, you may use it with aargar, with salt to provoke a drink in warm water.

For the biting of a mad Dog of a Child:

Take the skin of a goat and make a plaster thereof and bind it to the back of the child. If a plaster be applied, it will be of great benefit. But the main point is that if the wound be washed out first and then bound, it will be of great benefit.

A drink for the biting of a mad Dog or other:

Take a dish of good brandy. Let it be divided into a dish. A draught of brandy and water. Provide it and keep it for 24 hours. Then take the wine and water and give it to the child. It will be of benefit.

For the bloody Flux:

Take in a wine of May the strength of it in a wine glass of water. Take it with 2 or 3 times the strength of it in a wine glass of water. Keep it against the wound. It should be taken on a wine glass and gulped down the mouth high.

For a sickness falls out of the body into the Leg:

Pour the wine and take it. If it is taken, it will be good. If not, it will still be good. If not, it will still be good.

An ointment for Swellings, Aches, or to suppresses.

Figure 4
medicinal receipts, while sometimes dissimilar in their individual parts, contain important similarities. The series of recipes on reproductive health address each of the stages in pregnancy as well as associated obstacles to a healthy childbirth. While not all of the remedies would function as actually reported and, therefore, lack the sophistication of current medical treatments and techniques, this analysis demonstrates that many of them would indeed work and all of them reveal a sophistication related to the medicinal properties of herbs as they understood them at that time as well as to the preservation of well-being, if not life in every case.

A technical review provides further evidence of the well-informed nature of recipes. Lists of apothecary's symbols for weights and measurements, price lists for drugs, compounds, and remedies, and terminology indicate a self-reliance in managing an anatomy that medical science, in its focus on the male body, either misrepresented or just did not address.

_Johanna St. John’s: Her Booke_ (Ms. 4338) serves as a representative example. St. John includes a list of commonly used apothecary’s symbols for weights and measurements, with annotations, among the remedies she collected. (See Figure 5) This annotated list suggests St. John’s familiarity with pharmaceutical calculations, bills and ingredients as well as her use of a local apothecary to obtain necessary items. Similarly, the verso side of the front cover of the Even's Family Recipe and Commonplace Book^{140} (Ms. 7732) provides a list of Apothecary's weights. Ann Evans records that one pound contains 12 ounces, an ounce contains eight drams, a dram contains three scruples, a scruple contains twenty grains, a gallon contains eight pints, a pint contains sixteen ounces, and a spoonful is the measure of half an ounce. Jane
Sharp, in her *Book for Midwives*, concurs. Sharpe explains that a dram is 1/8 ounce, a scruple is 1/24 of an ounce, and a grain is 1/20 of a scruple.
Like any reference book collection, attributions are provided that verify the authority and credibility of the source. For instance, in the recipe book for the Okeover family of Staffordshire, sources of the curative and preventative recipes include Venetia Stanley Digby nee Stanley and Countess Arundel (probably Alathea Howard nee Talbot) (Ms. 7391). This insistence on the naming of sources marks these books' departure from a traditional view of received knowledge and conventional medical wisdom as it inscribes female authority in bodily matters. Just as it was customary in early receipt books to attribute, and thereby authorize, the efficacy of the receipt to a particular woman, it was also customary in later (eighteenth century) receipt books to reference available printed guides. For example, in an unidentified eighteenth century receipt book (Ms. 7746), "Mrs Stoan the midwife" is among the authorities named. Mrs Stoan was Sarah Holmes Stone (1702-1737?), who published her *A Complete Practice of Midwifery* in 1737. Her instructions for bringing "away an afterbirth" is recorded in this eighteenth-century receipt book (f.2.v.). While the point of attributions is to certify the efficacy of treatments, this one also provides Mrs. Stone with some good advertisement for her midwife practice and for the book.

Use of a standardized terminology throughout many of the receipt books demonstrates women not only were familiar with but also used this language. For instance, in Mrs. Essington's receipt for a cordial water (see full discussion of this recipe above, pages 197-202), London Treacle, more commonly known as London Molasses, was required to prepare the recipe. However, there was no mention in the recipe or in the collection of how one would make the London Treacle, which implies that the writer already knew this information and considered it common knowledge. Other uses
of standardized terminology are also evident and indicate a prior and/or shared knowledge among women. As previously suggested in relation to the section on Mary Peacock's recipes for a cough powder and a cough syrup (see pages 193-196), these two recipes are representative of the prior knowledge women possessed and shared. They demonstrate an awareness of the medicinal properties of individual herbs; of differing strengths and dosages of treatments; of how to prepare the cordials, loholes, electuaries, and possets needed to be taken along with remedies, such as Peacock's lohole of fox lungs; and of how to prepare different forms of a remedy, such as the differences in preparations for powders, syrups, conserves, and plasters.

X. Conclusions

While twenty-first century readers will certainly recognize the limitations of the remedies recorded, we cannot simply dismiss them as popular folklore. We also cannot, as previous scholarship has suggested, argue that these receipts, even though collected, were viewed as wholly inconsequential and ineffective. I have found no evidence to support such a view. Actually, in a culture in which the *Weekly Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus* are still reporting over "4000" gathered at the Banqueting Hall to be touched by the king himself, these recipes indicate practical and proactive methods for managing healthcare. Additionally, the above analysis of recipes also demonstrates numerous instances of ingredients that continue to be recognized as efficacious for their intended uses. However, the research value of receipt books is not limited to what they tell us about what some would derogatorily label "kitchen physik."

Receipt books are a valuable source of research data on early modern culture.
significant social, cultural, and gender concerns. Receipt books provide information about the ubiquity of pain and disease during the long eighteenth century and illustrate a society reconciled to sickness rather than in expectation of health and recovery. On a cultural level, receipt books disrupt prevailing scientific conceptualizations of the female body. They indicate an increasing awareness of the differences between views based on a defective body and those based on a polluted environment and the implications of each for women's healthcare. Additionally, receipt books are of cultural importance in the information they convey about the social signification of the body. In a culture that interprets sickness as the hand of Providence, a pitted face or diseased physical appearance would indicate a diseased soul. The neglect of prudence and propriety was, therefore, revealed on the diseased female body. Receipt books also offer detailed information about the individual stages and associated complaints during the full range of women's reproductive life. Given the pervasiveness of received medical knowledge, the marginalization of female experience, and the dismissal of women's knowledge as well as contributions to healthcare during the long eighteenth century, women's receipt books mark a discontinuity or gap in the current histories of medicine.\(^{146}\) Receipt books offer new insights to the history of early modern healthcare and medical practices.

The recurrence of many of the same or similar preventative therapies and remedies in many receipt books reveals that women had created a subculture of non-professionalized medical practices. The frequent testimony that this or that remedy had been used successfully by a particular woman, with her name attached to the receipt, also indicates that even if by today's standards these procedures were not medically
efficacious, they were treatments that were used and shared between communities of women. As such, what has been diminished as mere "kitchen physick" or "domestic medicine"—because these books were collected by women, located in the kitchen, and included recipes for cooking—is not so unlike our *PDR* combined with a *River Roads*, *Joy of Cooking*, and *Helpful Hints from Heloise*. Women's receipt books represent the sum total of a family's practical knowledge and can be viewed as the early modern equivalent of our access to information through computers and the Internet. What the recovery of women's receipt books contributes to our knowledge of the history of medicine should not be dismissed based solely on the inefficacy of some of the therapies they prescribe.

Women's recipe books provide a construction of the female body that is quite unlike the dominant Enlightenment view, indicate an alternative received knowledge, and provide new information about Restoration and eighteenth-century daily life and medical practices. They demonstrate not only the relevance of the body to everyday experience but also the significance of viscerality, and particularly pain, to early modern constructions of the self, accounting for an experiential and particular self that was neglected and dismissed by early modern and Enlightenment science, which aimed for the characteristic and/or ideal self. As Anna Batigelli has argued in her work on early modern science and the problem of the self, the New Science failed to account for pain. Batigelli claims that work of women writers, such as Conway and Cavendish, accounts for the discursive self, refutes a Hobbesian materialism and a Cartesian dualism, and, thereby, reconciles the self to the world. Similarly, women's practical writing, in the receipt books they passed down to their daughters, indicate representations of the body
which account for a discursive self that science failed to recognize. Unlike the Cartesian or Hobbesian view of a body separated from experience, receipts for "y^e Almond or swellinge of the throat," a "burneing Ague" or "how to get rid of the cramps," or "how to deliver a child in two howers" suggest instead a body that is defined by its experience and the relevance of viscerality and pain to that experience. Furthermore, unlike the majority of early modern medical books in print, women's receipt books are written in English rather than Latin, a significant factor in terms of their accessibility and use. Unlike their professionalized and college trained colleagues in healthcare, women recognized the relevance of the body to daily life and re-connected the self to experience. What early modern science failed to account for—the relevance of pain to an account of the self—women's recipe books provide. This construction of the experiential body is evident in these manuscripts, written by and for women, that chronicle what was at stake in daily life, what caused pain, what needed prevention, what needed cure, and what knowledge was important enough to pass down to one's daughters and granddaughters.

Women’s receipt books are clearly more than the “family treasure” or “kitchen physick” that previous scholars have suggested they are. For the twenty-first century reader, receipt books continue to provide useful information. While they may no longer offer suitable preparations for inducing labor or cures for menstrual cramps, they do provide a marker of culture, daily practice, and commonly-held beliefs about the body. Because receipt books were most often compiled by and for women and handed down from one generation of women to the next, these collections chronicle women's
interests, insights, and concerns for bodily matters and provide the twenty-first century researcher with a wealth of new material about early modern culture.

XI.  Endnotes

Explanatory Note: My endnotes for this chapter are longer than what is ordinarily expected for notes but are, in this case, necessary. Because the majority of research on which this chapter depends is based on archival manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, additional explanation is needed to clarify the definitions of words, phrases, herbs, remedies, et cetera, that were in common use at the time but have long since become obscure. In addition, I also seek to verify the information I provide on individual herbs and herbal recipes, particularly in relation to the similarities and differences between usage during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and usage indicated by scientific scrutiny today. Without this verification, this argument could be dismissed as using one century's folklore to substantiate an earlier century's use of the same. Therefore, both the clarification of obscure terminology and the verification of the therapeutic uses of herbs are crucial to the substance of this chapter; however, this information, while vital, should not be provided in the body of the chapter itself as it would significantly interrupt the overall logical flow of the argument.

1 Samuel Pepys Diary was first published in 1825 in an abbreviated edition by Lord Braybrooke, who would later print three more editions. In 1875-1879, the Reverend Mynors Bright published an incomplete edition. In 1893-1899, H. B. Wheatley, a London antiquary, published what Latham has called the "best and most complete of the nineteenth-century editions, in ten volumes" (xi). All excerpts quoted from The Diary were taken from Robert Latham and William Matthews' eleven-volume edition (1970-1983).

2 For a full discussion of the events that precipitated a political and professional turning point in Pepys's life, see Latham and Matthews' "Introduction" to The Diary of Samuel Pepys (xvii-cxxxvii). See also Arthur Bryant's Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making (1984).

3 The continuation of Pepys' first entry takes up concerns of the army, the newly-elected Parliament and by association the promise of restoration, and his own financial circumstances. It reads,

   The condition of the State was thus. Viz. The Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned to sit again. The officers of the army all forced to yield. Lawson lie[s] still in the River and Monke is with his army in Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is not yet come in to the Parliament; nor is it expected that he will, without being forced to it. The new common council of the City doth speak very high; and hath sent to Monke their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a free and full Parliament, which is at present the desires and the hopes and expectation of all—22 of the old secluded members
having been at the House door the last week to demand entrance; but it was denied them, and it is believed that they nor the people will not be satisfied till the House be filled. My own private condition very handsome and esteemed rich, but endeed very poor, besides my goods of my house and my office, which at present is somewhat uncertain. Mr Downing master of my office. (1660)

4 Dr. Thomas Hollier specialized in lithotomies (operations of the stone) and was considered an eminent surgeon at the time. In his biography, *Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making*, Arthur Bryant notes that even though Hollier had performed thirty successful lithotomies by March 26, 1658, "soon after four others whom he also operated upon perished: such seemed a miracle in those days: we can now guess that his instruments had become septic and that, had Pepys' turn come a little later, we should have had no diary" (33).

5 Dr. Hollier consulted with his former teacher, Dr. James Moleyns of St. Bartholomew's, for a remedy that would ease Pepys' suffering during the operation. Dr. Moleyns prescribed "a soothing draught of liquorice, marshmallow, cinnamon milk, rose water, and the white of eggs" (Bryant 32) to be administered to Pepys prior to the surgery. Following the procedure, Pepys was given "a cooling and demulcent drink . . . prescribed of lemon juice and the syrup of radishes" (Bryant 33). According to *An Illustrated Herbal*, Liquorice (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*) was historically used as a treatment to relieve pains associated with kidney and bladder problems; however, modern research does not substantiate this use. Marsh Mallow (*Althaea officinalis*) was historically thought to open "the strait passages and make them slippery, whereby the stone may descend the more easier, and without pain, out of the reins, kidneys and bladder, and eases the pains thereof" (*An Illustrated Herbal*). Its modern use is as "a soothing agent which has a relaxing effect on the body's internal passages. It is mainly used for inflammation and irritation of the alimentary canal, urinary and respiratory organs" (*An Illustrated Herbal*).

6 Mrs. Turner was the former Jane Pepys, a distant cousin and daughter of John Pepys of Ashtead. She married the barrister John Turner and lived in the Pepys family home, inherited from her father, in Salisbury Court.

7 In his biography *Samuel Pepys: A Life* (2000), Stephen Coote explains that the process of removing the stone "so damag[ed] the ducts from Pepys's testicles that for the rest of his life he would be sterile but not impotent. Pepys himself would never know the truth of this . . ." (23).

8 In March of 1660, Pepys was not at home in Axe-Yard but on board the *Swiftsure*, waiting for the *Naseby* to be fitted out as the admiral's flagship. On the *Naseby*, he would sail to Holland with Montagu, Captain Isham, Captain Cuttance, Mr. W. Howe, Mr. Ibbott, Mr. Burr, and the Vice-Admiral Lawson to bring Charles II and the Duke of York back to England. Therefore, he had to have this year's "festival" on board the *Swiftsure*. Of the evening, he writes,
At night Mr. Sheply and W. Howe came and brought some bottles of wine and something to eat at my Cabbin, where we were very merry, remembering the day of being cut of the stone. The Captain Cuttance came afterwards and sat drinking a bottle of wine till 11 a-clock at night, which is a kindness he doth not usually do to the greatest officer in the ship. (26 March 1660)

For instance, on 14 May 1664, Pepys writes

Up, full of pain, I believe by cold got yesterday. To the office, where we sat; and after office, home to dinner, be in in extraordinary pain. After dinner, my pain increasing, I was forced to go to bed; and by and by my pain ris to be as great for an hour or two as ever I remember it was in any fit of the stone, both in the lower part of my belly and in my back also. No wind could I break. I took a glibster, but it brought away but a little and my heighth of pain fallowed it. At last, after two hours lying thus in most extraordinary anguish, crying and roaring, I know not whether it was my great sweating that [made] me do it, but upon getting by chance among my other tumblings, upon my kneww in bed, my pain begin to grow less and so continued less and less, till in an hour after I was in very little pain, but could break no wind nor make any water; and so continued and slept well all night. (14 May 1664)

On the next day, Pepys records that he "took physic and it wrought well with me . . . but I was not well, for I could make no water yet but a drop or two with great pain, nor break any wind" (15 May 1664). According to Latham and Matthews, "Pepys seems to have suffered from the same symptoms as those of 4-13 October 1663. He passed what were probably two renal calculi on 7 March 1665" (V, 150, n2). The pain associated with Pepys' renal condition was recurrent and can be traced throughout his nine-year diary.

At the end of June 1664, Pepys is introduced to Dr. Burnett, who would provide him a second opinion on the recurrent pain he was experiencing. On 1 July, Pepys writes

By and by comes Dr. Burnett—who assures me that I have an Ulcer either in the Kidnys or Blather; for my water, which he saw yesterday, he is sure the Sediment is not slime gathered by heat, but is a direct pusse. He did write me down some direction what to do for it—but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece; with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me—though it is strange Mr. Hollyard should never say one word of this ulcer in all his life to me. (1 July 1660)

In addition to other remedies recorded and tried, Pepys takes this one, given him by Dr. Burnett, for a supposed ulcer in his kidney or bladder. He records it in longhand, on one side of a sheet of paper, opposite the diary entry for 1 July 1664.

Take of the Rootes of Marsh= Mallows foure ounces, of Cumfry, of Liquorish of each two ounces, of the Flowers of St. John's Wort two Handsfull, of the Leaves of Plantan, of Ale=hoofe of each three
handfulls, of Selfeheale, of Red roses of each one Hand=full, of Cynament, of Nutmegg of each halfe an Ounce; Beate them well, then powre upon them one Quart of old Rhenish wine and about Six hours after strayne it and Clarify it with the white of an Egge; and with a sufficient quantity of Sugar, Boyle it to the Consistence of a Syrrup and reserve it for use. Dissolve one spoonful of this Syrrup in every draught of Ale or beere you Drinke. Morning & evening swallow the Quantity of an hazle=nutt of Cyprus Terebintine [Turpentine]. If you are bound or have a fitt of the Stone eate an ounce of Cassia [Cinnamon] newly drawne, from the poynt of a Knife. Old Canary or Malaga wine you may drinke to three or four glasses, but noe new wine, & what wine you drinke lett it bee at Meales. (V, Appendix, 363)

Pepys remained skeptical about the efficacy of this treatment.

12 I am indebted to Professor Jim S. Borck, Louisiana State University, for pointing out Goldsmith's attention to cosmetics, kitchen physik, and cooking in The Vicar of Wakefield.

13 I am indebted to Katherine Zelinsky for this reference on smallpox and the writing of Delariviere Manley, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu Charlotte Lennox, Charlotte Smith, and Frances Burney. See Zelinsky's edition of The Adventures of Rivella (47, n.2).


16 For a full discussion, see J. Dewhurst's Royal Confinements (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980).

17 See Roy Porter's discussion in English Society in the Eighteenth Century, pages 27, 41.


19 According to Towler and Bramall in Midwives in History and Society, the first lying-in infirmary, five beds, was established in 1739 in London, by Sir Richard Manningham. In 1791, it became Bayeswater Lying-In Hospital; in 1800, the Queen
Charlotte's Lying-In Hospital; and by Royal Charter in 1924, The Queen Charlotte's Maternity Hospital (Adams, M.A., "A Synopsis of the History of Queen Charlotte's Maternity Hospital," 1984.). In 1747, the Middlesex Hospital had 5 beds for lying-in women. In 1749, the British Lying-In Hospital was founded. In 1750, the city of London Lying-In Hospital was founded, and in 1756, the General Lying-In Hospital was founded, also in London. At the end of the century a Lying-In Charity was founded in Ipswich and in Manchester (Towler 128-129).

20 Seventeenth-century science perpetuated this view of midwifery. As Picard notes in Restoration London (1998), Harvey also blamed high infant mortality rates on the practice of midwifery in his De Generatione Animalium (1651).

21 The passages from Robert Barret's A Companion for Midwives, ChildBearing Women and Nurses (1699) were quoted in Jacqueline Bacon's unpublished paper "Lazy Adventurers or She-Champions? Legal Authority and Textual Representations of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Midwives."


23 Current scholarship challenges previous narrative representations of the midwife. Doreen Evenden's archival study, "Mothers and Their Midwives in Seventeenth-Century England" (1993), on London midwives argues that "repeat business" and "personal referral" (9) can be established through archival research. Evenden also points out that midwives were commonly used as witnesses in court proceedings. In "Provincial Midwives in England: Lancashire and Cheshire, 1660-1760" (1993), David Harley shows that it was customary even to defer the testimony of male physicians and surgeons to the testimony of a female midwife if one were available (40). In addition to her role in legal proceedings, Harley in "Provincial Midwives in England" and Anna Giardina Hess in "Midwifery Practice Among the Quakers in Southern Rural England in the Late Seventeenth Century" (1993) show that midwives were viewed as literate,
respectable, and prominent members of their communities. Susan Sage Heinzelman in "Women's Petty Treason: Feminism, Narrative, and the Law" (1990), Adrian Wilson in "The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation" (1990), Patricia Crawford in "The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England" (1990), and Peter C. Hoffer and N.E.H. Hull in Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England 1558-1803 (1981) establish the discrepancy between narrative representations and real life experiences of midwives during the Restoration and eighteenth century. Wilson demonstrates that midwives held legal authority as expert witnesses in rape and infanticide cases, which ultimately challenged a "central feature of patriarchy," or the role of women as "male property" (87). Crawford shows that male physicians and surgeons discredited the capabilities of midwifery in order to move into the obstetric sphere (13). Hoffer and Hull, in their book-length treatment of the subject, demonstrate that the midwife played a crucial role in determining paternity cases, asking the name of the father at labor and then testifying in court on this account (15).

24 The general attitude toward physicians during the Restoration and Eighteenth Century was one of skepticism and suspicion. Porter and Porter write that it "is no surprise such anxieties existed: within ancien régime medicine, the doctor was inevitably tarred with failure and identified as the accomplice of disease and death" (64). Skepticism was also particularly high with regards to doctors' fees. If a physician prescribed heavy medications for an ailment, the patient would believe that he or she was being overmedicated in order to inflate not only the doctor's but also the apothecary's profits. According to Porter and Porter, "overdosing went with overcharging.... [and] Patients resented 'exorbitant' bills" (62, 63). However, the Porters conclude that their research shows that, as a rule, country doctors did not overcharge on individual items or visits. Rather, "People found doctors' bills steep because they were consulting them more frequently, often over complaints ... that once would have been thought either trivial or simply beyond the powers of medicine" (63). Porter and Porter argue that there was indeed a difference between the fees that could be charged by country doctors and those that could be charged by London doctors. They write that

It was only the London practitioner who charged astronomical fees (even early in the eighteenth century, William Cheselden was allegedly getting L500 [500 pounds] for performing a lithotomy). Patients had to weigh up the relative advantages of London and country practice. In 1721 Lady Fermanagh congratulated herself that, by using country doctors, she was in pocket: 'The doctor said he woud give me no more physick, so I have dispatcht him, he had seven ginnes of me and I gave his man a crown and I have paid Mr. Turner's bill for all the things that I and the children had so I thank God I've got all of under 10 pd.' Ten pounds, even so, was a lot of money. Nevertheless, she concluded triumphantly: 'I daresay if I had gon to London it would have cost me fivety.' (Porter and Porter 63)

Porter and Porter base this conclusion on their investigations of doctors' ledgers that have survived as well as anecdotal references drawn from contemporary diaries, journals, and letters. It might be pointed out that these particular surviving ledgers are not necessarily representative of all medical practice at the time. Porter and Porter also
report that even though skepticism was high, positive attitudes towards doctors were clearly increasing during the eighteenth century.

25 On a personal note, I joined an old river man at the White Swan/Ugly Duck pub for fish, chips, and a couple of Boddington's one night while doing research for this project in England. Little did I know that only 200 years earlier, I could have also bought a bit of Beyer's at the same spot.

26 Liza Picard cites Garrison in her work, Restoration London; however, her citations are not accurate. When I checked the Garrison citation for myself, I found that Picard listed Scot's Pills (compounded by Patrick Anderson) as "Anderson Scot's Pills." She also listed Singleton's Golden Eye Ointment as "Simpson's Golden Eye Ointment." See page 87 in Picard, page 290 in Garrison.

27 In a letter to her husband, Fanny Burney testifies to the power of Dr James's Fever Powders. She writes,

   Our dearest Boy had so much fever, & so dreadful a Cough, which latter exercised every moment, that, after a second analeptic had failed of cure, though it had procured him, thank god, a good night, I gave him 1 grain of James's powder. This soon operated like magic in relieving his lungs, by stilling his Cough. (Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, VI, 477)


29 In Royal Charles: Charles II and the Restoration, Antonia Fraser writes that it is to Thomas Lord Bruce, Charles II's attendant and later the 2nd Earl of Ailesbury, that "we owe many of the most affecting details of his master's last days, still vivid in his memory when he wrote his memoirs many years later" (442). Thomas Lord Bruce's Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury were written by himself, in two volumes, and later printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1890. According to Fraser, other sources include A True Relation of the Late King's Death (March 1685) by Padre Mansueti, a Capuchin monk and one of the chaplains to the Duchess of York, which was reprinted in J. G. Muddiman's The Month in 1932 under the title of The Death of Charles II and Bishop Burnet's Burnet's History of my own time, new edition by Osmund Airy, 2 vols, Oxford, 1897, 1900. While these and other sources are included in Raymond Crawfurd's The Last Days of Charles II (1909), Fraser reports that "Crawfurd's list of sources is not exhaustive: amongst others an interesting account by Anne Margaret, wife of Sir Richard Mason, second Clerk Comptroller of the Household, printed in Household Works, 9 (1854), as by 'a wife of a person about the Court at Whitehall,' is omitted by Crawfurd" (442).
Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine and Duchess of Cleveland, bore 6 children, of which all but one was acknowledged by the King. This was particularly problematic for Catherine, who—while she did have two pregnancies—suffered two miscarriages. Catherine never produced an heir to the throne. Hortense Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin was Charles II's last public affair. She was the niece of Cardinal Mazarin. In her honor, her first husband was created the Duc de Mazarin. Louise de Kéroûalle, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was nicknamed "Fubbs" (for chubby) by Charles because of her baby face and fat cheeks and "Squintabella" and "weeping willow" by Nell Gwynn because of Louise's show of tears and hysterics and her threats of suicide when she did not get her way. Louise came to the court a virgin, French, and Catholic, and suspected as being Louis XIV's secret French weapon, which by the way was not successful. She served as Lady of the Bedchamber to Catharine as Villiers had done before her, had her own apartments with her son, the Duke of Richmond (royal bastard) at Windsor as Villiers had at Whitechapel, and was as famous for her table as her physical beauty. In Royal Charles, Fraser records that "Sir John Reresby, a vigilant observer of such matters, described Louise as 'the most absolute of all the King's mistresses,'" but "certainly the most disliked by the populace" (312). While none of the contemporary ballad portrayals of the King's mistresses were particularly tasteful, Barbara Villiers "was generally depicted as insatiable in her sexual appetites—but the language addressed to Louise was notably intemperate: 'Portsmouth, the incestuous Punk,/Made our most gracious Sovereign drunk'" (312). Fraser explains that these lines come from the 1673 satire entitled "The Royal Buss Rock"—the dialogue, which "taking advantage of the King's notorious weakness for his dogs, made Louise and Nelly into two pampered pets, named Snappy and Tutty. Even so, there was a social sneer: Snappy (Louise) was made to criticize Tutty (Nell) for her low breeding and suggest that she return to her 'dunghill'" (Fraser 312). Louise and Nelly are, of course, Louise de Kéroûalle and Nell Gwyn.

According to Fraser, uraemic convulsions would have been the result of mercury poisoning. Charles II had been conducting experiments in his own laboratory for fixing mercury.

Harvey is also considered the father of obstetric for his ground-breaking work in reproductive anatomy.

It was also to Swammerdam that we attribute the medico-legal fact that fetal lungs would float after respiration had taken place (1667); this discovery would be used as a test in cases of alleged infanticide to determine whether the infant was still born or born alive.

While it was Antonj van Leeuwenhoek who demonstrated its importance, Marcello Malphighi—the founder of histology—was the first to discover capillary anastomosis between the arteries and the veins (1660).

To the undergraduate student of literature, Robert Herrick (1591-1674) is probably best known for his "To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time" (1648) and "Corinna's
Going A-Maying” (1648). However, his volume of over 1,200 poems, entitled *Hesperides* for the secular poems and *Noble Numbers* for the religious poems, were virtually lost after their 1648 publication until the nineteenth century. While Herrick probably would have most enjoyed a literary life in London, he took his degrees, then orders in the church, and then moved reluctantly to a parish at Dean Prior, in Devonshire. His poems, such as "His Return to London" (1648), not only betray his dislike for the West Country, where "though by hard fate sent/Into a long and irksome banishment" (l. 13-14) into "the dull confines of the drooping West" (l. 1), but also his preference for London, for which he fantasizes "To see the day spring from the pregnant East,/Ravished in spirit I come, nay more, I fly/To thee, blest place of my nativity!" (l. 2-4). When the Puritans came to power after the Civil War, Herrick lost his position at Dean Prior and returned happily, "for, rather than I'll to the West return,/I'll beg of thee first here to have mine urn' (l. 17-18) in his London of "everlasting plenty, year by year/O place! O people! Manners framed to please/All nations, customs, kindreds, languages! (l. 8-10). He was eventually sent back to Devonshire after the fall of the Cromwellian Protectorate and died there at the age of 83. While he was a minister and while his poetry does take up sacred subject matter, it also delights in the stuff of the everyday, which he transforms into sacred rituals of the commonplace. For instance, in "To Lar," Herrick pays tribute to the Roman god of the hearth with gifts of "frankincense," "parsley crown," and "chives of garlic for an offering" (l. 2, 4, 6). For a brief, but informative, discussion of Robert Herrick, see the headnote to Herrick's work in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, Vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1979), pp.1315-1316.

In *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (1929, rpt. 1960), Fielding H. Garrison refers to Raymond Crawfurd's 1911 monograph as an exhaustive scholarly study of the King's Evil, or *morbus regius*. Garrison briefly summarizes Crawfurd's findings on the medieval sources of the King's Evil.

The personal power of healing, in the first instance, always an attribute of the gods, became, by natural association of ideas, a divine right of kings, and many instances of it are recorded by the Roman chroniclers and the fathers of the Church. Thus Helgald, a monk of the 11th century, records that Robert the Pious (996-1031 A. D.) wrought cures by touch, and Guibert, Abbé de Nogent, bears witness that touching for scrofula (*scrophas circa jugulum*) was done by Philip I (1061-1108) of France, and his son Louis VI (1108-37). Shortly before his death, in 1066, Edward the Confessor touched for scrofula in England, on the authority of William of Malmesbury and a monish chronicler of Westminster. From Clovis on, touching was a power ascribed to the French monarchs, even up to the time of Louis XVI, and was actually revived at the coronation of Charles X in 1824, no less than Dupuytren and Alibert presenting the 121 patients. In England, the Royal Touch fell into disuse among the Nor an Kings after the Confessor, but was revived by Henry II, Henry III, and the three Edwards. Items in the wardrobe accounts of the latter show the payment of alms to the scrofulous poor. After Richard II's time, there is complete silence in the chronicles until 1462,
when Henry VII revived the royal prerogative with an elaborate ritual and, in 1465, the minting of a special coin, the gold Angel, as a touchpiece. The ceremonial with the use of touchpieces, and of medals as tickets of admission, were features of all subsequent reigns to the time of William of Orange, who treated the practice cavalierly; but Queen Anne revived it, even touching Dr. Johnson (without success). The exiled Stuarts "over the water" also upheld it, but it was practically discarded by George I. It was in the 17th century that the practice of the Royal touch reached its height. Richard Wiseman, one of the ablest surgeons of the time, wrote the classic account of the King's Evil, in which he bears ample witness to the healing power of Charles II. (288)

While Wiseman is cited here for his authentic account of the King's Evil, he is also known for his work in amputation and external urethrotomy for stricture in cases of gonorrhea. His most important printed work was Several Chirurgicall Treatises (1672).

37 The problem with using Touching as evidence of the divine right of kings is that others could do it as well. For instance, Valentine Greatrakes (also spelled Greatorex and Greatrex)—one of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers in Ireland—achieved such great success with his Touching cures for disease that Charles II invited him to court in 1666 to demonstrate his healing powers. See also F.H. Garrison, An Introduction to the History of Medicine (288), Liza Picard, Restoration London (82), and Keith Thomas in Religion and the Decline of Magic (London, 1971).


42 Mummia is ground up mummies.

43 Paracelsus (1493-1591), "the precursor of chemical pharmacology and therapeutics and the most original medical thinker of the 16th century, . . . discarded Galenism and the four humors, . . . taught physicians to substitute chemical therapeutics for alchemy, . . . and made opium (laudanum) . . . a part of the pharmacopeia," along with mercury, lead, sulphur, iron, arsenic, copper sulphate, and potassium sulphate (Garrison 204, 206).
Alexander of Tralles (525-605) is recorded to be the first to recommend rhubarb for its medicinal qualities (Garrison 124).

The theory of the four humours was derived from the ancient Greek idea of balance and was still in popular medical use during the Restoration. The four vital bodily forces were blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. If any one of them became out of balance, it had to be re-balanced. Re-balancing the humours was achieved through practices, such as bleeding, purging, clysters, setons, cupping, and/or cantarides, which would cause the excretion of the toxic component that was the source of the imbalance. These preparations caused the patient to vomit, spit, defecate, blister, and drain the harmful toxin from the body, a practice which was thought to return the body to its natural balance, and, thus, heal the illness. In current usage, a purge would be a laxative; a clyster an enema; a seton a tent placed over a cut or wound to draw out harmful fluids; a cantharide a plaster or ointment that would produce a blister, which was then cut open and drained; and cupping the use of small heated cups that were placed on the body to produce blisters.

Even after a comparison of all receipts marked "X" with those not marked "X," I cannot with total confidence argue whether the "X" is meant to indicate a successful or unsuccessful remedy. However, based on my review of the receipts and a bit of common sense, my educated guess would be that the notation signifies the unsuccessful remedy. Even though "X" marks the spot for buried treasures—the treasure chests of pirates as well as the private "treasures" of marriage, such as Mrs. Boswell's conjugal moments with her husband James—in an ordinary list of "things to do" or of possible solutions to try, "X" usually indicates that the item is crossed, or x-ed, off the list.

Garrison cites Stephen Bradwell's *Helps in sudden accidents* (1633) as the first book printed on first aid (276). See also William John Bishop's *Early History of Surgery* (London: Hale, 1960). In *Restoration London*, Picard cites the date, but she does not provide author's name and title. Emergency first aid was not only being written about but also being practiced during the late seventeenth century. According to Porter and Porter in *Patient's Progress*, Henry Yeonge chronicles the emergency rescue of a drowning victim in his diary (*The Diary of Henry Yeonge, Chaplain on Board H. M. Ships Assistance, Bristol and Royal Oak 1675-1679*. E. D. Ross, ed., London: George Routledge, n.d.):

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A boat overturned at Deal. A man was trapped beneath it, eventually released, but left on the beach for dead: `A traveller, in very poor clothes (coming to look on, as many more did), presently pulled out his knife and sheath, cuts off the nether end of his sheath, and thrust his sheath into the fundament of the said Thomas Boules, and blew with all his force till he himself was weary; then desired some others to blow also; and in half an hour's time brought him to life again. I drank with him at his house.' (45)
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According to William John Bishop's *A History of the Royal Humane Society* (The Society, 1974), emergency medical training began in the second half of the eighteenth century with the humane movement, which was "set up to instruct people in the
techniques of resuscitation in cases of apparent drownings" (Porter, Patient's Progress, 74).

48 In this section of the chapter, I provide descriptive endnotes on specific herbs and recipes in order to identify herbs/recipes that today are difficult to identify because of name or spelling changes since the eighteenth century. These notes also verify the differences and/or similarities between eighteenth-century and twenty-first century uses of the herb. Because eighteenth-century herbs are sometimes difficult to identify, I have used various resources for this information, including The Physician's Desk Reference for Herbal Medicines and The American Pharmaceutical Association Practical Guide to Natural Medicines, for which I cite page numbers in the text of the note, and An Illustrated Herbal and Culpeper's Complete Herbal, which are electronic sources and do not contain page numbers. Information in these sources is arranged like a dictionary, in alphabetical order. The resource used in each case is cited in the individual endnote.

49 I have researched a variety of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical resources as well as recent scholarship and still have not been able to find a definitive reference to or definition for this abbreviation.

50 While the frock or frost in children's mouths seem to be a common childhood ailment during the eighteenth century, I have been unable to find a reference to, definition of, or current term for this complaint.

51 A rheum is a watery discharge often associated with respiratory infections.

52 Fox lung is just that, the "lungs of a Fox, well dried (but not burned)" and "an admirable strengthener to the lungs" according to Culpeper's Complete Herbal.

53 The word "brimstone" is now considered obsolete but refers to sulfur, which is a pale-yellow, nonmetallic element occurring widely in nature and used in the production of pharmaceuticals, insecticides, rubber vulcanization, and gunpowder. "Brimstone" is listed in Culpeper's chapter on "Metals, Stones, Salts, and Other Minerals." Culpeper writes that the flower of brimstone, which is brimstone refined, and the better for physical uses; helps coughs and rotten flegm; outwardly in ointments it takes away leprosies, scabs, and itch; inwardly it helps yellow jaundice, as also worm in the belly, especially being mixed with a little saltpetre: it helps lethargies being snuffed up in the nose. (Complete Herbal)

54 Liquorish or Liquorice (Glycyrrhiza Glabra) root was used in a variety of medicinal treatments because of its medicinal value. According to Culpeper, the root boiled in water with some Maidenhead and figs makes a good drink for those who have a dry cough or hoarseness, wheezing or shortness of breath, and for pains in the chest and lungs. It is also good for pains of the reins, strangury and heat of the urine. The juice is also
effectual in all diseases of the lungs and chest. A strong decoction of the root given to children loosens the bowels and takes off feverish heats which attend costiveness. The juice or extract is made by boiling the fresh roots in water, straining the decoction and, when the impurities have settled, evaporating it over a gentle heat till it no longer sticks to the fingers. It is better to cut the roots into small pieces before boiling to obtain maximum extraction. A pound (450 g) of Liquorice in 3 Pt (1.6 l) of water boiled down to 2 pt (1 l) is best for all purposes. The juice can be obtained by squeezing the roots between two rollers. When made carefully, it is sweeter than the root itself. (Complete Herbal)

According to An Illustrated Herbal, liquorice is recognized and widely used today as an herbal remedy for coughs and lung complaints. It is soothing, expectorant and anti-spasmodic although individuals with high blood pressure should not use liquorice, as it may exacerbate this condition. See also endnote #59 below.

55 Aneseed, or Annis Seed (Pimpinella anisum) is used for bronchitis and as a mild laxative. It should be avoided in pregnancy.

56 Elcampain root (Elecampane Inula Helenium) has been called one of the most beneficial roots that nature provides for the help of the consumptive. It is commonly known as the Wild Sunflower and as Elfwort. Historically it has been used to treat diseases of the lungs, kidneys, and bladder, to reduce fever, to stop menstruation, to strengthen the stomach, and to aid in digestion. Today, the root is recognized as containing insulin or diabetic sugar and is used as an expectorant, diuretic, and diaphoretic.

57 A conserve of roses would be a particularly valuable preparation to keep on hand as it, unlike other conserves, would last for several years. Most conserves would keep for just one year. It was believed to be effective in treating congestion in the throat, nose, and eyes as well as diarrhea. It was also thought to strengthen a weak stomach, aid digestion, and act as "a very good preservative in the time of infection" (Complete Herbal), or, in today's words, build up the body's immunity to infection.

58 Violet (Viola adorata) was used to reduce congestion in the lungs, hoarseness in the throat, pain in cancer, and dissolve inflammation. It was also thought to be effective as a diuretic. According to An Illustrated Herbal, modern use of the violet flower is still as an expectorant and is said to be an excellent herbal remedy against coughs. In addition, "the leaves are antiseptic and are used internally and externally for the treatment of malignancies. Research is required in this area, but an infusion of the leaves appears to reduce pain in cancerous cases. . . . The roots and leaves are also expectorant, but the root tends to he emetic and has been used as an alternative to Lpecauanha. In combination with Vervain (Verbena officinalis), it is effective in whooping cough. Colt's Foot may also be added" (An Illustrated Herbal).

59 A Syrup of Liquorice was thought to cleanse the breast and lungs and relieve chronic coughs and pleurisies. See also endnote above on liquorice. According to An
Illustrated Herbal, liquorice (Glycyrrhiza Glabra) is still recognized as a soothing, expectorant and antispasmodic for use in cough and lung complaints. See also endnote #54 above.

Diascordium, or the poppy before it has flowered, can be derived either from the Common Red Poppy (Papaver rhoeas), which provides a mild sedative for whooping cough or bronchitis, or the White Poppy (Papaver somniferum), which is a source of opium and morphine. See this endnote for the differences between the Red Poppy and the White Poppy and endnote #96 on diascordium prepared as an electuary. A syrup can be made of the seed and flowers of the red poppy to relieve chronic coughs, hoarseness, and laryngitis, to promote rest, and induce sleep. The black seeds, if boiled in wine and drank, stops diarrhea and menstruation. The heads of the Poppy, boiled in water, promote sleep. An infusion of the petals is used to treat asthma, bronchitis, catarrh, whooping cough, and angina. On the other hand, the white poppy (Papaver somniferum) contains opium. According to An Illustrated Herbal, an overdose (of Opium) causes immoderate mirth or stupidity, redness of the face, swelling of the lips, relaxation of the joints, giddiness of the head, deep sleep, accompanied with turbulent dreams and convulsive starting, cold sweats, and frequently death." Its medicinal virtues include the Syrup of diascordium, which is a strong decoction of the seed vessels. It is a gentle narcotic, easing pain and causing sleep. Half an ounce (14 g) is a full dose for an upgrown person, for younger it must be diminished accordingly. The seeds, beaten into an emulsion, with Barley-water, are good for the strangury, and heat of the urine, but have none of the sleepy virtues of the Syrup. Opium is the milky juice of the plant concentrated into a solid form. It has a faint disagreeable smell and a bitterish, hot, biting taste. Taken in proper doses, it procures sleep and a short respite from pain, but great caution is required in administering it for it is very powerful and, consequently, a very dangerous medicine in unskillful hands. It relaxes the nerves, abates cramps and spasmodic complaints, but increases paralytic disorders. It proves a speedy cure for catarrhs and tickling coughs, but it exasperates all inflammatory symptoms, whether internal or external, by dangerously checking perspiration. It is good for stopping purgings and vomitings and this is effected by small doses judiciously given. (An Illustrated Herbal)

Modern uses of the Poppy yields Opium, from which is extracted morphine and codeine. Herbalists use the Wild or Red Poppy which is non-poisonous.

The medicinal part of Red Sage (Salvia officinalis) includes the dried leaves, oils extracted from flowers and stems, fresh leaves, fresh flowering aerial parts. Sage has an antibacterial fungistic, virostatic, astringent, secretolytic, and perspiration-inhibiting effects. It works on the central nervous system and has a spasmyotic agent. Used externally for inflammation of the mucous membranes of nose and throat. In folk medicine, used internally for gastric disorders such as loss of appetite, bloating, diarrhea, enteritis, and excessive perspiration. Externally, used as a rinse and gargle for...
light injuries and skin inflammation, bleeding gums, stomatitis, laryngitis, pharyngitis and for firming the gums. Should not be taken during pregnancy. (PDR for Herbal Medicines 521, 1113) According to An Illustrated Herbal, "a decoction of the leaves and branches provokes the urine, brings down women's courses and expels the dead child. It stays bleeding of wounds, and can be used to cleanse foul ulcers or sores."

Pills made from sage are used to treat pains in the head and joints, falling-sickness, lethargy, mild depression, and the palsy. The juice relieves hoarseness and cough. Drank with vinegar, it is good for the plague. Sage is also used to prepare gargles and baths. Its modern uses include one of the best remedies for laryngitis, tonsillitis and sore throats. It may be taken internally as a gargle or infusion, which is mildly laxative and stimulates menstruation. It should not, however, be taken during pregnancy.

"Salendine" refers to Celandine (Chelidonium majus), which was used in the treatment of gallstones, liver disease, and bowel obstructions. Topically it is used to remove warts. According to Culpeper, the herb or root boiled in white wine with a few Aniseeds and drunk will open obstructions of the liver and gall. It helpeth the yellow jaundice, the dropsy and the itch and old sores in the legs and other parts. The juice taken fasting is held to be of singular good use against the pestilence. The distilled water with a little sugar and treacle hath the same effect. Dropped into the eyes the juice cleanseth them from films and cloudiness that darken the sight, but it is best to allay the sharpness of the juice with a little breast-milk. It causes old, filthy, corroding, creeping ulcers to heal more speedily and the juice applied to tetter, ringworms or other spreading cankers will quickly heal them too. Rubbed often on warts, it will take them away. The herb with the root bruised and bathed in Oil of Chamomile applied to the navel taketh away griping pains in the belly and bowels and all the pains of the mother. Applied to women's breasts, it stayeth the overmuch flowing of the courses. (Complete Herbal)

According to An Illustrated Herbal, its modern uses recognize that this plant should not be used for self-medication and is contraindicated in pregnancy. The herb is used by professional herbalists as a cholagogue and hepatic tonic. It purifies the blood, increases urine production, but in overdosage it will purge. The fresh juice is still considered to be an effective application for corns and warts. It is used as an eye lotion to remove film on the eyes. Chewing the root relieves toothache. Celandine the Greater (Chelidonium majus) should not be confused with Celandine the Lesser (Ranunculus ficaria), which is known by its signature form. The root of this herb commonly known as Pilewort looks just like the disease for which it is named—the piles (hemorrhoids). In addition to its use as a treatment for the piles, Lesser Celandine, or Pilewort, was used to treat the king's evil (lymphatic swelling) and other tumors. In his Complete Herbal, Culpeper comments that "I cured my own daughter of the king's-evil, broke the sore, drew out a quarter of a pint of corruption and she was cured without any scar at all in one week's time." Modern research recognizes this herb for its use in hemorrhoid treatments.

The medicinal parts of Rosemary (Rosmarinus officinalis) are the leaves. Also called Polar Plant, Compass-weed, Compass Plant. Main active agent is the essential oil.
Improves circulation when applied externally. Used for loss of appetite, blood pressure problems, liver and gallbladder complaints, and rheumatism. The drug is a component of gastrointestinal remedies, such as a stomachic (an agent that promotes digestion and improves appetite) or a carminative (an aid to relieve gas from the alimentary canal, also relieves colic). Externally it can be used for balneotherapy and hypotonic circulatory disorders, rheumatic conditions. In folk medicine, it is used as a poultice (a soft, moist mass of plant parts that are wrapped in muslin or gauze and applied warm or hot to the skin) for poorly healing wounds, for eczema. Should not be used during pregnancy. Large quantities of the oil have been used to induce abortion but are said to lead to coma, spasm, vomiting, gastroenteritis, uterine bleeding, kidney irritation, and death. No documented cases have come to light at this writing of the PDR. \( \text{PDR for Herbal Medicines 520, 1101} \) Historically, Rosemary was used to treat pain in teeth and gums, stomach disorders, numbness in joints and muscles, drowsiness, palsy, loss of speech, lethargy, and falling-sickness (epilepsy).

64 The medicinal parts of Rue (\textit{Ruta graveolens}) include the oil extracted from the herbs, herbal parts after flowering, fresh aerial parts collected at beginning of flowering, and whole plant. Also known as Herb of Grace and Herbygrass. Effects include fertility inhibitor, spasmylytic, and antiexudative effect. Preparations of herb and/or leaves used for menstrual disorders, as an effective uterine remedy, and as an abortive agent. In folk medicine, it was used for menstrual complaints, and as a contraceptive and abortifacient. Also used for inflammation of skin, oral and pharyngeal cavities, earache, toothache, for fevered infections, diseases, for cramps, as an obstetric remedy, hepatitis, dyspepsia, diarrhea, and intestinal worm infestations. Tea preparation; cold decoction (a liquid substance prepared by boiling plant parts in water or some other liquid); topical use. Overdosage can lead to vomiting, sleep disorders, depression, tremor, liver and kidney damage, and even death. \( \text{PDR 520, 1108} \)

65 The medicinal parts of Wormwood (\textit{Artemisia absinthium}) include the aerial parts of the plant. Other names are green ginger and absinthe. The essential oil may possess an antimicrobial effect. The drug also stimulates the bitter receptors in the taste buds of the tongue. When bitter agents are introduced into the mouth, they trigger a reflexive increase of stomach secretion with higher acid concentrations. Used for loss of appetite, dyspeptic disorders, bloating, meteorism (presence of gas in intestine or stomach), and for dyspepsia as a result of convulsive gallbladder disorders. In folk medicine, used internally for gastric insufficiency, intestinal atonia, gastritis, stomach, liver disorders, bloating, anemia, irregular menstruation, fever, loss of appetites, and worm infestation. Externally, used for poorly healing wounds, ulcers, skin blotches, and insect bites. The above mentioned popular indication are insufficiently documented. Large dosages have negative effects—vomiting, cramps, central nervous system disturbances, etc. Infusion, decoction, tea, are usual methods of internal use. Decoction for topical use on wounds and bites. \( \text{PDR 503, 664} \)

66 "Rose solis" (\textit{Drosera anglica}) is Rosa Solis or SunDew. It is also known as Red-rot and Youth-wort. Because it is a rather rare plant, herbalists often use the common Round-leaved Sundew (\textit{Drosera rotundifolia}). According to Nicholas Culpeper's
Complete Herbal (1651), it was used as a distilled water in wines for diseases of the lungs, such as wheezing, phthisicks, shortness of breath, or the cough. It also heals ulcers in the lungs, comforts the heart, and heals fainting spirits. According to An Illustrated Herbal (January 2002), Rosa Solis contains a natural antibiotic. Modern uses include whooping cough, chronic bronchitis, asthma, and laryngitis. It is said to have medicinal properties that control the spasms of whooping cough and can be used as a prophylactic.

67 See endnotes #116, #137 on mugwort.

68 Pempernell (Pimpinella major) is also referred to as Burnet Saxifrage, Pimpernell, and Saxifrage. Its medicinal parts include the dried rhizome, dried roots, fresh roots in May. The root smells rancid and the taste is tangy at first and then burning hot. The root has been shown to have secretolytic and secretomotoric effects on the bronchial mucous membrane. Used internally for lung ailments and to stimulate gastrointestinal activity. Used externally for varicose veins. Used also for coughs and bronchitis, colds, chills. In folk medicine, for disorders of the urinary organs, inflammation of the bladder and kidneys, bladder and kidney stones, and edema. Also as a flushing out agent for urinary tract problems. Externally it is used for poorly healing wounds in a bath, and for inflammation of the oral and pharyngeal mucous membrane. (PDR 518, 1037)

69 Oragons (oregano, oregon and origano) is also referred to as wild marjoram (Origanum vulgare), which is used for coughs and flatulence as well as to stimulate menstruation. (PDR 1004)

70 Scabious (Scabiosa succisa or Scabiosa columbaria) is commonly called Devil's Bit, Premorse, or Scaboius. Its medicinal part is the dried herb and is used for febrile colds and coughs. No health hazards or side effects are known. (PDR 521, 1125)

71 "Egremony" is Agrimony (Agrimonia eupatoria) and was used internally to treat intestinal disorders, urinary tract infections, sore throat, snake bites, coughs, and fevers and topically to treat sore skin, wounds, and old scars. According to An Illustrated Herbal, it remains a valuable herb in modern practice and is used as a tonic for gastrointestinal disorders, cough, skin eruptions, and cystitis.

72 Balme (Melissa officinalis) is commonly called Lemon Balm, Sweet Mary, Honey Plant, Cure-all, Melissa, and Dropsy Plant. It has sedative and antibacterial and antiviral effects and is used for nervous complaints, lower abdominal disorder, nervous gastric complaints, hysteria, melancholia, migraine, high blood pressure, chronic bronchial problems. In folk medicine it is used for the same purposes. (PDR 515, 967, 1032)

73 Scordium is water germander (Teucrium scordium), which has properties that are said to relieve indigestion, lack of appetite, and fever.
Cardus or thistle (*Cnicus benedictus*) is also commonly called Benedictus, St. Benedict Thistle, Holy Thistle, Cardin, Blessed Thistle, or Spotted Thistle. The medicinal part is the flowering plant, which stimulates secretion of saliva and gastric juices and is used to treat loss of appetite, dyspepsia, and as a chologogue (an agent that stimulates the flow of bile from the gall bladder to the duodenum). *(PDR 761)* Thus, it is used today as a treatment of anorexia. Other uses include fever, migraines, backache, and arthritis. It is also used to stimulate menstruation. Historically, Holy Thistle was used against jaundice, red face, ringworms, plague, sores, boils, dog and snake bites, French pox, deafness, and melancholy.

Benedictus (*Cnicus benedictus*), which is the same as Cardus or thistle (see endnote #74 above) is also commonly called St. Benedict Thistle, Holy Thistle, Cardin or Carduus, Blessed Thistle, or Spotted Thistle. *(PDR 761)*

Becitony flowers and leaves (*Betonica officinalis*) or Betony is also known as Wood Betony, and Bishopswort. It acts as a tranquilizer, disinfectant, and astringent. Used as an expectorant for coughs, asthma, and bronchitis. In folk medicine, it is used as an antidiarrheal and as a sedative as well as for kidney and bladder stones. *(PDR 504, 690)*

Centory or Sentory flowers and leaves (*Centaurium umbellatum*) is also commonly called Centaury, Feverwort, Christ's Ladder, Bitterherb, Bitterbloom, Bitter Clover, Centaury Gentian, Eyebright, Rose Pink, Wild Succory, and Canchalagria. The medicinal part of the plant is the dried, aerial parts of the flowering plant. It effects include an increase in gastric secretion and salivation because of its typical bitter reaction. Used for loss of appetite, dyspepsia, and poor gastric secretions. In folk medicine, it is used for fever, worm infestation, diabetes, and kidney stones. Its efficacy in these areas have not been proven. *(PDR 505, 728)*

St John's Wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) is commonly called Hard Hay, Amber, Goatweed, Klamath Weed, and Tipton Weed. Its medicinal parts include the fresh buds and flowers, aerial parts collected during flowering season and dried, whole fresh flowering plant. According to the *PDR* for herbal medicines, amber or *Hypericum perforatum*, has both antidepressant and sedative qualities, which would have been necessary for a woman in this condition. The medicinal parts of the plant include the fresh buds and flowers. According to the *PDR*, "studies have demonstrated that the antidepressive effect may be due to the presence of a monoamine oxidase inhibiting function in the active agents. More recent studies have indicated that the antidepressive effect may be largely due to the ability of the herb to inhibit the reuptake of serotonin…. Internally, the drug is used for psychovegetative disturbances, depressive moods, anxiety, or nervous unrest" (906). For relevant studies, see S. Boldt and H. Wagner's "Inhibition of MAO by Fractions and Constituents of Hepericum Extract" (1994), *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry and Neurology* 7 (Suppl 1): 57-59; E. Ernst's "St. John's Wort, an anti-depressant? A Systematic Criteria-based Overview" (1959), *Phytomedicine* 2: 67-71; and M. A. Jenike's "Hypericum: A Novel Antidepressant" (1994), *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry and Neurology* 7: 51-56.
Marigold or Mary Gould (*Calendula Officinalis*) is also commonly called Mary Gowles, Calendula, Holligold, Goldbloom, Golds, Mary Bird, Ruddes, HoliGold, Marybud. Its medicinal parts are not listed in the *PDR for Herbal Medicines*. However, the results of many studies seem to be readily available and demonstrate that the flowers are antimicrobial, antifungal, antibacterial, antiviral, antiphlogistic (an agent that prevents or counteracts fever or inflammation), and vulnerary (a preparation applied externally). They stimulate the immune system, inhibit tumors, have an inhibitory effect on the central nervous system and are estrogenic, choleric (an agent that stimulates the production of bile by the liver), and hemolytic. Used for inflammation of the mouth and pharynx, wounds and burns. It is very important in folk medicine where it is used externally for varicosis, phlebitis, thrombophlebitis, skin changes, wounds, furunculosis, anal eczema, proctitis, conjunctivitis, dry dermatosis, eczema, and acne. It is a constituent in treatments for dry skin, bee stings, and frostbite. Internally (folk medicine), it is used in remedies for inflammatory conditions of internal organs, gastrointestinal ulcers, and dysmenorrhea. It is also used as a diuretic and diaphoretic in convulsions, fevers, and obstipation (persistent or intractable constipation); as well as for liver diseases, toothache, tired limbs, eye inflammation, as a cordiotonic, for worm infestation, and formerly as a cancer therapy. (*PDR* 505, 511, 704, 891)

Gilly Flower is a clove-scented flower, such as pinks (*PDR* 506, 735). According to Nicholas Culpeper's *Complete Herbal*, gilly flower was commonly called clove gilliflower during the seventeenth century. It is used to "strengthen nature" (probably one's immune system), for consumptions, to reduce fever, and to expel poison.

Angelica (*Angelica archangelica*) is also commonly called European Angelica and Garden Angelica. It medicinal parts are the roots, herbs, and seeds. Its effects include antispasmodic, cholagogue (an agent that stimulates the flow of bile from the gall bladder to the duodendum), stimulatory for secretion of gastric juices. (*PDR* 502, 647)

Male piony (*Paeonia mascula*) is that which constitutes the peony flower (*Paeonia officinalis*), the petals or roots of *Paeonia officinalis*. The medicinal parts are the dried seeds, fresh underground part, and fresh root. It is used for respiratory ailments, diseases of skin and mucus membranes, fissures. In folk medicine, it is used for neurasthenia and neurasthia syndrome, neuralgiss, migraines, allergic disorders such as excitability, epilepsy, and whooping cough. Peony flowers formerly used as an abortifacient, an emmenagogue (a substance that renews or stimulates the menstrual flow), and for epilepsy, and as an emetic. (*PDR* 517, 1008)

Butter burre (*Tussilago farfara*) is also known as Butterbur, Colt's Foot, Coughwort, Bullsfoot, British Tobacco, Flower Velure, Foals' Foot, Horse-Foot, Horsehoof, Hallfoot, Ass's Foot, Foalswort, Fieldhove, Donnhove. It is not to be confused with *Petasites hybridus*, which is also commonly called butterbur, among other names. In *Petasites*, it is the leaves (dried and fresh) and whole plant that has medicinal qualities. In *Tussilago farfara*, it is the dried and fresh leaves and the root (but never the flowering part because of carcinogenic properties) that has medicinal qualities. While
both can be used against coughs, colds, and migraines, *Tussilago farfara* is also a preventative. My best guess is that both herbs were used in this recipe. *Tussilago farfara* was used by the name of British Tobacco (see recipe); *Petasites hybridus* was used under the name of Butterbur. (PDR, "Petasites hybridus," 517, 1020; " Tussilago farfara," 523, 1193) According to Tish Davidson's article in The Gale Encyclopedia of Alternative Medicine, Coltsfoot or Butter burre is recommended to treat asthma, bronchitis, dry, hacking cough, laryngitis and hoarseness, lung cancer symptoms, mouth and throat irritations, sore throat, and wheezing. . . . The German Federal Health agency's Commission E, established in 1978 to independently review and evaluate scientific literature and case studies pertaining to herb and plant medications, has approved the use of fresh or dried coltsfoot leaf in products to treat dry cough, hoarseness, and mild throat or mouth inflammations.

84 Tormentill (*Potentilla erecta*) is also called Tormentilla, Tormentil Root, Bloodroot, Earthbank, English Sassaparilla, Eye Daisy, Flesh Blood, and Shepherd's Knot. Its medicinal parts include the rhizome from roots, underground parts. It is used for diarrhea and inflammation and acute gastroenteritis. (PDR 519, 1062)

85 Gentian (*Gentiana lutea*) or Yellow Gentian is also commonly called Bitter Root, Bitterwort, Gentian Root, and Pale Gentian. It medicinal parts include the dried underground parts or fresh aerial parts. The bitter substances contained in Gentian bring about a reflex stimulation of taste receptors, leading to increased secretion of saliva and digestive juices. Gentian Root is therefore considered not just a pure bitter but also a roborant (a tonic or substance that gives strength). (PDR 866)

86 Based on my research of medicinal herbs, it seems that "allicumpaing" is most probably a misspelling of Elecampane (*Inula helenium*), which is also often misspelled Elicompain. Common names include Elfwort and Wild Sunflower. According to *An Illustrated Herbal* (2002), Elecampane is "one of the most beneficial roots nature affords for the help of the consumptive." The root is recognized to contain insulin and it used in cases of diabetes. It is also used in remedies for coughs, asthma, and bronchitis. Historically, Elecampane was used to treat fever, poor digestion, whooping cough, wheezing, kidney and bladder stones, and the plague. It was also used to stimulate menstruation and relieve pain associated with childbirth.

87 Snakeroot (*Polygala senega*) or Senega Snakeroot is also known as Milk Root, Mountain Flax, Rattlesnake Root, Seneca, Senega, and Seneka. Medicinal part is the dried root. It is used for coughs and bronchitis as an expectorant. Overdosage leads to diarrhea, nausea, gastric complaints and queasiness. (PDR 1055)

88 Scorsenera is probably Scorzonera (*Scorzonera hispanica*).

89 For discussion of Angelica, see endnote #81.
Citerne probably refers to citronella (Cymbopogon species), which is also known as lemongrass. It is used (the dried leaves and oil) as a mild astringent and as a tonic for the stomach. (PDR 791-792)

Violets (Viola odorata) are used for congested lungs, cancer pain, and as a diuretic. See endnote #58 on violets.

For a discussion of Gilly Flower, see endnote #80 above.

Cowslips (Primula veris) are a perennial from the Primrose family and are also known as Peagle. According to the Aromatic and Medicinal Plants Index, an ointment made from the flowers reduces spots and wrinkling of the skin, sunburn, and freckles. The flowers are also used in treatments for vertigo, nightmares, false apparitions, frenzies, falling-sickness, palsies, convulsions, cramps, and nerve pains. The leaves have a healing effect when applied to wounds. Modern use recognizes cowslip for its sedative and anti-spasmodic properties to treat insomnia, anxiety, skin problems, bronchitis, and whooping cough.

If by poppies, Mrs Essington is suggesting Papaver somniferum (instead of Papaver rhoeas), then she is including in her recipe a source of opium and morphine. For a discussion of the difference between the White Poppy (Papaver somniferum) and the Red Poppy (Papaver rhoeas), see endnote #60 above.

Mithridate is an electuary, or sweetened medicine, which is composed of herbs, spices, seeds, and oils mixed with wine and honey. Culpeper writes that it is good against poison and such as have done themselves wrong by taking filthy medicines, it provokes sweat, it helps continual waterings of the stomach, ulcers in the body, consumptions, weakness of the limbs, rids the body of cold humours, and diseases coming of cold, it remedies cold infirmities of the brain, and stopping of the passage of the senses, (viz, hearing, seeing, smelling, &c.) by cold, it expels wind, helps the cholic, provokes appetite to one's victuals, it helps ulcers in the bladder, if Galen say true, as also difficulty of urine, it casts out the dead child, and helps such women as cannot conceive by reason of cold, it is an admirable remedy for melancholy, and all diseases of the body coming through cold, it would fill a whole sheet of paper to reckon them all up particularly. You may take a scruple or half a dram in the morning, and follow your business, two drams will make you sweat, yea one dram if your body be weak, for then two drams may be dangerous because of its heat. (Complete Herbal)

An analysis, based on Culpeper's Herbal, of ingredients used in this receipt shows that individual ingredients had the medicinal properties related to uses given for the therapy. For instance, Dittany, Fennel, St. John's Wort, Poleymountain, Parsley, Hartwort, and Scordium are recognized as herbs to be used to "provoke the terms." Fennel, Poleymountain, and Scordium are recognized herbs to "resist poison." Fennel, Parsley, and Rue are recognized to "ease pain."
Diascordium, like mithridate, is also an electuary but is recommended primarily for use in women "at the time of their lying in," of which Culpeper writes that "I know nothing better." Diascordium "provokes the menses, hastens labour, helps their usual sickness at the time of their lying in; . . . it stop fluxes, mightily strengthens the heart and stomach, neither is so hot but it may safely be given to weak people, and besides provokes sleep." (Complete Herbal). As in the analysis of mithridate above, an analysis of diascordium also shows that ingredients are tied to its suggested use. In this receipt, the ingredients are mostly those that are identified for their effectiveness in "provoking the termes," provoking sleep, or as a sweetener. See also endnote #60 on syrups of diascordium.

London Treacle is not an herb but a cordial water, which would have been known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Culpeper's English translation of the Latin pharmaecopia, he included a translation of the receipt for London Treacle or Theriacca Londinensis as well as a brief commentary on its use. The College of Physicians recommended

Take of Harts'-horne two ounces, the seeds of Citrons, Sorrel, Peony, Bazel, of each one ounce, Scordium, Coralliana, of each six drams, the roots of Angellica, Torrentil, Peopny, the leaves of Dittany, Bay-berries, Juniper-berries, of each half an ounce, the flowers of Rosemary, Marigolds, Clove Gilliflowers, the tops of Saint John's Wort, Nutmeg, Saffron, of each three drams, the Roots of Gentian, Zeodary, Genger, Mace, Myrrh, the leaves of Scabious, Devil's-bit, Carduus, of each two drams, Cloves, Opium, of each a dram, Malaga Wine as much as is sufficient, with treble weight in Honey, mix them according to art. (Complete Herbal)

Culpeper's commentary notes the therapeutic uses for London Treacle, which is "a pretty cordial, resists the pestilence, and is a good antidote in pestilential times, it resists poison, strengthens cold stomachs, helps digestion, crudities of the stomach. A man may safely take two drams of it in a morning, and let him fear no harm" (Complete Herbal)

This is an example of a misplaced comma use, typical in early modern manuscripts. It is important to note when translating early modern manuscripts that punctuation, in general, and comma use, in particular, was not yet standardized and did not conform to the rules we expect today. In this case, the comma appears after "beazor," which is followed by the words "Stone Unicorne's," etc. I have identified Unicorne's Horne as the herb also commonly called Hartshorn, Buck's Horn or Plantain. I have not, however, found a reference to "beazor" or more probably "beazor stone" in my research other than one mention within the list of ingredients used in the recipes on King Charles II near the time of his death and one receipt for Aqua Bezoartica or Bezoar Water in Culpeper's Complete Herbal. While Bezoar stone is not listed in Culpeper's chapter on "Metals, Stones, Salts, and Other Minerals," he does write that bezoar is "a notable restorer of nature" but is not used to be worn as a jewel. My assumption is that only the powder was used from the bezoar stone in making the preparation Culpeper referred to as the "Bezoartic extract" for the honey-like thickness of its residue and Bezoar Water
for the distillation. Culpeper notes that the extract and water have the same medicinal properties. It strengthens the heart, arteries, and vital spirits. It provokes sweat, and is exceeding good in pestilential fevers, in health it withstands melancholy and consumptions, and makes a merry, blithe, cheerful creature. Of the extract you may take ten grains at a time, or somewhat more, if your body be not feverish, half a spoonful of water is sufficient at a time, and that mixed with other cordials or medicines appropriated to the disease that troubles you. (Complete Herbal)

99 Unicorne's Horn is also known as Hartshorn, Buck's Horn, or Plantain according to M. Grieve's *A Modern Herbal* (1931). Plantain (*Herba Stella, Plantago Coronopus*) or Buck's Horn should be differentiated from Plantain (*Plantago major*) but can be substituted one for the other. According to *An Illustrated Herbal* (2002), Buck's Horn (*Plantago coronopus*) was historically recommended for use against venomous bites, especially those of a mad dog, and urinary tract disorders. On the other hand, Plantain (*Plantago major*) was used to stop menstruation and diarrhea and to treat dropsy, falling-sickness, jaundice, liver and kidney disorders, inflammation, pain, gout, ringworm, shingles, sores, wounds, and ulcers. Modern use includes treat for hemorrhoids and diarrhea. See also endnote #121 for a discussion of Plantain water as a therapy.

100 For further discussion of rue's medicinal properties and uses, see endnote #64 above.

101 Delariviere Manley alludes to her own bout with smallpox in *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714). In providing his friend—D'Aumont—the history of Rivella, Sir Charles Lovemore says, "I have heard her Friends lament the Disaster of her having had the Small-pox in such an injurious manner, being a beautiful Child before that Distemper; but as that Disease has now left her Face, she has scarce any Pretence to it" (744). In her edition of *Rivella*, Katherine Zelinsky writes that "Manley's unlikely reversal of the ravaging effects of the disease anticipates, both by contrast and resemblance, such permanently scarred literary descendants, all testimonials to eighteenth-century English society's victimization of the "flawed" woman, as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Flavia in *Six Town Eclogues* (1716), Charlotte Lennox's Harriet Darnley in *Sophia* (1762), Charlotte Smith's Mrs. Manby in *The Old Manor House* (1793), and Frances Burney's Eugenia in *Camilla* (1796)" (47, n.2).

102 Sarsaparilla, or more commonly called smilax (*Smilax officinalis*) today, is used as a tonic, especially for chronic skin diseases but also for rheumatism, gout, and syphilis. The root contains the hormones testosterone, progesterone, and cortin. Historically, Smilax was used to treat venomous bites, urinary disorder, gastro-intestinal disorder, muscle and joint aches, sores, inflammation, ringworm, spots on the skin, venereal disease. According to Culpeper, "If the juice of the berries be given to a new-born child, it shall never be hurt by poison" (*Complete Herbal*).
For a full discussion of this point in relation to the nineteenth century, see Anne McClintock's book-length study *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.*

“Sallade oil” generally indicates olive oil.

Oil of Bay (*Laurus Nobilis*), which is from the laurel plant, is often called Sweet Bay, Daphne Bay, Grecian Laurel, or Bay Laurel. It possesses medium potential for sensitization and, thus, would have had some bit of effect if not in healing then at least soothing “a sore breast.” According to the *PDR*, the medicinal parts of the plant are its leaves, fruit, and oil. Laurel is indigenous to the Mediterranean countries. It is used as a rubefacient (skin stimulant) and for rheumatic conditions. There are no known health hazards or negative side effects with proper administration. The essential oil, which is obtained through a pressing process, is generally used in ointments and soaps. (*PDR* 928)

Turpentine was thought to purge and cleanse the reins, or kidneys.

Wax was thought to soften, heal, and fill sores with flesh. It was also used to preserve lactation in mothers and was given to relieve bloody-fluxes (diarrhea).

Turpentine is the resin from the trunk of the Mastic Tree (*Pistacia Lentiscus*), which can be found in the Mediterranean region, Portugal, Turkey, on the Canary Islands, and in tropical Africa. The essential oil (pine) and resin have astringent and aromatic properties and were used in dentistry and as a breath freshener. There are no known health hazards with proper administration. (*PDR* 1046)

It was not uncommon to use animal feces in the preparation of plaisters.

This would be Celandine The Greater (*Chelidonium majus*), which should not be confused with Celandine The Lesser (*Ranunculus ficaria*) or Pilewort. Celandine (*Chelidonium majus*) was used in the treatment of gallstones, liver disease, and bowel obstructions. Topically it was used to remove warts. According to Culpeper, the herb or root boiled in white wine with a few Aniseeds and drunk will open obstructions of the liver and gall. It helpeth the yellow jaundice, the dropsy and the itch and old sores in the legs and other parts. The juice taken fasting is held to be of singular good use against the pestilence. The distilled water with a little sugar and treacle hath the same effect. Dropped into the eyes the juice cleanseth them from films and cloudiness that darken the sight, but it is best to allay the sharpness of the juice with a little breast-milk. It causes old, filthy, corroding, creeping ulcers to heal more speedily and the juice applied to tetterts, ringworms or other spreading cankers will quickly heal them too. Rubbed often on warts, it will take them away. The herb with the root bruised and bathed in Oil of Chamomile applied to the navel taketh away griping pains in the belly.
and bowels and all the pains of the mother. Applied to women's breasts, it stayeth the overmuch flowing of the courses. (Complete Herbal)

According to An Illustrated Herbal, its modern uses recognize that this plant should not be used for self-medication and is contraindicated in pregnancy. The herb is used by professional herbalists as a chologogue and hepatic tonic. It purifies the blood, increases urine production, but in overdosage it will purge. The fresh juice is still considered to be an effective application for corns and warts. It is used as an eye lotion to remove film on the eyes. Chewing the root relieves toothache. Celandine the Greater (Chelidonium majus) should not be confused with Celandine the Lesser (Ranunculus ficaria), which is known by its signature form. The root of this herb commonly known as Pilewort looks just like the disease for which it is named—the piles (hemorrhoids). In addition to its use as a treatment for the piles, Lesser Celandine, or Pilewort, was used to treat the king's evil (lymphatic swelling) and other tumors. In his Complete Herbal, Culpeper comments that "I cured my own daughter of the king's evil, broke the sore, drew out a quarter of a pint of corruption and she was cured without any scar at all in one week's time." Modern research recognizes this herb for its use in hemorrhoid treatments.

111 I am indebted to Dr. Christopher Hilton, Assistant Curator of The Western Manuscripts Division, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, for his tutorials about demystifying some of the more arcane forms of handwriting and for lending me a copy of L.C. Hector's The Handwriting of English Documents (London: Edward Arnold LTD, 1966) and to Professor Josephine A. Roberts, who introduced me to the joys of archival sleuthing, taught me how to "wear the hat" correctly, and inspired me to keep on digging. For a helpful introduction to paleography, see Appendix A in Philip Gaskell's An Introduction to Bibliography (1972) for his reprint of R.B. McKerrow's 1928 "A Note on Elizabethan Handwriting." In this essay, McKerrow recommends Walter William Skeat's Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts (1892) and Walter W. Greg's Facsimiles of Twelve Early English Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (1913) for manuscript works copied by professional scribes. For court documents and charters, McKerrow recommends Charles Johnson's and Hilary Jenkinson's English Court Hand A.D. 1066 to 1500 (1967).

112 When Lucille Martin, from Sun City, Arizona, cannot locate her pine tar salve, which she uses to treat her psoriasis, she writes a letter to Linda Cobb's "House-Hold Help" column. According to Cobb, who is also known as "The Queen of Clean®," Adams Tarleine Ointment is 50% pine tar. The Queen of Clean also recommends "an interesting old-time recipe for making your own pine tar salve." To prepare this salve, "Combine equal parts pine tar and mutton suet. Melt together, and stir until cold. The recipe claims that it is excellent for ringworm" (The Advocate, Thursday, 26 Sept 2002: 16A). Both the recipe and Adams' ointment are consistent with eighteenth-century remedies for skin conditions.

113 According to Culpeper's Complete Herbal, to prepare Aloe Rosata "Take of Aloes in powder four ounces, juice of Damask Roses clarified one pound, mis them and digest them in the sun, or in a bath, till the superfluous liquor be drown off, digest it, and evaporate it four times over, and keep the mass." Culpeper notes
It is a gallant gentle purger of choler, fever, the stomach from superfluous humors, opens stoppings, and other infirmities of the body proceeding from choler and flegm, as yellow jaundice, & c. and strengthens the body exceedingly. Take a scruple, or half a dram at night going to bed, you may walk abroad, for it will hardly work till next day in the afternoon. (The Complete Herbal)

114 According to Culpeper's The Complete Herbal, the powder of saffron strengthens the heart unless given in large quantities. It helps yellow jaundice, whooping cough, consumption, and difficulty in breathing. It is said to be excellent in epidemic diseases, such as small pox, pestilence, and measles, and is used as an expulsive. Culpeper notes that hermodactyls are nothing but dried saffron; thus, crocus can be used as a substitute for hermodactyls.

115 Castoreum is a peculiar bitter orange-brown substance with strong penetrating odor that is found in the two sacs between the anus and external genitals of the beaver. It is used in medicine as an antispasmodic. It is also used in perfumes. The oil has the same medicinal properties as the simple. According to Culpeper's chapter on "Parts of Living Creatures, and Excrements," it resists poison, the biting of venomous beasts; it provokes the menses, and brings forth birth and after-birth; it expels wind, eases pains and aches, convulsions, sighings, lethargies; the smell of it allays the fits of the mother; inwardly given, it helps tremblings, falling-sickness, and other such ill effects of the brain and nerves. A scruple is enough to take at a time, and indeed spirit of Castorium is better than Castorium, raw, to which I refer you. (Complete Herbal)

116 Syrup of mugwort (Artemisia vulgaris) was used for female disorders, especially to induce menstruation, hasten delivery, and expel the afterbirth.

117 See endnote #46 above for my discussion of St. John's use of the "x" annotation.

118 Nutmeg (Myristicaceae Myristica fragrans) is used as a spice in medicinal and cooking receipts. It is the inner seed or kernel of the plant; mace surrounds the seed coat and is a crimson network of tissue, which is also used as a spice.

119 Garden Tanzy (Tanacetum vulgare) is also known as Tanacetum, bitter buttons, ginger plant, parsley fern, scented fern, English cost, and hind heal. According to Sievers' the Herb Hunters Guide (1930), the plant contains volatile oil, which is poisonous. Historically, it was used to treat worms, diarrhea, the whites in women (discharge), gastro-intestinal disorders, sciatica, and aches of the joints, teeth, and gums. According to An Illustrated Herbal, it is still used to treat worms in children and the gout. Because it stimulates menstruation, it should not be used during pregnancy.

120 Red Rose Water was said to cool, comfort, and strengthen the heart.
According to Culpeper, Plantain Water "helps the headache; being dropped into the ear it helps the tooth-ache, helps the phthisicks (advanced or chronic tuberculosis), dropsy (watery swelling in the tissues of cavities of the body) and fluxes (excessive flow of any body secretion), and is an admirable remedy for ulcers in the reins (kidneys) and bladder" (Complete Herbal). Plantain is also commonly called Unicorne's Horn, Hartshorn, and Buck's Horn. See also endnote #123 for a discussion of the differences between Plantago major and Plantago coronopus.

Crimson Silk is a common name for Red Clover (Trifolium pratense). Other common names include clover, purple clover, peavine, meadow trefoil, bee bread, trefoil, cow grass, and three-leafed grasse. According to Clare Hanrahan's article on Red Clover in The Gale Encyclopedia of Alternative Medicine, Red Clover was "associated with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity because of its threefold leaflets" and in England "was worn as a magic charm to protect against evil." It has been most often used to heal skin inflammations, such as psoriasis and eczema as well as skin irritations, such as those related to insect bites, fungus, sores and wounds, to treat bronchitis, coughs, and whooping cough, to stimulate the liver and gall bladder, to reduce lymphatic swellings, to relieve pain associated with arthritis and gout, and to remedy constipation and poor appetite.

Plantain is also known as Unicorne's Horn, Hartshorn, and Buck's Horn according to M. Grieve's A Modern Herbal (1931). While Plantain (Plantago Coronopus) or Buck's Horn should be differentiated from Plantain (Plantago major), it can be substituted one for the other. According to An Illustrated Herbal (2002), Buck's Horn (Plantago coronopus) was historically recommended for use against venomous bites, especially those of a mad dog, and urinary tract obstructions and disorders. On the other hand, Plantain (Plantago major) was used to stop menstruation and diarrhea and to treat dropsy, falling-sickness, jaundice, liver and kidney disorders, inflammation, pain, gout, ringworm, shingles, sores, wounds, and ulcers. Modern use includes treat for hemorrhoids and diarrhea. See also endnote #121 for a discussion of Plantain water as a therapy.

Comphry root or Comfrey (Symphytum officinale) has historically been used to treat internal wounds, ulcers, the fluxes (excessive discharge), immoderate courses (menstruation), the whites (vaginal discharge), and the running of the rein (kidneys). It also was used as an expectorant. Topically, it was used to heal wounds and broken bones, soothe sore breasts following childbirth, and repress the bleeding of the piles (hemorrhoids). According to An Illustrated Herbal, comfrey has been traditionally a valuable demulcent and healing herb used in the treatment of ulcers, colitis and hiatus hernia. However, in recent years there has been a cloud put over its use by research which suggests it should not be used internally. This research has been the subject of debate and dispute for some time and until the dust settles medical herbalists are recommending that comfrey be used for external conditions only. The root and leaves are used as an application for wounds, fractures and leg ulcers in the form of a poultice or ointment. Comfrey contains allantoin which is used
Coriander (*Coriandrum sativum* L.) is also known as Cilantro, Chinese parsley, *Cilantro*, Culantro, Mexican parsley, and *Yuen sai*. According to J. E. Simon's *Herbs: An Indexed Bibliography 1971-1980*, coriander is valued for its dry ripe fruits, which are called coriander seeds. While coriander seeds have been used primarily as a spice in beverages, food, and confections, it has also been used to flavor cigarette tobacco and as an essential oil in perfumes, soaps, and cosmetics. Its medicinal properties are as an antispasmodic, carminative, stimulant, and stomachic and have been used to treat measles, stomach aches, nausea, and hernias.

Amber (*Hypericum Perforatum*) has both antidepressant and sedative qualities, which would have been necessary for a woman in this condition. According to the *PDR*, "studies have demonstrated that the antidepressive effect may be due to the presence of a monoamine oxidase inhibiting function in the active agents. More recent studies have indicated that the antidepressive effect may be largely due to the ability of the herb to inhibit the reuptake of serotonin" (906). Whether Hypericum Perforatum works as an antidepressant and sedative because of its natural MAO inhibitor or serotonin reuptake properties is less important than the fact that studies have shown that it possesses these therapeutic qualities. Internally, the drug is used for psychovegetative disturbances, depressive moods, anxiety, or nervous unrest. For relevant studies, see S. Boldt and H. Wagner's article "Inhibition of MAO by Fractions and Constituents of Hypericum Extract" (1994), *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry and Neurology* 7 (Suppl 1): 57-59; E. Ernst's "St. John's Wort, An Anti-Depressant? A Systematic Criteria-Based Overview" (1959), *Phytomedicine* 2: 67-71; M.A. Jenike's "Hypericum: A Novel Antidepressant." (1994), *Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry and Neurology* 7: 51-56. The medicinal parts of the plant include the fresh buds and flowers. It is indigenous to all parts of Europe and other names include St. John's Wort, Hard Hay, Goatweed, Klamath Weed, and Tipton Weed. (*PDR* 906)

The liquid left over from dried dates produces a date honey, which was generally used to treat chest complaints such as coughs, and probably has no properties beneficial to inducing labor. Dates are the fruits of the Date Palm (*Phoenix Dactylifera*), and it is the fruit that has medicinal properties. There are no health hazards or side effects with proper therapeutic administration. The honey is made from the fruit, which is dried in the sun. It is the leftover liquid that results in date honey. (*PDR* 1028)

Piony seeds (*Paeonia Officinalis*) were and still are recognized and used as an abortifacient. The medicinal parts of the plant include the dried ripe seeds, underground part, and fresh root. The Peony is indigenous to the southern European mountains. According to the *PDR*, "preparations of Peony are used for ailments of the respiratory tract, diseases of the skin and mucus membranes, fissures, anal fissures associated with hemorrhoids, gout, and rheumatoid arthritis. In folk medicine, Peony root is used for neurasthenia and neurasthenia syndrome, neuralgias, migraines, and allergic disorders such as excitability, epilepsy, and whooping cough. Peony flowers were formerly used
for epilepsy, as an emetic, as an emmenagogue (a substance that renews or stimulates the menstrual flow), and as an abortifacient." (1008). While usually administered as a tincture, there are no known side effects except in the case of overdosage—which include vomiting, colic, and diarrhea. (PDR 1008)

The "blacke pickt" refers to what? Possibly the "black part" of or "black pitt" in the piony seed? This question illustrates a double-edged sword of archival research that has as yet gone unaddressed though I do not know where or even if there is a place to discuss such a seemingly minor but time-consuming and important aspect of this sort of research. Point number one: time consumption. Translating seventeenth and eighteenth century manuscripts, especially those transcribed by amanuenses, literally consumes massive amounts of time. Certainly a drawback but not without the satisfying reward of finally decoding the code. Even though in this particular case I did not time myself, untangling just this grouping of eleven letters that formed two words took approximately fifteen minutes on my second attempt. I spent time on the same grouping yesterday as well, though without success. It was finally through the use of an electrical, swing arm, lighted, magnifying glass that is for photographic not archival work that I was able to decode this series of letters. They were too small to be deciphered with the naked eye alone. As is common for archivists and other researchers in this line of work, I examine the hand until I am familiar with each of the 26 letters of this scribe's alphabet, his variation on individual letters that are used differently when they appear at the end or the middle of a word (for instance the consonants c, f, r, s, and t, and the vowel e often change form according to their placement in the word), as well as his use of shorthand (that is y for "the", w for "with", y for "that," and so on). Once the alphabet is firmly established, I begin reading through the document. All goes smoothly as long as the scribe does not take any creative license with a letter or make a mistake that he must try and cover up, which will result in inconsistencies with the rest of his alphabet. In the case of this scribe, the k, t, and f are almost indistinguishable from one another. In the case of these two words, the "l" in blacke initially appeared to be a flourish attached to the following letter "a" and not the letter "l". Usually, context is helpful at this point; however, in this case it was not. Even though the seed of the piony is indeed one of its more potent parts medicinally, I have found nothing in my research, including Nicholas Culpeper's seventeenth century work, to suggest that there is a black pitt or part that is especially therapeutic or that is discussed as a point of instruction for use of this herb in remedies. Context cannot even help me out here and when I close Culpeper's Complete Herbal with nothing to hang my translation on, I feel dissatisfied and very aware of the amount of time I have let two words eat up. This leads me back to my own text, my use or not of this receipt, and a question about how to proceed. Mark the word with a question mark; explain in the endnotes that it is blurry or illegible; use an ellipsis to completely delete the problematic letters; read the trash novel I started yesterday. These questions reveal the second edge of this archival sword—the simultaneous problem of and responsibility for accuracy when working with manuscripts. Let me give you a personal example. In my first reading of Johanna St. John's recipe collection, I read that her recipe to cause conception caused Mrs. Patricke to conceive twins. It was only through going back through this recipe for a second time to reevaluate each individual letter and double check each word that I
recognized that Mrs. Patricke didn't conceive twins, she "conceived twice". A big difference in understanding why St. John would include this recipe (it worked twice on one woman) even though the number of offspring was probably the same. Thus, my quandary. Accuracy of translation is essential for understanding precisely what these manuscripts tell us about women's healthcare and the culture within which it is located, but the time it takes to achieve that accuracy sometimes feels like an obsessive-compulsive digression into inconsequential tedium at the expense of quantifiable production. I wonder if the woman on the factory line feels this same quandary. So, anyway, there lies the nexus of my quandary—without consuming massive amounts of time on what seems to be the smallest of details there can be very little assurance of accuracy, but then without accuracy the text itself as well as even the smallest amount of time—the researcher's or the reader's—is wasted, inconsequential, and nonproductive.

130 Mace (Myristicaceae Myristica fragrans) is used as a spice in medicinal and cooking receipts. Mace surrounds the seed coat and is a crimson network of tissue.

131 Lilly Flower (Trillium erectum) is also known as Birthroot because it is said to promote menstruation and labor. Other common names include Bethroot, Snakebite, Ground Lilly, Milk Ipecac, Indian Shamrock, Lamb's Quarters, Wake-Robin, Indian Balm, Coughroot, Jews-harp Plant, Pareswort, Rattlesnake Root, Three-leaved, and Nightshade. The medicinal parts of the plant include the rhizome, dried root, and leaves. It is indigenous to the central and western regions of the United States. While the drug has astringent and expectorant properties, it can irritate the area where it has been applied and cause vomiting. Used as an infusion, Lilly Flower (or more usually, Birthroot) is used for long, heavy menstruation and as a pain reliever. In high dosages, it is said to promote labor. (PDR 1190).

132 According to Culpeper, Raspberry (Rubus idafus) is somewhat astringent and good to prevent miscarriage. It was also used to strengthen the stomach and stop vomiting. While inferior to the Strawberry, Raspberry was used to dissolve tartar build up on the teeth. In current use the syrup is used to flavor medicines. An infusion of the leaves will check simple diarrhea and reduce fever and alleviate sore throat. The powdered leaves, made into pills or as an infusion, can be taken in pregnancy to aid in childbirth and during menstruation for pain. However, An Illustrated Herbal warns that

- It has a marked hormonal effect on the musculature of the uterus, stimulating normal contractions and inducing relaxation between them.
- If the medicine is to be taken in pregnancy—and it should not be taken in the early weeks—it is advisable to he under the supervision of a medical herbalist.

133 July Flowers are not listed in any of the herbals, dating from the sixteenth through the twentieth century, that I have used in my research.

134 Kermes or the Kermes Oak (Quercus Coccifera) is in the family of the Common or British Oak (Quercus robur), which is noted for its size and toughness, was for
centuries the chief forest tree of England, and as such has been mentioned in poems by Herrick and Withers, has been the subject of folklore and proverbs, and is said that King Arthur's Round Table was made from a single slice of the Common Oak. According to Grieve's *A Modern Herbal*, the medicinal properties of kermes or oak are "slightly tonic, strongly astringent and antiseptic. . . . Like other astringents, it has been recommended in agues and haemorrhages, and is a good substitute for Quinine in intermittent fever, especially when given with Chamomile flowers. It is useful in chronic diarrhoea and dysentery."

135 Oil of Almonds (*Rosaceae Prunus dulcis*) is still used today in pharmaceuticals according to Magness, Markle, and Compton's "Food and Feed Crops of the United States." (Bulletin 828). The seed or kernal is used for eating and for confections; the oil is extracted from the kernal for medicinal use. According to Culpeper, oil of almond relieves roughness and soreness (*Complete Herbal*).

136 Fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*) is said to increase production of milk in mothers, helps "bring down the courses," and "cleanse the parts after delivery" (*Complete Herbal*).

137 Mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*), which is said to have a pleasant tangy taste, is often used as a sedative and antidepressant. It has also been observed to have sensitization properties for relaxation when used in baths and has been documented as an agent used for delayed menstruation and as an abortifacient. The medicinal parts are the root and all above ground parts of the plant. A common use of Mugwort is moxibustion, or a process in which leaves are ground with water in a mortar, larger remnants are removed, small cones are formed and dried. These cones are later burnt onto the skin of the patient. The plant is used for worm infestations, epilepsy, persistent vomiting, to promote circulation, and as a sedative. The root in combination with other remedies is used as a tonic as well as for depression, irritability, restlessness, insomnia, and anxiety. Mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*) is also often called Wormwood, Felon Herb, or St. John's Plant; however, there are some differences between wormwood (*Artemisia absinthium*) and Mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*) (*PDR* 503, 667-668).

138 Myrrh (*Commiphora molmol*) is generally used for the topical treatment of mild inflammations of the oral and pharyngeal mucosa and minor wounds. In folk medicine, it is occasionally used internally as an expectorant. In his chapter on "Tears, Liquors, and Rozins," Culpeper writes that

myrh . . . opens and softens the womb, provokes the birth and after-birth; inwardly taken, it helps old coughs and hoarseness, pains in the sides, kills worms, and helps a stinking breath, helps the wasting of the gums, fastens the teeth: outwardly it helps wounds, and fills up ulcers with flesh. (*Complete Herbal*)

139 Of Hemp Seed or Hemp, Culpeper writes that it is "so well known to every good housewife in the country, that I shall not need to write any description of it" (*Complete Herbal*). However, he does discuss its medicinal "government and virtues" at some length:
The seed of Hemp consumes wind, and by too much use thereof disperses it so much that it dries up the natural seed for procreation; yet, being boiled in milk and taken, helps such as have a hot dry cough. The Dutch make an emulsion out of the seed, and give it with good success to those that have the jaundice, especially in the beginning of the disease, if there be no ague accompanying it, for it opens obstructions of the gall, and causes digestion of choler. The emulsion or decoction of the seed stays lasks and continual fluxes, eases the cholic, and allays the troublesome humours in the bowels, and stays bleeding at the mouth, nose, or other places, some of the leaves, being fried with the blood of them that bleed, and so given them to eat. It is held very good to kill the worms in men or beasts; and the juice dropped into the ears kills worms in them; and draws forth earwigs, or other living creatures gotten into them. The decoction of the root allays inflammations of the head, or any other parts: the herb itself, or the distilled water thereof doth the like. The decoction of the root eases the pains of the gout, the hard humours of knots in the joints, the pains and shrinking of the sinews, and the pains of the hips. The fresh juice mixed with a little oil and butter, is good for any place that hath been burnt with fire, being thereto applied.

140 The Even's Family Recipe and Commonplace Book (Ms 7732, Shelfmark T2/7-C/5) dates from the late eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries. This collection of medical and cookery recipes includes medical memoranda and other commonplaces and was compiled by Ann Evens née Coad and other members of the Evens family of Saltash, Cornwall, c. 1788-1831. This book is also interesting physically, particularly because it seems to have two front covers rather than a front and a back. One side contains medical recipes, memoranda, and other commonplaces. Flip the book over and you have a recipe book that contains recipes for mushrooms, mince pies, curing bacon, cheesecake, pickle walnuts, green pudding. This side also contains words of wisdom about god and religion as well as reflections on friends and loved ones. The cover reads Ann Coad, August the 1, 1788, and includes a handwritten register of births, beginning with "William Evens, son of William and Ann Evens was born December the 31 between eleven and twelve at Night, 1789; their second son was born December 5, 1791 between four and five in the morning; Baptize January 15, 1792 by the name of John Coad; Thomas Evens they 3rd son was born December the 10 about 4 clock in the afternoon, 1793; all christened in Saltash Chapel; Ann Evens was born October 19 1796 about 6 clock I the morning."

141 This English Recipe Book dates from the early eighteenth century, contains both medical and cookery receipts, and is written in a variety of eighteenth-century hands.

142 Sarah Holmes Stone (1702-1737?) received an education, had access to anatomy texts, witnessed dissections of female bodies, and served as an apprentice to her mother, also a midwife, for six years before assuming her own practice. During her career as a midwife and as a midwife's consultant, Stone practiced in Taunton, Bristol, and Picadilly, London, where she published A Complete Practice of Midwifery (1737),
which "contains over forty of her presumably most memorable cases" (Towler 118). While Stone recognized the necessity for some theoretical knowledge, she "felt that her clinical experience under the guidance of an expert midwife had been most valuable to her (Towler 118). That expert midwife was her mother Mrs. Holmes. According to J.H. Aveling, in *English Midwives: Their History and Prospects* (London: Hugh K. Elliott, 1967), Mrs. Holmes was a celebrated midwife during the period; one doctor called her the "best midwife he ever knew" (105). In *A Complete Practice of Midwifery*, Stone argues that before "practising the 'art where life depends,' every midwife should be instructed for at least three years" (qtd in Towler 118, from Stone's *A Complete Practice of Midwifery*, London, 1737).

143 In the January 14-17, 1661 edition of the *Weekly Intelligencer*, it was reported that “Certain persons who having the Kings-Evil and having been touched by his Sacred Majesty, have yet the Forhead to come twice or thrice.”

144 In July 1660, the *Mercurius Publicus* reported that “His Majesty . . . touch’d for the Evil near 1700 persons, and there being at present above 1000 in London come from several parts attending for the same.”

145 Count Lorenzo Magalotti chronicles a session that he witnessed in Newmarket while traveling in England (London primarily) from April until June, 1669. Magalotti records,

> As soon as [Charles] appeared the two assistant ministers [i.e. officiating parson] dressed in their surplices began the prayers [in the Book of Common Prayer: omitted from modern editions] with a great appearance of devotion . . . [Charles having taken his seat and the invocations having been read.] His Majesty began the ceremony of touching the patients in the part affected. These were conducted into the King’s presence, one at a time and as they knelt before him he touched them with both his hands . . . [After more prayers, during which the King remained seated, and was probably given a chance to wash his hands,] the diseased came again in the same order as before, to His Majesty, who put round their necks a ribbon of an azure colour, from which was suspended a medallion of gold, stamped in his own image. (qtd in Picard 80)

This was an era when the work of the natural philosophers and materialists, such as Harvey and Hobbes, had not yet had an impact on medical practice. Thus, during the Restoration and into the early eighteenth century, healthcare still depended on magic, folklore, herbs, and home remedies for their curative and preventative properties. And as already seen in the case of Charles II’s death-bed, doctors, even, depended on, prescribed, and used herbal preparations and remedies, such as cupping, setons, clysters, cantharides, and bleeding, which today one might call naïve or folkish. However, a dependence on twentieth-century frameworks and presuppositions about medical care perpetuates misconceptions about Restoration and Eighteenth Century healthcare practices. Even after the death of Charles II and the end of the Royal "touching," the disease called the "King's Evil" still existed. As late as the mid-eighteenth century,
receipts for medicines against it can be found, as in the case of Sarah Palmer's Booke, Ms 3740:

A Medisen for the Kings Evill or for all Rising in the Flesh as Knobs and Kernells. Take a little white virgin's waxe a little oyle of Broom, and boyle it together A verie little while then take it of from the fire and keep stirring of it untill it be cooled, end that will make the one to mixe with the other, and then spread it on a leather and lay it on the sweeling. (f.12.v.)

146 It is interesting that the obstacles to and damaging misrepresentations of women's roles in eighteenth-century healthcare run parallel to those witnessed in twenty-first century sustainable development work in second and third world countries. For my discussion of this structural parallel between work in sustainable development and studies in literature, see chapter 7. For the classic texts in this field, see Frederique Apffel-Marglin's Decolonizing Knowledge: From Development to Dialogue (1996); Robert Chamber's Rural Development: Putting the Last First (1983); and Robert Chambers, Arnold Pacey, and Lori Ann Thrupp's Farmer First: Farmer Innovation and Agricultural Research (1989).

147 I use the word "particular" here to suggest difference. From the seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, anatomists aimed for either an ideal or characteristic view of the body and its functions. Receipt books, on the other hand, addressed the particular—the particular pain, the particular dis-ease, the particular body—rather than the body that was characteristic of most bodies or that was the ideal body. See my discussion of morbid anatomy and its relationship to the construction of femininity for more detail on this matter.
Chapter 5: The Criminalized Body

"What is not a crime in men is scandalous and unpardonable in woman."
Delariviere Manley, The Adventures of Rivella

I. Introduction

Crime, criminal, pirate, and badman have attracted increased scholarly attention recently. While most of these studies are valuable to literary scholarship, some limit their focus to a conventional view of crime as outsider act and criminal as outlaw or tough guy, which reinforces traditional definitions and gender associations that are not productive to a broader discussion of crime in eighteenth-century England. The danger of such a limited characterization of outlaw is that it can lead to an oversimplified notion of power. This view assumes that power is located only on the side of the law or in the one who is on the inside. Such a construction divides power along a rigid binary presumption of insider and outsider and does not allow for the possibility of acts of resistance from beyond the borders of privilege. Within a conventional treatment, the assumption may be that whatever is located beyond the boundaries of privilege is marginalized as outside of the law and whatever is outside the law is identified as criminal. But what happens if the "criminal" is not outsider or outlaw? Studies must critically examine both the criminal act as well as the origins of the laws that deem an act a crime. Furthermore, such studies must be careful that they do not reinscribe crime simply along conventional gender lines. Studies that take as their sole focus the eighteenth-century tough guy, pirate, or the badman risk neglecting the ways in which crimes, criminals, and criminal acts are gendered and, thus, forfeit a more comprehensive understanding of crime in the eighteenth century.
While investigations of the outlaw, pirate, and badman illustrate the extent to which particular acts and actors were marginalized as outsiders, the examination of the impact of crime, criminality, and the law on women during the long eighteenth century raises interesting questions about the relevance of gender to law and exposes the ways in which eighteenth-century legal discursive space targeted not only specific outsider acts but also particular outsider bodies. Investigating legal discursive space along gender lines reveals the ways in which female bodies were constructed as outsider, were marginalized, and ultimately were criminalized under the law. In her 1714 novel, *The Adventures of Rivella*, Delariviere Manley uncovers the inequity of the legal system, exposes its double standard, and criticizes that "[i]f she had been a Man she had been without Fault: But the Charter of [the female] Sex being much more confin'd than [the male], what is not a Crime in Men is scandalous and unpardonable in Woman" (743).^2\footnote{Published five years before *Rivella*, Manley's *Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Persons of Quality of both Sexes. From the New Atalantis, an Island in the Mediterranean. Written Originally in Italian* demonstrates that it is not only the outsider acts of outlaws, pirates, and badmen but also the outsider bodies of women that the law constructs as transgressive.}

In her anti-Whig exposé of the early eighteenth-century politico-legal landscape, Manley foregrounds the visceral experience of the female body. Her construction of the body demonstrates that during the long eighteenth century the personal was political. *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis* takes as its focus the physical consequences of the socially constructed transgressive body and the role those consequences play in constructing female subjectivity. As Carole Fabricant has argued in "The Shared
Worlds of Manley and Swift," "the body was indispensable to the truthful, multifaceted presentation of (a female) self" (195). Manley's *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis* illustrates the visceral hardships of womanhood in relation to the injustices of a political system and its politicians who violate those whom they were elected to protect. As Melina Alliker Raab argued in "The Manl(e)y Style: Delariviere Manley and Jonathan Swift," the "body becomes the ultimate text of the human condition. It cannot be rewritten and its physicality cannot be 'reformed'" (140). As Raab has demonstrated, both Manley and her literary contemporary Jonathan Swift take physicality to its extremes. However the difference between them is that Manley uses the female body's objectification to "satirize society rather than to satirize women or women's sexuality per se" (140). As Raab has suggested, "there is more to fear and loathe about the body than its need to excrete waste, such as its suffering during childbirth and its vulnerability to rape" (140). Visceral suffering and vulnerability are revealed in Manley's fictions—fictions, which provide the story of how eighteenth-century culture, in general, and law, specifically, are inscribed on the body and how those particular, located bodies are symptomatic of larger systemic concerns about political corruption and legal abuse. In short, *Secret Memoirs* reveals that while outsider bodies are the ones criminalized, it is oftentimes the insider bodies that are criminal.

Manley opens *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis* with an allusion to Juvenal's anti-female satire "On Women," in which Justice and Chastity withdraw from the earth. In her revision of Juvenal, Manley restores Astrea, the goddess of justice, to Atalantis. The goddess of justice,

(who had long since abandoned this World, and flown to her Native Residence above) by a new form'd Design, and a Revolution of Thought,
was willing to Revisit the Earth, to see if Humankind were still as
defective, as when she in a Disgust forsook it. Her Descent was as soon
perform'd as thought upon; the European World being the most Fam'd
above for Sciences, she resolv'd her Visit should be there. (273)

However, "(by a little too strong a Propension of one of the Winds that bore her) she
alighted upon the Cliffs of an Island, named Atalantis, situated in the Mediterranean
Sea" (273). Once there, she rejoined her mother, Virtue, and together they would
"travel the island of Atalantis with the aid of a guide the Lady Intelligence, uncovering
the abuses and corruptions rampant below in order for Astrea the better to instruct her
young charge, the future prince of the moon" (Ballaster v). 4 Justice (Astrea), Virtue,
and Intelligence are the tripartite narrative voice that guides readers along their journey
across a socio-political landscape entangled in the stark realities of corruption and
abuse.

As the novel opens, Intelligence reports that William III has recently died, which
functions as a set piece for the novel. Astrea, Virtue, and Intelligence survey the
deathbed scene in which the corpse of William—a metaphorical embodiment of Whig
politics—is abandoned on the emergence of Anne—a metaphorical embodiment of
Tory politics. Of the scene, Astrea remarks that "all was a Desart; the numerous Croud
of Guards and Attendance, nay even his menial Servants were vanish'd" (356). As
William's fickle subjects rush to their new Queen in hopes of preferment, Intelligence
explains to Astrea "the way of the World" (357):

Alas! this is nothing new, were you to peruse History, you wou'd find
few faithful to the Dead. I have read of Kings that have dy'd in peace,
amidst a great and flourishing People, yet have not found any to bestow
the decent Rites of Washing or Covering to the Royal Carkass, till the
Embalmers, who are paid for what they do, come two or three Days
after, to find if 'tis time for them to fall to work. The Lesser follow the
Example of the Greater, these run to make their Court to the new
Manley uses this scene to draw a sharp comparison between the death of William and a corrupt Whig government and the rise of Anne and the Tory opposition, which makes England a safer, more equitable, place not only for the privileged landed gentry but also for the exploited urban poor, working class, and church. Through this juxtaposition of an abandoned, corrupted corpse with the "great Croud of Flatterers that immediately flock'd about" their "tenderly adored" new empress, Manley reveals the dissident theme of her novel and sets the stage for what is to be revealed in *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*: Manley's exposure of a corrupt and inequitable politico-legal system, destabilization of Whig influence, and disruption of conventional views about crime, criminal, and criminal acts. As Fabricant and others have demonstrated, *Secret Memoirs* was a highly influential satire during its time, undermined public confidence in the Whig government, and created a favorable climate for Tory takeover (154-155).

This study demonstrates that Manley's satire was not only valuable to then current oppositional politics but also to scholarship today in what it tells us about the gendering of crime, criminals, and criminal acts in relation to outsider, or female, bodies.

II. Historicizing Legal Space

A feminist review of eighteenth-century laws pertaining to women shows that what the law says and what the law actually punishes is often two different things *and* that while laws are ostensibly written for the populace, in reality eighteenth-century law is often heavily class and gender specific and administered inequitably. Infanticide
laws are a case in point—a mechanism by which the government can control the lower class, suppress illegitimate childbirth, and maintain order. On the other hand, there are also laws written with a view toward the upper classes. Abduction, seduction, and rape laws essentially provide protection against and restitution for misuse of family name and property. However, even though these laws work differently across class and gender lines, there is a similarity between them. In both cases, these laws are written so that male privilege is ultimately protected. In the first case, historical archives show that it is, ninety percent of the time, the mother—not the father—of the child who is the defendant in infanticide cases. As for cases of abduction, seduction, and rape, it is most often the father of the ruined daughter—not the daughter herself—who may seek and has the right to restitution for damages. Before I turn to particular laws, their specific use, and their representation in eighteenth-century women's writing, I briefly contextualize this discussion of eighteenth-century law as it differs from present-day conceptions of law and legality and demonstrate the significance of legal space to women's bodies in the eighteenth century.

A brief historical review of crime, criminality, and the law will be productive to a contextualization of legal space in eighteenth-century England. The first issue that must be addressed is the term crime itself. As G.R. Elton points out in his "Introduction" to Crime in England 1550-1800, "[h]istorians anxious to study crime in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must first realize that their subject was not known then by that name" (2). While the word "crime" was in use at the time, it lacked the particular meanings that we associate with it today. For instance, it did not even appear as an entry in the law dictionaries or instruction books of the time.
However, this is not to suggest that "criminal" acts were not a problem during the eighteenth century. In fact, J.M. Beattie, in "Crime and the Courts in Surrey, 1736-1753," reports that by the "middle of the eighteenth century . . . a crime wave of unexampled proportions struck the metropolis of London and its immediate environs. Gaols were suddenly overcrowded and the courts overburdened" (155). Contemporary writers commented on the increasingly rising crime rate. In 1751, Henry Fielding, who was at the time serving as a magistrate, wrote that "the streets of this town and the roads leading to it will shortly be impassable without the utmost hazard; nor, are we threatened with seeing less dangerous gangs of rogues among us, than those which the Italians call Banditti" (*Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers* 2).

Officials in the House of Commons called for special committees to combat crime and construct strategies "for enforcing the execution of the laws and for suppressing . . . outrages and violences" (*House of Commons Journals*, XXVI (1750-1754): 27, qtd in Beattie, 155). By mid-century, the Age of Reason with its aspirations for natural law, right reason, and social contracts was overcome by its own dangerous exuberance.

Instead of the modern classifications of crime, criminality, and criminal act, what the eighteenth century would have dealt with were offenses punishable by death, or capital offenses, and those not punishable by death, or lesser offenses. Capital offenses included felonies, treasons, and murder (although they would have been listed separately). Of these three, felonies were the most serious and carried the most horrific judgement or sentence. According to J.H. Baker's study of "Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550-1800," the judgment for felony and treason was prescribed by law and could not be altered by the judge. In treason, the only judgment permitted for men until the last century was: 'You are
to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there you are to be hanged by the neck, and being alive cut down, and your privy-members to be cut off, and your bowels to be taken out of your belly and there burned, you being alive; and your head to be cut off, and your body to be divided into four quarters, and that your head and quarters be disposed of where his majesty shall think fit.' (42)

The judgment for women, on the other hand, was "to be burned with fire until you are dead" (42). According to Baker, this law remained on the books until 1790 although his research shows that Alice Lisle and Elizabeth Gaunt were probably the last to be burned at the stake in 1685 (307, fn 158). What is important to note here is that as the crime rate increased during the eighteenth century, so too did the number of crimes classified as capital offenses. J.M. Beattie points out that by 1736 capital punishment had also been extended to a much wider range of offences that were thought by the men of property in parliament to require the protection of the ultimate deterrent either because the object of the theft was especially valuable or because the offence was especially difficult to prevent or, as often as not, because some members of parliament were persuaded that a particular crime was increasing out of control. (156)

On the list of offences were horse-theft, picking pockets, pilfering from their masters by domestic servants, shoplifting, stealing from ships, barges, docks, or warehouse, stealing sheep, and stealing cattle (Beattie 157). In *A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750*, Radzinowicz estimates that the number of convicted felons condemned to the death penalty was only at about ten to twenty percent. Of that group, only about half were actually executed; this percent fell to one-third near the close of the eighteenth century (140-151). Other serious offenses would have included robbery, burglary, grand larceny, rape, coining, and witchcraft.

Illicit acts, or misdemeanors, are those trespasses not punishable by death and considered the lesser offenses, which include various forms of cheating (possibly
including fraud, embezzlement, and extortion though this is debatable), trespass, petty larceny, scandal, public disturbances, and general violence, such as fights and assaults. Unlike the capital offenses, punishment for the lesser offenses was not fixed and was less brutal. Generally such punishment included whipping, the pillory, or fines. Under consideration during the time of Elizabeth, in use by 1615, and actually quite commonplace by mid-seventeenth century, transportation to America was utilized as a form of pardon. However, by the reign of Charles I, "seven years in America began to lose the terror it had held in James I's time and might even have been a welcome prospect for the down-at-heel" (Baker 45).

According to Elton, any study of crime in the early modern period must abandon modern categories based on the concepts of social norms, social justice and antisocial behaviour, in order to identify contemporary categories based on legal definition or the absence of it, to analyse the distinctions to be made here, and to resolve their many technical problems….[and] …to reintroduce those modern concepts in order to discover what possibly criminal activities the strict analysis may have eliminated and whether they should be added to the area of inquiry. (6)

Offenses against the Church were not considered crimes but sins. According to Elton's legal criterion, "offences against God not man . . . lacked the strictly criminal element of deliberate and malicious intent against another person's rights which, so far as a principle can be discovered, underlay the common-law definition of the various activities which deserve to be called criminal" (3). This is interesting particularly since during the seventeenth century investigation of infanticide questions moved from the realm of the ecclesiastical courts to the domain of statutory law and prosecution by magistrate. Baker points outs that the "only capital offence within their purview was heresy, punishable until 1677 with death by fire" (32). However, the ecclesiastical
courts more commonly dealt with offenses against sexual morality, such as fornication, and "included 'spiritual' defamation, drunkenness, bad language and other manifestations of discordant or dissolute living" (32).

III. **Exposing the Relevance of Concealment to Infanticide Laws**

While cases of concealment and infanticide were tried in criminal courts prior to the seventeenth century, the Infanticide or Concealment Act did not finally pass parliament until the very end of the 1623-1624 parliamentary session. According to Peter C. Hoffer and N.E.H. Hull, in *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England, 1558-1803*, the increasing Puritan element within parliament was probably the influential factor in this bill passing when it did. Because the Puritans “feared the concealment of a hardened heart, the sinfulness of women, and the immorality of the idle . . . [t]he Infanticide Law, with its uncompromising attack on promiscuity, attracted their support” (23).

However, it was not only the Puritans who called attention to concealment. Ballads, pamphlets, periodical essays, and the *Complete Newgate Calendar* attest to the widespread public attention this issue received as well as the differing viewpoints it produced. Volume I of the *Newgate Calendar* records the indictment and execution of one Sarah Chivers for concealing and delivering of a bastard (90). Other viewpoints include Jonathan Swift's “A Modest Proposal” and Joseph Addison's *Guardian* paper, in which he wrote about the barbarity and horror of infanticide. In Paper #105, Addison lays out this view:

> There is scarce an Assizes where some unhappy Wretch is not Executed for the Murder of a Child. And how many more of these Monsters of Inhumanity may we suppose to be wholly undiscovered, or cleared for want of Legal Evidence? … It is certain, that which generally betrays
these profligate Women into it, and overcomes the Tenderness which is natural to them on other Occasions, is the fear of Shame, or their Inability to support those whom they give Life to. (366-367)

Addison, like the Puritan writers of this bill, represents the indicted women as profligate, barbarous, and lewd "Monsters of Inhumanity" (366). However, neither Addison's Guardian nor, as G.R. Elton cautions in his "Introduction" to Crime in England, 1550-1800, the presence of a statutory law on the books necessarily reflects public opinion. Elton suspects that "a proper investigation would reveal a story commonplace in eighteenth-century legislation when individuals or very small pressure groups proved regularly able to put their pet projects onto the statute book. If that was the case, there is manifestly a danger in using that statute book to discover general social attitudes or even the attitudes of the often falsely classified upper classes" (5). Elton warns scholars of the danger of viewing the statute book as representative of societal norms and public opinion, when in fact it often represented the pet projects of the people in power. In this case, the people in power were the Puritan contingent in Parliament and their pet project was Statute 21 James I, c.27, which legislated the criminalization of unmarried pregnant women from the lower classes.10

Statute 21 James I, c.27, reads as follows

I. An act to prevent the destroying and murthering of bastard children. Whereas, many lewd women that have been delivered of bastard children, to avoid their shame, and to escape punishment, do secretly bury or conceal the death of their children, and after, if the child be found dead, the said woman do allege, that the said child was born dead; whereas it falleth out sometimes (although hardly it is to be proved) that the said child or children were murthered by the said women, their lewd mother, or by their assent or procurement:

II. For the preventing therefore of this great mischief, be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That if any woman after one month next ensuing the end of this session of parliament be delivered of any issue of her body, male or female, which being born alive, should by the
laws of this realm be a bastard, and that she endeavour privately, either by drowning or secret burying thereof, or any other way, either by herself or the procuring of others, so to conceal the death thereof, as that it may not come to light, whether it were born alive or not, but be concealed: in every such case the said mother so offending shall suffer death as in case of murder, except such mother can make proof by one witness at the least, that the child (whose death was by her so intended to be concealed) was born dead.

In effect, this law made it legal to indict a woman based on circumstantial evidence as well as on prior sexual misconduct, that is, the reference to the “lewd” women.

According to the *OED* (1989, vol. VIII), the earliest uses of lewd (c.890) are meant to differentiate between holy orders and lay service, as in a lay brother. By the thirteenth century, lewd took on the meaning of “unlearned, unlettered, untaught” as in phrases, such as the “learned (or lered) and lewed” to distinguish between those with and those without formal education. By the fourteenth century, lewd took on a class association, as in “Belonging to the lower orders; common, low, vulgar, ‘base’,” which was associated with certain “persons, their actions, etc.: Bad, vile, evil, wicked, base: unprincipled, ill-conditioned; good-for-nothing, worthless, ‘naughty’” and by the eighteenth century "lewd" was clearly associated with crime, as in the *OED*‘s example from Burke, “A lewd tavern for the revels and debauches of banditti, assassins, bravos, smugglers, and their more desperate paramours” (179). The surviving sense of “lewd,” which is “Lascivious, unchaste,” developed out of this class and crime usage and often is an indictment of a woman’s class and behavior, as in “He had been seen in the company of lewd women” (*Arbuthnot John Bull* IV. i). Lewdness was of such relevance that even William Blackstone addressed it in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1769): “The last offence which I shall mention . . . is that of open and notorious lewdness; either by frequenting houses of ill-fame . . . or by some grossly
scandalous and public indecency” (IV, 64). Blackstone locates lewdness in femininity when he offers up “houses of ill-fame” as one location of lewdness. Thus, based on its etymology, lewdness is a character indictment, containing clear associations to crime, based on particular class and gender assumptions. According to the law, "lewdness" could be used as evidence of guilt in infanticide cases, distinguishing these cases as indictments solely of the working or lower classes.

In addition to prior sexual misconduct, suppression of a pregnancy, birth, or death was also evidence of infanticide. In his *Commentaries*, Blackstone’s interpretation of 21 James I, c. 27, supports my own. Blackstone writes that

to kill a child in it's mother's womb, is now no murder, but a great misprision: but . . . it is enacted by statute 21 Jac. I. c. 27. that if any woman be delivered of a child, which if born alive should by law be a bastard; and endeavours privately to conceal it's death, by burying the child or the like; the mother so offending shall suffer death as in the case of murder unless she can prove by one witness at least that the child was actually born dead. (IV, 198)

Later in *Commentaries*, Blackstone clarifies his interpretation that according to "statute 21 Jac. I. c. 27. a mother of a bastard child, concealing it’s (sic) death, must prove by one witness that the child was born dead; otherwise such concealment shall be evidence of her having murdered it" (IV, 352, my emphasis). Evidence of concealment was then evidence of murder. As Blackstone demonstrates, any "child, whose death is concealed, was therefore killed by it’s (sic) parent" (IV, 198, my emphasis). Blackstone states that this parliamentary statute "favours pretty strongly of severity, in making the concealment of the death almost conclusive evidence of the child’s being murdered by the mother" (IV, 198, my emphasis).11 As Sara Grieco writes in “The Body, Appearance, and Sexuality,” the “greater the social opprobrium attached to a fault, the
greater the temptation to suppress the evidence; whence the proliferation of laws against
infanticide, the creation of new foundling homes, and the new obligation of pregnancy
declarations by single women, which automatically assumed that the unwed mother of a
stillborn child was a murderess unless she had previously declared her pregnancy” (80).

Because women of the upper classes were considered property first and human
beings only secondly, property laws and estates rights seemed to protect these women
from the administration of infanticide laws. In "Women as Historical Actors," Natalie
Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge argue that while women “found ways to escape both
oppressive realities and stifling discourses on female nature . . . the space available for
transgression was very different depending on whether one was rich or poor. The rich
could challenge order usually without violating the law, whereas the poor threatened
both law and order, invariably with serious consequences” (5-6). Davis and Farge point
out that to escape oppression had very different results according to one’s class. For
women of the upper classes, to escape was to manage the inconvenience and return to
one’s usual routines and way of life. For women of the lower classes, “to escape was
generally to become marginal” (6). In other words, escape was a two-edged sword, and
its meaning was different according to one's class affiliation. Escape could mean a
return to life as usual (the privilege of the familiar) or an expulsion into life at the edge
of society or death (inescapable marginalization).

Archival research suggests that this inescapable marginalization is a gender
issue. In Murdering Mothers, Hoffer and Hull’s study indicates that ninety percent of
the cases of infanticide and concealment tried in criminal courts involved women as the
defendants. Only ten percent of the cases were against men. It was not out of the
ordinary, but actually quite common, for the father to escape indictment. The
economics of pregnancy, particularly for the lower-class unwed mother, were
disastrous. If she admitted to the pregnancy, she risked her reputation, her family's
name, her job, and her potential on the marriage market. If she concealed the pregnancy
(to save reputation, family name, security of income, and marriage potential), she risked
her life. Women’s choices were limited; the punishments, either way, were severe.

IV. Reading Manley's Bodies

Reading Manley's bodies reveals the relevance of concealment to the
administration of infanticide laws during the long eighteenth century. In Volume I of
Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis, Manley chronicles the story of a young
woman, the daughter of a gentleman in the province, who becomes pregnant by a
“young soldier of Fortune” (421). The Red Coat, as Manley calls him, will not agree
to marry the mother of his expected child because he knows that “her father would not
give her a Groat with him” (423). The young woman hides the pregnancy and later the
delivery from even her own brother. Concealment across class lines is a recurrent
theme.

For instance, in Volume II of Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis, Mrs.
Nightwork, "a Midwife upwards of twenty Years" (543), tells the story of the lying-in
Duchess, who must hide a pregnancy for fear of losing her reputation and thus
preferment with the Queen. Mrs. Nightwork testifies that "of all my Adventurers . . .
ever [have I] met so hazardous a one as this . . . to preserve that Idol of the World,
Reputation" (543-544). The midwife unfolds the story:

The Queen, by some officious Fool . . . was told of the Dutchess's Adventure, she could not believe it having seen her without any
remarkable bigness; but to bring it to the Proof, her Majesty a little in the Spleen, and consequently Vapourish, ordered the Court to remove within two Days. The Dutchess then in waiting was oblig'd to rise and Dress, and be in Her Majesty's Coach. She had hitherto excus'd herself upon the pretence of the Headach; but here it was of no use to her because she had secret Advice . . . that the Orders were express for her, and regarded no Body else; so that up she was forc'd to get and make her Appearance. But to bring it to the last Test, the Queen alter'd her Mind, would not go in her Coach, but ordered all the Court to mount with her on Horseback. . . . for the Dutchesses attendance; it was but taking off the Mask, and owning herself Indisposed, (Confession enough) and liberty would be left her to perform her Quarantin at leisure; but if she had a mind to run the hazard of her Life, to conceal a thing that all the Court already know or more that suspected, that was no fault of the Queen's. (545-546)

Intelligence inquired about the lying-in Duchess' choice. Mrs. Nightwork replied, "O! Reputation you may be sure" (547). Suspecting the Duchess' affair with her husband, Sigismund II,¹⁶ and the pregnancy, the Queen insisted on the ride knowing that a pregnant woman would not take such a risk. In this way, she intended to determine whether or not the lying-in Duchess was pregnant and guilty of concealment. What the Queen perhaps did not anticipate was the Duchess' determination to save her reputation, preferment, and position at court even if it meant putting her life at risk. The Duchess risked the ride and her life for the sake of reputation. Her secret remained concealed from the Queen.

Concealment is a recurrent theme in *Secret Memoirs*—ostensibly a novel about the effects of secrecy revealed. Unlike the Duchess' concealment, Manley's faceless, unnamed woman's story is the story of secrets exposed, that is her concealment of a pregnancy, which is followed by the birth of a bastard infant, his murder, and her subsequent execution. On the evening the mother goes into labor, she chats briefly with her brother, complains of a tooth-ache, and, then,retires to her room—where she must prepare a bed, blanket the door for soundproofing, and secretly deliver her own child.
Manley lets us hear “[p]ain after pain, tear after tear, cry after cry” as the young woman “deliver[s] all alone by her self of a Brave son” (424).

However, Manley does not introduce this segment of her Secret Memoirs as the story of a young gentlewoman giving birth but of a criminal being hanged. Manley first describes the woman as she is being executed: “See . . . what a multitude of people are assembled upon yonder heath! Alas! They are seeing a criminal executed; they must have a fierceness in their nature, . . . what barbarous soul can find Diversion in such a prospect!” (420, my emphasis). Manley introduces not a young woman of the gentle class, but the faceless corpse of a criminal hanged.

In this case, it is interesting that it is the crowd, not the woman, on whom Manley affixes the barbarity in this case. Virtue, one of the narrative voices of the text and the mother of Justice, describes the scene, that we along with the other spectators must look upon: “There’s a woman nail’d dead to the gibbet; . . . dress’d in white, with the veil of white Taffety over her face: Who can unriddle to us this Scene of Death?” (424). Virtue, the keeper of ethics and the mother of justice, provides the riddle; the country-woman's testimony of the young woman’s story—something the young woman would not have been allowed to give in her own defense—solves virtue's riddle.

After narrating the delivery, the countrywoman chronicles the young woman’s efforts to conceal the birth:

Lest the child should cry, she tore out his bowels in the Birth. Twas the Lords mercy she did not murther herself by it….Up she wraps child and Bowels…in one of her gowns…. In the morning, she rings for Mrs. Alice…, orders her to fetch a little plague Water, for she was very ill, and horribly troubled…. After a great many …round-about stories, she give Alice an old Gown and Petticoat…makes her swear to be true, and not reveal her Trust, and then tells her all about it. (424)
Mrs. Alice, the chambermaid, carries the infant to the roof of the house, where she hides its corpse in a gutter. She later confides the story to the kitchen maid, who confides in the dairymaid, who confides in her sweetheart, a shoemaker. The shoemaker takes the scandalous tale to the magistrate, who was said to "mortally hate the young lady’s father" (425). The magistrate issues a warrant. The house is searched, and the disemboweled infant body is found. The young woman is "try’d for her life, and condemn’d for wilful murther" (425).

The young woman is hanged; there is no doubt; but this story, when compared to other similar stories in *Secret Memoirs* raises a doubt as to why the young woman is hanged? Is it for the murder? Is it for the suppression of the pregnancy or infant or bastard? Research demonstrates that the crime the infanticide law purported to be punishing and the crime it actually punished were quite different. Manley’s story calls attention to this underlying crime that was punished in the name of infanticide and the inequity of the administration of the law across class and gender lines—particularly the criminalization of the female reproductive body.

In *Secret Memoirs*, Manley writes against the conventional eighteenth-century legal and medical views of women. First of all, she contrasts the public image of the executed criminal on the gibbet against the private image of the unmarried pregnant woman giving birth alone in her room. This contrast highlights the eighteenth-century legal view that criminalizes the unmarried mother who conceals a pregnancy and/or delivery of a bastard. Against this legal definition of a criminal, Manley provides the complicated details of this young woman’s ruin, first by a military man and, then, by the law. Secondly, this contrast highlights the conventional eighteenth-century medico-
scientific view that constructs femininity as subordinate to masculinity and pathologizes women as irrational, mentally and physically inferior, overly emotional, and devoid of generative life force. To this end, Manley juxtaposes the grim details of a concealed birth and bastard against a neighbor woman’s public commentary on the character of the father. The unnamed neighbor describes the father of the child as "the perfect bane of all country-gentlewomen" (421). She attests that this soldier and others like him, with "their fine words and their fine cloaths, bear down on all before 'em; they never go to temple . . . , they mind ogling . . . the madams . . . ; they’ll squander away their month’s pay in one night, forecasting how to pay their debts . . . . ‘Ads me! If I were a gentlewoman’s Father or Mother, and had Daughters, they should as soon eat the Fire, as come near one of those deluding Red Coats" (my emphasis, 421). Descriptions, such as "the perfect bane," "ogling," "squander," and "debts" expose this "deluding" Red Coat. However, as was often the case in infanticide trials, the father was neither criminalized by law (and hanged as was the mother) nor pathologized by science (and devalued as a lewd, barbarous "Monster of Inhumanity"). These contrasts challenge the predominant eighteenth-century framework for assessing women. In light of these contrasts, it is instructive to read this tale against eighteenth-century medical and legal discourse.

Manley’s contrasting representation illustrates the relevance of body and experience to the construction of identity and challenges a conventional construction of the reproductive body and its implications for women. In Manley, not only is the child dependent on the body of the mother but also the body of the mother is intricately tied to the body of her child, this in direct contradiction to seventeenth- and eighteenth-
century constructions of the reproductive body, which represent mother and child as separate, discrete, and distinct entities. In Manley’s literary representations, bodies in utero evade the fixed boundaries that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical models presuppose. One leaks into the physical as well as social (metaphorical) space of the other. The private pregnant belly is hidden because of public implications. While seventeenth- and eighteenth-century infanticide laws served to legislate against and criminalize concealment, other laws, such as the Poor Act, undermined this legislation. Many women were forced into concealment to avoid certain prosecution under the Poor Laws. After delivery, Manley shows that bodies continue to have an affect one on the other, in contradiction to contemporaneous models. The young gentlewoman murders the bastard infant, whose concealment puts at risk her reputation, her potential for marriage, and even her life—what contemporary theorists would call her economic value on a volatile eighteenth-century marriage market. Mother and fetus/infant are not separate, distinct entities in Manley’s portrayal but connected and interrelated. Because the concealment is found out and the murder exposed, the young woman is hanged. Manley’s story illustrates real connections and effects, particular actors and active roles, and fatal choices in contrast to an eighteenth-century model that legally criminalizes any female body that can be characterized as lewd and scientifically devalues the female reproductive body as the ineffectual, inferior, passive container for the complete homunculus. Even though the woman is anatomically represented as the mere container of generative life force, she is held solely accountable by the law and in Manley’s representation. In Manley's comparison between the criminalized mother and the absent (unaccounted for and unaccountability of) father, she challenges a
conventional view that debases, sacrifices even, the female body while it simultaneously protects male lineage. The devaluing suggests a construction of the female body that is in service and subordinate to the social construction of family name. In other words, the scientific conceptualization of the female body works in conjunction with the legal construction of social order to privilege patriarchal lineage over particular female bodies. Manley’s representations illustrate the challenge body and experience brings to bear on the construction of identity and acquisition of agency for women during the eighteenth century.

The father of the child is a military man, which suggests that he is within the system. He is neither indicted nor convicted of any crime. The young woman, on the other hand, is criminalized, pathologized, and subsequently paraded, tortured, and executed as an example to other women. In this way, the disciplinary regime criminalizes suppression (the choice), particularly outside of marriage, and establishes laws that simultaneously perpetuate (Poor Laws) and punish (Infanticide Laws) the poor. Societal norms are reinforced. Personal situation, context, and paternal role are not taken into consideration. The absence of this particularity, like the absence of the father, further fixes the legal construction of the female body as a manipulatable reproductive machine that must be managed. As Manley's story reveals, disciplinary practice encourages self-policing and fixes bodies along normative lines of construction.

Within an eighteenth-century medical model, the woman is conceptualized as the inferior component of the reproductive “machine,” indicating defects that require necessary management. In concealing the pregnancy and secretly murdering her child,
Manley’s young gentlewoman has, in effect, violated the use of that machine under the law. Here the body is simultaneously private and public; the private act of concealment produces a body that is at the mercy of a public legal system.\textsuperscript{19}

In contrast to the draconian monsters constructed by the Puritan contingent in Parliament, Manley provides an image of a young woman of the gentle class—a woman who would have a polite nightcap and evening chat with her live-in brother before retiring for the day. Manley’s young gentlewoman is neither the barbarous, lewd "Monster of Inhumanity" constructed in legal discourse and popular print nor the recipient of aristocratic privilege. She is, however, the faceless and nameless image that represents the larger, multi-class group exploited under the administration of the law. Manley’s faceless young woman is the metaphorical embodiment of the exploited and oppressed. She is executed not so much for the murder of her infant as for her concealment of a pregnancy and bastard. Manley’s fictions and Blackstone’s \textit{Commentaries} demonstrate this.

Had the faceless "Criminal . . . nail'd dead to the Gibbet" (420) had name, position, and preferment as did the lying-in Duchess (Sigismund II was the father of her illegitimate child), she would, like the Duchess, have had options other than execution. As Mrs. Nightwork makes clear, money purchases privacy. With the payment of "two Hundred Ducats in Gold" (543), all tasks were attended to "with the utmost Privacy" and the lady's "Coachman carried away the Child under his Cloak" as he did for her "five more [times] in that same manner" (544). Privacy is a privilege of the aristocratic and upper classes. The urban poor and nameless masses do not have the means to obtain this privilege and cannot, then, bypass the administration of the law. Manley
exposes the inequity of a legal system that criminalizes bodies along class and gender lines and grounds justice in the crass commercialism of those who can afford to pay. In revealing a justice that only money can buy, the Manley text uncovers the buried relevance of concealment to the administration of infanticide laws and demonstrates the significance of privilege to the administration of justice during the eighteenth century.

V. On Abduction, Seduction, and Rape Laws

Because it is highly probable that Manley would not have supported a statute, such as James I, c. 27, that reflected the double standard of justice, why is it that Manley constructs a story in which it is the female, not the male, who is held responsible, criminalized, and executed? Why does Manley criminalize the woman in this account and leave the military man virtually unscathed? Why does Manley resort to concealment laws instead of the seduction laws that were on the books and available as recourse at the time? According to the law at the time, the gentlewoman's father could have brought the man up on seduction charges. Under the law, seduction cases were within the jurisdiction of the civil law of tort. Generally speaking, seduction laws grew out of property right laws, particularly laws constituting trespass. According to Joan I. Schwarz in her article "Eighteenth Century Abduction Law and Clarissa," a father might bring an action for the seduction of his daughter by means of an 'action of trespass quare clausum fregit' if 'the seducer had entered the house as a trespasser. Another legal alternative provided that the father could sue for damages by an 'action on the case per quod servitum amisit,' if and only if, the daughter could be regarded as being in his service. Hence the 'damage' was to his loss of service, not her loss as a person. (268)

Therefore, and as Schwarz points out, "[b]y the mid-seventeenth century, seduction was regarded as a flagrant injury to a father's parental rights" (268, fn. 9). The major case
relied upon as precedent was considered to be *Norton v. Jason* (1653), "in which four years after the event, the plaintiff’s father brought a case against the defendant who had entered the father's house, assaulted, and impregnated his daughter" (268-269). Chief Judge Roll concluded that even though the daughter had not prosecuted, the father could still take action for damages done to him. According to Schwarz, "[t]he law . . . was predicated on the idea that a remedy was due a father who lost the services of a seduced and impregnated daughter; her new role as mother diminished or dissolved her role as child, without giving anything back to the family" (269). Chief Judge Roll's ruling in the Norton case exemplifies the court's definition of the father/daughter relationship as analogous to the master/servant relationship. This is the case both in terms of duty and economics. In *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Blackstone characterizes the *duties* and rights within the master/servant relationship, which is "founded in convenience," as one of the three great relationships in private "oeconomical relations" (I, 410, my emphasis).21 Eighteenth-century law prescribes the rights due the master. First of all, a master "may by law correct his apprentice or servant for negligence or other misbehaviours, so it be done with moderation: though, if the master's wife beats him, it is a good cause of departure. But if any servant, workman, or labourer assaults his master or dame, he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, and other open corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb" (I, 416). A master may maintain, that is, abet and assist his servant in any action at law against a stranger…. A master also may bring an action against any man for beating or maiming his servant; but in such case he must assign, as a special reason for so doing, his own damage by the loss of his service; and this loss must be proved upon the trial. A master likewise may justify an assault in defence of his servant, and a servant in defence of his master: the master, because he has an interest in his servant, not to be deprived of his service; the servant, because it is part of his duty, for
which he receives his wages, to stand by and defend his master. Also, if any person do hire or retain my servant, being in my service, … I may have an action for damages against both…or either of them…. The reason and foundation upon which all this doctrine is built, seem to be the property that every man has in the service of his domestics; acquired by the contract of hiring, and purchased by giving them wage.

(Blackstone, I, 416-417)²²

In his *Commentaries*, Blackstone provides the legal precedent for the lawful justification of a master making an assault in defence of his servant. Blackstone writes that "by the laws of King Alfred, c. 38. a servant was allowed to fight for his master, a parent for his child, and a husband or father for the chastity of his wife or daughter" (fn. c, I, 147, my emphasis). This footnote further illustrates the connection between the rights and duties of the master/servant to the father/daughter relationship and how one is, by law, foundational to the other. Later, in his chapter on the law as it concerns the parent/child relationship, Blackstone again draws the connection to master/servant. He writes that the father may indeed have the benefit of his children's labour while they live with him, and are maintained by him: *but this is no more than he is entitled to from his apprentices or servants*. The legal power of a father (for a mother, as such, is entitled to no power, but only to reverence and respect) the power of a father, I say, over the persons of his children ceases at the age of twenty one: for they are then enfranchised by arriving at years of discretion, or that point which the law has established (as some must necessarily be established) *when the empire of the father, or other guardian, gives place to the empire of reason*. Yet, till that age arrives, *this empire of the father continues even after his death*; for he may by his will appoint a guardian to his children. ( I, 441, my emphasis)

In this passage, Blackstone not only illustrates the clear division of power but also characterizes the domain of the father in the political and economic terms of empire. The power and authority of the father is likened to the power and authority of the British empire, which provides an interesting historical context for the way in which
legal discourse informed and shaped the conceptualizations of the male and the female body in relation to then current ideas about land, conquest, and empire.

The master-servant relationship became standard legal discourse for describing the duties within the father/daughter relationship and was, therefore, foundational to seduction law. *Grinnel v. Wells* (1844) provides a summation of seduction law:

The foundation of the action by a father to recover damages against the wrongdoer for the seduction of his daughter has been uniformly placed, from the earliest time hitherto, not upon the seduction itself, which is the wrongful act of the defendant, but upon the loss of service of the daughter, in which service he is supposed to have a legal right or interest…. It is the invasion of the legal right of the master to the services of his servant that gives him the right of action for beating his servant; and it is the invasion of the same legal right, and no other, which gives the father the right of action against the seducer of his daughter…. (qtd in Schwarz 269-270) 

Sergeant Manning clarifies the point in relation to seduction law and class. He states that "the quasi-fiction of *servitium amisit* affords the protection to the rich man whose daughter occasionally (sic) makes his tea, and leaves without redress the poor man whose child is sent unprotected to earn her bread amongst strangers.”

In her recounting of *Norton v. Jason* (1653), Schwarz does not offer explanation as to why the seduced daughter did not take action against her rapist. Schwarz says only that the "daughter had brought no action or the rape at the time, four years earlier" (269). Four years earlier would have been 1649. According to the law at that time, a woman who was raped but conceived could not prosecute essentially because the conception indicated consensual sex and, thus, ruled out rape. The medical opinion at the time was that conception could only occur during consensual sex. Thus, if a pregnancy occurred, the woman was not forcibly raped but willingly participated. *The Woman's Lawyer* (1632) states this as the dividing line for prosecution of rape cases.
The Woman's Lawyer points out that according to rape laws, particularly Britton. fol. 45., "If at the time of rape supposed, the woman conceiue childe, there is no rape; for none can conceiue without consent" (396). Thus, Norton's daughter could not have prosecuted the rape because under the law there had technically been no rape once it was confirmed that she had conceived. The only way to get around this would have been to conceal the pregnancy, which if she had been found out would have made her vulnerable to punishment under the infanticide law and, thus, execution. Because she conceived, the best that father and daughter could then hope for was restitution of damages done the father. The pregnancy ruined Norton's daughter's reputation, her economic worth, and her right to restitution under the law. The same would have been the case for Manley's young woman. Under the law, her father could not prosecute a rape because the rape charge would have been thrown out on the basis of the daughter's resulting pregnancy. Additionally, the magistrate in charge of the case was no friend of the gentlewoman's father. Action under seduction law would have benefited the father directly and the daughter indirectly. Under seduction laws, the father could seek restitution for damages. On the other hand, action under infanticide law would harm both father and daughter. Choosing the option of infanticide instead of seduction for indictment and prosecution purposes is telling. Manley's magistrate dismisses seduction and instead indicts on the more damaging grounds of concealment.

During the long eighteenth century, laws were administered differently across not only class but also gender lines. Laws concerning marriage exemplify this inequity. Blackstone points out that in marriage,

the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at
least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing; and is therefore called in our law-French a femme-covert; is said to be covert-baron, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her baron, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her coverture. (430)

According to *The Woman's Lawyer*, adultery is a case in point. The writer points out

But me thinkes here wanteth equality in the Law, women goe downe stile; and many graines allowance will not make the balance hang euen; A (?) woman shall haue but the third foote of her husbands lands when he is dead, for all the seruice she did him during the accouplement (perhaps a long time and a tedious) and if she be extrauagant with a friend v(??)upra, this is an Elopement and a forfeiture, etc. But as the saying is, men are happy by the masse, they may goe where they like (?). A warrant yee (?), and because they are enforced to trauell in the world, they will pay deare abroad for that which they esteeme of no value at home. Their adulterous soiournings is not discerned, they may lope ouer ditch and Dale, a thousand out-ridings and our-biddings is no forfeiture, but as soone as the good wife is gone, the badman will haue her Land, not the third, but euery foote of it. (146)

Even in 1632, the author of *The Woman's Lawyer* is not naïve to gender bias in the law. I.L. encourages his readers to "haue patience" (146) with inequitable laws such as these. I.L. also challenges his readers to "take not your opportunitie of reuenge, rather moue for redresse by Parliament" (146). Thus, in effect, I.L. is encouraging his readers to work for real legal change within the system rather than waste their efforts and energy on domestic redress. I.L. does not, however, offer instruction on the way to go about effecting those changes or getting redress at the Parliamentary level. Instead, and as expected, he asks the reader to

in the meane season be perswaded that liberty of impunity in doing euill by immodest life and lasciuious gallops, is no freedome or happines: no, but rather act thus farre your Husbands duty of instruction, namely, to learne him to leaue his incontinencie abroad, by your modest and chast life at home. And if this will not produce you, the comfort of your Husband, yet a farre greater comfort the effect of Balaams desires, Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my end be like his. (146-147)
In other words, the author implores the female reader to buck up and suffer quietly until change can be effected or until she dies, literally. However, advice notwithstanding, the author of *The Woman's Lawyer* is cognizant of the inequity in the law, speaks candidly on the subject, and calls for necessary redress at the Parliamentary level.

Like *The Woman's Lawyer*, Manley also calls attention to a system that "wanteth equality" as can be seen through a sexual double standard that allows men "adulterous soiournings" with "no forfeiture" (*The Woman's Lawyer* 146). In the first volume of *Secret Memoirs*, Manley's chronicle of the duke's betrayal of Charlot is a case in point.²⁹ Charlot was left to the charge of the duke after the death of her father; her mother had died yeas before. Charlot called him poppa. The duke, her esteemed guardian, "spar'd for no expence in the Education of young Charlot; she was brought up at his own House with his children" and he "design'd her . . . as a Wife for his son . . . before the increase of his own Ambition, and Riches taught him other desires" (323). As the years passed, the duke made "himself one of the Richest and most Potent Subjects in Europe" (324). While he "had a seeming Admiration for Virtue, wherever he found it, . . . he was a Statesman and held it incompatable (in an Age like this) with a Mans making his Fortune, Ambition, desire of Gain, Dissimulation, Cunning, all these were meritoriously serviceable to him: 'Twas enough he always applauded Virtue and in his Discourse decry'd Vice" (324-325). However, he educated his charge Charlot "in the high road to applause and Virtue" and "banish'd far from her Conversation what would not edify, Airy Romances, Plays, dangerous Novels, loose and insinuating Poetry" (325). The diversions he made available to her "were always among the sort that were most Innocent and Simple, such as Walking, but not in publick Assemblies; Musick in Airs
all Divine; reading and improving Books of education and Piety" (325). In this manner, the duke gained Charlot's admiration and fulfilled the promise he had made to Charlot's father to be her guardian and protector.

However, as Charlot grew into a young woman, the duke's sexual interest in her rose above that of his fatherly affection. He pursued Charlot's attentions even while secretly positioning himself for a politically advantageous marriage with the countess.30 His passions overruled his protection, and Charlot was seduced and betrayed:

"He nail'd her down to the Bed with Kisses; his love and resolution gave him a double vigour he wou'd not stay a moment to capitualte with her; whilst yet her surprise made her doubtfull of his designs, he took advantage of her confusion to accomplish 'em; neither her prayers tears, nor struglings, cou'd prevent him, but in her Arms he made himself a full amends for all those pains he had suffer[ed] for her. Thus was Charlot undone! Thus ruin'd by him that ought to have been her Protector! (344)

Intelligence reports that the "remainder of [Charlot's] Life was one continu'd Scene of Horror, Sorrow, and Repentance; She dy'd a true Landmark: to warn all believing Virgins from shipwracking their Honour upon (that dangerous Coast of Rocks) the Vows and pretended Passion of Mankind" (355). Astrea provides the moral:

I do not so much condemn the Duke for quitting as corrupting her . . . tho' the World may condemn and call him a Villain yet they never pity her; the reason is plain, Modesty is the Principle, the Foundation upon which they ought to build for Esteem and Admiration, and that once violated, they totter and fall, dash'd in pieces upon the obdurate Land of Contempt, from whence no kind Hand can ever be put forth, either to rescue or to compassionate 'em. Men may regain their Reputations tho' after a Complication of Vices Cowardice, Robbery, Adultery, Bribery, and Murder, but a Woman once departed from the Road of Virtue, is made incapable of a return; Sorrow and Scorn overtake her, and as I said before, the World suffers her to perish loath'd, and unlamented. (355-356)

Such was the case for the ruined Charlot. The account of Charlot’s education at the hands of her guardian exposes the normalizing, regulatory, and exclusionary constraints
of a model, which hinges on sexual double standards, political and financial advancement, secrecy, and inequity. Charlot's story demonstrates the recurrent criticism of inequity and sexual double standards that can be seen in the Manley text: while "Men may regain their Reputations . . . a Woman once departed from the Road of Virtue, is made incapable of a return" (356).

This story also functions on a metaphorical level as a story about the damaging effects of political corruption. In this reading, Charlot symbolizes the virgin territory of an empire that is seduced by a corrupt government, as represented in the body and betrayal by the duke, who had once promised his young ward that "the Empire of his soul was hers" (337). In the symbolic body of Charlot, a young British nation is raped and undone by it supposed protector, the Whig government. Rereading Astrea's moral on this level highlights the severity of Manley's warning against "shipwracking their Honour upon (that dangerous Coast of Rocks) the Vows and pretended Passion of Mankind" (355). Whether directed toward a young woman or a young nation, Manley's moral is clear: "Modesty is the Principle, the Foundation upon which they ought to build for Esteem and Admiration, and that once violated, they totter and fall, dash'd in pieces upon the obdurate Land of Contempt, from whence no kind Hand can ever be put forth, either to rescue or to compassionate 'em" (355). Manley’s account of the seduction, betrayal, and rape of Charlot disrupts a narrow and confining notion of the detached, distinct educable mind and explores a vision—even if a miserable one—of the permeability of the educable body, whether that body is the body of a young woman or of a young nation. Central to Manley’s critical representation is the ingratitude, indifference, and inconstancy of the duke—the symbolic embodiment of a politically
corrupt Whig administration—who betrayed his charge Charlot—the symbolic embodiment of a young British empire—and led her into the "Land of Contempt" (355), from which Manley warns there is no return.

VI. Eighteenth-Century Libel and Literature

In what ways do legal spaces have an impact on the production of texts and the construction of genres? In his recent *PMLA* article "Genres for the Prosecution: Pornography and the Gothic," Michael Gamer demonstrates that the nineteenth-century genre of gothic literature developed within the cultural context of obscenity and pornography laws. His argument, in general, is that genre develops out of a readerly space; in other words, generic classification is often dependent on those who respond to texts—the reader, publisher, critic, the public—and determine its "identity and value" (1043). Such an argument has relevance to my own study.

Specifically, Gamer focuses on the relationship between gothic and pornography at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, years—as he points out—in which "neither gothic nor pornography had yet become terms used to denote genre and in which texts now placed under each rubric were categorized in ways we would now find unfamiliar" (1043). Gamer demonstrates that the genre of the gothic was constructed out of a legal space that criminalized anything that did not exalt virtue and prudence in living and which was, then, labeled as obscene, or, as Leonard de Vries and Peter Fryer in *Venus Unmasked: A Collection of Eighteenth-Century Bawdry* have characterized this kind of literature, as "bawdry [. . . ] a good old English tradition [. . . ] of mildly bawdy verse and of fairly detached accounts of unorthodox sexual behaviours" (8). However, Gamer reports that there are surprisingly few publications
during the eighteenth century that would qualify as pornographic. According to his research of recognizable British pornography, Gamer reports that "Of the 1,920 books documented in Kearney's *The Private Case* to hold the British Library's restricted shelf mark "P.C.,” only 33 (1.72%) were written in English and published before 1820" (1045). The word "pornography" did not even appear in England until 1857, which makes historicizing obscenity in its social and legal discursive sense a bit more difficult. However, Blackstone does include libel in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. According to Blackstone,

> libels . . . signify any writings, pictures, or the like, of an immoral or illegal tendency; but, in the sense under which we are now to consider them, are malicious defamations of any person, and especially a magistrate, made public by either printing, writing, signs, or pictures, in order to provoke him to wrath, or expose him to public hatred, contempt, and ridicule….. In a civil action, we may remember, a libel must appear to be false, as well as scandalous; for, if the charge be true, the plaintiff has received no private injury, and has no ground to demand a compensation for himself, whatever offence it may be against the public peace: and therefore, upon a civil action, the truth of the accusation may be pleaded in bar of the suit. (150)

Blackstone's commentary is particularly relevant to the publication of Manley's second volume of *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, for which the Secretary of State, Lord Sunderland, charged her with libel, specifically *scandalum magnatum*. Both Narcissus Luttrell in his *Brief Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (1857) and Thomas Hearne in his *Remarks and Collections* (1888) confirm that Manley was arrested for libel on October 29, 1709, nine days after the publication of Volume II, for the scandalous affairs she exposed in the novel. Also arrested at that time were John Barber (printer), John Morphew (publisher), and J. Woodward (publisher).³¹ On November 1, Barber, Morphew, and Woodward were released
because, as Manley chronicles these events in *Rivella*, she had revealed herself as the novel's author in order to extricate her printer and publishers from being "ruin'd with their Families" (109). In *Rivella*, Manley further explains that "she was resolv'd to surrender her self into the Messenger's Hands, whom she heard had the Secretary of State's Warrant against her, so to discharge those honest People from their Imprisonment" (109). According to Rosalind Ballaster, Manley was admitted to bail on November 5, 1709, and discharged from an Attorney-General's Committee at Queen's Bench on February 11, 1710. Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, was at that time Attorney General. He was also son-in-law to the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, John Churchill and Sarah Jennings Churchill, which probably suggests a conflict of interest in the administration of this case since Marlborough and his sexual and political indiscretions were the focus of some of Manley's most severe attacks throughout the novel. Ballaster also cites Manley's trial, listing it among the chronology of events that "kept [Manley] far too busy" (xv) to write *The Female Tatler*.34

Under civil law and according to Blackstone, Manley could not be prosecuted for libel against the Duke of Marlborough essentially because the scandalous relationship she exposed, that is his betrayal of Cleveland in order to secure the more politically advantageous marriage with Jennings, and the political indiscretions she revealed, that is his ambitions for preferment and rise to power during the reign of William III, were true. Thus, Marlborough would not have been eligible to receive compensation under civil law. As Ballaster notes, the *New Atalantis* "evaded charges of *scandalum magnatum* by virtue of the fact that it employed feigned names and published separate keys, so that council for the defence could argue over the 'innuendo'
implied" (xv). Gamer points to "the general prosecution and repression of books for obscenity [which] began there almost two centuries earlier through a series of legal cases that culminated in the 1727 conviction of the publisher Edmund Curll for obscene libel" (1041-46). According to Gamer,

Foxon and Geoffrey Robertson document concisely, the Courts of the King's bench began to assume jurisdiction over cases involving "immoral" conduct, claiming the inherent power to punish moral subversion previously adjudicated by the ecclesiastical courts. Beginning in 1663 with a watershed case against the poet Charles Sedley, the court argued that 'immoral" conduct, as a form of subversion, could be tried as a breach of the king's peace. By the late seventeenth century, this notion of subversive conduct had begun to be extended to the printing and publication of immoral" books, and prosecutions accelerated especially after the expiration of the Licensing Act on 3 May 1695. (1046)

Gamer locates the first law in English history against obscene libel as originating in Curll's conviction in 1727, which would be seventeen years after Manley's discharge. My research at the Public Record Office, London, into the specific libel charges levelled against Manley in 1709 is interesting in relation to Gamer's argument that the Curll case represents "a significant departure from preceding decisions handed down by the secular courts because, after it, published writing no longer had to attack specific individuals or the government to be considered libel. As a result, R. v. Curll created a legal classification and therefore a category of writing—one based on historically and geographically located definitions of obscenity and later conflated with pornography" (1046). Furthermore, Gamer argues that eighteenth-century obscene libel fundamentally differs from generic notions of pornography in vantage point and scope; its defining basis is neither subject matter nor recurring conventions but rather perceived readerly effects. It is not so much a kind of writing as a category of reader response—a legal interpretation of the social effects of a certain kind of reading. Any publication judged by British legal authorities after 1727 to be obscene and to display a
tendency to corrupt the morals of the general population could be suppressed and prosecuted for obscene libel. The legal category of obscene libel …criminalizes as obscene any text that appears likely to produce these effects" (1046).

To what extent, then, did the legal category of obscene libel influence literary production and genre formation? To what extent did the threat of legalized obscenity—a perceived "tendency to corrupt the morals"—and almost certain prosecution curtail literary production and shape genre? To what extent is the legal construction of obscene libel responsible for the shift—an increasing tendency toward absent bodies, exalted virtue, and the degradation of vice—that is evident in literary texts after the mid-eighteenth century? Or, as Gamer asks, "To what extent did "obscenity as a legal category shape[d] British hierarchies of genre and determine[d] the histories of specific kinds of writing" (1052)? While I will pursue these questions at a later time, they are certainly relevant and worth raising now.

VII. Conclusion

Normative and normalizing lines of construction can be located in scientific conceptualizations that fixed the female body as well as legal discursive spaces that constrained it. The connection between science and law reinforce patriarchal presuppositions, and I would argue influence literary production and genre formation. For instance, the infanticide legislation in parliament occurred at the height of scientific theory’s explanation of reproduction in terms of spermatic preformation. Anatomical drawings at this time exclude the female reproductive body from generative life processes and describe the body as defective and, thus, devalued. By the end of the eighteenth century, science had corrected many inaccuracies about the female anatomy. In 1803, the infanticide laws were reformed for the first time. Science and law are
interconnected. Science influences the development, for better or worse, of the legal construction of the body along sex and class lines and the discursive space within which those bodies can operate.

As Michel Foucault has argued, the body is inseparable from power. During the eighteenth century, this lack of separation can be illustrated through the relationship of the female reproductive body to the administration of law. Even though infanticide laws were presented as a legal response to the murder of infants and abduction, seduction, and rape laws were presented as a legal response to sexual violation, these laws were administered for transgressions against inheritance, family name, and property and were administered differently according to one's class rank and sex. Under infanticide laws, for example, it was the secret knowledge of the female that was at stake. Class and economic status, in large part, determined who was allowed to conceal the secret. In order to protect estates, property, lineage, and family name, the upper classes could discretely cover up an illegitimate pregnancy and birth. Under eighteenth-century law, privacy was a privilege of wealth. For the poor and lower classes, on the other hand, privacy was not a guaranteed. Secrecy was considered a threat to the law, the government, and the general order of things. Because secrecy threatened order, concealment was considered a punishable offense against the government. For the lower classes, confession was a civic obligation under penalty of law. In this way, suppression or concealment of an illegitimate pregnancy/birth became a capital offense. In practice, and according to archival documents, concealment was a capital offense only for the lower classes. As Anne McClintock argues in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, “no social category exists in privileged
isolation; each comes into being in social relation to other categories, if in uneven and contradictory ways. But power is seldom adjudicated evenly—different social situations are overdetermined for race, for gender, for class, or for each in turn” (9). I would argue that it is not the suppression of the murder that was actually considered the criminal offense but the concealment of private knowledge. The poor and women did not have either the right or access to privacy. Thus, for the poor and women, privacy (or secret knowledge) was criminalized. The law reinforced through legislation the privilege of and extent that one could enjoy privacy, and even choice, along rigid class and sex lines.

Embodied experience points to the positions of the subject and the subjected. During the long eighteenth century, the law legislated who had access to power, knowledge, and autonomy. Both science and the law located the knowing self, or the subject, in the rational, the reasonable, the self-contained, and self-containing man. However, self-contained and self-containing are not only a biological description but also an economic prescription of the knowing self. Thus, the knowing self is constructed along class lines. The knowing self must be self-sufficient; in other words, he must be a white man of property.

During the early modern era, travel and exploration gave way to mercantilism and trade, which gave way to power and imperial conquest. McClintock argues that

[mercantile imperialism began to be emboldened by dreams of dominating not only a boundless imperium of commerce but also a boundless imperium of knowledge. . . . All too often, Enlightenment metaphysics presented knowledge as a relation of power between two gendered spaces, articulated by a journey and a technology of conversion: the male penetration and exposure of a veiled, female interior; and the aggressive conversion of its “secrets” into a visible, male science of the surface. (23)
This construction of knowledge is evident in Jonathan Swift’s exploration (with magnifying glass) of the "beautiful young nymph" Corinna's bedroom and the Lady Celia's dressing table, which he lays bare to public view. The gender violence inherent in this poetic male penetration of feminine space speaks to the question of who has the right to produce and possess knowledge. Such a construction of knowledge is also evident in the legal process that gave the government the right to intrude into the privacy of lower class citizens, to expose indiscretions, and to bring into public view private acts through public indictment, trial, prosecution, and execution. Who has a right to knowledge? The answer varies along gender, race, and class categories. In her discussion of cultural imperialism, McClintock writes that “[k]nowledge of the unknown world was mapped as a metaphysics of gender violence—not as the expanded recognition of cultural difference—and was validated by the new Enlightenment logic of private property and possessive individualism. In these fantasies, the world is feminized and spatially spread for male exploration, then reassembled and deployed in the interests of massive imperial power” (23). This mapping of knowledge can also be applied to the quest for sexual imperialism. As on the bodies of land, on the bodies of women

[k]nowledge of the unknown…was mapped as a metaphysics of gender violence…and was validated by the new Enlightenment logic of private property and possessive individualism…. Thus, for Rene Descartes, the expansion of male knowledge amounted to a violent property arrangement that made men 'masters and possessors of nature.' In the minds of these men, the imperial conquest of the globe found both its shaping figure and its political sanction in the prior subordination of women as a category of nature. (23-24)

Renaissance subordination of women as a category of nature gave way to the Enlightenment’s subordination of women as inferior, passive imitations of the male
ideal, which gave rise to notions of women as property, which gave way to and sanctioned imperialism and the roles of colonized and colonizer. Even so, in terms of eighteenth-century court documents on infanticide, race is invisible.

Much work remains to be done in the area of prosecution and punishment along lines of gender, class, and the reproductive body. One obstacle is that there is no record of women who were successful in concealing pregnancies and births. In addition, the laws themselves had an impact on the reliability of birth records. Sara Grieco, for instance, reports that the birthrate of illegitimate children was fewer than three percent of all births until the mid-eighteenth century. She argues that the "low figure almost certainly reflects . . . a significant rise in contraceptive practices, abortion, and infanticide" (79).36 On the other hand, infant mortality rates were high; one out of every three children died during infancy. Fifty percent of all funerals were for children. In "Women, Witchcraft and the Legal Process," Jim Sharpe writes that because the "English legal system was run by men, the statutes it enforced were drawn up and promulgated by men, and the English common law seemed designed to constrain the rights of women as much as possible" (106). While Sharpe, Gaskill, and others examine cases involving prosecution of witchcraft, and Garthine Walker and others examine cases of theft, including larceny, housebreaking, burglary, cutpursing, robbery, and horse theft along lines of gender, an examination of women criminalized because of their choices during pregnancy or because they were disenfranchised under the law needs to be more fully unexplored. As Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker argue in their introduction to Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England, the experience of ordinary women who came before the courts as defendants, plaintiffs and witnesses has remained largely obscure.
Within studies of litigation, gender has rarely been dealt with \textit{per se}. Assumptions about women have been made with little regard to
gendered meanings and representations, save only for the most obvious
which imbue our own culture, and which may or may not have had
similar resonances in the early modern period. (4)\textsuperscript{37}

But as Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge point out in "Women as Historical
Actors," women in early modern Europe "[put] their bodies on the line, they illuminated
with their presence the battlefield of collective emancipation" (6). Even though Davis
and Farge do not explicitly make the connection between criminalization and
reproductive choice, the connection exists and begs investigation. Resistance can come
in many forms: women in the eighteenth century did act for emancipation, with their
bodies and with their pens. On the streets of the lower class, women "put their bodies
on the line" and often paid for those choices with disease, wrecked health, and even
their lives. On the pages of women’s novels, newspapers, and journals, women
chronicle the impact of eighteenth-century laws on real bodies. In doing so, they
remind us of the sometimes bloody relevance of the body to experience and, thus, the
production of agency.

Manley explores the eighteenth century’s criminalization and pathologization of
the female reproductive body. As I have argued, this absence of particularity (context
and location) further fixes the legal construction of the female body as a manipulatable
reproductive machine that must be managed, and as Manley's \textit{Secret Memoirs} reveal,
disciplinary practice encourages self-policing and fixes bodies along normative lines of
construction. In effect, the child suppression laws of the seventeenth and early
eighteenth centuries privilege male lineage in order to protect lineal succession. As in
the case of Manley’s young gentlewoman, the male is not criminalized for his part. He
is neither named, nor takes responsibility. The law protects him. The devaluation of
the body—that is, the body that can be sacrificed, managed, and manipulated—centers
on the woman’s body. The body valued is that of the male. Manley’s bodies
destabilize this strict valuation along gender lines. However, Manley does not simply
invert the power dynamic as one might expect. Rather, she disrupts the rigid binary
formulation of sexed categories with their associated prescriptions of gender meanings.
In addition, Manley’s construction of the female body illustrates that women’s bodies
are not separate from power/knowledge but are indeed at the intersection—a bloody
intersection at that—of law, politics, and medicine. The body is the medium on which
power (medical science, legal discourse) demonstrates its force. In many cases, such as
the ones analyzed above, the law in conjunction with science criminalizes and even
indicts the woman, but Manley's satire demonstrates that the crime is in fact the man's.
The historical evidence of the eighteenth century’s medical model and the impact that
inequitable laws had on the very real lives and bodies of lower class English women
illustrate the relevant connection of body/power and the relevance of an embodied
knowledge to the privilege of constructing identity and acquiring agency during the
eighteenth century.

VIII. End Notes

1 For some of the classic texts that address eighteenth-century crime, criminals, and the
law, see John Brewer's *Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982); J.S. Cockburn's *Crime in
(1987); Lincoln B. Faller's *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal
Biography in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England* (1987); Hal
Gladfelder's *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the
Law* (2001); Peter Linebaugh's *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the
Eighteenth Century* (1992); John L. McMullan's *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal
Underworld, 1550-1700* (1984); Roy Porter's *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*
(1982); Bryan R. Reynolds' *Becoming Criminal: Transversal Performance and Cultural

2 All citations to Manley's The Adventures of Rivella are taken from Patricia Köster's facsimile reprint edition. The page numbers cited are Köster's.

3 All citations to Manley's Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis are taken from Patricia Köster's facsimile reprint edition. The page numbers cited are Köster's.

4 I am indebted to the insights on Manley, her fictions, and her life provided by the research and writing of Rosalind Ballaster and the facsimile editions of Manley's novels and invaluable index provided by the late Patricia Köster.

5 While Radzinowicz's A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750 is not actually a history of criminal law or administration, it does provide statutes, tables of cases, pamphlets, and printed tracts and commentary on police, punishment, capital punishment, and reform ideas up to 1819. It also contains a useful bibliography.

6 Baker cites 39 Eliz. I, c.4, as first mention of transportation as a means of pardon. He also writes that "Craies attributed the idea to Sir Thomas Dale (1611): Law Quarterly Review, VI, p. 398. In 1614 and 1615 transportations to Penguin Island were ordered at the Old Bailey: P. della Valle, Travels into East-India (1665 edn), pp. 333-6, who relates that the 1615 contingent heard such frightening tales of the fate of their precursors that they begged to be hanged. In R. v Strickland (1617), HLS, MS 114, f. 141, a convict reprieved to be sent to Virginia took fright and escaped. See further A.E. Smith, "The Transportation of Convicts to the American Colonies in the 17th Century", American Hist. Review (1934): 232-249" (308, fn. 172). I have not yet seen these sources.

7 While the Child Suppression Act certainly affected women during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was in addition to common law what was called Customary Law at the time. As its name suggests, customary laws were those that could be remembered from time immemorial without interruption—such would be a customary law, a known and practiced custom. Customary law is “a local and popular form of law, based upon the ancient accumulation of rights, which developed through the manorial courts (local estate courts). They generally related to such issues as land use, tenure, conditions of service, inheritance and collective responsibilities” (“Glossary.” Women, Crime and the courts in Early Modern England. Eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994. 191.) In his essay “Women, custom and equity in the court of requests,” Tim Stretton investigates the flexibility of customary law in early modern England and its implications for women’s rights. His findings suggest that other than the widow’s estate, customary law offered women very few rights. As example he reports that daughters did not inherit equally with sons and if a widow with a customary interest remarried, her husband would gain control of that interest for the duration of their marriage (184). Stretton argues that
While some women were well served under customary law, many women were not. Because of “the ancillary costs of litigation, such as travel and accommodation, combined with women’s ignorance of their legal opportunities…the silent majority were not in a position to defend their customary interests in central courts such as Requests” (185). Stretton concludes that

What the Requests’ records demonstrate is that as well as comparing women’s rights under custom with women’s rights under the common law, equity and ecclesiastical law, it is important to realize that women’s rights under custom were not static. They differed from manor to manor, they could shift and change on the same manor over time and, given the normative effect of custom, they could even differ markedly, in terms of the strength of support they offered, from individual to individual.

Custom certainly offered advantages to many women, because it was local, and because it was less formal than the common law and its process generally less expensive. However, the flexibility of custom meant that, as a system of law, it would have been as capable of absorbing, as it was of withstanding, the prejudice against women that is so often associated with the common law. It would therefore be naïve to assume that any erosion of women’s rights attributable to the growth in importance of the common law would not have occurred over a similar period under custom. (185)

While Stretton does not explicitly discuss class difference in his article, it is clear from his argument that class, and, therefore, education level, reading ability, economic status, would have played a role in the dissemination of rights for women under the “flexibility” of customary law. While the court of requests (for customary law cases) was originally for the purpose of serving men too poor to obtain justice through the ordinary courts, I suspect that women were not equally privy, given the patriarchal bias of custom, to pursuit of justice through this means. For more detail on Stretton’s investigation, see Tim Stretton. “Women, custom and equity in the court of requests.” Women, Crime and the Courts in early Modern England. Eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994. 170-189.

8 Joseph Addison not only wrote his opinion of infanticide but also his opinion of writers who critiqued him, writers such as Delariviere Manley. Even though Addison writes that "when I see my self thus attacked, I do not consider my Antagonists as malicious, but hungry, and therefore am resolved never to take any Notice of them" (102 my emphasis), he dedicates the whole of Tatler, No. 229 (September 23, to September 26, 1710) to defending himself in the wake of these personal attacks. He also pinpoints the objectionable authors and their inferior works, such as Manley's critiques of Addison in the Female Tatler and in Secret Memoirs of the New Atalantis. I have quoted the most relevant material from No. 229 in full. Addison writes,

every nobler Creature is as it were the Basis and Support of Multitudes that are his Inferiors. . . .This Consideration very much comforts me, when I think on those numberless Vermin that feed upon this Paper, and find their Sustenance out of it: I mean, the small Wits and Scribblers that every Day turn a Penny by nibbling at my Lucubrations. This has been
so advantageous to this little Species of Writers, that, if they do me
Justice, I may expect to have my statue erected in Grub-street, as being a
common Benefactor to that Quarter. They say, when a Fox is very much
troubled with Fleas, he goes into the next Pool with a little Lock of Wool
in his Mouth, and keeps his Body under Water till the Vermin get into it,
after which he quit the Wool, and diving, leaves his Tormentors to shift
for themselves, and get their Livelihood where they can. I would have
these Gentlemen take Care that I do not serve them after the same
Manner; for though I have hitherto kept my temper pretty well, it is not
impossible but I may some time or other disappear; and what will then
become e of them? Should I lay down my Paper; What a Famine would
there be among the Hawkers, Printers, Booksellers, and Authors? It
would be like Dr. B-----s's dropping his Cloak, with the whole
Congregation hanging upon the Skirts of it. To enumerate some of these
my doughty Antagonists, I was threatened to be answered Weekly Tit for
Tat: I was undermined by the Whisperer, haunted by Tom Brown's
Ghost, scolded at by a Female Tatler, and slandered by another of the
same Character, under the Title of Atalantis. I have been annotated,
retattled, examined, and consoled. But it being my standing Maxim
never to speak ill of the Dead, I shall let these Authors rest in Peace, and
take great Pleasure in thinking that I have sometimes been the Means of
their getting a Belly-full. When I see my self thus surrounded by such
formidable Enemies, I often think of the Knight of the Red Cross in
Spencer's Den of Error, who after he has cut off the Dragon's Head, and
left it wallowing in a Flood of Ink, sees a thousand monstrous Reptiles
making their Attempts upon him, one with many Heads, another with
none, and all of them without Eyes.

If ever I should want such a Fry of little authors to attend me, I shall
think my Paper in a very decaying Condition. They are like Ivy about an
Oak, which adorns the Tree at the same Time that it eats into it; or like a
great Man's Equipage, that do Honour to the Person on whom they feed.
For y Part, when I see my self thus attacked, I do not consider my
antagonists as malicious, but hungry, and therefore am resollved never to
take any Notice of them. As for those who detract from my Labours
without being prompted to it by an empty Stomach, in Return to their
Censures I shall take Pains to excel, and never fail to perswade my self,
that their Enmity is nothing but their Envy or Ignorance. Give me Leave
to conclude, like an old Man and a Moralist, with a Fable: The Owls,
Bats, and several other Birds of Night, were one Day got together in a
thick Shade, where they abused their Neighbours in a very sociable
Manner. Their Satyr at last fell upon the Sun, whom they all agreed to
be very troublesome, impertinent, and inquisitive. Upon which the Sun,
who overheard them, spoke to them after this Manner: Gentlemen, I
wonder how you dare abuse one that you know could in an Instant
scorch you up, and burn every Mother's Son of you: But the only Answer
I shall give you, or the Revenge I shall take of you, is to shine on.
(Addison, Tatler, No. 229, in Selected Essays, McDonald, ed.)

There is a reply to this essay in the Examiner, No. 11, which Addison ridicules in the Tatler, No. 239.

The epitaph to Addison’s Guardian paper, No. 105, further reveals the negative and criminalizing construction of women that was perpetuated by concealment laws. The epitaph reads: “Armenian Tygers make their young their Care,/And hungry Lyonesses too their Whelps do spare;/Curst Women only dare Abortion try,/And oft, by tempting Fate, themselves destroy” (from Ovid Amores 2, 14, 35-38). Addison’s use of this motto for his paper is one example that clearly marks the connection between the ancients and the eighteenth century in terms of the construction of womanhood.

The research shows that women of property or with fathers who held large estates often escaped prosecution under the infanticide laws. The majority of defendants were from the working or lower classes, usually servants.

If the pregnant woman were found out before the birth of the child, she could have pleaded her belly before the court. After delivery, she would have been transported as a criminal to the Americas. However, in my research to date, I have not found one case reported in which a woman was indicted prior to the birth of her child and used this defense. If this is indeed the case, this suggests that women—until 1803 when the infanticide laws were reformed—had become quite adept at concealing pregnancies from family, friends, and their communities. While there is ample research on the ways in which women defended against the suspicion of a concealment once indicted, I have not seen research on methods of concealment itself. Such knowledge probably would have remained underground, would have been transmitted orally from one woman to the next, and would not have been printed.

None of the characters in this story are identified in the key. They remain nameless, just as Manley offers them to her readers of the novel.

Mrs. Nightwork is identified as Sarah Richardson, midwife, by Thomas Hearne in Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne (1888). He points out that "Mrs. Richardson may not have been present at every scandalous birth mentioned by Mrs. Nightwork; she did however testify at the MACCLESFIELD divorce hearing: HMC Lords N.S., 3:59, 60, 64” (qtd in Köster, 912).

The lying-in Duchess is identified as Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, who married Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain, and Major-General Robert Fielding and also had illegitimate children by the Earl of Arran later the 4th Duke of Hamilton and Charles II. Cleveland eventually became a nun in France (Köster 871-872).

The Queen in this case is Catherine of Braganza, who married Charles II of England in 1662 (Köster 870).
16 Sigismund II is identified as King Charles II of England (Köster 870).

17 According to J.A. Sharpe in "Crime and Delinquency in an Essex Parish 1600-1640," defining crime during in early seventeenth-century England is problematic and difficult. His study shows that crime comprised different forms of activities than those that would be characterized as criminal today. While this is the case, Sharpe also argues, and I would suggest problematically, that "the origins of the social tensions upon which these prosecutions were based lay deep in the village community. Presentation at the archdeacon's and manorial courts was often the direct result of parochial indignation or mere gossip. The system depended, ultimately, on a large degree of mutual regulation among neighbours. Court action in this period, even at the assizes, was essentially the outcome of personal decisions by persons offended against rather than the activities of a professional 'police' force" (107-108). While he is correct that court action did not depend on a "professional police force," because in fact there was technically no organized police force in England until the nineteenth century, I believe that he is inaccurate in assigning the outcome of legal space to the "deep" within "the village community." The work of Elton and others show that statutory law, as one case in point, was often the direct result of pet projects in parliament, projects developed and written not by the masses but by a small group of people in power. While I would agree that the community has its place in such an argument, I cannot agree that such an argument is sufficient to illustrate the full picture of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century legal space and the administration of the law.

18 In Murdering Mothers, Hoffer and Hull report that ninety percent of the defendants in infanticide cases in England were women.

19 My reading of the body as defective machine normalized by societal disciplinary mechanisms is a feminist appropriation of Foucault’s docile bodies and disciplinary techniques.

20 In her article "Eighteenth Century Abduction Law and Clarissa," Joan I. Schwarz points out that "[b]reach of sexual morality in the eighteenth century were theoretically the province of the ecclesiastical courts" (268); however, actions for criminal cases (generally, abduction) and trespass cases (generally, seduction) fell outside of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

21 According to Blackstone, the other two great relations in private life are that of husband and wife and that of parent and child. He introduces the "rights and duties in private oeconomical relations" (vol. 1, 410) in his chapter on the "Master and Servant."

22 Blackstone likens the power and authority of the father to the power and authority of the British Empire. This serves as an interesting legal backdrop for the way in which legal discourse informed and shaped representations of and connections between male and female bodies, land, and empire in other eighteenth-century works, such as Pope's "Rape of the Lock" and "Windsor Forest;" however, that topic deserves its own treatment elsewhere.


25 It is interesting to note that in this discussion as well as others concerning rape in The Woman's Lawyer, the word rape is modified by the word "supposed". In this case, rape is "supposed" because conception rules out rape. This serves as an clear illustration of what Jim Sharpe, in “Women, Witchcraft and the Legal Process,” has suggested when he writes that laws generally disadvantage women, essentially because men write those laws. Another example is that "it is a good plea, to say that before the rape supposed, he kept the Plaintiffe, and f(?)led her as his Concubine. But by the same Bracton it was no plea to say she was another mans Concubine, or harlot" (396).

26 Under common law, parental consent is essential for a marriage to be valid. Based on his review of statutes 6 & 7 W. III. c.6, 7 & 8 W. III. c.35, and 10 Anne. c.19, Blackstone (Commentaries, 1st ed. vol.1) explains that penalties of 100 l. are laid on every clergyman who marries a couple either without publication of banns (which may give notice to parents or guardians) or without a licence, to obtain which the consent of parents or guardians must be sworn to.... The civil law indeed required the consent of the parent or tutor at all ages; unless the children were emancipated, or out of the parents power: and, if such consent from the father was wanting, the marriage was null, and the children illegitimate; but the consent of the mother or guardians, if unreasonably withheld, might be redressed and supplied by the judge, or the president of the province. (425 my emphasis)

Once again, in the case of marriage law, female power is consumed by male power. In this case, the mother's consent can be overridden by father (her husband in her status as feme covert), judge, and/or local precedent. Blackstone also cites statute 26 Geo. II. c. 33, which reads

that all marriages celebrated by licence (for banns suppose notice) where either of the parties is under twenty one, (not being a widow or widower, who are supposed emancipated) without the consent of the father, or, if he be not living, of the mother or guardians, shall be absolutely void. A like provision is made as in the civil law, where the mother or guardian is non compos, beyond sea, or unreasonably froward, to dispense with such consent at the discretion of the lord chancellor: but no provision is made, in case the father should labour under any mental or other incapacity. (425-426)

Again, legal discourse prescribes a means wherein female power can be consumed by male authority. Blackstone argues that there are both pros and cons of this law. His argument is divided along class lines. He writes,
On the one hand, it prevents the clandestine marriages of minors, which are often a terrible inconvenience to those private families wherein they happen. On the other hand, restraints upon marriage, especially among the lower class, are evidently detrimental to the public, by hindering the increase of people; and to religion and morality, by encouraging licentiousness and debauchery among the single of both sexes; and thereby destroying one end of society and government, which is *concubitu prohibere vago*. (426)

In his chapter on the parent and the child, Blackstone again cites statute 26 Geo. II. c. 33, which requires the "consent or concurrence of the parent to the marriage of his child under age, [which] was also directed by our antient law to be obtained: but now it is absolutely necessary; for without it the contract is void" (440).

27 *The Woman's Lawyer* is the abbreviated title that appeared on the cover of this encyclopedic handbook for women, which detailed women's legal status, laws relating to women, and women's rights within the scope of the law. The full title is *The Lawes resolutions of women's rights: or, The lawes provision for woemen (sic). A methodicall collection of such statutes and customes, with the cases, opinions, arguments and points of learning in the law, as doe properly concerne women. Together with a compendious table, whereby the chiefe matters in this booke contained, may be the more readily found*. This book was first printed by the assigns of John More, esq., and sold by John Grove. The author's preface is signed: I.L.; the editor's preface is signed: T.E. A microfilm reproduction of *The Woman's Lawyer*, based on the original at The Arthur and Elizabeth Shlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, is available through Research Publications in their "History of Women" series. The shelfmark is HQ1121.H581, Reel #53.337.

28 While I cannot say for sure that the author's initials "I. L." stand for a man's rather than a woman's name, the remarks, which focus on the intended purpose and audience of the work, in the conclusion chapter seem to insinuate that the author is indeed male. Therefore, I will refer to the author in my text using the masculine pronoun. Because I am relying on the author's remarks in this conclusion section to support my argument that the author is male, I will quote the relevant conclusion paragraph in its entirety (There are no spelling changes here other than the "f" which has been normalized to a modern "s," the early modern to the modern "r," and the "é " to the modern "i"). He states,

Thus haue I failed betwixt the capes (sic) of Magna Charta, and Quadragesima of Queene Elizabeth, collected the Statutes principally belonging to women, conioyning customes, cases, opinions, sayings, arguments, iudgem-ments, and points of learning of like sort and subiect, di-spersed in our Law books: now coming to take hauen, God grant I may fall in at port Grace, and good accep-tance of all that shall red what I haue gathered, they which are lesse learned than my selse in this studie (which I accompt to be those, that haue but newly taken acquain-tance of Littleton)may spend some time here, not with-out some fruit and profit. They that are better learned than , (into which company some may
crowd, that per-haps might bee challenged of intrusion) will giue mee no
thankes for my paines. Rather I must thanke them if they vouchsafe to
read them without open scorne and bitter censuring; but they to whom
my trauels are chiefly addressed are women, so many as beare the title of
ho-nest women, how good and vertuous soeuer they be, I see not how
they can scape the taint of ingratitude, if they giue not a reasonable
faouer and applause to my good in-tention and labour, whereby things
behouefull for them to know are laid plaine together, and in some
orderly connexion, which heretofore were smothered, or scatte-red in
corners of an uncouth language, cleane abstruded from their sex. Which
concealement, because it seemed to me neither iust, nor conscionable, I
haue framed this worke, admonishing them not to take it for so strong
and substantiall a piece as London bridge is, whereon you may boldly set
up great buildings; but I will say to you, as Littleton said in his Tenures
to his sonne: There bee some things in these Bookes which are not Law,
yet euen those may enable you the better to understand the reasons and
arguments of Law, and to conferre and enquire what the Law is, amongst
the sage Passers thereof. (The Woman's Lawyer 403-404)

29 The Duke, who seduced his ward Charlot, is identified as William Bentinck, 1st Earl
of Portland, who married Anne Villiers (1678-1688) and Martha Jane Berkeley (nee
Temple) (1700-09) (Köster 910). Mademoiselle Charlot is identified as Stuarta Howard,
who is not the same Charlot as in Manley's Memoirs of Europe II. In Memoirs of
Europe, Charlot is the maid to Dodington Montagu, Duchess (nee Greville) of
Manchester (Köster 896). Stuarta Werburge Howard was daughter of James Howard;
she died unmarried in 1706 (Köster 888).

30 The Countess is Martha Jane Berkeley (nee Temple), who would marry William
Portland and become Martha Jane Bentinck, the Countess of Portland (Köster 910).

31 See Narcissus Luttrell's A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September
1678 to April 1714 (1857), VI, 505, and Thomas Hearne's Remarks and Collections of
Thomas Hearne (1888), ed. C. E. Doble, II, 304. See also C. R. Kropf's "Libel and
157.

32 In "The Shared Worlds of Manley and Swift," (Pope, Swift, and Women Writers
1996), Carole Fabricant offers evidence that challenges traditional readings of a
contentious relationship between Jonathan Swift and Delariviere Manley. Fabricant's
essay sheds new light on the traditional reading of Swift's dismissive attitude toward
Manley and shows the extent to which Swift and Manley shared both political
ideologies and literary interests. Based on Fabricant's analysis and my own re-reading
of the primary material (correspondence, journals, and account books), evidence
suggests that Swift's political agenda may have been ambivalent earlier than previously
reported, which may have provided him with the justification to lend support to an
infamous and vocal Tory, Delariviere Manley. If this is true, it suggests that Swift's
political transition from Whig to Tory sympathies may have been in motion earlier than is currently thought.

At the time of Manley's arrest in November 1709, Swift was still politically aligned with the Godolphin/Marlborough ministry and, thus, with Sunderland--Attorney General, with whom he had sought assistance along with Lord Somers in seeking the first fruits. Evidence of Swift's public relationship with Sunderland is well defined in his correspondence during this time. However, even though Swift's opinion of Sunderland is apparently clear in his letters, there is reason to doubt that apparent clarity. Swift may have actually thought less of Sunderland than his correspondence let on.

Swift first attached his political fortunes to the Duke of Marlborough, who was father-in-law to Lord Sunderland (p. 61, n. 2). In a letter to Dean Stearne, dated November 30, 1708, Swift writes of Sunderland in a positive light. He says that "My Lord Sunderland rallied me on that occasion, and was very well pleased with my answer, that I observed one thing in all new Ministries: for the first week or two they are in a hurry, or not to be seen; and when you come afterward, they are engaged" (124-125). Ball reports that "In his preface to the third part of Temple's "Memoirs," which was written about that time, Swift represents himself as a great admirer of Sunderland, whom he describes as "most learned and excellent," but probably he expresses his more true opinion of Sunderland in the "Examiner," where he describes that lord as "ignorant, wilful, assuming and ill-inclined (Prose Works, ix, 101)" (Ball, p. 125, n1). Ball argues that "Whatever he may have thought at that time of Sunderland, Swift saw reason afterwards to regard that nobleman in the light which led Macaulay to trace his character with great severity (see Prose Works, v, 433; xi, 176)" (24, n.1).

As late as 1710, Swift remained publicly connected with the Whig ministry. His correspondence bears this out. In a letter dated August 22, 1710, to Addison, Swift writes,

I believe you had the displeasure of much ill news almost as soon as you landed. Even the moderate Tories here are in pain at these revolutions [i.e., Sacherverall's impeachment and Sunderland's dismissal], being what will certainly affect the Duke of Marlborough, and, consequently, the success of the war. My Lord Lieutenant asked me yesterday when I intended for England. I said I had no business there now, since I suppose in a little time I should not have one friend left that had any credit; and his Excellency was of my opinion. (187-188)

In this letter, Swift continues to identify his friends as members of the Whig government. Ball concurs; the "trend of the whole letter shows that the Whig leaders were the only persons from whom Swift had at the moment the slightest expectation of preferment..." (p. 188, n. 1). In this same letter, Swift also comments on Manley's critique of Addison in Memoirs of Europe, her sequel to the New Atalantis. Swift writes, "I read your character in Mrs. Manley's noble Memoirs of Europe. It seems to me, as if she had about two thousand epithets and fine words packed up in a bag; and that she pulled them out by handfuls, and strewed them on her paper, where about once in five hundred times they happen to be right" (190). This letter has been used as evidence of Swift's negative attitude toward Manley and as evidence for attributing Swift with a critique of Manley's fiction in the "Tatler." [see Prose Works, ix, 16] On
the latter point, Ball has shown that Swift has been erroneously attributed with this periodical essay (see Ball, pp.166-167, n7; p.190, n4). On the first point, it is doubtful that, by 1710, Swift's opinion of Manley would have been entirely unfavorable.

While it is reasonable to suggest that in 1709 Swift still retained influence within the Whig administration and continued to associate publicly with Whig leaders, by mid-1710 the Whig ministry was losing ground with Anne and had been severely weakened by Godolphin's dismissal and Harley's subsequent appointment. Balancing on the political fence somewhere between his former allegiance to the Whig administration and his newfound hope in the ideology of Tory traditionalism, Swift may have still retained an inside connection with Sunderland that could have influenced Manley's release from jail, her bail, and subsequent dismissal from the Attorney-General's Committee at the Queen's Bench. This combination of public and private interests suggests a certain amount of political ambivalence on Swift's part as well as an earlier beginning to his political transformation than has been previously reported. Ball notes that Godolphin had been dismissed "a fortnight before" the date of Swift's August 22, 1710 letter to Addison and that Harley had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer the day after Godolphin's dismissal (p.189; p.193, n2). While it is clear from his letter that Swift anticipated these events, he probably had not yet received this news at the time of his August 22nd letter to Addison.

As early as September 1710, Swift reveals in his "confidences to Stella . . . that while he had determined to break with the Whigs, he scarcely felt, as Sir Henry Craik says (Life, I, 257), that he could find a place among the Tories. His position was to be one of political independence in which he was to look for preferment to personal friendship (see Prose Works, ii, 12, 17)" (Ball, p. 198, n2). In his September 26, 1710, letter to Dean Stearne, Swift's disillusionment is clear. He writes, "When a great Minister has lost his place, immediately virtue, honour, and wit, fly over to his successor, with the other ensigns of his office" (199). While Swift confides to Stella his discontent with political allegiances and to Stearne his disillusionment at the lack of political integrity, he also continues to work politically for the first fruits. In other words, what Swift writes in his letters to Stella and in his other correspondence may not be entirely representative of his actual political stance. We do know that as early as September 1710, Godolphin had offended Swift through his apparent coldness at one of their meetings. Ball notes that this encounter "led to the first overt act in what some would have called Swift's political apostasy. He went away `almost vowing revenge,' and a conversation with Lord Radnor the next day completed the mischief, and before he went to bed, albeit that day was a Sunday, his lampoon on Godolphin entitled "The Virtues of Sid Hamet, the Magicians Rod" had taken shape in his mind (see Prose Works, ii, 5, 7, 15)" (194, n1).

It was not until October 4, 1710 that Swift had his first meeting with Harley. The issue of the first fruits was not discussed until the time of their second meeting, which was on Saturday, October 7, 1710. These clandestine meetings also mark Swift's political ambivalence. According to Ball,

During the first few weeks after [Swift's] arrival in London, Swift's only companions were those whom he had known in the days of the Whig administration, and of these none were more frequently with him than the Whig officials Addison and Steele. But through his old school-
fellow, Francis Stratford, the merchant whose financial downfall is related in the Journal to Stella, Swift became known to Harley's favourite henchman the wily Erasmus Lewis, and by the arts of that "cunning shaver" Swift's political "apostasy" was brought about. In seeking the acquaintance of Lewis, Swift's object was to obtain an introduction to Harley, which was essential for the success of his mission concerning the first fruits, but Lewis, in consenting to facilitate his desire, saw what a great opportunity was offered to capture an invaluable recruit for the Tory party, and with consummate skill, in conference with Harley, laid the net for his splendid prize. When on Wednesday, 4 October, Swift was brought for the first time privately into Harley's presence, he was received with such a recognition of his abilities and of his position in the world of letters, as was calculated to win his support for the new Ministry, and before he left he had been promised the fullest consideration of his application on behalf of the Irish clergy. For the statement of their case a further interview was arranged for the following Saturday, and this memorial was in the meantime drawn up by Swift in the hope that Harley would lay it before Queen Anne. (p. 200-201, n4)

Swift's account books confirm this for 1710. Records show that during the second and third weeks of October, Swift spent 1s. on a chair to Mr. Harley's on October 10th, 1s on a chair to Harley's on October 16th, 2s. on a chair to Lewis's and then 1s on a chair to Harley's on October 21st (114). Swift already knew Erasmus Lewis, a Tory promoter, prior to these meetings with Harley. Swift records his wins and losses at cards with Lewis on June 16 (win), June 24 (win), September 15 (win), October 21 (win), September 18 (win), September 27 (win), August 18 (loss), August 29 (loss), September 1 (loss), September 11 (loss), October 31 (loss) (116). While Swift would not take over the editorship of Harley's political vehicle *The Examiner* until the end of 1710, the act and date of which publicly marks Swift's political alignment with the Tory party, he had already been associating with Tory promoters, even while continuing his relationship and connections with Addison, Steele, and other prominent Whigs. By the end of 1710, Swift had publicly changed political parties. However, Swift's Journal to Stella "reveals (*Prose Works*, ii, 45) that his letter of November 4, 1710 was written at night in a coffee-house on his return from a dinner with Addison and Steele at Kensington, where he stayed until nine o'clock" (Ball, p. 213, n. 2). The Account Books do not record this dinner at Kensington; however, as Ball has shown, Swift was at the time of this dinner already tied to the Tory party. According to Ball, the plot laid by Lewis and Harley had done its work…. As the result of four dinners at Harley's table, where Swift met Matthew Prior, on whom the new Ministry had hitherto depended principally for literary assistance, Swift had been installed as editor of the "Examiner" ("Prose Works," ix, 69), and two days previously had issued his first number. The bait had been the fulfillment of Swift's ambition to be given an opportunity of becoming "the adviser of the nation's chosen statesmen" and of proving "the folly of those who had committed the unpardonable crime of refusing to recognise his talents" (*Moriarty's Dean Swift*, p.76). (Ball, p. 213, n2)
In his *Examiner* paper no. 13 (November 2, 1710), Swift had already publicly claimed not only the "peevishness" of the Whig party and the New Whiggery but also his own patriotism in supporting "Methods as have already been taken" by the Tories to preserve nation, integrity and a sense of traditionalism within government.

Rosalind Ballaster claims that it is during this time, "between August 1710 and April 1711, [that] Jonathan Swift met and changed his opinion of Manley, whom he had earlier mocked for her aberrant system of spelling; no doubt it was no coincidence that this was the same period in which Swift changed his political allegiances and agreed to work for Harley in the increasingly heated paper war between Whigs and Tories" (xvi-xvii). However, Fabricant and others have shown this view of Swift's relationship with Manley, based as it is on Swift's mockery of Manley's "aberrant system of spelling," to be a rather limited one. In addition, evidence suggests that Swift had already shifted his political allegiance and may have used inside connections to effect Manley's release from Newgate on February 11, 1710. This evidence, along with Swift's change of allegiance from the Whig ministry to Harley and the Tories as well as his subsequent editorship of *The Examiner*, evinces his support of Manley, an infamous Tory and vocal supporter of Harley, who would four years later show his loyalty to party politics through a gift of fifty pounds. While the exact date of Swift's change of allegiance from the Whigs to the Tories remains unclear, what is clear is that by the time of Manley's indictment for libel in October 1709, Swift's political allegiance from Whig to Tory was already in transition even though he was clearly keeping this transition concealed within his correspondence and was continuing to associate publicly with the Whig ministry.

33 John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, was son of Winston Churchill. He married Sarah Jennings, the daughter of Richard and Frances Jennings. For Manley's scathing view of Churchill (Count Fortunatus) in the first volume of *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, see his affair with and betrayal of the Duchess de l'Inconstant (Cleveland), pages 20-23, 30-32; his meeting with Jeanatin (Sarah Jennings) and plans for marriage, pages 26, 27-29, 40; and his position of preferment during the reign of Henriquez (William III), page 49 and in the second volume, pages 52-55, 58, 155-156, 248 (citations refer to Manley's page numbers in Köster's facsimile edition).

34 While Ballaster refers several times to Manley's trial for libel, the only documentation that supports it is Manley's account in *Rivella*. Citing *Rivella*, Ballaster argues that Manley even "challenged her prosecutor with the enquiry 'Whether the Persons in Power were ashamed to bring a Woman to her Trial for writing a few amorous Trifles purely for her own Amusement, or that our Laws were defective, as most Persons conceiv'd, because she had serv'd her self with Romantick Names, and a feign'd Scene of Action?'' (xv). Ballaster, who has pointed out Manley's predilection for exaggerating and fictionalizing events, uses this narrative as sole evidence that a trial did take place. I agree with Ballaster that it probably did. However, my research at the Public Record Office, England, could not substantiate my opinion on the matter, as it did not produce any court papers that document Manley's trial for libel against the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, John and Sarah Jennings Churchill. Neither the court documents nor the Attorney-General's annotated copy of *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, which
would have been used at the trial as evidence, were in the holdings of the PRO. Further investigation is necessary for conclusive findings on this matter. For opposing arguments on the identification of authorship of the *Female Tatler*, see Anderson's "The History and Authorship of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *Female Tatler*," *Modern Philology* 28 (1931), 354-360; Walter Graham's article, "Thomas Baker, Mrs. Manley and the *Female Tatler*," *Modern Philology* 34 (1936-1937), 267-272; and John Harrington Smith's article, "Thomas Baker and *The Female Tatler*," *Modern Philology* 49 (1951-1952), 182-188. Ballaster supports Thomas Baker's claim to authorship of *The Female Tatler*. She cites the Graham and Smith articles as well as her own evidence—which includes "the mild tone of the paper's Tory politics", "a second edition of the first volume of the *New Atalantis*", and "the second volume and subsequently [Manley's] arrest and trial from the first appearance of the first volume in May 1709" (xv).

35 See *The History of Sexuality, Volume I* for Michel Foucault's discussion of the construction of sexual body as truth of the embodied subject; see *Discipline and Punish* for a discussion of the body at intersection of power/knowledge; and *The Birth of the Clinic* for a discussion of the body as site of emergent individuality as related to an anatomo-clinical perspective; see also "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History."

36 As I review Grieco’s statistics as well as use of sources, it appears that—even though she published this article in 1994—she depends heavily on the work of Lawrence Stone (*The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500 -1800*, 1977). The advances made in recent archival and historical research have clarified, revised, and corrected, even, some of Stone’s earlier finding and interpretations. I have found what appears to be some historical inaccuracy in her essay. For instance, on the issue of seventeenth and eighteenth century views on reproduction, she asserts that according to seventeenth-century medical authorities, the female seed “was as useful to the act of procreation as that released by the male” (73). Grieco cites Stone as the source of her information. My research shows that through the seventeenth century, women’s role in reproduction was as container only. The predominant theory was spermatic preformation, which concluded that women were not partners with men in the generative life process.

Chapter 6: Creating Sustainable Bodies

"We need the power of modern critical theories of how meanings and bodies get made, not in order to deny meaning and bodies, but in order to live in meanings and bodies that have a chance for a future."
Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges"

In this study, I have pursued and drawn conclusions about the ways in which embodiment informs the construction of subjectivity and the re-gendering of objectivity. While early modern women writers would not have thought in terms of twenty-first century theoretical perspectives, these methods offer new readings of their texts. Drawing on the insights of recent feminist theories of the body but remaining historically contextualized by relying on works written during the long eighteenth century (specifically from 1652-1812), I have demonstrated how embodiment as a discursive strategy challenged not only the eighteenth-century's prevailing myth of passive womanhood, but also one of the foundations on which this myth could originate, that is the Cartesian division of mind and body. Recent feminist theories have enabled me to show that by foregrounding viscerality, experience, and historical location, selected early modern women writers laid the groundwork for a feminist cartography that challenged the pretense of a fixed Cartesian topography, which Tillie Olsen, in Silences, powerfully criticizes as a coercion that is "formidable for the analyzed writer-woman; deflecting, blinding, robbing of sources of one's own authority" (253n). As Olsen argues, the mind-body division is foundational to the historical silencing of women's voices. I have argued that selected writers from Manley to Burney began a feminist tradition of "telling the truth about one's body" (Olsen 255), of allowing the body to be an explicit part of experience, which in the twenty-first century
we recognize as a perspective that values the relevance of bodies, space, and experience to the construction of subjectivity and the production of knowledge.

I have demonstrated that a feminist analysis of eighteenth-century texts can usefully appropriate Foucault's framework and extend his grid of analysis to critical gender issues by drawing on the insights of recent feminist theories of the body. In the *Female Spectator*, Eliza Haywood resists prevailing views by exposing and then radically changing the nature of the spectatorial gaze. She dislocates the gaze from its conventional male spectator, who sits outside of experience, and relocates it within a feminized position of one who draws on personal experience, joins her audience, and provides real-life examples and advice on negotiating the body. In her journal, Fanny Burney negotiates her own mutilated body. She chronicles her experience with breast cancer, including the gruesome details of her radical mastectomy. Similar to Haywood's feminization of spectatorship, lived experience is foundational to Burney's discursive representation of the body. Burney's body lies in sharp contrast to Enlightenment notions of an idealized body. Her point of view cannot be described as the cold stare of scientific objectivity. Unlike the eighteenth century's medical image of objectivity—the dissected, female cadaver—and its associated cultural contexts and underlying gender meanings, Burney's descriptions of her radical mastectomy reflect a radically different image of objectivity—the living female body. Divergent from the medical institution's idealized corpse, women's image of objectivity is tied to the lived, particular, and experiential body. Women's receipt books for medicinal and cosmetic preparations also depict a living body as opposed to the quixotic corpse illustrated by science. The bodies that populate their manuscript pages are marked by sores oozing pus and infection,
bloody feces, congested lungs, labor pains, child births, stillbirths, and afterbirths—bodies victimized by the landscape of early modern filth, suffering, and disease. In *Secret Memoirs from the New Atalantis*, Delariviere Manley resists contemporary medical constructions by moving the focus from fixed expectations to the personal and social implications of the pregnant body, that is, the way in which the legal institution re-enforces the medical by pathologizing and, ultimately, criminalizing the female reproductive body.

Thus, even though eighteenth-century women were marginalized as outside of the dissemination of power/knowledge, their resistance—on the page and with their bodies—brings that margin to the center of scholarly examination. Investigating the power/knowledge relationship from the lens of women’s marginalized and normalized experiences, while assuming the critical responsibility of the partiality of those experiences, forces us to ask new questions and provides new understanding of women’s access to power and appropriation of agency, of women’s utilization of body knowledge, of the ways in which normalizing techniques both succeed and fail, and of the difference that women’s writing makes in a predominantly patriarchal literary canon. Historically-chronicled bodily experiences and published writing illustrate that by the eighteenth century women were opening up new space for resistance and re-constructing received views of the body from the feminized margin. Archival research and literary publication provide ample evidence of the gaps within the dominant scientific discourse. These discontinuities shed light on the inadequacies of the predominant eighteenth-century conceptualizations of the body and the discursive practices through which those conceptualizations gained acceptance. Drawing on a
Foucauldian grid of analysis and the insights provided by a fusion of feminist standpoint and materialist theories of the body, I have demonstrated that women's bodies were not outside of an eighteenth-century production of power/knowledge but were at the all too often fatal intersection of that struggle for access to self-creation and agency. Women's writing on the body during the long eighteenth century recognized the relevance of the body to experience, reconceptualized the masculinist image of objectivity, destabilized fixed conceptions and, as such, demonstrated that resistance is inevitable, dangerous, and everywhere.

As I reflect on the broader significance of this study, it is interesting that the obstacles to and damaging misrepresentations of women's roles in eighteenth-century healthcare run parallel to those witnessed in twenty-first century sustainable development work in second and third world countries.¹ In both cases, the practices of the marginalized group (women during the Enlightenment and peasants in 2002) are categorized as quaint and denigrated and even dismissed for their lack of "modern" sophistication. Furthermore, both marginalized groups are portrayed as nonconformists and considered incorrigible when they choose not to conform to the "accepted" practices initiated by the privileged minority. Thus, in each case, the marginalized individuals are simultaneously considered dim or stupid for their quaint practices and, when they do not conform, are represented as troublemakers or, in the case of the eighteenth-century women, witches or criminals.

This example demonstrates a parallel socio-structural issue that should inform not only what we learn from such a parallel but also what we do with that knowledge. In the case of sustainable development in second and third world countries, researchers
have shown that the problem lies with a massive first-world farming structure being imposed on and directing the specific problems of a second or third world population of native farmers. In the case of Enlightenment science and women's healthcare, similarly, the problem lies with a massive masculinist medical profession (structure) being imposed on and directing the specific problems of a non-male population group, women. In each case, what can be learned from the marginalized group and their "quaint" practices have been historically dismissed with damaging results by our cliched insistence on bigger is better, more modern is always preferable, and newer is always righter. What recent research in sustainable development, and I would argue in feminist revisions of literature and the history of medicine, is demonstrating is that it is now time to take a second look and, this time, learn from the particularities of that location rather than imposing our own historical and geographic situations on others. In other words, the recognition of embodied and partial knowledges has broadly defined social significance that is relevant to the construction of sustainable development programs in second and third world countries as well as to the creation of sustainable bodies in scholarship and society.

The implications for creating a sustainable body, whether that body is a discursive representation of the female anatomy or a body of scholarship, raises questions about how we choose what we want to know or what we should know, the role gender has played in determining what is considered knowledge and the way that knowledge has been gendered, the criteria we use to authorize what merits study, and the investigative tools and theoretical approaches we use in our analyses. These questions also raise critical issues that move beyond the surface of an eighteenth-
century body or twenty-first century page, such as gender dynamics in our discipline and across disciplinary boundaries. Instead of looking back at this stage in my work, I look forward to the ways in which bodies are sustainable and the study of eighteenth-century literature continues to have direct relevance for us today.

As I reflect on the substance of my work as a whole and the process of producing it, I realize that this project, which began with a recognition of subversive bodies in eighteenth-century life and literature, is concluding with the proposition of a productive parallel between the field of sustainable development in agriculture and the creation of sustainable bodies in literature. As I close this chapter, I look forward to what these eighteenth-century subversive bodies have taught me—the relevance of creating sustainable bodies to eighteenth-century academic research and to twenty-first century daily life.

I. Endnotes

1 I am indebted to Cay Petty (M.S., Tropical Animal Production and Health, Center for Tropical Veterinary Medicine, University of Edinburgh). It was the result of many transcontinental phone conversations between Scotland and Bulgaria that initially sparked this idea about and my interest in the parallel relationship between the work she has done in the field of sustainable development in Guatemala and my work on embodiment in eighteenth-century women's literature.

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Appendix: Letter of Permission

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Phyllis Ann Thompson is from the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina and is the daughter of Bobby Camp Thompson and Betty Roberts Thompson. Even though she currently resides in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, she is at heart an Appalachian mountain woman and spends her free time searching for singletrack and riding off-road trails with her favorite mountain biking buddy, her husband David Wood. Their small family currently consists of two black cats, Metonymy and Katie Kittie, and one Border Collie, Jack, who is also a singletrack enthusiast. Phyllis has a wide range of teaching experience and has taught at the high school, community college, and university levels. Her most recent teaching position was at The American University in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, where she taught Restoration and eighteenth-century literature, British survey courses, and first-year writing and was the founding faculty sponsor of The AUBG Trekking Club and faculty co-sponsor of The Network of East-West Women. While living in Eastern Europe, Phyllis and David mountain biked throughout the mountains of Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. Phyllis received her Bachelor's degree in English from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and her Master's degree in English from Appalachian State University, where she wrote her thesis, “Unmasking Woman: The Use of the Masquerade in Fanny Burney’s Cecilia” under the direction of Professor Edelma D. Huntley. She pursued her doctoral studies at Louisiana State University, where she wrote her dissertation, "Subversive Bodies: Embodiment as Discursive Strategy in Women's Popular Literature in the Long Eighteenth Century," under the direction of Professor Jim S. Borck. Phyllis' work has been acknowledged through the grants she has received, including an Arts & Sciences' Summer Faculty Research Grant.
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