THROUGH WOMEN'S WRITING:
CONNECTING TO OTHERS WITH KINDNESS, 1748-1815

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ABSTRACT

Kindness was fundamental to the lives of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century men and women. These men and women understood kindness as both an emotion and a mode of cultural interaction. The complex meaning of kindness ensured its continual usage throughout the century, and the concept appeared regularly in written documents such as letters, diaries, and published works. However, the contemporary significance of kindness has been obscured in modern scholarship. Efforts to reclaim a fuller understanding of kindness is hindered by a problem common to historical research: that of mining written language and vocabulary for the wider world that these documents occupied, while acknowledging that they only encapsulate a limited range of lived experiences. Emotions, especially, provide a challenge within written documents since individual emotions—both on the page and in lived experience—changed according to country, century, and within individual smaller groups. To address the problem of emotions, this thesis uses Monique Scheer's emotional theory of 'emotional practice' to identify and locate kindness as a tangible practice that can be seen on the pages of written documents. Concurrently with situating these usages within cultural and social contexts, this thesis presents a careful analysis of the contours of kindness as a mode of cultural interaction. By focussing on the word 'kindness' in diaries and letters of women, alongside the published literature of both men and women, this project analysizes how kindness fits within the wider world of the eighteenth century. In doing so, this thesis finds there were two ways of performing kindness, namely actions and expressions, which were grounded in Christian religious theology and secular ideology. This ideology of kindness promised women participation in the construction of a proper orderly society, since feminine virtues shaped them into the ideal, pliant women who assumed the position of being constantly kind in all circumstances. Being exposed to the fundamentals of kindness through written material and the people in their lives permitted women to understand the intricacies of the practice well enough to flex the ideals, sanctioning a space to fulfil their agendas. In this way, women could assert themselves, their wants, and their needs, while retaining their status as respectable women.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION **1**

Locating Georgian Women **5**

Sources **12**

Methodology and Approach **17**

Chapter Outline **19**

CHAPTER ONE:
TEACHING WOMEN:
KINDNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PUBLICATIONS **22**

Christian Kindness **29**

Kindness and Fashionability **39**

Kindness and the Body 49

Lessons of Kindness: What Women Learned and How They Used It **59**

CHAPTER TWO:
MARIA EDGEWORTH AND THE EDGEWORTH WOMEN: FAMILAL KINDNESS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY **61**

Identifiable Actions **68**

Absence **74**

Positive Utterances **85**

Navigating Difficult Emotions & Situations **91**

Reconstituting the Affectionate and Kind Family **95**

CHAPTER THREE:
THE EXPERIENCE OF FRANCES BURNEY D'ARBLEY IN THE ROYAL COURT AND ELITE SOCIETY, 1769–1815: ACTIONS OF SOCIAL KINDNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND **97**

The Court: Burney and the Courtier **108**

Experience of Unkindness **118**

Burney's Public Validation from Social Kindness **124**

CHAPTER FOUR:
KINDNESS WITHIN THE SPIRITUAL DIARY: THE EXPERIENCES OF FOUR QUAKER WOMEN, C. 1792–1815 **126**
Protestant and Quaker Theology **133**
Role of Self **134**
Proof of Election **148**
The Articulation of Kindness in Quaker Spiritual Dairies **159**

CONCLUSION **162**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **168**

INTRODUCTION

> It is part of the character of a virtuous woman, prov. 31.29. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. The law of love written in the heart, should influence and govern the tongue, and dictate the most ingratiating, the most endearing expressions.[1]

Thus argued dissenting minister Thomas Foxcroft (1697–1769) in his sermon *A Discourse Concerning Kindness*, preached and published in 1719–20. Foxcroft's understanding of kindness as something distinctly feminine, felt, enacted, and embodied mirrored the ideology and theology commonly used throughout the later eighteenth century in literature published by both genders, and in the personal writings of women themselves. 'Through Women's Writing' aims to reveal what female kindness meant and how contemporaries used it in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will do so by tracking the usage of the word throughout sources written by different people during these centuries to reveal how central kindness was to contemporary women, and, consequently, uncovering the nature of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century female kindness.

Specifically, 'Through Women's Writing' seeks to understand the worldview that produced the cultural formation of kindness as both a feminised Christian virtue and an emotion in the eighteenth century. Kindness is thought of as a virtue in this period due to a theological association with charity or love — the fundamental elements that made a good Christian man or woman virtuous. Likewise, the process of feminisation occurred because contemporaries intertwined religious virtues, like charity or submission, with traits preferred predominantly in women, like timidity or obedience.[2] Yet despite this gendering of values,

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[1] Thomas Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness. Being a Sermon Preach'd in Boston, on the Lord's-Day, Febr. 28th. 1719,20. And Now Published, with Some Enlargement, at the Importunity of Many That Heard It. By Thomas Foxcroft. [Eighteen Lines of Scripture Texts]." (Boston, MA, 1720), 11.

[2] See, for example, Tague, *Women of Quality*, 30–31, 33–36, 76, 98, 129, 142, 179; Tague, "Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century," 90–95; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1995), 386–96; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London, 1998), 23–33,223, 267; Brent Siorta, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (Yale University Press, 2014), 7–12, 110–48; Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," 73–93; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (University of California Press, 1996), 103–24, 193–214; Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 204–13; Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 64; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 35–38, 47–48, 61, 66–67, 148, 200, 205, 227–36.

society also expected men to be kind.[3] As stated in religious tracts like *The Christian's Magazine* (1790s), authors expected both genders to fulfil the dictates of kindness.[4] Society understood and categorised male kindness as a variation of female-oriented kindness; therefore, when enacting kindness, men's actions were often understood in terms of benevolence or beneficence.[5] Accordingly, due to this flexibility, kindness was accessible and gave men permission to practice kindness without being thought of as exceptional. However, rather than examining both genders, 'Through Women's Writing,' focuses on women's recognition and use of kindness. It sees how kindness was considered an emotion by tracking how writers used this word in their works to indicate states of feeling or show how someone's kind character caused a rush of feeling. The association of kindness with milder desirable 'affections' like love also made it an important emotion to practice. Therefore, this project aims to integrate kindness, an emotion previously under-studied by scholars, into the group of gendered Christian virtues. In the process, this study seeks to demonstrate that, like other feminised Christian virtues, kindness was gendered through its alignment with what contemporary society understood to be commonly identifiable and gendered traits.

The research for this project began with four eighteenth-century definitions, which are found in *A New English Dictionary* (1702 and 1735), *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1737), and *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). Given that the authors of these dictionaries either simply listed words or used kindness in a sentence, much like modern dictionaries, it is important, instead of quoting the entries, to analyse their contents. All four authors associated kindness with a series of positive words, creating the impression

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[3] See, for example, Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 21, 29, 41–42, 200–202; Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (Routledge, 1999), 108–9, 113; Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), 26; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31–32, 214; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1999), chap. 2, 3; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 22, 24–27; Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester University Press, 2011), 119, 198; Ingrid H. Tague, "Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 1 (January 2001): 85–89; Solie Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2016): 76–86.

[4] Rev. Timothy Priestley, *The Christian's Magazine, or Gospel Repository...*, vol. 1 (London: T. Chapman, 1790).

[5] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 124, 134–60, 187; Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility* (Yale University Press, 2018), 15–21,52; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 47–72; Karen Sonnelitter, "The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696–1714," *The Historian* 72, no. 3 (2010): 525, 531–2.

of a form of courtesy that originated from the sentiments of love, affection, indulgence, amity, favour, toleration, benefaction, benevolence, obligation, graciousness, and gratitude. They connected kindness with a specific assortment of positive practices that aimed at regulating interpersonal interactions.[6] Using these dictionary definitions and other sources surveyed here, this project discovers and examines two ways of doing kindness in the eighteenth century: through action (chapters one to three) and through expression (chapters one and four). Authors identify kind actions as people engaging in specific events, actions, and deeds which benefited others. Authors express kindness to others by utilising specific vocabulary, such as 'great mark of kindness,' and in doing so conveyed to their readers a broader opinion or sentiment inspired by kindness. Uniting these two types of doing are four principles. First, religious undertones emerged in all occurrences of kindness because of the enduring importance of Christian theology for how contemporaries viewed themselves, others, and society. Further discussion of this concept can be found in chapter one. Second, the framework provided by kindness helped authors bring together various people and their community in positive unity, demonstrating that kindness was a deeply social act. Third, kindness allowed people to convey their desires or needs, because the concept gave expression to hidden meanings that otherwise may have remained unvoiced. Fourth, women changed their meaning of kindness to foreground religious, secular, emotional, or social connotations, depending on what sort of underlying meaning they needed to convey in any given situation.

Tracing kindness throughout the scholarship on early modern England tends to be a patchwork game of hunting down incidental references of a sentence or two in length within works on other topics. Linda A. Pollock's work is, however, an exception. This first in-depth

[6] The definitions are similar, and often just list associated words; therefore, I have not quoted them, but given an overview of what they say. John Kersey the Younger, "Kindness (or Courtesy)," in *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat: Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly Used in the Language* (London: Henry Bonwicke & Robert Knaplock, 1702), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; Benjamin Norton Defoe, "Kindness," in *A NEW English Dictionary, CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF WORDS IN THE English Language, Properly Explain'd and Alphabetically Dispos'd. Design'd for the USE of Gentlemen, Ladies, Foreigners, and All Others Who Desire to Speak or Write ENGLISH in Its Present Purity and Perfection.* (Westminster: John Brindley, Olive Payne, John Jolliffe, Alexander Lyon, Charles Corbett and Richard Wellington, 1735), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; Nathan Bailey, "Kindness," in *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary: CONTAINING An Additional Collection of Words (Not in the First Volume) with Their Explications and Etymologies from the Ancient British, Teutonick, Dutch, Saxon, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, &c. Each in Its Proper Character.* (Thomas Cox, 1737), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; Samuel Johnson, "Kindness, n.s.: [From Kind]," in *A Dictionary of The English Language; In Which The Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, And Illustrated in Their Different Significations By Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, A History of the Language, And an English Grammar* (London: J & P Knaptor, T & T Longman, C Hitch and L Hawes, A Millar and R & J Dodsley, 1755), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database.

analysis of kindness reveals the key position of kindness in a cluster of values that elites used to negotiate relationships with their peers.[7] However, Pollock limits her analysis to the landed ranks who wrote to each other in the seventeenth century, and defined kindness as a gender-neutral term that linked together a diverse range of values. This project responds to Pollock's contribution by broadening the scope of investigation to include the middle classes and the eighteenth century. This project also expands on Pollock's argument, moving towards a broader application and understanding of kindness as a complex gendered mechanism with usages that could change depending on the situation. The limited discussion that kindness has received in scholarship, including that of Pollock, tells a narrative of kindness as regulator, cultivator, and facilitator of individuals' behaviour (usually women), and which unified society into a community.[8] Overall, 'Through Women's Writing' contributes to discussions of early modern history by illuminating the hidden importance of kindness to women's lives in several ways. First, as contemporaries taught, feminine kindness was tied closely to feminine identity. Second, the thesis finds that kindness gave women space within their writings to assert agency in their experiences outside of conventional expectations surrounding feminine identity. Third, it argues that there existed a communal understanding of kindness between people of both genders, which allowed for a shared cultural usage.

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[7] Linda A. Pollock, "Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society," *Past and Present* 211, no. 1 (2011): 121–58.

[8] Jon Mee, "'Reciprocal Expressions of Kindness': Robert Merry , Cruscanism and the Limits of Sociability," in *Romantic Sensibility: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103–22; Alexandra Shepard, "Poverty, Labour and the Language of Social Description in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 201 (November 2008): 59–60; Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64; Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 104; Joanne Bailey and Loreen Giese, "Marital Cruelty: Reconsidering Lay Attitudes in England, c. 1580 to 1850," *The History of the Family* 18, no. 3 (2013): 294; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 115; David Lemmings, "Henry Fielding and English Crime and Justice Reportage, 1748-52: Narratives of Panic, Authority and Emotion," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 89; Lizbeth Powell, "The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship," *Midlands History* 41, no. 2 (2016): 196; Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, 17; Lisa Wynne Smith, "'An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper': The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 469; Lorna J. Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 2 (2017): 229; Susan K. Howard, "'Living Proof:' Frances Burney's Court Journals and Letters, Volumes 1 and 2," *Eighteenth Century Life* 38, no. 1 (2014): 116; Heather Meek, "Frances Burney's Mastectomy Narrative and Discourses of Breast Cancer in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Literature and Medicine* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 39; Sangetta Mediratta, "Beauty and the BreastL The Poetics of Physical Absence and Narrative Presence in Frances Burney's Mastectomy Letter (1811)," *Women: A Cultural Review* 19, no. 2 (2008): 196; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 181; Catherine Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Magazine* 105, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 39; Naomi Pullin, "Sustaining 'the Household of Faith': Female Hospitality in the Early Transatlantic Quaker Community," *Journal of Early Modern History* 22 (2018): 107; Raymond A. Anselment, "'The Wantt of Health:' An Early Eighhteenth-Century Self-Portrait of Sickness," *Literature and Medicine* 15, no. 2 (1996): 230.

Fourth, kindness operated in relationships as a mechanism to ease participants into a state that could be associated with positive emotions.

Locating Georgian Women

Historians have principally understood eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women through their relationships as wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, and friends, and have identified that the ways in which they managed and enacted such bonds is paramount. Although it has received little attention by scholars, this thesis proves that kindness was a key means by which women strengthened relationships. Using a new approach to studying the affectionate family, this project establishes the integral position of kindness for the way in which contemporaries understood affection and its function as a means of encouraging familial unity and harmony. As later chapters establish, this project renews scholarship on politeness, sociability, and sensibility by reintroducing the significance of kindness as a similar yet different cultural practice, which aided in the identification of the boundaries of social acceptance. Furthermore, scholars understand Christian virtues as all-encompassing and touching many aspects of daily life. This project restores kindness, which has received only little previous attention in this regard, to its previous position as an essential virtue that is expressed daily and which forms part of the construction of femininity. Therefore, this study locates itself within several subfields that are part of the larger fields of the study of religion, the social, and relationships.

Many historians have focused on women's major relationships and the expectations that influenced them. I build on this historiography by exploring the ideals that surround both kindness and gender, in order to analyse a new way of understanding how women were expected to negotiate their diverse relationships. Considering the continual importance of Christianity in the eighteenth-century, scholars have focussed specifically on the intersection of religion and the formation of femininity. The enduring influence of Christianity on eighteenth-century worldviews lies in the long history of Christian theology's centrality within British society and culture. This enabled parents, the wider society, and the Church to instill Christian doctrine into Britons from a young age. Religious doctrine thus shaped expectations about how relationships were to be enacted, as well as what was thought of as

the ideal woman.[9] An excellent example of this intertwined nature is Ingrid Tague's exploration of ways in which the origins of eighteenth-century femininities lay in Christian doctrine, thus proving a theological origin for many secular ideal feminine characteristics such as chastity, love, modesty, and submissiveness.[10] Tague's insights belong alongside those gleaned by other historians of femininity who have shown that religious doctrine and theology influenced the formation of ideal womanhood outside of immediately Christian contexts.[11] Moreover, as Anne Stott and Deborah Simonton have established, these religious feminine characteristics that form ideal womanhood originated, in the belief that women's inherent 'spiritual superiority' began with female closeness to domesticity and with their role in educating future generations about theology.[12] For example, Susan Staves' study of the Anglican clergy's relationship with women writers demonstrates that writing publications aimed at the moral education of children offered women the opportunity to shape minds.[13] Yet despite so many studies of the intersection of religion and the formation of femininity, there is no analysis of the role of kindness, as little attention has been paid to specific emotional concepts. Therefore, chapter one, on published works, and chapter four, on Quaker spiritual diaries, bring kindness into the scholarly discussions of how women formulated their joint religious and feminine identities. This project thus seeks to build onto the understanding of how religious ideals, and Christian kindness specifically, influenced both the shape of eighteenth-century relationships and the way that women, in their lived experience, negotiated these ideals.

At the same time, historians have focussed on the secular feminine expectations that can also be understood to have shaped women's relationships. Significantly, scholars of

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[9] Good examples of this can be found in Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 21–51, 143–67; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 18–74; Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 20–177.

[10] Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 18–71.

[11] See, for example, Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 22; Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–4, 8; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 149–50, 194; Clare Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 14; Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 1–38, 74–107, 149–53; Joy Wiltenburg, "Soundings of Laughter in Early Modern England: Women, Men and Everyday Uses of Humour," *Early Modern Women* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 26–27; Bailey and Giese, "Marital Cruelty: Reconsidering Lay Attitudes in England, c. 1580 to 1850," 298; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 115; Siorta, *The Christian Monitors*, 257–59, chap. 1; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 4–5, 15–16, 21–24, 30; Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 127–29, 132–46; Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2–38.

[12] Anne Stott, "Women and Religion," in *Women's History, Britain 1700-1850: An Introduction*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Routledge, 20005), 76–85; Deborah Simonton, "Women and Education," in *Women's History, Britain 1700–1850: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005), 30–42.

[13] Staves, "Church of England Clergy and Women Writers," 86–92.

women, such as Ingrid Tague and Amy M. Froide, have found that feminine ideals did not entirely correspond with the lived reality of relationships. Therefore, historians like Katie Barclay and Joanna Bailey explore how women's lives and their relationships were shaped by religious and patriarchal ideals in practice, despite individuals subverting and re-working these expectations in their everyday lives.[14] Working from similar conclusions, other scholars have focussed on the ideal daughter, wife, and mother to understand how these dictates shaped lived experiences. As Catherine Kerrison and Tabitha Kenlon's research demonstrates, the writings of a corpus of commentators shows how the controlled yet potentially dangerous body was often used as the symbol of the ideal daughter.[15] Likewise, Katie Barclay and Amanda Vickery's research on the ideal wife establishes that our understanding of expectations originates in debates about whether marriage was authoritarian or companionate and sentimental, and in an understanding of lived experience as a blend of practicality and ideals.[16] In particular, Katie Barclay investigates how—as the role of the obedient wife changed in early modern Scotland with the rise of the Enlightenment, culture of sensibility, and a commercial society that turned the understanding of the ideal wife towards the innate Christian virtues of chastity and humanity—women paired these newer understandings with older understandings of patriarchy and obedience in order to negotiate their personal needs and wants within their relationships.[17] Joanne Bailey and Loreen Giese have also carried out research on married women. They survey four categories of marital violence across the social spectrum and its associated language, using mainly court

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[14] See, for example, Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500–1800*, 401–11; Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 2, 37, 174–77; Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 1–33; Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 169–89; Patricia Crawford, *Parents of Poor Children in England, 1580–1800* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 17–28, 240; Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 271; David Lemmings, "Marriage and the Law in the Eighteenth Century: Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 2 (June 1996): 348–56.

[15] Tabitha Kenlon, "Scripts for Life: How Plays, Novels, and Conduct Manuals Created Women in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Readings-A Journal for Scholars and Readers* 1, no. 2 (2015): 1–12; Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 27–38.

[16] Influential in arguing the binary state of marriage are Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England, 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) and Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England, 1660–1753* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 1–46; however, newer historiography focusses on the complicated nature of marriage. See, for example, Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester University Press, 2011), chaps. 4–6; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1999), 59–86; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 54–60; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), chaps. 4–7; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (University of California Press, 1996), chap. 6; Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), chap. 4.

[17] Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 63–64.

documents from 1580 to 1850 as their source material. Bailey and Giese explore how women used kindness to 'describe appropriate marital conduct' in early London cause papers when structuring a case of defense against violent charges or describing their marriage as good until the incident(s) that preceded its implosion, in order to establish the fluidity and influence of marriage ideals on marriages that are breaking down.[18] Likewise, Maureen Waller's chapter on abuse in early modern marriage used kindness to illustrate how commentators and society softened the potential violent nature of husbands' patriarchal power by establishing that men were expected to treat their wives with well-defined 'respect, affection and kindness.'[19] All of these works hint at how the circumscribed nature of 'ideal' kindness within relationships helped marital partners to fulfil gender expectations. This is expanded on in chapter one, which discusses publications that prescribed notions of kindness. Furthermore, this project seeks to build on the scholarly understanding of the influence of ideals, including that of kindness, in the lived experiences of women.

Research also finds expectations surrounding the ideal mother within the study of parenting, where, after much debate, historians agree that a variety of parenting styles have been used over the years, all of them based on mutual emotional involvement [20] The 'tender' mother, as Joanne Bailey's emotional history of parenting establishes, became the ideal mother because of her affection, fondness, kindness, joy, solicitude, satisfaction, and concerned attitude towards her children.[21] For example, Hannah Newton asserts that because of high child mortality throughout this period, there was a trail of grieving 'tender' parents.[22] Overall, in the last twenty years historians in the field of family history have been questioning these patriarchal ideals. Although they still linger, these works advance the exploration of the complex ways that relationships worked, allowing for extended family relationships to be both 'affectionate' and instrumental.[23] Chapter two's analysis of familial

[18] Bailey and Giese, "Marital Cruelty: Reconsidering Lay Attitudes in England, c. 1580 to 1850," 294.
[19] Maureen Waller, *The English Marriage: Tales of Love, Money and Adultery* (John Murray, 2009), chap. 18.
[20] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 22–70; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (Yale University Press, 2008), chaps. 8–17; Joanne Bailey, "Reassessing Parenting in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 219–31.
[21] Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830*, 28–47.
[22] Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580–1720* (University of Oxford Press, 2014), chp. 3-4.
[23] Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 8–9; Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–40, 100–102; Naomi Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century," *Past and Present* 151 (1996): 111–40; Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830*, 246–48; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, "Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and Their Offspring in Early Modern England," *Journal of Family History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 303–5; Patricia Crawford, "Sibling Relationships," in *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England*, Women and Men

relationships contributes to this scholarly shift by furthering the discussion of the complexity of relationships with the addition of kindness as a feature of love, 'affections,' and the contemporaneous reality of the 'affectionate' family. This study also builds on these works by specifically examining kindness and its centrality to marriage and parenting, two key emotional relationships of women, in order to showcase the importance of kindness within these social moments.

At the same time, while examining religious and feminine expectations, historians have also focussed on women's lived experiences in relationships. An excellent study of social relationships is Amanda Flather's examination of middle- and working-class gender-spatial boundaries in the household, church, and social world from 1580 to 1720.[24] Among the study's many important points, including the agency women had in negotiating their gender identity, is Flather's discussion of how disadvantaged women could receive aid through women's neighbourly interactions, which were based on reciprocity, practical help, and kindness, especially during charitable visiting.[25] As will be seen in chapter three's analysis of social actions, Flather's brief mention of social kindness hints at the significance of this concept beside sociability, politeness, and sensibility in enabling on-going expectations. Therefore, this study expands the range of relationships and situations under examination to show the wider significance of kindness in the lives of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women. Likewise, Linda A. Pollock's social history of seventeenth-century elite letter-writers adds to scholarly understanding by uncovering how expressions of kindness were used to show sentiments of goodwill, courtesy and offer or give material aid, and thereby facilitate the regulation of behaviour to match the desired ideals.[26] This project is indebted to this work, as it also analyses how contemporaries used and enacted kindness so as better to comprehend the meanings that they attributed to the concept. Furthermore, from this intriguing work, chapter three's social focus extends Pollock's analysis to demonstrate that kindness occupied a position as similar but slightly different to sociability, politeness and sensibility.

Within studies on eighteenth-century social relationships, historians have focussed on politeness and sensibility, as the important means by which historical actors navigated

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in History (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 214–21; Margot Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780–1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 1 (2006): 218–19.

[24] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*.

[25] Flather, 104.

[26] Pollock, "Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society," 124–55.

sociability. In the early eighteenth century, politeness existed as a code of behaviour which emphasised the significance of manners in forming convivial communal cohesion. Contemporaries viewed politeness as a code of manners associated with decorous behaviour and easy interaction: consciousness of good form, agreeability with merit, utility in things, simplicity against exaggeration of scale or sentimental expression, moderation, mutual tolerance, overriding importance of social comity, liveliness, reciprocity, improvement in morality, expertise, and pursuit of general culture.[27] From E.P. Thompson's landmark article of polarity between polite 'patricians' and 'plebs,' the study of politeness has developed to accommodate various aspects previously ignored by historians. For example, in the last thirty years Lawrence Klein has re-invigorated the field with his focus on men and the rules that governed their interactions. Klein's numerous scholarly works, include for example, an early work on the Earl of Shaftesbury which establishes that the Shaftesburian ideology of politeness contributed to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Whig ideology while also providing a new basis for gentlemanly elite culture.[28] More recently, Soile Ylivouri, in the first book on female politeness, establishes a new direction in the understanding of the interplay between ideology and lived experiences by questioning various points of tension like hypocrisy, self-fashioning, and self-discipline, to uncover a variety of instances where women could subvert, assume a different mask, and patrol boundaries.[29] Ultimately, historians have also understood that among contemporaries toward the end of the century there arose a backlash of criticism and rebellion against sensibility and politeness, as the problems for critics and adherents within the movements became insurmountable.[30] Eighteenth-century Britons slowly began to ask questions about the

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[27] Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (December 2002): 874–78.

[28] Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early 18th Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-20.

[29] Soile Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Bodies, Identities, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 1–10.

[30] Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early 18th Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century"; Lawrence E. Klein, "Sociability, Politeness, and Aristocratic Self-Formation in the Life and Career of the Second Earl of Shelburne," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1600–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (New York & London: Routledge, 2014); Deborah Heller, "Bluestocking Salons and the Public Sphere," *Eighteenth Century Life* 22, no. 2 (May 1998): 59–76; Donna T. Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice: The Attack on Duelling, Suicide, Adultery and Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2014); Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Herbert, *Female Alliances*; Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016); Sasha Handley, "Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England, 1660-1760," *History* 98, no. 329 (2013): 79–104; Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable

authenticity and feelings at stake in such practices. In the later eighteenth century, the concept of sensibility emphasised how the connection of the nervous system, consciousness, and feelings were responsible for people's varying degrees of sensibility, and, though geared more to the inward state of an individual's feeling, sensibility could also shape social interactions. In G.J. Barker-Benfield's influential 1992 study, sensibility originates from the psycho-perceptual scheme behind the nervous system or consciousness, and contemporaries invested it with spiritual and moral values.[31] Crucially, Barker-Benfield established sensibility as a response to consumer society, leaving space for later historians like Joanne Bailey and Patricia Spacks to move the analysis from the larger picture to a narrower focus on sensibility and its association with life in the eighteenth century.[32] For example, Patricia Spacks demonstrates that the importance of sensibility to the construction of privacy enabled the self to conceal inward feeling from being revealed.[33] Contemporaries understood sociability as varied, depending on the situation and the people involved, and these can be thought of as two main modes: 'domestic' or 'public,' both of which are physically marked by the features of good will, desire, care to please companions, integrity, easiness, and social affection.[34] For example, domestic card playing ideally offered up an easy, low-pressure form of entertainment that reinforced bonds between players.[35] Yet, both politeness and sensibility had gendered aspects. Sensibility and politeness, arguably, inaugurated a more feminine-friendly form of social interaction through expression and feeling; changes in the location and nature of sociability during the eighteenth century, especially an increasing emphasis on the home, opened space for mixed hospitality. These ideas have been reached in their respective

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Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century England"; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Kate Davison, "Occasional Politeness and Gentlemen's Laughter in 18th Century England," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 921–45; Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740–1800," *The Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.

[31] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), xvii.

[32] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 19–47; Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 225–28; Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–29.

[33] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 225–28.

[34] Philip Carter, "Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in Early Eighteenth Century Urban Society," in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century: Roles, Representation, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Routledge, 2014), 31–57; Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 94–113; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 162–217.

[35] Janet E. Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century England," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 4 (2009): 999–1000.

fields after decades-long research and dynamic studies. Even though these are all different and occur at different points in the century, they do altogether demonstrate how commentators were concerned with the need to interact with others with civility and ease. Throughout the eighteenth-century, people were deeply interested in the nature of social relationships and interactions, whereas our current understanding of the parameters of these interactions can be expanded by interrogating the significance of kindness. Further, this work undertakes another step in the historiography by showing that kindness served as a multi-faceted feminine-friendly means of navigating tension, difficulties, and varied situations in women's social lives and relationships, and was used alongside politeness and sensibility in social encounters.

This study thus develops the historiography of eighteenth-century women's relations within the fields of religion, family, and social roles. The four chapters of this study each will add to a different area of the field. Overall, this thesis adds to the field of eighteenth-century history by illuminating the importance of the concept of kindness in societal expectations of women's behaviour, which fed directly into various aspects of their everyday lives.

Sources

This study of kindness utilises several types of sources—letters, diaries, and published works—from a variety of people. This project makes use of 1,629 instances of kindness within the diaries of twenty-one women and 876 letters. It also draws upon 4,494 instances of kindness within 1,219 individual pieces of published literature. Chapter one focuses on different types of published works, while chapters two to three make use of letters, and chapter four focuses its analysis on diaries. This project has chosen these sources for two reasons. First, published works offer excellent source material for gauging the wider discourses on kindness that were taught to women and men. Published literature, while having relatively similar mentions of kindness across a variety of works, provides historians with a baseline to reference in the process of identifying how eighteenth-century women used kindness in their lives. Second, diaries and letters offer an entry point into the interpersonal usages of kindness between individuals. These diaries and letters are from a variety of women, although chapters two to four will focus on a group or specific individual, and include other women as needed. While letters and diaries do not display all the various uses of kindness, they do showcase how women utilised kind actions and expressions in their daily lives. Therefore, several women's personal writings and the printed literature together will

form the basis from which this study examines the multi-faceted nature of eighteenth-century female kindness.

The eighteenth-century published literature used here includes conduct and etiquette manuals, sermons, journals, magazines, and a smaller number of other published literature. Scholars, such as Jacqueline Pearson, debate published literature's readership numbers as indicated by circulating libraries, subscription lists and book runs, to argue that a portion of society certainly read these works, although the true extent of their reach remains unknown.[36] There is a similar limitation regarding kindness. Additionally, scholars like Catherine Kerrison and Sara Pennell recognise that authors of published literature aimed to instruct their readership in a variety of subjects, united by an aspiration to stimulate or correct behaviour, particularly that which aligned with personal idealised notions of gender identity.[37] With a few authors writing published literature on their ideals, inevitably personal bias influenced that which appeared on the page, giving the illusion that their opinions were dominant throughout society. Yet there is little evidence of contemporaries adhering to and invoking these niche idealised arguments, leading historians to question the author's purpose and what, if anything, the audience received from reading these works. Despite the question about readers indiscriminately accepting ideals, published literature provides an entry to studying aspects of daily life. First, each individual work's meaningful discourse acts as a reflective repository of societal concerns by capturing contemporary anxieties and fears about potentially disruptive behaviour from people dangerous to social order. Second, the contemporary wish of authors to nudge gendered identity and behaviour of readers towards that which encapsulated their understanding of respectability shows what types of contemporary debates on behaviour existed between ideal and actual norms. Third, this idealistic feminine behaviour collated together what different authors argued, to form a more comprehensive understanding of how, collectively or individually, writers motivated readers toward specific goals. The published literature on kindness participates in a wider discourse about expected feminine identity; in the later chapters I contrast discourse and practice to show how women reworked the expected ideals of kindness in their daily lives.

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[36] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750-1835*, 10–12; Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 197–214.

[37] Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 46–50; Sara Pennell and Natasha Glaisyer, eds., "Introduction," in *Didactic Literature in England, 1500-1800* (Routledge, 2003), 2–16.

Letters, as a primary vehicle of communication over distance, functioned to connect people.[38] These networks of exchange included family, business, friendship and intellectual groups, making letters a primary facet of people's day-to-day existence.[39] As such, letters are a goldmine of information for historians. The letters that appear throughout are a mixture of manuscript originals and edited publications including some of Maria Edgeworth's and Frances Burney D'Arblay's letters and diaries. Carefully cultivated or not, individuals wrote down feelings, events, moments, and thoughts about their lives. Nevertheless, letters are complicated by their surrounding culture. Few letters were private between sender and recipient. Letters were read by a wider circle, usually family members, and, occasionally found their way into print.[40] Writers acknowledged this possibility by writing letters to a specified group, although some writers did worry about the content of their letters reaching beyond their intended audience. Due to concerns over potentially unwanted audiences, letter writers used nicknames, initials, or vagueness to restrict outside readers from understanding the letter.[41] Additionally, the rise of the familiar letter throughout the seventeenth century gave letter-writers flexibility in composing their missives; this flexibility arose due to individuals and groups who developed their own styles and forms within the constraints of templates that shaped this genre, allowing for individual choice and agency. In this way, writers changed the style of their letter according to the type of relationship they had with their correspondent by adjusting phrasing, structure, tones, language, postscripts, and toasts; this is useful in analysing the nature of relationships.[42] The shape of familiar letters and questions about privacy are two examples of the way in which the culture of the eighteenth century influenced letter writing. However, societal influences are not the only considerations when analysing letters. There are four other things that scholars consider when analysing. First, the ways in which people used vocabulary, motifs, and conventions to construct a version of their 'self' when writing to others.[43] Second, the influence of both geographical

[38] Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chap. 2; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 142–67; Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 6–8; Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1–16, chapter 2.

[39] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 42–44.

[40] Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture*, 1–6.

[41] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 9; Sally Holloway, "'You Know I Am All on Fire': Writing the Adulterous Affair in England, c. 1740–1830," *Historical Research* 89, no. 244 (May 2016): 321–25; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 23.

[42] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 115–20.

[43] Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 64–89.

distance and physical absence on the writer and recipient(s) as they participated in the act of maintaining bonds.[44] Third, the lines of a letter offered authors the ability to shape their relationship with the recipient(s) meaningfully, so as to convey their perceptions better, and complete specific agendas or needs.[45] Fourth, authors often used writing conventions in their letters, whether from an authentic place or as a calculated move to influence the recipient(s).[46] Together, these influences on letter writing counsel a sophisticated approach to letters.

Using both manuscript originals and edited eighteenth- and nineteenth-century letter collections allows access to letters in archives that are inaccessible (particularly recently as a result of Covid-19 restrictions). However, edited collections have their own inherent problems. Letters of famous or remarkable people were collected, edited and published, as these people often led distinct lives, which resulted in public demand for their published letters. Letters included in an edited collection have several problems resulting from the publishing process. Each editor during their assemblage of edited collections chose selected letters that were intended to be inoffensive, show women as respectable, and be educational. Simultaneously, before putting these chosen letters into the collection, editors may shorten the letter or even change sentences for ease of reading or to fulfil unspoken preconceptions such as editing out salacious content. Conversely, the editors did not always organise these selected letters in order of date written, but instead by other means, such as by theme or recipient. For example, Valerie Pakenham focusses on Maria Edgeworth's letters to her family members, which leads her to organise the chronology around those who she wrote to often, like Sophy Ruxton.[47] As for the recipients, editors carefully picked individuals, giving precedence to those who were well-known to the reading public or who fulfilled idealistic expectations, resulting in certain correspondents being chosen over others.[48] Analysing

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[44] Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 20–23.
[45] Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 87–91; Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 6–10.
[46] Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 117–38; Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 11–12.
[47] Valerie Pakenham, ed., *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 2018), 9.
[48] Josephine Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774–1817): Struggling to Become the Ideal Quaker Woman," *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 179, 190–91; Sheila Wright, "'Gaining a Voice:' An Interpretation of Quaker Women's Writing 1740–1850," *Quaker Studies* 8, no. 1 (2003): 37–40; Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience," 223–24; Gillian Skinner, "'A Tattling Town Like Windsor': Negotiating Proper Relations in Frances Burney's Early Court Journals and Letters (1786–87)," *Eighteenth Century Life* 38, no. 1 (2014): 3–7; Judith Jennings, "The Journal of Margaret Hoare Woods: 'Bow Me in Deep Humility of Soul...,'"

without considering these things leads to an account lacking a clear understanding of the original intention, with subsequent incorrect conclusions. Thus, by acknowledging these considerations, scholars provide a better contextualisation of letters and understanding historical actors' lives on their own terms.

In writing diaries, when using the pronoun 'I,' diarists infused the pages with a focus on their own world and subjectivity. Calendar dates at the top of individual entries gave writers the ability to display time as both fragmented and continuous, permitting space to mediate between the past, present, and future. Intersections between the public and private aspects of the diaries are visible in the writers' presumption of privacy alongside their recognition of the lack of privacy when the diary is made public through printing and/or circulation.[49] Simultaneously, women diarists exploited language and conventions to create a personal voice, although internalised restrictions contributed to the shape of the diarist's narratives.[50] Further, while formulating their human experience on the page, these diarists often wrote versions of their individual journeys in self-discovery, using a convention particular to the eighteenth century. Thus, the analysis of self-identity and gender-identity is aided by a diarist's articulation of their self-conscious self-creating journey in language, motif, and conventions.[51] Discussions of subjectivity, temporality, tensions between the public and private and the use of the feminine voice in women's diaries clarifies what women diarists held important and how they achieved their objectives. By focusing on the diarists' agendas, the intent behind narrative and language is clarified. Therefore, these previous considerations about diaries are useful in analysing and locating importance of linguistic kindness to the users.

As a means of navigating the social world, letters, diaries, and published literature each have their own analytical value to a comprehensive study of eighteenth-century women's kindness. Together, these three source types permit a study of how contemporaries were taught kindness and how women used it in practice and understood it in their everyday lives.

Quaker History 75, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 26–27; Edwina Newman and Judith Jennings, "New Perspectives on Eighteenth-Century British Quaker Women," *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 163–65.

[49] Irina Paperno, "What Can Be Done With Diaries?," *The Russian Review* 63, no. 4 (October 2004): 571–72.

[50] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 61,72; Nussbaum, "Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces," 154–56.

[51] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 65–72; Cynthia Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love': Constructing Personal and Religious Bonds in Eighteenth-Century Women's Diaries," *Journal of Religious History* 39, no. 3 (September 2015): 386, 388, 395.

Methodology and Approach

'Through Women's Writing' categorises kindness as an emotion and seeks to reveal what it meant and how contemporaries used it in the eighteenth century. In categorising it as an emotion, this project accesses the contemporary framework of mild 'affections' and troubling 'passions' to position kindness as a mild 'affection', allowing for a fuller comprehension of its complexity as both a feeling and a socially constructed code of behaviour.[52] However, historians who study emotion, whether grief or happiness, confront the problem of being unable to track every emotion. Thus the question of accessing the eighteenth-century cultural understanding of emotions outside of mediated written sources is raised—while inside the mediated written sources, historians have the problem of sincerity and authenticity: are these emotions manufactured for an intended audience? To negotiate these questions, the analysis in this thesis is also influenced by history of emotions theories.

Unlike other theories, Monique Scheer's theory of 'emotional practice' exhorts scholars to think about emotions as working practices situated in settings that are accessed through language, thereby providing a framework both to locate and complicate instances of kindness within source material.[53] 'Emotional practice' has three components. First,

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[52] Thomas Dixon, "'Emotion:' The History of a Keyword in Crisis," *Emotion Review* 4, no. 4 (October 2012): 339.

[53] To Peter Stearns, emotionology and emotions are two different but interrelated concepts: the former is a cultural, personal, and institutional arrangement, while the latter is a raw cognitive feeling (Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 833–34.) In emotionology, societies taught participants to value some emotional targets over others, for example, using boxing as an acceptable form of expressing anger. Following Stearns, Barbara Rosenwein's emotional communities focused on small groups, dominant in society or not, that shared specific communal understandings of emotions. (Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–45.) Individuals moving about these groups can have feelings of dissonance or ease depending on the similarity of the larger emotional community to their own. Following these social groups, Rosenwein argues, leads to the discovery of associated, and perhaps new, emotions studied in context. William Reddy's 'emotives,' in contrast, tries to explore the emotional mind of historical actors instead of the community surrounding them. Reddy argues that people summoned emotional expressions in an attempt to feel what they were supposed to feel, and when these expressions failed, people made unexpected discoveries about themselves. Reddy uses 'emotional suffering'—distress caused from society by negative responses—and 'emotional regime'—bodies expressing prevailing norms and understanding of emotions—to access the emotives of people.(William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); William M. Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 2 (1997): 327–51.)

individuals practiced emotions influenced by the actions of other people. Second, the specific feeling emerges in the act of doing the emotion. Third, emotion comes from innate learned capacities shaped by habitual practices that are located around the body and its functions. Together, these three components imply that emotions are a form of practice, that feeling emerges in the act of doing, and the emotion's locus is the culturally shaped bodily function, meaning that it could change over time as culture and expectations modified.[54] Following Scheer's concept of 'emotional practice,' this study seeks to understand kindness as an emotion enacted and done by people. As such, it looks to published literature, letters, and diaries to find how people enacted kindness. Moreover, the project focuses on instances in which people explicitly understood themselves as doing or receiving kind acts. As such, it seeks to explore kindness on contemporaries' terms to see how they expressed and understood this particular word.

Crucially, by building on the contemporaneous definitions of kindness offered by John Kersey and Samuel Johnson, this project will track the constellation of emotion words that appear within the written sources around the vocabulary of kindness. As such, this study will reveal the changing sets of words associated with kindness across the eighteenth century. In doing so, this analysis will find the synonyms linked to kindness and build a sense of what kindness meant to eighteenth-century Britons and how this changed over time. By tracking these instances through a range of sources, this thesis seeks to show how kindness came to be understood and used in different ways across the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Accordingly, this thesis' first objective—to track kindness—is influenced by the aforementioned framework offered by Monique Scheer's emotional practice, by expanding the repertoire of established emotional practices under analysis. Hence, this thesis will, through its different chapters, track the practices and actions that eighteenth-century Britons described as kindness. In doing so, it will build a list of practices and actions which were, or could be, understood as kindness over the eighteenth century. This study will reveal how emotional practices of kindness changed, or remained consistent, over the eighteenth century.

Simultaneously, to understand the authors' meaning, it is necessary to read their words within the context of eighteenth-century language and society. This broader cultural context can be reconstructed, for example, by comparing contemporary dictionaries to words used, or situating words within their appropriate contemporaneous movements, like that of

[54] Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History?) A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (May 2012): 220.

sensibility. Therefore, when accessing the language used by Frances Burney D'Arblay, for example, it is important to understand her life as a genteel woman, her Francophone sympathies, and the years she spent in court. Accordingly, the second key objective of the approach of this thesis—to discover the meaning of kindness in the eighteenth century—will be met by building on the framework offered by these broader cultural contexts. Therefore, 'Through Women's Writing' seeks to interrogate the meaning of kindness in the eighteenth century by examining a series of textual sources on their own terms and in specified eighteenth-century contexts.

The third key objective of the project's approach—to understand what attributes were important in 'kind' relationships—will be met by utilising both emotional practices and the broader cultural context. This theory and methodology together give kindness a tangible and traceable form. Consequently, this study will track instances when people described relationships and life events with the vocabulary of kindness. For example, Maria Edgeworth described her aunt Margaret Ruxton's overall behaviour towards her as kindness causing affection and love. This project will analyse relationships described as such to find which attributes contemporaries recognised as being important to making a relationship have a 'kind' tone. These attributes included, for example, how Maria Edgeworth described her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth as a tender parent. In tracking these attributes, I will build a picture of the nature of kindness in the eighteenth century.

Overall, in fulfilling these three objectives—to track the practices of kindness, discover the meanings of kindness, and understand the attributes of kindness—this project finds shared understandings of the fluid and amorphous nature of kindness in eighteenth-century Britain.

Chapter Outline

This study explores female kindness in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century England by examining letters, diaries, and published literature. It aims to show that kindness was essential to how women navigated interpersonal relationships. To do so, I organise the following chapters into two main sections. In the first section, chapter one analyses published literature, such as sermons and manuals, in three segments: the influence of Christianity on kindness, how kindness regulated women's behaviour in the social sphere, and how the body became a site of metaphorical lessons aimed to constrict and regulate behaviour. It shows that feminine kindness could function as a site that moderated anxieties and fears about

womanhood by controlling the exertions of the female body while placing the locus of kindness onto women. This examination of the literature will uncover the lessons taught in literature that was likely read, in order to set up for the rest of this project the expectations and ideals that these women understood, measured, and reworked in their interpersonal uses.

After establishing this understanding of the cultural and social expectations that shaped women's understanding of kindness, section two examines the uses of kindness by eighteenth-century women. Chapter two focuses on familial women's kindness via Maria Edgeworth and her family in the decades from the 1780s to 1815. It shows that women used familial kindness as a tool to structure their remembrances within a frame of positive emotions, including love and affection. Chapter three builds on the previous chapter's findings by examining private writings' acts of social kindness, as seen in Frances Burney's diaries during her years at the Royal Court and her social group, which is called a literary-artistic set in this project. It shows that Burney interpreted actions of kindness done towards and by her in a manner that reinforced the perception of communal belonging and answered the continual search for public validation. Chapter four builds on the Christian expressions of kindness first indicated in chapter two by examining four Quaker women's spiritual diaries; this fourth chapter shows that the language of kindness allowed Quaker women, in their quest to communicate with God, to examine, punish, and form religious opinions. This section showcases a myriad of circumstances in which women used kindness within their interpersonal relationships to demonstrate the integral importance of the emotion in emotional labour and the functioning of everyday experiences.

Finally, a conclusion will complete the study by offering an overall picture of women's kindness in the eighteenth century to suggest future studies and emphasise the findings and contribution to the historical study of eighteenth-century women. As re-emphasised in the conclusion, this study reveals the significance of kindness for women in the eighteenth century in several ways. First, this project develops the understanding of the historiography of relationships by adding kindness as another dimension to how women kept their interpersonal relations easy and friendly or affectionate. Kindness allowed women a framework on which to connect with others on an affectionate basis, building relationships that would continue throughout hardship and difference. Second, this analysis finds that contemporaries had a shared understanding of kindness, allowing for meaningful usage among different groups of people. This shared understanding of kindness gave women a means to convey to their readers their well-meaning intentions about a variety of situations, and it also gave women of different classes or situations the ability to create female

communities united by shared values over geographic distances. Third, by illuminating how women created spaces within their writings, this project shows how they asserted their agency and argues that kindness was a fundamental arena in which such assertions took place. Women continually used and reworked conceptions of kindness to assert a degree of agency within their experiences. Fourth, this project adds to the knowledge of women's education by developing how contemporaries taught young girls and women about individual emotions, emotional labour, and the close ties between kindness and their feminine identity. The types of kindness used by women in creating their own female-focussed communities and their sense of agency resulted from a lifetime of education by schools, parents, and other family members, thus shaping the concept towards one that is based on societal anxieties, expectations, and gender roles. The integral nature of kindness to eighteenth-century women suggests an understanding of emotional practices as complex and interlocking within early modern society.

CHAPTER 1:
TEACHING WOMEN: KINDNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PUBLICATIONS

Scholars debate the readership numbers, yet circulating libraries, subscription lists, and book runs indicate an audience that read printed books and periodical literature.[1] Female literacy depended on a woman's geographical location and social status. David Cressy's influential study found that in London during the early part of the eighteenth century, female literacy reached over 50 per cent, whereas in the rest of the country, Cressy classed only a quarter of women as literate.[2] By contrast, Lawrence Stone, in one of the earliest studies of literacy, claimed that among aristocratic women the percentage of literacy reached 100 per cent.[3] Whether the rate was 50 or 100 per cent among the upper ranks, these studies indicate that there was an audience of girls and women with the ability to read eighteenth-century publications.

This chapter is the bedrock on which the rest of the project's exploration of kindness lies. Examining how published literature defined society's expectations as to the role of kindness in women's lives provides the basis on which the later chapters can analyse how actual women understood, reworked, and deployed these ideals in their own lives. To complete this aim, this chapter examines a range of published literature aimed at educating girls and women about idealised practices of feminine kindness. In the didactic works studied throughout the chapter, authors defined feminine kindness as an emotional practice that, when enacted, was seen through the physical acts of the female body. In these works, kindness enabled women to achieve societal expectations of moderating behaviour, which was important for the construction of efficacious social relationships and, ultimately, an ordered society.[4] Often, in these printed books and periodicals, authors used the language of feminine kindness to express their individual anxieties and fears about different types of female behaviour. To these authors especially, the metaphorical body appeared as a teaching site for imparting on young girls and women lessons about how natural feminine virtues, including kindness, were, and about the importance of expressing them through bodily comportment and behaviour.

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[1] Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 10–12; Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 197–214.

[2] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 129, 176.

[3] Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640–1990," *Past and Present* 42 (1969): 69–139.

[4] Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History?) A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (May 2012): 211–15.

The eighteenth-century published literature discussed in this chapter includes conduct manuals, sermons (funeral, collections, and single), magazines, poems, and novels. I selected these works because they demonstrate attempts to influence how women learned societal expectations surrounding their gender identity, and especially an expectation for the emotional practice of kindness. Printed books and periodicals are united by their didactic elements, all of them being explicitly addressed to women readers, and all attempting to influence their readers to a certain degree. In this way, the sources are used to underscore the divergence between 'taught' female kindness and how women themselves subverted and reworked kindness in their everyday lives.

As a source, printed books and periodicals provide a means of accessing the expectations that may have been imposed on women. Middle class and elite authors produced works that reflected both their social rank and culture, and were aimed at audiences of similar middle class and elite readers. Consequently, with an audience and accessibility through printing and price points, these publications had wider resonance. Printed sermons—of which the funeral, collections, and single styles feature in this chapter—are a small sampling of those that London and provincial audiences heard. However, publishers and audiences found, as demonstrated by publishing trends and those with multiple editions, these sermons to be of significance, interest, and a public face of the various denominations.[5] Conduct manuals flourished throughout the eighteenth century with authors focussing on addressing 'ladies' and emphasising how important it was to avoid contested activities like reading novels or gossiping over the tea table. This suggests that these tracts' intended audience could be found among the middle class and the elite, although it is impossible to say who actually did read and what their intentions were.[6] Magazines, another genre that flourished in the eighteenth century, had a proliferation of different titles that often only lasted for a handful of issues or months due to the short-lived nature of the market. Additionally, subscription lists indicate a sustained interest among a mixed audience due to their cheap, accessible format. However, magazines often outpaced their audiences, who also proved themselves fickle, which meant that magazines needed to distinguish themselves in order to remain in print.[7] Poetry's

[5] Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 39–105.

[6] Ingrid H. Tague, "Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 1 (January 2001): 82–83; Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 20–22, 69–70.

[7] Paul Goring, *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2008), 61–62; Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth Century England*, 197–223.

unmatched convertibility into other portable media forms such as pillows or kerchiefs, and the fact that it was closely related to oral tradition, enhanced its popularity among eighteenth-century readers. This was especially the case considering that printed verse collections also provided material for their own commonplace books gathered out of various scraps of printed literature and intended for their own sociable reading.[8] Novels were a recent development in the seventeenth century, and remained popular with both men and women. This can be seen in their predominant stockage at booksellers, their presence in circulating libraries, advertisements, and promotional ploys featuring numerous novels, and the vigorous anti-novel and anti-female reader debates that gave rise to several sub-genres (e.g., amorous, novels-in-letters, gothic, historic).[9]

The printed books and periodicals that discussed or featured kindness therefore provide an entry point for examining the wider discourses on and understandings of this concept. Although each of these genres is different, I have chosen them because their authors aimed to provide their audiences with material for their own commonplace books and social reading habits that were acceptable in content for both genders. Furthermore, within each of these genres there is a different, yet similar, presentation of acceptable kindness. Printed sermons are a flashpoint into a practice that contemporaries often attended and heard in person. Hence, while these sermons cannot be representative of everything that women heard in church, they do provide researchers with an outline of how preachers harnessed topics, doctrine, and dogma in their teachings to congregants. Likewise, conduct manuals are not representative of how women comported themselves in their daily experiences; however, these works do display contemporary debates, anxieties, and fears regarding female behaviour. In discussing these worries in print, conduct manuals give researchers an indication that women of the eighteenth century portrayed themselves and acted in ways that caused consternation. One could also logically take behaviours that caused such consternation to be opposite, or at least not as 'pure' as the conduct manual's model behaviours. Therefore, conduct manuals provide the researcher with a glimpse into dogmatic, idealistic behaviour. Magazines, in contrast, being carefully compiled by editors and publishers, provide a glimpse into the nature of sociable reading facilitated by shorter pieces that allowed readers to snip and paste articles into their own commonplace books. Thus, while again not representative, magazines provide access to what contemporary readers

[8] Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2017), 127–48.
[9] John Richetti, ed., *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27, 87, 95–97; Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835*, 19–20.

considered to be suitable short pieces that could appear alongside readers' own compilations of works saved for later sociable reading. Poetry, which easily leant itself to sociable reading given the ease with which it could be transferred to other media and read aloud, permits researchers a means of understanding both how readers approached written material and why they found it significant. Hence, poetry remains an important source, as it gives a glimpse of what people would have read aloud in their circles, and this is especially the case for those compilations that were reprinted multiple times. This chapter finds that the discussions within these various works often allied kindness with particular conceptions of feminine identity. In contrast, the later chapters in this thesis find that in their daily references to an enactment of kindness, women often subverted and played with this connection between kindness and femininity.

This chapter examines the intersections between feminine education, gender identity, and emotional practice. In the last twenty years there has been much research problematising the understanding of female education. As part of this response, historians have sought to take into consideration complexities beyond the constricting stereotypes about the extent to which women's lives were limited. However, in this expanded understanding of women's lives, there is no focus on the emotional education of kindness. Instead, it is skillsets, some subject knowledge, and religious devotion that are the focus. For example, necessary skills such as needlework was taught because, as Margaret Hunt argues, most girls received far fewer resources, education, and job training than men.[10] However, Amy Froide disputes part of Hunt's argument that women learned numeracy due to their dowries: Froide maintains, rather, that parents taught daughters numeracy because of their need to manage their households and businesses financially.[11] Michèle Cohen deconstructs the paradigm of girls' education being haphazard and inadequate by contending that despite girls' education being 'unmethodical' and lacking formalisation, they sometimes gained skills that were unnecessary, like Latin.[12] This upheaval of scholarly ideas about the limits of girls' education continues with Aileen Fyfe's discussion about how science books, like those about botany, became over course of the eighteenth century associated with instructive learning for

[10] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (University of California Press, 1996), 81–100.
[11] Hunt, 89; Amy M. Froide, "Learning to Invest: Women's Education in Arithmetic and Accounting in Early Modern England," *Early Modern Women* 10, no. 1 (Fall 2015): 18–21.
[12] Michele Cohen, "Gender and 'Method' in Eighteenth-Century English Education," *History of Education* 33, no. 5 (2004): 591–95.

girls.[13] Demonstrating the flexibility of textbooks to include text- and activity-based learning, Evelyn Arizpe and Morag Styles demonstrate that children's books—including science books—aided mothers in practising reading as a sociable activity that enforced religious, moral discipline that encouraged debates and discussions.[14] Other textual materials used by mothers, as Gillian Wright proves, included diaries circulated by elder family members as is demonstrated by the circulation of Sarah Savage's diaries among her family for the spiritual edification of the children.[15] Further dislocating the idea of education being book-based, Michèle Cohen has argued that books containing dialogic texts structured domestic conversations to aid in the intellectual training and development of girls and boys.[16] The few scholars who have examined the education of girls outside the home aimed to deconstruct widely held stereotypes regarding the ineptness of girls' public education. The flexible nature of children's literature—as M.O. Grenby convincingly argues—allows authors to capture in microcosmic form the surrounding environs debate about the mixed methods of girls' education as both home and 'public' schooling.[17] Debates about girls' public education included the school curriculum, which Cohen argues ultimately had a core focus on modern languages, history, and geography.[18] While these studies are illuminating, there remains a gap regarding girls' emotional education—especially considering that the recent historiography of emotional practices increasingly argues for their importance in relationships. This gap may be due to scholars' preoccupation with deconstructing the established notions of the wider field of girls' education. However, as this thesis demonstrates, elements of female education focussed on constructing or teaching different aspects of the expectations of femininity, including the emotional practices of kindness. Moreover, such learning did not simply take place in childhood, but continued throughout women's lives. While the scholars of girls' education discussed in this paragraph focussed on the mechanics of education, the scholars I discuss next focus on how expectations of femininity were taught outside of female education

[13] Aileen Fyfe, "Reading Children's Books in Late Eighteenth-Century Dissenting Families," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (June 2000): 472–73.
[14] Evelyn Arizpe and Morag Styles, "'Love to Learn Your Book': Children's Experiences of Text in the Eighteenth Century'," *History of Education* 33, no. 3 (2004): 342–52.
[15] Gillian Wright, "Delight in Good Books: Family, Devotional Practice, and Textual Circulation in Sarah Savage's Diaries," *Book History* 18 (2015): 55–69.
[16] Michele Cohen, "The Pedagogy of Conversation in the Home: 'Familiar Conversation' as a Pedagogical Tool in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century England," *Oxford Review of Education* 41, no. 4 (2015): 452–59.
[17] M.O. Grenby, "Children's Literature, the Home, and the Debate on Public Versus Private Education, c. 1760–1845," *Oxford Review of Education* 41, no. 4 (2015): 476.
[18] Michele Cohen, "'A Little Learning'? The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (September 2006): 325–32.

The historiography of womanhood has explored two facets of femininity: expectations placed on women by the surrounding society, and how individual women acted to subvert, rework, and upend these expectations. Scholarship identifies patriarchy as a locus behind eighteenth-century gender relations; thus, the study of patriarchy becomes a topic of inquiry for different historians. For example, for Anthony Fletcher, men and women related to patriarchy by how the concept organised their world. This resulted in a 'mental world of gender', with men continually revising their ideas to accept the reactions of women.[19] However, the study of patriarchy tempts scholars with promises that their findings can comprehensively apply to all aspects of society, thus creating a self-perpetuating limit that ignores outliers. Amanda Flather has shown how women sought to challenge and subvert patriarchal power by constructing and contesting gender and social identities in different settings.[20] Scholars studying patriarchy are limited by there being few sources that explicitly express, focus on, or use the word patriarchy in their content. Accordingly, when scholars then focus on other aspects of early modern history, they remain influenced by the research findings that have emerged from patriarchy's lingering influences on how the genders interacted and organised their worlds. Faramerz Dabhoiwala's study of a dominant ideal of womanhood, specifically female reputation, establishes that within patriarchal constraints, women used language, concepts, and ideology to construct a more flexible ideal composed of a compound of social and moral status, and related to sexual behaviour.[21] Following on Dabhoiwala's study of chastity, Soile Ylivuori argues against earlier studies that took discursive ideals at 'face value', and analyses chastity as a concept to show that women manipulated this performative, patriarchally defined identity in order to give the external appearance of chastity.[22] Instead of examining a single conceptual idea, Tabitha Kenlon approaches communally-produced scripts (plays, novels, and conduct manuals) to show how women used alternative interpretations to assume a mask of conventional, patriarchally defined femininity.[23] Similarly, Ingrid Tague studied multiple dominant gender ideals as a means to approach how women reworked their expected gender identity within patriarchal

[19] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1995), 401–11.
[20] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 2, 37, 174–77.
[21] Dabhoiwala, "The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth Century England," 201, 212–13.
[22] Solie Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2016): 94–96.
[23] Tabitha Kenlon, "Scripts for Life: How Plays, Novels, and Conduct Manuals Created Women in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Readings-A Journal for Scholars and Readers* 1, no. 2 (2015): 2, 11–12.

constraints, so as to fashion a pleasant existence.[24] Approaching dominant ideals of gender as an actor within the 'beau monde's fashion' system of performed and gendered privilege, Hannah Greig argues that patriarchal expectations were externally expressed through bodily actions and consumeristic involvement.[25] Examining these few examples of the study of patriarchy and how it influenced other early modern historiography shows that as recent scholarship adds newly discovered material, previously unstudied aspects, and unique approaches to the corpus of knowledge it facilitates a changing understanding of how femininity and female identity can and should be understood. Historians largely agree that women used their initiative to challenge patriarchal expectations, achieving freedoms while retaining their respectable status. However, men often responded by adapting their approach to ensure continued forms of dominance. Therefore, identities as socially performed and navigated were important to the recognition and performance of femininity. Consequently, this project aims to establish kindness as part of an emotional repertoire of girls' acquired knowledge about how to use emotions in their relationships with people, and also as a crucial element of how girls learned to construct their femininity and female identity in the eighteenth century. Accordingly, this chapter analyses a range of publications to demonstrate what kindness was considered to be and why it was understood to be crucial to constructions of femininity and female identity in the eighteenth century.

As mentioned earlier, eighteenth-century contemporaries considered kindness to be an essential part of girls' emotional education, which fashioned their notions of feminine identity. To uncover the importance of kindness to female identity, the question asked in this chapter is: how, when, and why were women supposed to practice kindness? Using the set of paradigms outlined in the Introduction, this chapter analyses a wide range of printed books and publications to contribute to the historiography of female education and feminine gender identity by shifting the access point to that of the emotional practice of kindness. As will be seen, women were taught their various emotional practices, including kindness, in a similar manner to other parts of the curriculum. Furthermore, by studying the emotional practice of kindness as a space where girls and women learned the expectations of their gendered identity that in later chapters became subverted, reworked, and reconstructed, this chapter constructs the previously unstudied area where women learned and shaped their performance of their female identity. It finds that in the pages of printed books and periodicals, authors

[24] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 1–13.
[25] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 232–37.

defined kindness as a feminine virtue. Authors expressed the hope that when individual women practiced kindness, such actions aided in neutralising their potentially dangerous bodies. The authors' language of feminine kindness in their printed books and periodicals exposed their anxieties and fears about femininity and womanhood; primarily, this was concerned with how metaphorical female bodies could cause disruption and disorder within society. Ultimately, the metaphorical body appeared as a symbolic site where authors conveyed lessons about their expectations, the 'naturalness' of restricting feminine behaviour to religious standards, and how undertaking such behaviour generated belonging within society.

Christian Kindness

The eighteenth-century worldview remained entwined with Christianity and its doctrine, to the extent that both influenced the constitution and mechanics of an ordered society. This section includes a discussion of how, due to anxiety and fear of the potentially disruptive nature of women, authors educated their readership about Christian theology's impact on gender identity. To further underscore the impact of Christianity in formulating the importance of feminine kindness in the contemporary worldview, this section makes use of the biblical verse Proverbs 13. 26 and associated theological discussions in a variety of sermons, conduct manuals, magazines, poetry, and a novel, all of which range in date from 1746 to 1800. Despite the possibility of a wide range of theological interpretations, interpretations of Christian kindness developed in two ways. First, theology credited goodness in human life to God, who gave congregants the Christian scriptures with loving-kindness. Accordingly, with Christian theology as an essential cornerstone of society, kindness became a foundation in the concept that order equalled Christian dogma's notions of hierarchy and patriarchy. Furthermore, God's kindness functioned as an overarching framework within which contemporaries understood kindness in the eighteenth century. Second, a well-ordered Christian society used feminine kindness to regulate the metaphorical female body towards acceptable behaviours such as being charitable, cooperative, subservient, passive, productive, and gentle toward others. Consequently, women learned from the theology of Christian kindness about how participating in kindness produced desirable behaviour. Such behaviour, in turn, fulfilled 'natural' gender roles that promoted female belonging and community, and thus contributed to an ordered society.

A key aspect of the contemporary worldview was that God's loving-kindness produced goodness in each person's life. Publishers often published sermon collections in the eighteenth century for three reasons, leading to a plethora of source material previously delivered in spoken form for scholars to access. First, single sermons printed in cheap octavo format were popular. Second, a significant number of preachers had financial backers, like The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) or Sons of the Clergy, who could afford the expensive formats—like leather-bound quarto—that may have been out of reach to a solo preacher. Third, the popularity of the genre generated competition among authors, resulting in a need for constant vigilance to remain visible and popular among readers; this also meant that publishers would continue making a profit and want to publish them.[26] In this popular field of collected sermons, Thomas Amory published in 1753 a collection of eight sermons on the advantages of prayer and contentment, including a discussion of how God's loving-kindness lay behind all the goodness people experienced, as exemplified by the sentence, 'it is evident that health, children, friends, reputation or the conveniences of life, must yield joys of a higher relish to him, who thankfully owns the goodness of God in granting them, regards them as instances of his loving kindness'.[27] To Amory, God's loving-kindness materialised through the gifts of health, plentiful children, exceptional friends, an irreproachable reputation, and other conveniences of life—essentially the foundation of an upright life. Entwining God's loving-kindness and humanity's pleasurable experiences ensured that God became responsible for establishing a well-ordered society, or as Jonas Hanway bluntly wrote in a 1770 women's conduct manual, God was the one 'who redeemth thy life from destruction and crowneth thee with loving kindness, and tender mercies'.[28] Conduct manuals developed in the seventeenth century as a combination of two separate traditions—courtesy books and pious literature—to give detailed descriptions for behaviour with a moralising emphasis on self-scrutiny. This newly developed genre focussed on creating the ideal woman, a product of her female nature, aware and constantly self-scrutinising behaviours and thoughts against society's standards. The significant number of titles published and many editions of them suggests a considerable interest in the genre,

[26] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 74–107.
[27] Thomas Amory, *Eight Sermons, on Contentment, the Reasonableness of Religion, and the Advantages of Prayer* (London, England, 1753), 89.
[28] Jonas Hanway, *Advice from a Farmer to His Daughter, in a Series of Discourses, Calculated to Promote the Welfare and True Interest of Servants: With Reflexions of No Less Importance to Masters and Mistresses, with Regard to Private Happiness and Public Tranquility. In Three Volumes. ...*, vol. 1 (London, England, 1770), 65.

especially because publishers and writers aimed to meet reader demand.[29] In this excerpt, Hanway underscores the connections between eternal salvation, God's loving-kindness, and forgiveness. As chapter four on Quaker spiritual diaries attests, women within their own religious writings understood the importance of God's loving-kindness to them as individuals. One of the core tenets of Christianity was and still is the promise of eternal salvation to Christians.[30] Eternal salvation would happen after humanity practised an orderly society governed by a Christian hierarchy that promoted unity through charity, kindness, mercy, and neighbourliness to all. These definitions of God's loving-kindness situate the theology of kindness, both in men and women, as an essential foundation for an ordered society. However, this project will only study women's kindness, arguing that self-managed behaviour—an offshoot of practising kindness—facilitated the constitution of an ordered society.

The promise that God's loving-kindness would create both an ordered society and eternal salvation converged to convince eighteenth-century Christians to view themselves as superior to non-Christians. Throughout the eighteenth century, magazines remained a cheap and reasonably accessible source of reading material. Subscriber accounts detail a mixed audience from gentry to artisans to shop assistants. However, since magazines proliferated faster than new readers (or readers wanting new magazines), publishers would only succeed if they were able to create a specific audience by targeting smaller subsets or by changing their approach to broad themes like conduct or Christianity.[31] Furthermore, contemporaries' reading habits often consisted of dipping in and out of full-length books and reading excerpts and selected marked passages. This is why, in anticipation of their readers, magazines and miscellanies often packaged verse, prose, and music for those who desired entertainingly arranged diversity and accessibility over comprehensiveness.[32] The editor Timothy Priestley, or 'T.P.' as he referred to his contributions, wrote a letter in *The Christian's Magazine* about the kindness of being granted the Bible by God, 'as it has pleased God to favour us with a clear revelation of scripture doctrines, which is of unspeakable advantage to the Christian, so infinite kindness he has ordained, that such a view of his dealings with his children should be held before our eyes'.[33] 'T.P.'s vocabulary of 'clear revelation', 'unspeakable advantage',

[29] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 22–24, 30.
[30] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 149–53.
[31] Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth Century England*, 197–98, 216.
[32] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 92–93.
[33] Priestley, *The Christian's Magazine, or Gospel Repository...*, 1:152.

and ‘so infinite kindness’ displays the intertwining of the doctrine of God’s loving-kindness with the dogma of the gift of scripture. Christianity taught congregants how they were favoured by God, for he gave to them both scripture and the knowledge that continual acts of kindness would bring about the elements of an ordered society, as opposed to a disorderly non-Christian society. This view aligns with contemporaneous views that were beginning to be communicated about disorderly and heathen non-Christian societies.[34] Consequently, Christian kindness taught the English people about communal orderliness, which thus gave women the beginning of a script to shape their behaviour. Like the previous Christian magazine, the collected sermons of Reverend John Abernethy (1680–1740) in *Scarce and Valuable Tracts and Sermons* (1751) argue that Christian kindness produced an orderly religion, which became the bedrock for an well-ordered society: ‘But at all times Christianity appears, as originally delivered by its blessed author, to be an inoffensive situation, breathing nothing but peace, and tending to inspire its professors with the strongest sentiments of kindness and good will to all men; kindness not to be extinguished even by hatred, injuries and affronts’.[35] In describing Christianity with the propitious language of ‘inoffensive situation’, ‘nothing but peace’, and ‘strongest sentiments of kindness and good will’, Abernathy contended that the original sentiments of God’s scriptures created a religion predicated on orderly virtues of charity and neighbourliness, both of which contemporaries practised in the eighteenth century.[36]Accordingly, Abernethy and ‘T.P.’ believed the foundation of Christian kindness resided in God’s loving-kindness becoming actual through his gifting humanity with scriptures; this belief is seen in the language of ‘so infinite kindness he has ordained’ and ‘originally delivered by its blessed author’. Consequently, these two authors—in envisioning the peaceful, orderly Christian benefiting from God’s kindness and scripture—created a narrative about how society benefits from Christianity through its inherent nature of imbuing peaceful order onto individuals. Such views were not only expressed in sermons and published sermon collections, they were also articulated in other printed genres, such as poetry.

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[34] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, New Cultural Studies (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 15–16, 121, 150–54, 288–303.

[35] John Abernethy, *Scarce and Valuable Tracts and Sermons, Occasionally Published, by the Late Reverend and Learned John Abernethy, M. A. Author of the Discourses on the Being and Perfections of God. Now First Collected Together.* (London, England, 1751), 266.

[36] Brent Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680–1730* (Yale University Press, 2014), chap. 1; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 64, 113, 124, 127–29, 132–46; Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2–38.

In the eigtheenth century, poetry remained popular for three reasons: its unmatchable portability, its easy transferability of snippets onto a whole range of different media, and its being the genre most closely related to oral tradition. Furthermore, this century saw the successful development of printed poetic commonplace collections, which were often designed for the development of literary tastes and of reading aloud well.[37] Contemporaries were aware that Christians could fail at the expected behaviours of Christian kindness, as the Welsh poet Jane Cave (1754? –1812) wrote in a poem on ingratitude in her 1783 debut collection: 'Christians, who at perfection aim/ or to its sacred heights attain,/ god-like, in all they act or say/ will injuries with kindness pay'.[38] The last line hints at how people can think they are saying and doing good things while actually causing harm, which can arise from many variables; however, pairing this with 'god-like in all they act' also points towards hypocrisy and its results. Contemporaries' association of hypocrisy with politeness and manners meant that throughout the eighteenth century, the concept remained controversial. Pro-hypocrisy advocates clustered the concept with modesty, self-control, tact, gallantry, manners, and overall politeness; this stance originates for many from the public fear that, while manners and politeness should come genuinely from the heart, they are also the product of years of discipline and the suppression of true feeling.[39] Moreover, Cave's vocabulary of 'god-like in all they act or say' and 'sacred heights attain' together emphasises her doubt that Christians can approach kindness without motive, faults, or imperfections that can cause harm under the guise of well-doing. Jane Cave recalls the spectre of hypocrisy, which during her lifetime was debated, underlining the complexity of authentic Christian behaviour—in this case, kindness and the potentially harmful effects of disingenuous behaviour. 'T.P.' and John Abernethy saw both Christian scriptures and God's loving-kindness as beneficial to an orderly, peaceful society, while Jane Cave, in response to these narratives, explored the human tendency to misuse Christianity's original intent. These narratives taught readers that the practise of Christian theology, and kindness specifically, was founded on God's loving-kindness and imbued with virtues that instilled behaviour that constituted an orderly society.

With the previous examples showing that Christian theology and kindness together constituted part of the foundation of an orderly society, authors had the ideological space to argue that respectable, virtuous women were the physical representations of Christian

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[37] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 128, 139, 147–48.
[38] Jane Cave, *Poems on Various Subjects, Entertaining, Elegiac and Religious.*, 4th ed. (Bristol, 1795), 101.
[39] Jenny Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2–13.

kindness. Following this metaphor where women aided in the creation of an orderly society, further examples of this belief are found in the genre of published funeral sermons for deceased women. Remembrance of the deceased gained greater importance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Objects such as memorial rings grew in popularity and provided physical manifestations with which to express grief.[40] Alongside these objects, published funeral sermons also became popular.[41] These texts were often spaces in which women were memorialised and idealised as examples of female excellence. While these funeral sermons are strictly didactic and commemorative, they are also reflections of the wider ideals and aspirations that contemporaries attempted to enact in their interpersonal interactions throughout their daily lives.[42] Therefore, kindness was central to the articulation of such gendered identities because of how it displayed people's aspirations as they navigated relationships and expectations. For example, at a funeral in 1746, Reverend William Williams positioned kindness as one of the vaunted characteristics of femininity. Therefore, when he spoke about his deceased wife Mrs Hannah Williams, he described her as an orderly woman, 'who being dead, yet speaketh to them, in the examples of her faith and patience, humility, diligence, and discretion, moderation, modesty, love and kindness, concern for the honour of god, and her own soul and the good of others'.[43] In Williams' description of how Mrs Williams approached her place in an orderly society, he simultaneously told the audience that in enacting the praised characteristics of femininity—including kindness, humility and modesty—Mrs Williams guaranteed her respectability. Christian kindness, piety, productivity, and submissiveness, which Williams used to describe Mrs Williams, were ideal feminine traits, desired because they aided the creation of an orderly woman.[44] Similarly in East Apthorp's funeral sermon for Mrs Anne Wheelwright, entitled *The Character and Example of a Christian Woman* (1764), he used kindness to describe a woman who fulfilled

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[40] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2000), 252.

[41] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 96.

[42] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Taylor & Francis, 2003), 146.

[43] William Williams, *The Divine Promises Considered, and the Duty of Christians to Be Followers of Those, Who Thro' Faith & Patience, Inherit Them. A Funeral Discourse Occasion'd by the Death of Mrs. Hannah Williams, the Pious Consort of the Reverend Mr. William Williams, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Weston. Who Went to Her Everlasting Rest, Lord's-Day Morning, December 29th 1745. In the 58th Year of Her Age. Published at the Request of Many of the Hearers, Desirous to Keep Alive the Memory and Example of the Deceased. [Three Lines of Scripture Texts].* (Boston, MA, 1746), 32.

[44] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Third, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25,40; Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), 115; Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 4–5.

the ideal Christian characteristics with the sentence, 'kindness, compassion, and liberality [quality of giving or spending freely] were the virtues in which, with all her humbleness of mind, she could not help becoming conspicuous'.[45] This funeral sermon, like that of Williams, encouraged exemplary conduct through an inspiring role model of a recently deceased woman who had no conspicuous flaws to detract from the impact of her virtues of kindness, compassion, liberality, and humbleness. Further, Apthorp called upon the shared understanding of the Christian virtues of gentleness and piety to enhance the legitimacy of his sermon and the reader's understanding of the aspects of kindness. Significantly, all of these virtues contributed to the orderliness of society by influencing women to be quiet, selfless, and caring.[46] Twenty-one years later in May 1785, William Augustus Clarke gave a sermon at the funeral of Susannah Harbert, describing how she dealt with her illness: 'about five months past she was again brought into a state of affliction, which she bore with Christian patience, acknowledging the loving kindness of her God'.[47] Again, the author used kindness to qualify Miss Harbert's character with two associated womanly virtues: patience and forbearance.[48] Consequently, Clarke's use of the vocabulary of virtues emphasised the imagined perfect state of the now-deceased woman, turning her into a role model for his female audience.

Since funeral sermons were the act of remembering the deceased, being remembered with the qualities of a kind and loving woman who helped create an orderly society gave women a measure of longevity in their social communities. With funeral sermons' longevity, this genre retained significance in teaching readers how they could preserve their status in memory after death by fulfilling gender identity dictates.[49] Furthermore, although printed funeral sermons are not representative of what audiences heard, they, along with other printed sermons, provide an indication of what contemporaries valued, given that they were willing to publish and buy these printed sermons.[50] Together, these three examples demonstrate that

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[45] East Apthorp, *The Character and Example of a Christian Woman. A Discourse at Christ-Church, Cambridge, on the Death of Mrs. Anne Wheelwright. By East Apthorp, M.A. Missionary at Cambridge. [Three Lines of Quotations in Latin].* (Boston, MA, 1764), 7.

[46] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 115; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 25, 40.

[47] William Augustus Clarke, "A Funeral Sermon, on the Death of Miss Susannah Harbert, Aged Twenty-Three Years and Three Months; Preached on Lord's-Day, May 29, 1785, by William Augustus Clarke, At His Meeting-House, in Red-Cross-Street." (London, England, 1785), 26, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[48] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 67–68.

[49] Rosie MacArthur, "Kinship, Remembrance and Luxury Goods in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Hanbury Family of Kelmarsh," *History of Retailing and Consumption* 1, no. 2 (2015): 137; Lizbeth Powell, "The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship," *Midlands History* 41, no. 2 (2016): 198.

[50] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 57–58.

authors created role models out of women memorialised in funeral sermons, and that in the process, they became, after death, idealised, blameless, and orderly women without faults. In essence, deceased sermonised women became blank canvases, or symbolic repositories, of desirable traits like kindness, piety, productivity, submissiveness, and gentleness that create the perfect woman who posed no threat of disorder that could cause societal breakdown. Ultimately, writers hoped that, alongside other virtues such as productivity, piety, and submissiveness, women readers would absorb the lessons of a significant emotional practice—kindness—in the construction of a virtuous Christian woman and thus an orderly Christian society.

This expectation of readers to understand what constituted acceptable feminine Christian kindness by attaching it to other shared communal concepts commonly occurred in this period, and it is also seen in conduct manuals and novels aimed at girls and women. Numerous manual authors, in the form of written admonishments, conveyed to their readers how the feminine duty of maintaining an orderly society intersected with the requirement for women themselves to behave respectably. Household manuals, a popular mainstay of the genre, focussed on the proper administration of the household—which itself was often expanded through the prevalent rhetoric of household as microcosm of society to comprise the entire nation. Such manuals also covered restrained female and male behaviour, adherence to the hierarchy, and construction of order through completion of assigned duties.[51] Additionally, these household manuals stressed to readers that within a proper household, Christian dogma, including kindness, dictated the outlines of how to be a meritorious, godly Christian.[52] For example, Daniel Defoe's *The Complete Family Instructor* (1715), which remained popular long after the author's death, with editions published as late as 1800, gives the example of an orderly daughter. This respectable young woman's childhood was spent with 'her aunt, a sober religious gentlewoman, and her uncle a grave, good Christian' who raised her with 'great kindness and courtesy'; later, as a young lady, she was 'very well bred, [with] good manners' returning their kindness—thus, Defoe created the image of an obedient daughter.[53] Beyond endorsing this respectable woman's character

[51] Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*, 22.

[52] R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2010), 145–63.

[53] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete Family Instructor: In Five Parts. I. - --Relating to Fathers and Children. II. - --To Masters and Servants. III. - --To Husbands and Wives. IV. Relating to Family Breaches, and Their Obstructing Religious Duties. V. - --To the Great Mistake of Mixing the Passions in the Instructing and Managing of Children. With a Great Variety of Cases, Relating to the Setting Ill Examples to Children and Servants.* (Liverpool, 1800), 218.

through a description of how she was raised—using kindness as way for contemporary authors to verbally approve of a female character—Defoe does not specify for his readers what Christian kindness entailed. Rather, he attached kindness to already-held and commonly understood concepts of good Christians, which presumably revealed his intentions to his readers.

Novels underwent a considerable transformation in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the century, these works pretended to be 'true life' accounts of a specific person along with the associated name of 'adventures', 'lives', or 'histories'. But by the end of the century, novels had become extended fictional prose about individual experiences, set in the present day or in a recognisable recent past, and given the genre title of 'novel'. Simultaneously, throughout the course of the century there was a slow acceptance of fictional stories; however, many novels retained an impression of being found in long-lost papers, or from first-hand sources.[54] Agnes Maria Bennett's novel *The Beggar Girl and her Benefactors* (1799) positioned feminine kindness to counteract the potentially disruptive danger of feminine behaviour, and thus produced the image of an orderly female upholding an ordered society: 'the care of this good man [Mr Blandel], and the kindness of his wife [Mrs Blandel], counteracted the fatal symptoms; Christiana's constitution was remarkably good, and she recovered to repay the charitable kindness of Mr and Mrs Blandel by the most grateful and zealous fidelity'.[55] Women novel readers remained problematic for many contemporary men (and some women), due to a politically and culturally charged stereotype of 'bad' female readers who neglected their domestic duties in favour of reading. Further, it was thought that such reading caused women to transgress against the notion of idealised womanhood by being selfish, instead of devoting themselves to family.[56] For many contemporaries, novels also remained problematic as they were seen to promote crime, sin, or personal catastrophe among injudicious women readers.[57] Hence, novelists needed to be careful about how they characterised and plotted their work. Consequently, while focussing on the question of proper female virtue, Bennett simultaneously knew that she could potentially face charges of causing sin, crime, or other personal misfortune. By writing her novel with kind characters, she instead promoted orderly, controlled behaviour, while addressing a desirable female virtue. Included in the behaviour she promoted was Christian kindness, and it appeared on the page

[54] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 205.
[55] Agnes Maria Bennett, *The Beggar Girl and Her Benefactors*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (London, 1799), 191.
[56] Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835*, 1–4.
[57] Pearson, 8.

through the use of the Christian themes of charity and salvation.[58] In this instance, like Defoe, Bennett does not dive into the practicalities of Christian kindness with her words 'kindness of his wife', nor with her character Christiana's repayment through fidelity and gratefulness. Instead, Bennett expected readers, through a shared cultural understanding of theology and gender identity, to understand both the unspoken verbal approval of the feminine behaviours of kindness, gratefulness, and fidelity, and to know what these behaviours might constitute. To Bennett and Defoe, the ordered, regulated woman possessed the characteristics of self-regulation, modesty, chastity, submissiveness, moderation, and passivity.[59]

Like the novels mentioned above, conduct manuals focused on recognisable daily lives. However, in the case of conduct manuals, authors focussed on both the minutiae and the highly generic to create a woman who was constantly aware of her sex and expectations.[60] This ordered and controlled woman who enacted Christian kindness appeared in John Burton's 1794 female educational conduct manual when he wrote, 'if any Christian Virtue deserve a preference to the rest, it is that of kindness, which, amongst other humane acts, endeavours to prevent discords, preserve Friendships, and restore harmony and peace'.[61] A controlled, ordered woman was above all kind, and she also practised piety, self-regulation, and moderation. All of these virtues aspired to control female comportment by restricting acceptable expressions, thereby curbing the potential disruptiveness of the female body on the ordered fabric of society. Yet at the same time, Christian feminine kindness permitted women the agency to mediate their relationships with the language of 'prevent discord' and 'preserve relationship'. Kindness was understood in distinctly social terms. As chapter four's analysis of Quaker spiritual diaries underscores, women strove to establish their relationship with God and fellow Christians by mediating their own actions through similar language. Nonetheless, the author's mediation required women to be self-sacrificial in their self-regulation and moderation. Later chapters will show that women strove to fulfil these expectations while simultaneously reworking and subverting the expectations for their own ends. These three authors promoted an orderly society in their works by promoting the constraint of female gender identity and behaviour, as dictated by the Christian dogma that underpinned the eighteenth-century worldview. This included the practice of feminine kindness, which actual women could then use to find an accepted position in society.

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[58] Siorta, *The Christian Monitors*, 257–59; Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 149–52.
[59] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 15,16, 21–24, 30.
[60] Tague, 22–23.
[61] John Burton, *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*, 3rd ed. (Dublin, Ireland, 1794), 267.

This section on Christian kindness has approached emotions as a conceptual framework for later practises and accessed them through a broad culture context, in order to locate, situate and understand the uses of kindness in Christian contexts throughout the eighteenth century. The variety of sermons, poetry, novels, conduct manuals, and magazines that have been used all belong to different genres, yet they all have in common a focus on the nature and importance of Christian kindness in the lives of women, and in a wider ordered society. Therefore, this section has examined how authors characterised God's loving-kindness and envisaged Christianity's goodness and scriptures as a foundation of society. Other authors expanded upon this to teach young girls and women that kindness, along with other virtues, negated their potential dangerousness as women, by controlling their behaviour and directing it towards behaviour that would support an orderly society. Female behavioural regulation occurred through the authors' advocation for piety, productivity, submissiveness, gentleness, self-regulation, moderation, and, ultimately, self-sacrifice.

Kindness and Fashionability

In the eighteenth century, most people perceived fashion as compelling and desirable, yet fashionability also attracted scepticism from a group of individuals. Consequently, authors of printed books and periodicals often exhibited a fear of excess that appeared in their works as anxiety about widely practiced habits of fashion, consumerism, and luxury. Fear of excess came from a belief that it resulted from solicitude, self-absorption, enthusiasm, dogmatism, and fanaticism.[62] Fashion and luxury often went together because both permitted people to indulge in excessive refinement, artifice, social mixing, entertainment, apparel, drinking, novel-reading, and gaming.[63] Consumption, likewise, permitted indulgence in new material goods, unnecessary luxury goods, and overspending on fashionable goods, all of which became framed in terms of femininity.[64] Such indulgences were particularly concerning when

[62] Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (December 2002): 874.
[63] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 498; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 225–84; Bailey, *Unquiet Lives*, 142–43; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 55–71; Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century England," 989–90.
[64] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 17–18; MacArthur, "Kinship, Remembrance and Luxury Goods in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Hanbury Family of Kelmarsh," 125–37; Finn, "Colonial Gifts," 217–24; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 10–13, 49, 67–69, 133–61; Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World* (Yale University Press, 2016), 13–20; Jon Stobart, "Status, Gender and Life Cycle Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736–1806," *Social History*

they involved women, underlining as they did the potential for female desires to become uncontrollable. Austerity emerged as a reaction to fears and anxieties about excessive fashionability, consumerism, and luxury.[65] Consequently, published authors began pairing fear and anxieties with the idea of limiting excess. With authors focussing their anxieties onto women, authors of printed books and periodicals wrote about fashionable women's potentially destructive bodies. In vocalising their anxieties, authors positioned readers in a dichotomy of orderly female and disruptive fashionable woman, further highlighting the question of female desire. Within this dichotomy, authors positioned kindness as a virtue of the orderly female, whereas fashionable society and the unruliness of desire raised questions about the danger of satisfying female desire.

Often promoted in didactic works was the argument of the inherent susceptibility of young girls and women to manipulation that could result in socially destructive behaviour; accordingly, authors strove to instil fear in their female readers about the potential danger of their desires. As mentioned previously, magazine editors often approached accessibility by packaging together diverse, smaller groupings of verse, prose, and music for readers to enjoy; these were all entertainingly arranged to browse through, hence magazines with titles (or partial titles) including the words 'beauties' or 'museum'.[66] At the same time, eighteenth-century magazines gained increasing prominence in circulating ideas about gender identities.[67] Concurrently, anonymously written works frequently occurred, especially among women trying to escape the censure of a society that regarded writing for publication as an unfeminine task; therefore, it is unsurprising that authors printed many excerpts anonymously.[68] Tensions surrounding the apparently insincere values of fashionable society invoked the broader anxieties about women's bodily behaviour, which appeared throughout eighteenth-century published literature, including the second volume of the conduct manual *The Ladies* Library (1714). This manual used kindness to discuss duty, oaths, and the fragilities of those in fashionable society. For instance, it included the cautionary note that, 'I hope there are yet many [women] who do not think the authority of fashion [beau monde]

40, no. 1 (2015): 86–103; Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 61–62; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia University Press, 1997), 5–7,146–48.

[65] Helen Berry, "The Pleasures of Austerity," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 2 (2014): 265–75.

[66] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 92–93.

[67] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 148, 194.

[68] Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992), 94–95.

greater than that of a vow [promise or an oath], and such will still look upon it as their duty, both to own and cherish that kindness and affection they have so solemnly promised'.[69]

The advice journal *The Ladies Library* emerged in the early eighteenth century among a new genre of journals advising women readers.[70] The author of this pithy advisory, much like that of the previously quoted letter, verbalised contemporaneous anxieties about fashionable women's ability to self-create an image that was not associated with dominant norms, such as the feminine virtues of compassion, courtesy, and affability, all of which underpinned the construction of an orderly society.[71] Scholars like Hannah Greig discredited these contemporary published author's assertions that fashionable women did not follow feminine virtues by demonstrating how the fashionable had their own set of values closely aligned to the dominant idealistic norms that constructed an ordered society.[72] Later, in 1777, tensions surrounding insincerity and inauthenticity remained. An example of the anxiety-inspired fear-mongering about the dangers of metaphorical female bodies is displayed in a three-page anonymous letter published in the *Weekly Miscellany* (1773–1777). Based on the title's inclusion of the words 'weekly' and 'miscellany', it is logical that this magazine focussed on gathering together various snippets every week into a condensed format for audiences to enjoy. In 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS', the anonymous author admonishes readers about the deficiencies of fashionable society and the risk to women's virtues, including kindness, if they joined fashionable society. This is a curious letter, as the magazine's audience was intended to be both men and women, although women readers are sometimes obscured in the records under the names of their husbands, fathers, or brothers. However, this specific piece within the magazine is purportedly aimed at women, being a letter addressed to a 'lady' even though, in a portion of the text (quoted below), the author uses the male pronoun. Considering the aim of magazines with titles like 'weekly' and 'miscellany' was to gather individual shorter pieces that could easily be cut and pasted into commonplace books, facilitating both a dip in-and-out reading style and also the type of sociable reading prominent in this era, this example can be taken as an instance where the author knew that men and women were both reading or listening to their magazine, especially

[69] Unknown Unknown, *The Ladies Library. |... Written by a Lady. Published by Mr. Steele.*, vol. 2 (London, England, 1714), 96.
[70] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 148, 194.
[71] Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 30.
[72] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 232–37.

in smaller snippets.[73] Therefore, while this letter is, overall, aimed at women given the prevalence of anxiety over fashionable women and its specific title directed to a 'lady', this example is also an excellent source for the cross-gendered reading patterns of magazine subscribers. The author addresses both men and women when he addresses the habits of bowing, polite inquiries into health, and declaring self a 'humble servant':

> profess ourselves deeply interested in the welfare of every acquaintance that happens in our way; what is all this, but a standing proof that men cannot but secretly admire what they have not virtue enough to practice; and therefore have adopted the shadow of kindness, in order to excuse themselves from the trouble of getting possession of the substance.[74]

The anonymous, probably male, author questions the authenticity of some displays of kindness with the vocabulary of 'shadow of kindness', 'excuse themselves', and 'getting possession of the substance'.

Further, this anonymous author warns readers against practices that upheld conventions of fashionable society by giving permission to pretend to enact virtuous behaviour while indulging in the destructive conduct of bowing, compliments, and titles of respect. These are all formulaic acts that ensured physical and verbal submission and thereby regulated social relationships.[75] Consequently, this anonymous quotation fits neatly into a tradition of didactic authors suspecting formulaic social conventions, like doffing a hat, surrounding bodily comportment.[76] In calling kindness a 'shadow', the author's criticism of fashionable society becomes entwined with the accusation that problems occur when fashionable men and women pretended to have virtues, which in so doing devalued such virtues, raised questions of authenticity, and thus impacted both male and feminine or civic virtue and caused disorder in society. An important aspect underlying this entire extract is fear of the fashionable's ability to self-create and its impact on an ordered society.[77] Yet these anonymous authors in *The Ladies Library* and *Weekly Miscellany* persisted in asserting this

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[73] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 11–94.

[74] Unknown Unknown, "A Letter to a Lady on Social Kindness (1777)," *Weekly Miscellany: Or, Instructive Entertainer* 7, no. 171 (October 3, 1773): 316.

[75] David Postles, "The Politics of Address in Early-Modern England," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no. 1/2 (June 2005): 114–15; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1998), 88, 123–24, 165–71, 208.

[76] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*, 208.

[77] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 141; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, chap. 6; Siorta, *The Christian Monitors*, 7; Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," 79; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 16; Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 30.

misrepresentation, as detailed above. Contemporaries used two terms, vice (corrupting public life) and sin (corroding of the soul), to give voice to the tensions surrounding the belief that a cascading effect from the disordered fashionable set weakened the laws of Man and God—especially when those occupying inferior positions begin imitating their behaviour—and at the same time weakened moral stamina, thus causing a disordered society.[78] These authors, through the emotional practice of kindness, created a space to discuss their anxieties about fashionable society, the importance of not giving too much credence to the body, and the potential disorder of society; concurrently, kindness gave these authors the language to express how they wished women would curtail their behaviour, move away from the dangers of becoming fashionable, and instead remain virtuous, Christian women upholding social order.

The anonymous author's scepticism in the 1777 advice journal article 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS' towards the fashionable's behaviour echoes throughout the entire letter, resulting in an overarching theme of anxiety and fear about consequences of women's unruly behaviour. For example, written on the same page as the earlier excerpt is a criticism about envy,

> whilst we suffer a thousand little mean jealousies to creep into our hearts, and administer food to our wrathful passions, 'tis no wonder that Christian kindness should have so little influence upon our temper, and appear so seldom in our practice.[79]

This anonymous author relies on bodily metaphors to convey their understanding of kindness. Therefore, in speaking of hearts and passions, they use the motif of sin or vice to embody their anxious fear over the destructiveness of women's metaphorical bodies as seen in the heart and the acts of passion. This is shown in the use of vocabulary such as, 'envy rankles', 'suffer a thousand little mean jealousies', and 'wrathful passions'. Contemporary dictionaries define envy as 'hatred, ill-will, spite, to grudge'; and, jealousy as 'suspicious or mistrustful'.[80] Throughout this period, contemporaries understood the term 'passions' as the

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[78] Donna T. Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice: The Attack on Duelling, Suicide, Adultery and Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2014), 1–7.

[79] Unknown, "A Letter to a Lady on Social Kindness (1777)," 316.

[80] Samuel Johnson, "Envy," in *A Dictionary of The English Language; In Which The Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, And Illustrated in Their Different Significations By Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, A History of the Language, And an English Grammar* (London: J & P Knaptor, T & T Longman, C Hitch and L Hawes, A Millar and R & J Dodsley, 1755), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; John Kersey the Younger, "Envy," in *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat: Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly Used in the Language; With a Short and Clear Exposition of Difficult Words and Terms of Art. The Whole Digested into Alphabetical Order; and Chiefly Designed for the Benefit of Young*

troubling, violent, self-regarding desires often associated with destructive tendencies.[81] In this extract, the author juxtaposes passions against the affections of Christian kindness. Passions epitomised the behaviours of ill-will and ungraciousness that threatened order, while the affection of Christian kindness epitomised mildness in temper and behaviour that constructed an orderly society. Consequently, this juxtaposition of affections (kindness) against passions functioned as a device for authors to argue emphatically for the destructive qualities of the fashionable set. The author demonstrated these destructive qualities with specific examples chosen to exhibit envy and jealousy: desiring fame and fortune, dressing well in expensive pieces, entertaining their social circles, and having well-appointed houses and carriages. All of these activities were public and materialistic, calculated performances necessary to retain status among the fashionable.[82] Therefore, such compulsory activities among the fashionable encouraged in them tendencies toward sinfulness, vice, and social disorder.

Accusations of fashionable activities causing disorder through sinfulness and vice occurred in other literature, such as an untitled item in the 1766 edition of the journal *The Weekly Amusement* (1765–66). This item covered the foibles of fashionable society through the marker of the ordered behaviour of kindness against those people who 'swelled with vanity and compliment, and so surfeit (as I may say) of expressions of kindness and respect', and that those from the past 'would hardly at first believe at what a low rate the highest strains and expressions of kindness imaginable do commonly pass in current payment'.[83] Journals and magazines throughout this period, as shown earlier, gained increasing importance in the circulation of ideas about expectations of behaviour, especially those that enforced order.[84] This untitled didactic piece demonstrates the eighteenth-century

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Scholars, Tradesmen, Artificers, and the Female Sex, Who Would Learn to Spell Truely; Being so Fitted to Every Capacity, That It May Be Continual Help to All That Want an Instructer (London: Henry Bonwicke & Robert Knaplock, 1702), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; Samuel Johnson, "Jealousy," in *A Dictionary of The English Language; In Which The Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, And Illustrated in Their Different Significations By Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, A History of the Language, And an English Grammar* (London: J & P Knaptor, T & T Longman, C Hitch and L Hawes, A Millar and R & J Dodsley, 1755), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; John Kersey the Younger, "Jealousy," in *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat: Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly Used in the Language; With a Short and Clear Exposition of Difficult Words and Terms of Art. The Whole Digested into Alphabetical Order; and Chiefly Designed for the Benefit of Young Scholars, Tradesmen, Artificers, and the Female Sex, Who Would Learn to Spell Truely; Being so Fitted to Every Capacity, That It May Be Continual Help to All That Want an Instructer* (London: Henry Bonwicke & Robert Knaplock, 1702), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database.

[81] Thomas Dixon, "'Emotion:' The History of a Keyword in Crisis," *Emotion Review* 4, no. 4 (October 2012): 338–40.

[82] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 20.

[83] Unknown Unknown, "Untitled Item," *The Weekly Amusement*, 1766, 5.

[84] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 148, 194.

understanding of how certain verbal interactions caused disruption, as many saw verbal utterances as an action that could disrupt order; further, a common trope understood words to be women's weapon of choice, representing a conglomeration of verbal, physical, and sexual stereotypes.[85] Therefore, the author flips the script when using the virtue of kindness to present how the original form of behaviour could become corrupted by verbal misconduct and causing potential disorder. These two works use the trope of vice and sin to emphasise that fashionable society caused a dissolution and disintegration of order, whereas the affection of kindness helped construct an orderly society. Accordingly, both authors accentuate the importance for girls and women to regulate their social and bodily behaviour to protect themselves against fashionable society's disintegration and instead to aid in the construction of an ordered society.

This need to regulate female behaviour vis a vis the respectable women's kindness in contrast to the disordered fashionable female body continues later in the 1777 edition of *Weekly Miscellany*. The anonymous author of 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS' writes, 'in a word, whilst attentive to our own private gratifications, that we can neither rejoice with them that rejoice, nor weep with them that weep, 'tis no wonder that the thousand little endearing offices, which kindness would dictate, are overlooked as unworthy of our attention, nor neglected as inconsistent with our selfish pursuits'.[86] The author accuses fashionable women of being self-involved, by using the language of 'private gratifications' and 'selfish pursuits'. The juxtaposition of self-involvement and virtuous kindness posits that there is a diametrical difference between the self-involved woman and the kind woman. The 'kind' woman is deeply social and unselfish, exhibiting the virtues of kindness, meekness, domesticity, and devotion that aids in the construction of an ordered society; the selfish woman, as seen in the language of 'neither rejoice with them that rejoice', 'nor weep with them that weep', 'overlooked as unworthy', and 'neglected as inconsistent', rejects all virtues for the fulfilment of their personal, deeply unsocial desires, at the expense of an ordered society.[87] Through this comparison of the 'kind', unselfish, generous, and modest woman and the vilified, disordered female, the author creates a chasm between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour based on the consequences of these female stereotypes. The

[85] Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 23–24, 81, 100–104.
[86] Unknown, "A Letter to a Lady on Social Kindness (1777)," 316.
[87] Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," 79; Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 30; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 16; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 204.

consequences of being a selfish woman neatly intersected with the harmful effects of vice on society, including causing a disrupted, disordered society; moreover, the consequences of being a kind woman neatly intersected with facilitating the construction of an ordered society and associated sense of belonging. Rhetoric about unruly women's lack of kindness is not uncommon. The anonymous 1783 article 'On the Importance of Attention' appeared in *The Scots Magazine* (1739–present), arguing that inattention to kindness causes disruption among society:

> for inattention implies negligence, and neglect often proceeds from contempt; if, therefore, we find that we are not attended to, we shall fancy that we are neglected, and to a certain degree despised, and how is it possible to repay contempt with kindness! And when unkindness and dissatisfaction prevail in any society, all the comforts of it are at an end.[88]

As mentioned above, anonymity in writing often occurred because it offered female authors a layer of respectability to place over their unfeminine activity; for men, anonymity offered the freedom to argue uncensored.[89] Additionally, as mentioned previously, journals gained increasing importance in the circulation of ideas, especially regarding comportment of gendered bodies.[90] A form of selfishness—inattention to the social—is the focus of this excerpt. Defined by Samuel Johnson as disregard, negligence, and neglect, inattention was viewed by contemporaries as a leading cause of social disruption due to a negligence of duties.[91] Step-by-step, this author explores the consequences of inattention. Through the vocabulary of 'negligence', 'neglect', 'contempt', 'despised', 'unkindness', 'dissatisfaction', the author weaves an association of inattention with the ability of vice to weaken moral stamina and cause social disorder.[92] Due to the consequences of inattention, there occurred a disruption of the effect of kindness, which led to a disillusioned, estranged, and disordered society. Both excerpts from 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS' and 'On the Importance of Inattention' demonstrate a lasting desire to use the rhetoric of selfishness to

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[88] Unknown Unknown, "On the Importance of Attention," *The Scots Magazine*, 1783, 287.
[89] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 190.
[90] Wiesner-Hanks, 148, 194.
[91] Samuel Johnson, "Inattention," in *A Dictionary of The English Language; In Which The Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, And Illustrated in Their Different Significations By Examples from the Best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, A History of the Language, And an English Grammar* (London: J & P Knaptor, T & T Longman, C Hitch and L Hawes, A Millar and R & J Dodsley, 1755), Lexicons of Early Modern English Database; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, 37.
[92] Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice*, 1–7.

interrogate the virtuous emotional practice of kindness. The contrasting idealisation of kindness and the demonisation of selfishness showed readers, especially female readers, that the consequences of vice were a destruction of ordered society.

Similar to the tensions of luxury and austerity were those surrounding austerity and pleasure in eighteenth-century society, and which manifested in anxiety over fashionable society's excesses.[93] The polite association with excess, luxury, and austerity unite tensions into a wider discourse about coping with the ever-changing nature of eighteenth-century society.[94] Likewise, kindness has a place within the discourse on the century's ever-changing nature as an antidote to supposed social ills. Within this anxiety over excess and alongside the discourse on the harm of selfishness, authors counselled readers to be vigilant against the lure of fashionable society. The clearest exhortation of this sort is found in the conduct manual *The Female Aegis* (1798). In conduct and etiquette manuals, as previously mentioned, authors promoted their perceived notions of female behaviour based on a common understanding that appeared throughout different works.[95] The author of *The Female Aegis* used kindness to underline the dangers of introducing a virtuous young lady to fashionable society with the admonishment, 'let her not be abandoned in her outset in life to the giddiness and mistaken kindness of fashionable acquaintance in the metropolis; nor forwarded under their convoy to public places, there to be whirled, far from maternal care and admonition, in the circle of levity and folly'.[96] The sentiment of daughters being abandoned by their parents resonates in the words 'abandoned', and 'whirled, far from maternal care and admonition'. Parental abandonment met censure due to rhetoric that said that healthy parents equalled healthy children which equalled healthy nation; within this expectation of duty, parents had to be ever vigilant over their daughters to guarantee meritorious behaviour.[97] Therefore, through the language of maternity, and an inversion of kindness ('mistaken kindness'), this anonymous author accuses neglectful parents of breeding neglectful, unvirtuous young women, thereby establishing one means by which fashionable society diluted feminine virtues. Hence, with controlled feminine behaviour diluted by fashionable society, the virtuous women's ordered society is threatened with unruly disorder. This assertion, along

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[93] Berry, "The Pleasures of Austerity," 274–75.

[94] See, for example: O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 2–17; Berry, "The Pleasures of Austerity," 264–66; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 3–119; Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 215–85.

[95] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 14.

[96] Anonymous, *The Female Aegis; or, the Duties of Women from Childhood to Old Age, and in Most Situations of Life, Exemplified. Embellished with a Frontispiece.* (London, England, 1798), 36.

[97] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 71, 100.

with young women practising vigilance through kindness, also occurs in the anonymous 'letter' entitled 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS', published in the 1777 edition of *Weekly Miscellany*. Anonymity provided women and men a veil of secrecy in order to transgress boundaries; concurrently, in the circulation of ideas, journals increasingly gained a position of prominence.[98] The importance of authenticity and fashionable society occupied a prominent place for this letter-writer who states, 'our kindness as well as our piety, must originate in our hearts, and can only be obtained by a constant resistance of our selfish desires, and a perpetual hungering after, seeking and praying for, such as are heavenly and divine'.[99] The author uses the rhetoric of piety and kindness to illustrate how feminine virtues were casualties to the unscrupulous principles of selfish desires. In the eighteenth-century worldview, practising virtues was part of conveying acceptable behaviour. A proper sense of self combined with goodwill towards others resulted in civil virtue, while the characteristics of chastity, modesty, meekness, piety, financial restraint, feminine domesticity, compassion, affability, courtesy, and devotion resulted in feminine virtue.[100] For the author, defending female virtues against fashionable society meant 'constant resistance' and 'seeking and praying for', because the lure of the flashy fashionable set meant that behaviour had to aid in constructing an ordered society that could have been neglected, resulting in disorder. Both 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS' and *The Female Aegis* encouraged unremitting alertness against the dangers of fashionable society and the bodies of fashionable women, otherwise societal order would unravel towards disorder. For both authors, kindness underlines the significance of feminine virtues in constructing efficacious relationships, social unity, and ultimately, the suppression of desires that together promised women a place in a hierarchically ordered society. Simultaneously, the fashionable fulfilment of desires produced a society of women who failed to uphold the tenets of an orderly society.

Yet, despite dichotomy set up in these printed books and periodicals, as will be shown in chapter three, women navigated a complicated understanding of what it meant to be fashionable and kind. To women like Frances Burney D'Arblay, for example, the line between kind and fashionable women remained flexible. Accordingly, Burney and other

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[98] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 148, 190, 194.

[99] Unknown, "A Letter to a Lady on Social Kindness (1777)," 317.

[100] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, chap. 6; Siorta, *The Christian Monitors*, 7; Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," 79; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 16; Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 30.

women desired to be seen as both fashionable and kind. These women could consciously construct this image since they used the warnings embedded in didactic literature about the monstrous fashionable woman, in order to choose willingly what type of fashionable women they became, namely, one who rejected negative tropes and replaced them with behaviours like kindness as the basis for remaining respectable, as Burney did (see chapter three). Ultimately, these printed books and periodicals influenced women, even if not in the manner imagined.

In examining how authors conceptualised kindness through the discussion of fashionable society's dangers using the theory of emotional practices and broader cultural context, this project locates, tracks, and seeks understanding about the tensions surrounding different types of womanhood within an ordered society, the problems of being fashionable, and anxiety about gender identity. Used throughout this section were conduct manuals and magazines that shared in the circulation of philosophies and standards to readers facing fear and anxiety about, in this instance, the potential disorderliness of both uncontrolled female behaviour and the seductiveness of disruptive fashionable society to young women. Consequently, in attempting to educate women readers about the dangers of uncontrolled behaviour, and thus, it was hoped, promoting the construction of an ordered society through regulated behaviour, these authors formed a version of the theory of practising virtues like Christian kindness. Through the rhetoric of sin and vice, failure and transgressions, these authors taught their female readers several interlinking lessons. First, the sinfulness of the fashionable world corroded orderly virtues, with kindness being a primary example. Second, disintegrating orderly virtues resulted in the weakening of the nation's moral stamina, and therefore caused a disorderly society. Ultimately, the aim of critiquing the fashionable resides in authors' aspirations to teach women to curtail the potential dangers of their behaviours and to strive towards that which is regulated, so as to construct an ordered society.

Kindness and the Body

The scholarly reading of bodies in texts involves the analysis of an 'elocutionary discourse', wherein bodies vividly display the boundaries of the specific culture and nature being studied.[101] Thus, bodies are malleable within discourses, and filled with potential for

[101] Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 13–15.

individual authors to ascribe meaning to gender identity.[102] Consequently, in eighteenth-century texts, the metaphorical body became an eloquent object inscribed with gestures and expressions aimed at training and shaping how male and female bodies appeared in public.[103] Women's bodies and homes, places where they created independent identities, threatened masculinity and the patriarchy through uncontrolled sexuality and challenging patriarchal control of economic resources.[104] Contemporary writers thus exhibited anxieties about female unruliness, and this often led to a focus on disciplining female readers. Therefore, when authors of printed books and periodicals used metaphorical female bodies as sites to map out their anxieties and fears about misbehaving women and their effect on wider society, they participated in creating a boundary around female gender identity; such participation is also seen when authors chart out the solution to these worries in writing about concepts of ideal womanhood. Simultaneously, while instructing readers on the standards of kindness, writers used individual parts of the metaphorical body to teach readers about their social place as females; by etching boundaries for behaviour firmly into the metaphorical body, the authors aimed to intertwine kindness, acceptable behaviour, and the body into the reader's awareness. Together, the discourse about kindness and the metaphorical body taught female readers that their position in society was one of subordination to the patriarchy, and this was achieved by restraining expressions of the female body. In other words, authors viewed the practice of kindness as being made physical through the actions of the female body; therefore, with this emotional practice of confining female bodily expressions, authors promised women they would find belonging in their larger community. For women enacting these ideals, however, as the following chapters prove, kindness did not limit their behaviour but instead provided a platform to negotiate their relationships within an acceptable framework.

Contemporaries made frequent use of the biblical passage of Proverbs 13. 26 to underpin a sizable portion of the discourse in published literature on the female metaphorical body and feminine kindness, as in this example: 'She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness'—.[105] Given the propensity of contemporaries to compile snippets of verse and prose not just in their own commonplace books and printed pocket

[102] Goring, 2.
[103] Goring, 1.
[104] Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 201–4; Tim Hitchcock, "Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-Century England," *History Workshop Journal* 41 (Spring 1996): 78–85; Karen Harvey, "Sexuality and the Body," in *Women's History, Britain 1700–1850: An Introduction*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London, England: Routledge, 2005), 61–63, 69–70.
[105] White Kennett, *The Excellent Daughter* (London, England, 1760), 9.

books but also in magazines, conduct books, sermons, among others, biblical verses appeared in many secular and religious published works. To contemporaries, this was not an act of plagiarism, but rather a way of engaging in a specific form of sociable reading.[106] Religion remained the primary means by which eighteenth-century British people understood and filtered their experiences of society and other people, and this led to religious dogma being essential for the construction of the contemporary worldview of an ordered society.[107] Consequently, within this worldview, the Bible became a forerunner of educational works for young girls and women, both in its canonical form and also in inspired religious works—like sermons or prayer books—with various interpretations about religious figures or biblical lessons.[108] The understanding of the meaning behind copying others' works changed throughout the eighteenth century from viewing imitation as a way to give weight to an author's argument around the beginning of the century, to, later in the century, in the face of rising anxieties, calling the process 'plagiarism' while prizing originality.[109] Authors' individual interpretations of biblically-inspired religious works came out of different denominations, preferences, and needs, united by similar themes of the need for women to control their bodily behaviour in an acceptable manner. Later in the century, as the genre of girls' and women's educational literature grew to include secular works, religious themes and lessons retained their value in both genres.[110]

Therefore, when discussing kindness, many contemporary authors such as Patrick Delany and Thomas Foxcroft, utilised Proverb 13. 26 as a vehicle to establish legitimacy and immediate understanding through shared cultural and social references that promoted their vision of how and where women occupied an ordered society. As discussed above, sermons are the source material with the clearest usage of biblical material and they abound with discourses aided by the language of kindness. Due to the centrality of religion throughout this period, reading and preaching sermons occurred on a number of occasions, including religious services, weekly lecture halls, and the 'sampling' of different preachers throughout London.[111] Jennifer Farooq convincingly demonstrates that, at least in London, people had a continuing interest in sermons and their themes throughout the first half of the eighteenth

[106] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 64–168.
[107] David Hampton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of the Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–23.
[108] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 149.
[109] Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture*, 14.
[110] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 149–50.
[111] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 21–22.

century.[112] At this time, people most commonly heard discussions about theology, morality, charity, and the fundamentals of faith.[113] Sermons were printed on a range of discourses from current issues to topical commentary, and gained wild popularity from 1700 to 1760, reaching a broad audience.[114] Nevertheless, despite such diversity, authors shared a common sentiment with their readers that women could gain belonging in their wider communities, and simultaneously aid in producing an ordered society through the display of female subordination via the controlled metaphorical body. The highly valued ordered society began in an ordered household with controlled women.[115] For example, Patrick Delany's 1744 sermon on female social duties includes a reflection on how a girl or woman must always 'make it a reason of constant cheerfulness and good humour; together with a ready, a rational, and an affectionate assistance in every exigency, and on every occasion; in her tongue is the law of kindness'.[116] To Delany, the overarching frame of the 'Law of Kindness' meant that individual women controlled their speech to move away from unruly or unwanted towards desired expressions of affability (cheerfulness, good humour), devotion (assistance to others always), and courtesy (self-sacrificing female needs on the altar of others). In Delany's writing on Proverbs 13. 26, he puts two metaphorical feminine body parts on display: the mouth and tongue. By using the tongue and mouth of a metaphorical female, Delany stresses the significance of controlling female speech. Regarding women, contemporary people held a dichotomy about female behaviour: the controlled mouth and tongue resided in a respectable woman who lived in harmony with society, and unruly mouths and tongues resided in uncontrollable women who disrupted ordered society.[117] Consequently, through the symbolism of the mouth and tongue, Delany underlines the importance of controlled speech for representing the well-ordered metaphorical female. Thomas Foxcroft also uses the rhetoric of regulated metaphorical female tongues to symbolise respectable women in his 1720 sermon on kindness: 'it is part of the character of a virtuous woman, Prov[erbs] 31. 29 […] The law of love written in the heart should influence and govern the tongue, and dictate

[112] Farooq, 1–38.
[113] Farooq, 36–37.
[114] Farooq, 39.
[115] Fletcher and Stevenson, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, 31–33.
[116] Patrick Delany, "Fifteen Sermons upon Social Duties. By the Author of the Life of David." (1744), 57, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
[117] Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, eds., *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 116; Bailey and Giese, "Marital Cruelty: Reconsidering Lay Attitudes in England, c. 1580 to 1850," 298; Wiltenburg, "Soundings of Laughter in Early Modern England," 26–27.

the most ingratiating, the most endearing expressions'.[118] Foxcroft's anxiety about the potential hazard of women prompted him to attempt to limit the linguistic range of women's verbal expression through the mechanics provided by kindness to move towards ordered respectability. Foxcroft's and Delany's usage of a proverb that advocated for restricted female verbal expressions through bodily symbolism promoted the idea, especially to their female readers, that Christianity endorsed the image of a society that imposed order upon an unorganised world by ensuring that everyone understood their place within the hierarchy. Preachers like Foxcroft and Delany, in printed and oral sermons, used Proverbs 13. 26 and its language of kindness to express anxieties about the effect of verbal female misbehaviour, and they thus attempted to retain control by admonishing women into undertaking self-sacrificial behaviour that would ensure their place within an ordered society.

The heart is another metaphorical body part that was used to educate readers about feminine kindness and the significance of authentic actions and feelings. To writers, the symbolic heart encapsulated a double standard of polite society: politeness and good manners (should) arise from the heart, yet, years of discipline developed a formula of politeness and good manners that focussed on regulating the exposure of true feeling from the heart.[119] Therefore, with the heart as a symbol to convey the meaning of feminine kindness, writers harnessed this dual nature of politeness to further their arguments about the connection between the construction of an ordered society and acceptable female behaviour. Consequently, due to the prevalence of the tenets and practices of polite society in contemporary notions of constructing order, authors even, if disparagingly, used the language of kindness to address their concerns about authenticity, self, and the potential unruliness of women.[120] Between 1690 and 1760, the publication of conduct manuals for women flourished and had authors systematically seeking to create their ideal woman.[121] Accordingly, Dorothea Du Bois featured, in her conduct manual *The Lady's Polite Secretary* (1771), a mock epistolary letter by 'Constance', which tackled the breakdown of society using the heart as a symbolic device: 'the heart would oppose itself against severe treatment and call in pride to its aid; but against the force of kindness there is no shield'.[122] The heart's

[118] Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness," 11.
[119] Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness*, 9.
[120] Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," 874–96.
[121] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 14.
[122] Dorothea Du Bois, "The Lady's Polite Secretary, or New Female Letter Writer. Containing an Elegant Variety of Interesting and Instructive Letters, Intended as Models to Form the Style on Every Point Essential to the Happiness or Entertainment of the Sex. In Which Are Comprised Many Admired Epistolary Narratives, an Article Hitherto Unattempted in Every Book of the Kind. Likewise Several Original Letters of Wit and

symbolism is heightened by Du Bois when she uses kindness as a foil against sinful pride and mistreatment to overcome and possess the heart; given that every person in society is expected to have a 'heart' (the symbolic, polite heart), the author could extend the metaphor, accordingly, to all of society. Furthermore, Du Bois uses the theory of body politic when she entwines the heart with every individual in the community while questioning how to maintain stability in a potentially unstable society. The theory of the body politic argued that each living organism (including men and women) had an allotted role within a complex hierarchical system of relationships; in this way, authors vocalised anxiety about those who brought instability or disturbed the patriarchy and hierarchy.[123] The body politic offered Du Bois a meaningful discourse to underscore her message of an ordered society provided by practising feminine kindness.

Aside from Du Bois, the heart as a symbol of society was an ongoing theme in didactic literature. Throughout the century, magazines and newspapers increasingly gained an important position in the circulation of ideas, including the genre of women's advice journals with titles like *Female Tatler* and *Female Spectator*.[124] Several years after Du Bois, in January 1777, *The Weekly Miscellany* advice journal used the symbol of the heart to promulgate order through self-denial of desires in the 'anonymous' letter 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS', with the sentence, 'our kindness as well as our piety, must originate in our hearts, and can only be obtained by a constant resistance of our selfish desires, and a perpetual hungering after, seeking and praying for, such as are heavenly and divine'.[125] Poignantly, through feminine kindness, this anonymous writer emphasised how contemporaries wrestled over the question of women's authenticity, a question grappled by women themselves, as will be seen in later chapters. With John Dryden's foundational 1668 *Essay on Dramatick Poesie*, essays and periodical essays increasingly gained prominence within the public writing sphere due to their attractive formation as a letter-cum-dialogue and

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Sentiment, by Ladies of the First Rank in the Literary World. To Which Are Added, Instances, to Serve as Beacons to the Inexperienced, of That Flimsy, Affected Style and Sentiment, so Prevalent in Modern Correspondence, the Delight of Our Novelists, and the Bane of Our Youth. With Variety of Poetical Letters, Humorous and Pathetic, Sentimental and Descriptive. And Cards of Compliment and Condolence, of Friendship and Resentment. In This Collection Are Contained Rules to Be Observed in Writing Letters, and the Different Forms of Address. To Which Is Prefixed a Short, but Comprehensive, Grammar of Th English Language. -The Whole so Calculated, That Any Lady May, in a Very Short Time, Be Enabled to Write Her Thoughts with a Becoming Propriety and Ease. By the Right Hon. Lady Dorothea Du Bois." (London, 1771), 164.

[123] A.J. Fletcher and John Stevenson, "Introduction," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2; David Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society, 1650–1750* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 12.

[124] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 148, 194.

[125] Unknown, "A Letter to a Lady on Social Kindness (1777)," 317.

the illusion of being personal.[126] In the same decade as the anonymous 'A LETTER to a LADY on SOCIAL KINDNESS', John Harris, when writing his 'Essay on Politeness' (1775) utilised the symbolic heart to underscore order through affectionate unity created by appropriate behaviour: 'religion draws the mind by the cords of love and the banks of affection, while politeness wins the heart by smiling countenances soft expressions and repeated instances of kindness'.[127] Ultimately, these authors struggled with questions of authenticity, sincerity, and their importance in creating social harmony through the promotion of piety, selflessness, bonds, and female softness. Writers represented the ordered and kind metaphorical female body through the feminine virtues of piety, softness, politeness, and unselfishness because all virtues resulted in women being viewed as productive, cooperative, and gentle.[128] Therefore, the social good of kindness aided in constituting an ordered society through its ability to regulate the female body, and was, thus, inherently at odds with disorder and the unruly feminine body. Hence, these writers used the symbol of the heart in discussions feminine kindness to teach readers that adhering to ideal feminine behaviour, and especially kindness, was natural and reinforced social good and harmony, as represented in an ordered society. To achieve this message, these authors used the location of the heart to pinpoint kindness physically within the body as an action that readers could practice, and a way for readers to understand the impact of kindness; authors also used it to address concerns over the inauthentic nature of politeness and other forms of social comportment, and, lastly, to situate readers' kindness in the wider context of their worldview and understanding.

Alongside the metaphorical mouth, tongue, and heart, authors used the eye symbolically as a device to express questions about authenticity, sincerity, and the potentially disruptive nature of women's behaviour further. In written published works, the metaphorical eye became a device to impress on readers the significance of kindness. As mentioned several times throughout this chapter, the prevalence of sociable reading meant that publishers knew that compilations of various short pieces would be popular amongst readers since often they would indulge in dipping-in-and-out, reading short bits at a time.[129] Robert Heath published *The Palladium of Fame* (1765), a compendium of lists about appropriate feminine behaviour,

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[126] Raymond Hickey, *Eighteenth Century English: Ideology and Change* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 108–10.
[127] John Harris, *An Essay on Politeness; Wherein the Benefits Arising from and the Necessity of Being Polite Are Clearly Proved and Demonstrated from Reason, Religion, and Philosophy. To Which Is Prefixed, an Allegorical Description of the Origin of Politeness. By a Young Gentleman.* (London, England, 1775), 51.
[128] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 115.
[129] Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, 72–94, 129–47.

wherein he used the eye as a symbol of appropriate and ordered behaviour. He writes: 'her eye speaks kindness; and discretion, with a sceptre, fits on her brow'.[130] In promoting the association of the physical representing and influencing the intangible inner, or vice versa, Heath praises ordered behaviour, particularly when it was authentic and sincere. Christianity provided John Moir with a reason why the eye symbolised the internal. As mentioned above, conduct books focussed on producing in their female readers a self-scrutinising behaviour that made them constantly aware of their own behavioural short-falls compared to the ideal woman.[131] In John Moir's conduct manual *Female Tuition* (1784), he uses they eye as a symbol of religious mores in a sentence from the section about the duties of the mother: 'it [religion] tempers the hardest voice to the tone of humanity, and imparts to the least engaging eyes all the captivating graces of undissembled kindness'.[132] By intertwining his usage of kindness within the section on dutiful mother with religion, Moir uses the Christian theology of kindness to strengthen his position on the 'naturalness' of a controlled female body physicalised in acceptable behaviour. As was explored in greater depth in the first section of this chapter, authors of Christian works stridently argued for restricted 'natural' feminine behaviours such as the gentleness, piety, and meekness mentioned in this quotation. Therefore, Moir used Christian theology to discuss the desire for controlled behaviour through the metaphor of the body and, ultimately, to address the questions of authenticity and sincerity. Consequently, the symbolic eye beheld the virtue of Christian kindness. To Moir, this meant the metaphorical body represented the answer to questions about women's authenticity and sincerity, through their controlled feminine bodily behaviour, which promised social unity and, it was hoped, an ordered society.

Alongside manuals, poems also used the symbolic eye to represent kindness when raising questions about authenticity and sincerity. In the burgeoning arena of printed books and periodicals, the pre-eminence of poems is seen in their use on various occasions, in different printed media from journals to collected miscellany, and in their being printed on

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[130] Robert Heath, *The Palladium of Fame, or Annual Miscellany, for the Year of Our Lord, 1765. Containing Several Subjects of Select Science. With Rules and Demonstrations, for the Conduct and Happiness of Human Life: And a List, and Character of Curious and Useful Books. Adapted for the Pleasure and Service of Gentlemen and Ladies, the British Youth at School, and Persons at Sea. The Seventeenth Number Published. To Be Continued. By the Author of the Royal Astronomer and Navigator.* (London, England: W. Davenhill, 1765), 88.

[131] Tague, *Women of Quality*, 22–24.

[132] John Moir, *Female Tuition: Or, an Address to Mothers, on the Education of Daughters. A New Edition, Greatly Improved, and Embellished with an Elegant Frontispiece.* (London, England, 1800), 300.

broadsheets and sold cheaply, to name just a few places where poems appeared.[133] During a period of increasing female authorship, writing about psalms, epistles, spiritual and moral advice, and reflections on death in poetry was an acceptable form of female writing, according to the contemporary worldview.[134] Jane West's 1791 poem, for example, uses the metaphorical eye to make manifest the inner feelings that kindness and associated sensibility wrought in a person when she writes, 'remember'd kindness fill'd each eye/ with sympathetic tears,/ depress'd with woe each feeling heart,/ and check'd the parting cheers'.[135] West mastered the use of metaphor to convey meaning in her poem, as in using the eye as a physical marker of inward emotions, and especially kindness. In this way, West wrote 'remember'd kindness' in the eye, making it memorable to readers. Despite the ambiguity of the word 'remember'd', in the rest of her verse, West, with the vocabulary of 'sympathetic tears', 'feeling heart', and 'parting cheers', implied the extent of the emotion, feeling, and positivity of kindness. With the vocabulary of 'sympathetic tears', and 'depress'd with woe', West's description of the influence of kindness on the metaphorical body resembles sensibility, as both focus on making manifest inner emotions and controlling bodily movements.[136] In chapter three, we will see how Frances Burney D'Arblay's diaries emphasise that women found kindness within their experiences of sensibility (and associated politeness or sociability). These three writers used the symbol of the eye to consider questions about women's authenticity and sincerity through the framework of feminine kindness, within shared communal understandings that influenced how readers understood bodily ordered behaviour as affability, piety, compassion, and courtesy. This produced the desired feminine behaviour that promised social unity, belonging through acceptable behaviour to a larger social group, and, ultimately, an answer for the question of how women needed to be authentic in their behaviours.

Alongside the metaphorical heart, eye, mouth, and tongue, the metaphorical soul aided contemporary authors in further establishing the physical element of kindness in an ordered society filled with controlled women. In the eighteenth century, the soul remained inseparable from the body, as the physical expression of the body was seen as arising from

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[133] John Richetti, ed., *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 160–260.

[134] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 191.

[135] Jane West, *Miscellaneous Poems and a Tragedy* (York: W. Blanchard, 1791), 3.

[136] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1–36.

the inner soul; therefore, threats to the physical body were threats to the soul.[137] Crucially, the eighteenth-century soul had no gender. The soul, mind, and body contributed to each person's—no matter their gender—clear conscience, calm mind, and healthy lifestyle, all of which underpinned the soundness of the whole person.[138] Reflecting this ideology, Mr Steel in the first volume of the 1714 *The Lady's Library*, when writing about women's duty to charity, uses the soul as a metaphorical marker of how kindness impacted the well-being of society: 'in the affections it is a sincere kindness, which disposes us to wish all good to others, in all their capacities, in the same manner, that justice obliges us to wish no hurt to any man, in respect either of his soul, his body, his goods or his credit'.[139] The early eighteenth century saw an emergence of advice journals for women that included different articles aimed at educating readers about their notions of the ideal woman.[140] Thus, despite Mr Steel using the soul symbolically to represent how kindness impacted the ordered society, he aimed his arguments at women and their potentially dangerous actions as the implicit aim of the entire journal. In this example, Mr Steel uses the metaphorical soul (and body, etc.) to underline how kindness impacted the social unity created through efficacious relationships and respecting the boundaries of the physical bodies of others in society. Aside from regular sermons, sermons throughout the eighteenth century were popularly preached on special occasions like holy days, anniversary days, collections for charities, during meetings of societies, and to commemorate donors.[141] For example, after a fire in Lisburn, Ireland, Robert Clavering wrote in his sermon, *The Excellency of Charity* (1708), about the importance of Christian charity. He includes the statement that, 'to be of a benign and loving temper, to have a diffusive largeness of soul, and to be abound in all the acts of kindness and benevolence and particularly in the exercise of charity towards the afflicted and distressed'.[142] Clavering uses the soul to symbolise a charitable society with a defined hierarchy to teach the reader that injury to the soul meant disorder within the community, and that care to the soul meant an ordered community. Clavering emphasises this lesson by

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[137] Wynne Smith, "'An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper': The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France," 463, 468; Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, 25; Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2016), 109, 174; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, 145.

[138] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, 19.

[139] Unknown, *Ladies Library...Written by a Lady.* (Mr. Steele, 1714), 268.

[140] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 194.

[141] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, 24–29.

[142] Robert Clavering, *The Excellency of Charity. A Sermon Preached at St. Clement Danes. The 27th of June, 1708. On Occasion of the Brief for the Poor Sufferers by Fire at Lisburn in Ireland.* (London, England, 1708), 1.

displaying the wide range of dangers to the metaphorical soul—the physical body and the spiritual—as seen in the language of 'his goods or his credit', 'man', and 'exercise of charity'. An author can also upend the script, having the metaphorical soul represent an individual within the ordered society, as in the Easter sermon *The Character of Love* (1713). In this sermon, Anton Wilhelm Bohm preached about religious love writing, saying, 'kindness is a grace making the soul willing to do good to all her fellow-creatures, upon all occasions that are offer'd her'.[143] Bohm taught his readers that the care of the individual metaphorical soul would benefit the whole, creating a well-ordered community. All three writers used kindness—through the commonly held understanding of the soul—to teach readers that practising kindness and the associated benign or loving temper, benevolence, goodness, and charity resulted in women who were active in an imagined ordered, spiritual community, where they belonged. Printed books and periodicals sketched the ideal woman as passive and productive, alongside other qualities.[144] Therefore, these writers ultimately used the genderless soul as the place to locate kindness metaphorically within the body, so as to argue that social unity, active members of a spiritual community, and efficacious relationships would be the result of restricting behaviour to a set list of virtues.

Considering emotional practices and broader cultural contexts unearths the use of kindness as it was written within original contexts. This disparate grouping of genres (the Bible, journals, conduct manuals, poems, and sermons) are united by authors aiming to teach readers about idealised femininity. This was rooted in anxieties and fear about the potential disruptive nature of the female gender, and so, in the process, these authors, across genres, established boundaries for female gender identity. The metaphorical body represented the dichotomy of eighteenth-century women in an ordered world: the potentially disruptive, unruly woman breaks down society, and the controlled, respectable woman belongs to and upholds ordered society. Through the metaphorical body, kindness gave women a framework to achieve the desired behaviour and outcome through subordination.

Lessons of Kindness: What Women Learned and How They Used It

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[143] Anton Wilhelm Bohm, *The Character of Love: Set Forth in a Sermon Preach'd at St. James's, in the Chapel of His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, &c. of Blessed Memory, on the Third Sunday after Easter, 1713. By Anthony William Boehm, Chaplain to His Late Royal Highness. To Which Are Added, the Rules and Orders for the Management of a Charitable Society, Set up at London in the Year MDCCXII.* (London, England, 1713), 6.

[144] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 115; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 4–5.

Published sources have allowed a view of a widely circulating discourse on women's behaviour, which, concurrently, may or may not have influenced women readers in their daily behaviour. Ultimately, the sources in this chapter provide access to debates held by some members of society regarding womanhood and how idealised feminine virtues and behaviour aided in constructing an ordered society. As discussed throughout, authors defined kindness as a complex concept, and this can be seen in the shape of the chapter as it moves through discussions of Christian ideas, the fashionable, and the metaphorical body. Kindness began as Christian dogma, and when turned outward as Christian acts, kindness became a feminine virtue that signalled women's respectability. At the same time, contemporaries combined the virtue of kindness into a grouping with other feminine virtues to aid the construction of an orderly society by practising the accepted female duties that subdued bodily comportment. However, contemporaries acknowledged that there were particular threats to kindness within eighteenth-century life, and many of these threats focussed on the question of authenticity. Therefore, if women did not practise kindness, or practised a 'false' kindness, these authors threatened readers with the destruction of an ordered society. Importantly, in this argument, the metaphorical body appeared as a significant site in which authors situated lessons about the severity of their expectations, the 'naturalness' of females restricting their behaviour to religious standards, and the implications of undertaking kindness in the everyday. The rest of this study demonstrates how women reworked these standards, as seen in published materials and in their everyday experiences and relationships.

This chapter underpins the remaining chapters by establishing how eighteenth-century women shared an understanding of kindness founded on published literature, which they displayed during interactions in the family network, court and society, intellectual circles, and friendship. Hence, the nature of kindness as examined in this chapter supports the uses of kindness by the women, which will be considered in later chapters. Furthermore, kindness was a space for women to subvert, rework, and reconstruct expectations placed upon their gendered identity, thereby learning how to perform their female identity comfortably. Feminine kindness, despite writers' attempts at limiting female behaviour, provided women with a means of expressing an acceptable female identity that also had the space to rework and subvert these same expectations, in order to fulfil their own needs.

CHAPTER 2*:*

MARIA EDGEWORTH AND THE EDGEWORTH WOMEN: FAMILAL KINDNESS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

'All's well at home', wrote Maria Edgeworth in 1794 to her cousin Elizabeth.[145] Unmarried Maria, and her genteel Anglo-Irish family, called Edgeworthstown, County Longford, home. An author throughout her life, Maria kept herself busy writing novels and educational treatises for children. However, she did not get to write in splendid silence at Edgeworthstown. For, after the death of her mother Anna Maria Elers in 1773, Maria spent a significant amount of time aiding her father and three step-mothers in raising her twenty-two younger siblings. Aside from her cherished relationships with siblings, until she died in 1849, Maria and her lineage family retained an intimate relationship through voluminous epistolary exchanges.[146] In many of these letters, both Maria and her correspondents invoke the language of kindness. To Maria Edgeworth and her female relatives, kindness facilitated the continual negotiation of efficacious relationships among kin.

As previously stated in the Introduction, this thesis understands kindness as a traceable emotional practice that is best accessed when vocabulary and letters are situated within the context of the eighteenth century. Maria Edgeworth and her female relatives are the primary focus in this chapter on families, for they offer a wealth of correspondence among kin. The Edgeworth's regularly used 'kindness' in their epistles and offer an illuminating example of the practices used by familial groups. By using, at appropriate times, examples written by other contemporary women, this chapter shows the representativeness of the Edgeworth epistles and expressions. By analysing these letters, this chapter shows that familial kindness had two forms of presentation in familial letters: as an action and as a linguistic expression. Kind actions remarked in letters were those completed by kin for the purposes of strengthening and retaining bonds, hence, these actions often became

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[145] Maria Edgeworth, "Letter from Maria Edgeworth to Elizabeth Sneyd Edgeworth, 1794," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, Vol. 1*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).

[146] W. McCormack, "Edgeworth, Maria (1768–1849), Novelist and Educationist," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8476.; Christina Edgeworth Colvin, "Edgeworth, Richard Lovell (1744–1817), Educational Writer and Engineer," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8478.; Valerie Pakenham, ed., *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 2018), 433.

personalised for each individual. Meanwhile, expressions of kindness in letters helped correspondents negotiate their familial relationships in the absence of physical proximity. Consequently, expressions of kindness assisted letter writers in vocalising to kin their current or idealised understanding of their relationships. Through expressions of kindness, individuals are able to isolate and mediate the commingled emotions of comfort and pain, in order to negotiate ongoing harmonious relationships.

Previous scholarship on the Edgeworth family has focussed on the literary or cultural aspects of Maria Edgeworth's published works owing to her historical prominence.[147] However, fewer historians have focussed on Maria's published letters. Since Maria's death in 1849, editors have sporadically published selected letters in collections.[148] At first, the family edited and published these collections. For instance, in 1867 her step-mother Frances Edgeworth privately printed the *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, which was largely composed of her sanitised letters to family.[149] These collections changed when historians began to focus on compiling Maria's letters themselves in collected editions as part of a historical discourse. For example, Christina Colvin focussed on collecting Maria's letters sent abroad in two books published in the 1970s.[150] Most recently, in 2018, Valerie Pakenham released *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from Ireland,* an updated volume of selective letters accompanied by annotations and notes, such as important dates in the lives of Maria and her family.[151] While, as discussed in the Introduction, these collections provide access to letters, they unfortunately rely on the letters themselves to convey information about Maria's experiences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, leaving readers to interpret them themselves. Other scholars, conversely, in a bid to understand her experiences, have focussed on Maria's personal life. A series of biographies—beginning with Emily Lawless' *Maria Edgeworth*

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[147] A few examples from the large body of scholarship include: George E. Boulukos, "Maria Edgeworth's 'Grateful Negro' and the Sentimental Argument for Slavery," *Eighteenth Century Life* 23, no. 1 (February 1999): 12–29; Katy Brundan, "Cosmopolitan Complexities in Maria Edgeworth's 'Ennui,'" *Studies in the Novel* 37, no. 2 (2005): 123–40; Mary Jean Corbett, "Between History and Fiction: Plotting Rebellion in Maria Edgeworth's Ennui," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 3 (December 2002): 297–322; Fraser Easton, "Cosmopolitan Economy: Exchangeable Value and National Development in Adam Smith and Maria Edgeworth," *Studies in Romanticism* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 99–125; R.F. Butler, ed., "Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott Unpublished Letters, 1823," *The Review of English Studies* 9, no. 33 (February 1958): 23–40.
[148] Butler, "Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott Unpublished Letters, 1823"; Christina Edgeworth Colvin, ed., *Maria Edgeworth in France and Switzerland: Selections from the Edgeworth Family Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Maria Edgeworth, *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth* (Library of Alexandria, 1894).
[149] Maria Edgeworth, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth: With a Selection from Her Letters*, ed. Frances Beaufort Edgeworth (J. Masters and Son, 1867).
[150] Colvin, *Maria Edgeworth in France and Switzerland: Selections from the Edgeworth Family Letters*; Maria Edgeworth, *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from England, 1813–1844*, ed. Christina Colvin (Clarendon Press, 1971).
[151] Valerie Pakenham, ed., *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 2018).

(1905) and continued later by scholars in the 1950s, like Isabel Clarke, Elisabeth Inglis-Jones, and others—began piecing together an understanding of the circumstances of Maria's life, and they remain the basis for scholarship on her today.[152] These biographies, while brilliant for aiding the scholar in understanding Maria's life, are not intended to reveal the nuances of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century society. A few scholars are shifting their focus to interrogate Maria's life itself in a way that biographies did not. Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace focussed on Maria's relationship with her father and termed her a 'daddy's girl' who participated successfully in masculine literature while creating female subjects with male perspectives.[153] There are limitations to this type of examination of Maria's life, as there is a failure by scholars to consider the importance of Maria's female kin and friends in supporting her publishing efforts. Recently, there has been an effort to expand beyond the limitations of scholars' understanding of Maria's life. For example, Edgar E. MacDonald uses letters between Maria and a Jewish-American woman, Rachel Mordecai Lazarus, to interrogate Maria's position on Jews and Judaism, and how her friendship challenged her views.[154] These efforts are a beginning, which this chapter advances by using the Edgeworth family to access eighteenth-century familial kindness to illuminate an integral and hitherto unexplored facet of theirs and other kin-groups' daily lives. This scholarship of the Edgeworth family exists not in a vacuum, but among the scholarship of families in the early modern period.

Debates about the nature and structure of familial relations in the early modern period includes several hypotheses. Scholars debate whether familial relations were instrumental—exchange of work and material benefits—or affectionate—treating kin with emotions like love or care. Furthermore, scholars such as Alan Mcfarlane and Margot Finn argue whether people in these relationships were either emotionally involved or distant and emotionally reserved. Concurrently, scholars deliberate over whether these families were nuclear—parents with their children—or lineage—parents, children, and the various other kin. Historians originally put forward these arguments in the 1950s to 1970s, while proposing theories about how families changed over long periods of time.[155] Among these original

[152] Emily Lawless, *Maria Edgeworth* (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1905); Elisabeth Inglis-Jones, *The Great Maria: A Portrait of Maria Edgeworth* (Faber & Faber, 1959); Isabel Constance Clarke, *Maria Edgeworth: Her Family and Friends* (Hutchinson, 1950).
[153] Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth and Patriarchal Complicity* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12.
[154] Edgar E. MacDonald, *The Education of the Heart: The Correspondence of Rachel Mordecai Lazurus and Maria Edgeworth* (UNC Press Books, 2012).
[155] The best known arguments come from first Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. R. Baldick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962); second, Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*

theories, historians hypothesised that children moved from ignored to primary subjects of concern.[156] Building on this theory regarding the changing understanding of childhood, historians, including Lawrence Stone, argued that the structure of kinship and neighbourhood changed due to the rise of the nuclear family in the eighteenth century.[157] These debates and historiographical theories result from the mid-twentieth-century scholar's preoccupation with questions of patriarchal family power, leading to arguments about instrumental, nuclear families that had distant parents with unnuanced views of gender. However, after the 1970s, with scholars changing their focus, there comes a questioning and reformatting of this older historiography.

In the last twenty years, scholars have disproven Lawrence Stone's 1977 argument about the nuclear family replacing the extended family.[158] Yet, while many post-1970s studies attempt to move away from the nuclear structures theorised by Stone, historians still find themselves entrenched within his categorisations. For example, Davidoff and Hall, in their influential 1987 work *Family Fortunes*, looked at individual nuclear families' households in order to understand middle class family dynamics, which recent historians have recognised as a weakness.[159] Margaret Hunt's later exploration of the middle class, like Davidoff and Hall's earlier work, studied individual household-families, in order to examine the factors of their class identity.[160] These are not the only historians who have positioned themselves unconsciously within the dichotomy of nuclear versus extended due to the type of questions and methodology used—a dichotomy which, problematically, does not necessarily reflect the reality of family experiences. However, newer scholarship, most notably by Naomi Tadmor, has argued that familial structure was not as straightforward, immovable, or static as

(England: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1977); and third, Lloyd de Mause, "The Evolution of Childhood," in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd de Mause (London: Souvenir Press, 1976).

[156] Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Collins, 1976), 168–69; Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. R. Baldick (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962), 129–463; Lloyd de Mause, "The Evolution of Childhood," in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd de Mause (London: Souvenir Press, 1976), 17–52; M.J. Tucker, "The Child as Beginning and End: Fifteenth-and-Sixteenth Century English Childhood," in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd de Mause (London: Souvenir Press, 1976), 229–52; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (England: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1977), 193, 683.

[157] Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, 22, 28–9, 70.

[158] Stone, 70.

[159] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Taylor & Francis, 2003), xiv; Kathryn Gleadle, "Revisiting Family Fortunes: Reflections on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall (1987) Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850 (London: Hutchinson)," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 5 (2007): 775.

[160] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (University of California Press, 1996), 8–9.

Stone presented in his work.[161] Rather, a variety of people populated eighteenth-century families: mothers, fathers, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, servants, apprentices, wards, and long-term guests. These disparate relatives are grouped into two entities, described by Tadmor as household-family and lineage family: contemporaries organised the household-family around an established physical household, such as Thomas Turner's household, whose membership changed over the years; in contrast, contemporaries tied together the lineage family permanently by lineage and ancestry, conveyed through blood and birth.[162] Maria and her kin, like that of other contemporaries, consciously maintained bonds with their lineage family.[163] In this chapter, Maria Edgeworth's lineage family is the focus, as they wrote letters to each other often. Following Tadmor's move away from the dichotomy of family being either nuclear or extended, this chapter will categorise kin as either lineage or household to further the argument about the complexity of family structures. The chapter is particularly focussed on examining how relationships operated within these structures and how they continued over time and space as the family's geographical locations changed.

These eighteenth-century families were 'affectionate' *and* instrumental with each other. In other words, while families loved each other, they also had among themselves a desire for material benefits and exchange of work. Prior to the recent historiography about parents being involved and caring, scholars viewed these same parents as cruel or unavailable. Unlike other historians of the period, Alan Macfarlane insisted parents were informal, caring, and had a reciprocal bond with their children.[164] Newer scholarship, such as that by Joanne Bailey, following Macfarlane's lead, has further argued that parents were loving, involved, and emotional with their children.[165] Additionally, despite the fact that parents loved their children, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, in the tradition of Alan Macfarlane, illustrates parents also negotiated to achieve material benefits and exchange of work.[166] Siblings, as with parent-child relations, negotiated with and loved each other, yet this support, as Patricia Crawford has demonstrated, depended on their affection or disaffection.[167] Maria

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[161] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–40.
[162] Tadmor, 21–35, 100–102.
[163] Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century"; Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, chaps. 1–3.
[164] Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
[165] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 246–48.
[166] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, "Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and Their Offspring in Early Modern England," *Journal of Family History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 303–5.
[167] Crawford, "Sibling Relationships," 214–21.

and other family members also received gifts from kin. As Margot Finn has established, presents operated as both an 'affectionate' and instrumental method that helped maintain kinship but could also lay the groundwork for political and economic ambitions.[168]

Nonetheless, due to the little focus on what such 'affection' was and meant in family scholarship, there is a notable absence of other emotional practices alongside that of the more often studied emotion of love. Contemporaries understood 'affections' as one form of what would be termed emotion (their other term was 'passions').[169] The scholarship of families must begin to reflect contemporaries' complex understanding of 'affections', as well as what people felt and did as a result of these 'affections.' Therefore, this chapter develops an awareness of how contemporaries viewed the 'affectionate' family. Consequently, by analysing kindness as a particular form of affection, we are inserting this practice back into the understanding of 'affectionate' feelings, and this chapter will further scholarly understanding of the 'affectionate' relationships within a lineage family. Additionally, kindness as an emotional practice performed by individuals towards their lineage family further complicates a historical understanding of familial dynamics. Individuals like Maria used the emotional practice of kindness to negotiate continued efficacious relationship with kin. Therefore, several questions are asked: How did kindness assist families in negotiating the geographical and spatial absences necessitated by letter-writing? Did kindness shape how memories and remembrances were discussed within family networks? Did kind actions support and strengthen bonds? Did kindness facilitate other emotions within kin networks? Answering these questions will uncover what emotional practices were in the family and shared language community.

To aid in answering these questions, this chapter makes use of letters. Letters are the chapter's principal source, as they were the primary form of communication over both long and short distances.[170] Nostalgia, memory and remembrance resulted from a lack of physical proximity, because geographical distance shaped written relationships.[171] Moreover, not all letters were private. Rather, it was possible for letters to be circulated widely and voluntarily

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[168] Margot Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780–1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, no. 1 (2006): 218–19.
[169] Thomas Dixon, "'Emotion:' The History of a Keyword in Crisis," *Emotion Review* 4, no. 4 (October 2012): 339.
[170] Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chap. 2; Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), 142–67; Leonie Hannan, *Women of Letters: Gender, Writing and the Life of the Mind in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2016), 6–8; Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1–16, chap. 2.
[171] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 21–24; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 1–16; Whyman, *The Pen and the People*, 12.

from their original recipient. Writers acknowledged the possibility that a wider public may view the contents of their letters by fretting to correspondents about letters going astray; sometimes they responded to this possibility by addressing their letter to a larger group of people than one single recipient.[172] Additionally, letters by remarkable or famous people could and did find their way into print.[173] Some letters used in this chapter are themselves from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century edited collections, and, as discussed in the Introduction, these publications have problems. Aside from edited collections, there are several other factors about letters that complicate analysis, which the Introduction has also discussed. Due to the absence of people in a geographic vicinity, authors had to write letters to each other to maintain their bonds; in the course of doing so, authors often constructed themselves and others in a certain manner, as their spatial absence caused people to change their perception of their overall relationship. Hence, absence and wistful remembrance often distort these bonds. Further, letter writers used specific vocabulary shaped by the sociocultural environment of the eighteenth century to complete their specific needs and aims. Emphasising these considerations during analysis allows historians to contextualise better the letters and the historical actors' lives on their own terms. For example, household circuits of exchange and negotiation influenced letter-writing. As Jennifer Summit explains, the extended relations of service and surrogacy meant that the household became a centre of writing for women.[174] Lindsay O'Neill emphasises that the shared community of letter-writers, both inside and outside the family, informed not only the language but also other elements of letters; hence, readers understood the intent behind the words in letters through shared communal verbal and non-verbal cues.[175] Likewise, authors used the platform of letter-writing conventions such as salutations to indicate an imperative facet of the social status of both parties.[176] Nevertheless, none of the previous scholarly work has included the significance of kindness in aiding letter-writers with communicating through letters their appreciation, value, and credit regarding relationships, which this chapter, and the rest in this work, will establish.

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[172] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 9.
[173] Clare Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1–6.
[174] Jennifer Summit, "Writing Home: Hannah Wolley, the Oxinden Letters and Household Epistolary Practice," in *Women, Property and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Buck, Margaret W. Ferguson, and Nancy E. Wright (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 216.
[175] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 17.
[176] Sue Walker, "The Manners of the Page: Prescription and Practice in the Visual Organization of Correspondence," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66, no. 3/4 (2003): 308–9.

Familial kindness had two forms of presentation: as an action or an expression. The type of kind acts described within letters were those completed by kin for the purposes of consolidating bonds over geographic distance via personalisation according to needs and/or agendas. Simultaneously, expressions of kindness abetted kin-members in negotiating their relationships in an absence of physical proximity through a framework of emotions, like love and affection, within which they shaped remembrances and memories. Hence, kindness facilitated letter-writers in vocalising their understanding of their kinship during their periods of absence. Therefore, both these practices within writing letters allowed authors to project their idealised or current understanding of their relationship upon the recipient.

Identifiable Actions

The Edgeworth women identified specific actions as 'kindnesses', including gift-giving, and the completion of services. This will be explored in the following section. Both gift-giving and completing services acted as hallmarks of esteem, intimacy, and connectedness between both parties in the act. Consequently, when women termed such actions as kind, they were harnessing contemporary understandings of both concepts to stress the significance of kindness, gift-giving, and services in preserving kinship in absence. Furthermore, these acts of gift-giving or completion of services assisted the one carrying them out in personally sustaining bonds over geographic distance, while simultaneously achieving their own needs and agendas.

Family members often identified gift-giving as a kindness both in terms of the physical exchange of an item and in accessing emotional life through the remembrances these objects triggered. Seen in the act of giving, there is an emotional response of cherishment triggered by the giver, and in response the receiver expressed gratitude for these kind presents in their letters. These accessed emotions explain why in wider contemporary society, gifts, most often in the form of food and drink, accompanied letters to augment the strengthening of social ties. Moreover, the developing Georgian consumer world permitted an expansion of the types of objects that people appropriated as gifts to exchange.[177] The significance of gifts resulted from both the formation of material objects themselves and the deliberation of the sender, thereby producing a tailored gift that heightened or formed a bond between two

[177] Finn, "Colonial Gifts," 206–7; Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 1–2, 33–96.

people. Accompanying the gift with a letter allowed the sender to explain, and negotiate meaning, thus authorising the development of a desired tone in the bond. The language used in defining the said meaning of gifts often included downplaying monetary value in order to encourage the receiver to accept the present, thereby ensuring that the obligation continued.[178] Therefore, among family exchanges, gift-exchanging's negotiation of meaning allowed senders to establish the groundwork for political and economic ambitions.[179] In April 1799, Maria Edgeworth sent a letter to her step-aunt Charlotte Sneyd that, alongside news about family, her own writing, and her publishing efforts, included a note for her aunt to 'give my love to Henry [younger half-brother] and thank him for his kindness in sending me two nice toothpicks; my father is writing him or else I would'.[180] The gratitude Maria passed along to Henry originated from his kind gift of two toothpicks. Further, conscious of the obligations inherent in receiving gifts, Maria excused herself for not writing directly to Henry through the spectre of her father's concurrent letter on that topic. Finally, by adding a note about Henry, Maria ensured that when or if Charlotte read the letter aloud, it contained her appreciation for Henry and his gift; therefore, if the audience included Henry, he would hear his sister's appreciative gratitude.[181]

The value of these toothpicks and their importance as gifts emerged for several reasons. Henry's thoughtful gift had an everyday usefulness, as toothpicks were handy at times of eating. Simultaneously, a gift of toothpicks connoted the intimacy of the body with their use in the cleaning of teeth. The gift's intimacy, therefore, indicated the closeness of Henry and Maria, for toothpicks were symbolic gestures of love and friendship.[182] In this way, it could be hoped that every time Maria used the toothpicks she would think of Henry's kindness in gifting them. For Maria, her kindness came from the fondly affectionate response of gratitude garnered from Henry's tailored gift of toothpicks. Even if, they for example had had a rocky relationship, hated each other, or barely spoke to each other, this gift was a means for Henry to participate, with the willingness of Maria, in constructing an affectionate relationship that would indicate that these Edgeworth siblings understood and valued the significance of cultivating unity and belonging within the family.

[178] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 122–29.
[179] Finn, "Colonial Gifts," 206, 218–19.
[180] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth April 1799 to Charlotte Sneyd," 1799, MS 1066/7 POS 9027, National Library of Ireland.
[181] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 144–45.
[182] Rosie MacArthur, "Kinship, Remembrance and Luxury Goods in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Hanbury Family of Kelmarsh," *History of Retailing and Consumption* 1, no. 2 (2015): 134–37.

Gift-giving not only connected the geographically distant Edgeworth siblings in affection, it also connected the Wordsworth siblings. In 1792, Dorothy Wordsworth wrote to her older brother, Richard Wordsworth. She began the letter explaining that she had neglected to write earlier to thank Richard for his kindness in gifting a 'very acceptable present' of a hat came about because of her hurry in leaving for London.[183] Therefore, like Henry Edgeworth's toothpicks, Richard tailored his gift of a hat to Dorothy's needs. Building on the communicative function of a letter, Dorothy used kindness to express gratitude over Richard's gift and simultaneously emphasise her esteem of her brother's actions. Dorothy's testament of the gifted hat as an act of kindness ensured that this sentiment would remain as such in her memories. Yet, like Maria Edgeworth, Dorothy wrote this reaction to his kindness in a letter at a marginally later date, when time and space permitted for writing a lengthier missive.[184] Richard, however, as Dorothy wrote, had sent the hat in a timely manner.[185] Remarkably, in that same letter, Dorothy wrote about how her last letter included a parcel of silk to her younger brother John.[186] This practice of gifting that occurred between the siblings, Richard to Dorothy and Dorothy to John, within a connected series of letters, clarifies the cyclical nature of the reciprocal and obligatory duties of gifts, with kin consistently sending each other gifts over the years. The hat and the silk, both useful items like the toothpick, through the kindness of the sender would produce memories of the giver with every use. Additionally, regarding Dorothy's gift of silk, women's skill and labour in manufacturing embroidered silk, as Amanda Herbert has argued, were expressions of taste and demonstrations of refinement.[187] Consequently, in reminding Richard, Dorothy emphasised the memorable nature of the present that she perhaps produced and gave to John. Kindness gave Maria and Dorothy the vocabulary to refer to how gifts and gift-giving created long-lasting memories of gratitude, affection, and love, thus developing more nuance in the emotional life of the Edgeworths.

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[183] Dorothy Wordsworth, "Dorothy Wordsworth 28 May 1792 to Richard Wordsworth," in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1: The Early Years, 1787–1805*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Chester L. Shaver, vol. 1 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1967).

[184] Dorothy Wordsworth, "Dorothy Wordsworth 28 May 1792 to Richard Wordsworth," in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworthh, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1: The Early Years, 1787-1805*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Chester L. Shaver, vol. 1 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1967).

[185] Dorothy Wordsworth, "Dorothy Wordsworth 28 May 1792 to Richard Wordsworth," in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworthh, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1: The Early Years, 1787-1805*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Chester L. Shaver, vol. 1 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1967).

[186] Dorothy Wordsworth, "Dorothy Wordsworth 28 May 1792 to Richard Wordsworth," in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworthh, 2nd Ed., Vol. 1: The Early Years, 1787-1805*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Chester L. Shaver, vol. 1 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1967).

[187] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 39, 139.

This exchange of gifts similarly moved between female relations. The hallmark of these female exchanges resided in how they reflected women's experiences in capitalising utility. Hence, women gave gifts reflective of the spaces they occupied in the household. These gifts linked to the acts of walking, distilling, sewing, painting, and cooking, and were grounded in the four senses of taste, smell, touch, and sight. Consequently, this act of creating and giving presents within a female network allowed for same-sex bonds to be created and deepened, and this is further examined in the exchanges within Burney's diaries in chapter 3.[188] Maria Edgeworth gave gifts to both female friends and female kin. In November 1813, Maria Edgeworth enclosed some pebbles in a letter to her aunt Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton: 'I also enclose two little pebbles my dear Aunt—I beg you will like your choice of them and prevail on Mrs. O'Beirne to accept the other—I should not presume to offer such a thing to Mrs. O'Beirne who I know has such abundance of fine pebbles but I think her kindness for me will be my apology—'.[189] Maria, presumably, picked the pebbles with great care on one of her walks, which indicates some of the patterns in her daily life. Alongside using gifts that showed her everyday physical activities, Maria entwined a narrative about her economy by displaying her thrift, ingenuity, and gifting in using pebbles found in nature. The impact of her economical statement lay in Maria's state of being perpetually an unmarried woman, and so, despite her own success in writing, she remained financially dependent on others. As a woman who had to be fiscally prudent, Maria used pebbles as a symbolic measure of her utility, economy, and creativity. In this, she maintained prudence while also being able to indulge in gifting as a means of maintaining bonds. Further, in gifting these two women a present they could touch, see, and smell, Maria constructed a narrative of refinement and exclusivity by closing the circle between the three women.[190] At the same time, Maria presented herself as being more secure in her aunt's indulgence in accepting the gift than her unrelated female friend; for Maria understood that her gift could be unwelcome to Mrs O'Beirne because of the significance of selecting appropriate items. She thus asks for her aunt's indulgence in the form of kindness, by constructing a narrative wherein yearned-for past affection and bonds with her friend would carry forward to the acceptance of this gift. In accompanying a letter with a gift, Maria used the two functions of communicating with people at a distance and securing the desired

[188] Herbert, 53–77.
[189] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 25 November 1813 to Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton," 1813, MS 1066/7 POS 9031, National Library of Ireland.
[190] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 53.

meanings of gifts to complete an act of kindness that emphasised her love and cherishment for her aunt and female friend.

Aside from gift-giving representing physical acts of kindness, authors also designated completing requested favours for another person as an act of kindness. Despite the seemingly vague term 'services', contemporaries had a specific understanding of the word. For example, John Kersey, in *A New English Dictionary* (1702), distinctly defined it as, 'the state of one that serves, also attendance, good turn, &c'.[191] Doing an act of service, in Kersey's definition, meant serving and attending another person with good intentions; hence, services often included finding a position for someone, watching over third parties, or sending rarities. Within letters themselves, services surfaced in two ways: between a sender and receiver, or with the sender asking the receiver to be the middleman regarding a third party. Offering or doing services for correspondents displayed good faith, which augmented their relationship's negotiation of closeness.[192] Therefore, unsurprisingly, Maria Edgeworth used her closeness with her younger brother, Charles Sneyd Edgeworth, to get him to act as middleman in a March 1815 letter updating him on familial and social news. Specifically, Maria asked that Sneyd 'would enquire for a son of Sir E Crofton's and you know who's, and shew him any kindness you can through Mrs. Grieves, he is a very gentleman like boy of 10 years old, he is at Mr. Harwood's, who takes a few boys with his own sons'.[193] The service Maria asked of Sneyd meant he would have to use an acquaintance to demonstrate kindness to an unknown young boy. Crucially, Maria knew that Sneyd understood what she meant by kindness as seen in a communal understanding fostered by published works, such as those examined in the first chapter. Yet, since Maria did describe the boy in the letter, it can be assumed that Sneyd did not personally know the boy; still, her description placed the boy within their social network. Essentially, Maria established the boy within Sneyd's understanding of those within his social space, and by extension within the sphere of those who fall under his social obligations.[194] Consequently, there was legitimacy in Sneyd doing the boy (and by extension Maria) a kindness.

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[191] John Kersey the Younger, "Service," in *A New English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat: Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly Used in the Language* (London: Henry Bonwicke & Robert Knaplock, 1702).
[192] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 129–35.
[193] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth March 1815 to C Sneyd Edgeworth," 1815, MS 1066/7 POS 9032, National Library of Ireland.
[194] Katherine Allen, "Hobby and Craft: Distilling Household Medicine in Eighteenth-Century England," *Early Modern Women* 11, no. 1 (Fall 2016): 96–97.

Like Maria, Caroline Dawson used her sibling as a middleman to do a service to another on her behalf. Near the end of Caroline Dawson's 1785 letter to her sister Louisa Stuart was a request to befriend Lady de Vesci, whom she believed Louisa would like. Additionally, Caroline told Louisa that the act of befriending would repay Lady de Vesci's kindness to her.[195] Caroline viewed the repayment of Lady de Vesci's kindness as a vital part of continuing their social contract; thus, she recruited her sister, who presumably lived closer, to act as her agent.[196] Louisa's reliability as Caroline's agent lay in her status as an 'affectionate' sister whose feelings of love and affection prompted her to provide assistance when requested. So, Caroline's recruitment of Louisa in fulfilling her social debt incurred through the kindness of another and extended from an understanding that made this type of service seem natural. The prominence of kindness within this exchange cannot be understated, for this concept provoked Caroline to want to repay a social acquaintance's kindness with an equally meaningful gift: friendship.[197] Although this friendship is not with Caroline herself, but rather her sister Louisa, the meaningfulness of the gift is not negated, for contemporary women saw female friendship and alliances as marked by fidelity, constancy, and selectivity.[198] Ultimately, Maria and Caroline both viewed kindness as an act that required familial participation, motivated by their 'affectionate' bond; hence, both women's entreaties of services for a third-party become meaningful acts of negotiating long-distance bonds through the retention of love, affection, and intimacy with their kin's character and understanding of the contemporary world.

As has been explored throughout this section, women identified two types of kind acts experienced within familial letters: gift-giving and services. Each gift given and each service completed emphasised the familiarity of correspondents with each other's needs, aspirations, and 'affections'. In demonstrating this awareness, authors initiated a space in their letters to negotiate the formation of their long-distance relationships with their kin, and in doing so, communicated their understanding of how 'affection' became practiced through deeds. As a result, these women gained a long-term connection with their lineage family. Shown

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[195] Caroline Dawson, "Caroline Dawson 10 October 1785 to Louisa Stuart," in *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio Containing Some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and Her Sister, Caroline [Stuart Dawson], Countess of Portarlengton [d. 1813], and Other Friends and Relatives*, ed. Alice Georgina Caroline Strong Clark, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, Scotland: Privately Published, 1895).
[196] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 212–14.
[197] Powell, "The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship," 195–99; Alison E. Hurley, "A Conversation of Their Own: Water-Place Correspondence Among the Bluestockings," *Eighteenth Century Life* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2006): 4–13.
[198] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 47–50.

repeatedly throughout this section, the contemporary understanding of 'affectionate' lineage family included kindness, a concept enacted through gift-giving and doing services.

Absence

A fundamental circumstance that motivates letter writing was, and still is, physical distance between correspondents. Physical absence from kin caused emotions of longing that correspondents vocalised through the vocabulary of kindness. Using kindness within their letters allowed authors to verbalise how they cherished, loved, and held their family with affection. Further, as this following section reveals, these emotions and kindness were utilised in the acts of remembering and wistful remembrance.[199]

As Lindsay O'Neill has articulated, letters helped family members to maintain their relationships when apart, especially through long periods of separation.[200] Although not included by O'Neill in her study, expressions of kindness within letters acted as a way for individuals to maintain congenial familial relationships at a distance. In May 1797, Maria wrote to Harriet Beaufort, the younger sister of Frances Beaufort, Maria's step-mother. Harriet's sister's bond of marriage to Maria's father related the two women, and yet, these fluid kinship bonds easily absorbed new members, permitting their integration into each other's kin network.[201] Maria opened her letter to Harriet with the lamentation that they have missed each other at Collon Inn.[202] After expressing regret over the lost opportunity to reconnect, Maria then transitions to apologising for not writing recently, and simultaneously reassures Harriet that she has not forgotten her kindness.[203] Using a missed chance encounter and a past kindness as an excuse for a letter, Maria wrote to reaffirm her tenuous bonds of kinship with Harriet. Maria's reaffirmation of bonds was predicated on her belief that the letter would facilitate similar remembrance in Harriet. Additionally, by connecting kindness and a missed reunion, Maria's letter set these invoked memories in a kinder tone by associating them with fondness, wistful remembrance, and keenly feeling another's absence.

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[199] In the eighteenth century the word 'nostalgia' had a specific medical meaning. Therefore, this chapter will use the phrase 'wistful remembrance' instead, to signify when contemporaries are longingly remembering past encounters in the present to re-live, re-assert, and value the emotions garnered from the memory when they are at a distance from a particular or majority of their family members.
[200] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 87.
[201] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England, 100–102*.
[202] Since Maria Edgeworth lived in Edgeworthstown, County Longford, Ireland at this point, Collon Inn probably referred to the Inn at Collon, County Louth, Ireland.
[203] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth May 1797 to Harriet Beaufort," 1797, MS 1066/7 POS 9027, National Library of Ireland.

Besides creating an opening for renewing their lapsed relationship, Maria used past kindness and a missed reunion to emphasise that she wanted this renewal to continue in the same tone, even though they were physically apart. Accordingly, for Maria, kindness could facilitate memory and renew kinship.

Together with reanimating lapsed kin relationships, kindness aided intimate kin in facilitating fondness, wistful remembrance, and the experience of feeling absence. In November 1791, shortly after moving to a new house, Maria Edgeworth wrote to her cousin Sophy Ruxton, the unmarried daughter of her father's sister Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton. Besides being cousins, the two women were close confidants throughout each other's lives, sharing news, confiding feelings, rebuking and correcting wayward behaviours, bringing up previous acts of kindness, and talking about various family members; in addition, Sophy would read and evaluate Maria's publications. In 1790, Maria's father Richard Lovell began dreading that his son Richard had consumption when he started exhibiting symptoms. Unfortunately, earlier in 1790, Honora Edgeworth, daughter of Honora Sneyd, had died of consumption. With Richard Lovell's previous experience of losing a child to consumption and his fear for Richard's health, the two travelled to England to seek medical treatment. In autumn 1791, Maria and her fellow siblings moved from Edgeworthstown, Ireland to Clifton, Dorset joining their father, who had temporarily settled there for the spa.[204] Therefore, in this November 1791 letter, Maria wrote to Sophy from Clifton about the experience of travelling with her younger siblings, and how she was 'impatient to thank you for your great kindness to my young people and for your sincere and friendly offers of assisting them on their journey'.[205] The full extent of Sophy's kind aid remains unknown, yet this ambiguity does not detract from the gravity that Maria attached to the memory in the letter she wrote when they were physically apart. With both women being older and unmarried, Maria's focus on how Sophy assisted her younger siblings in a kind manner originated from social expectations that they, as single women, had to aid their natal families.[206] Despite aid being expected from, or even a duty of, single female kin, Maria referred to it as a kindness—a means by which she then gained the ability to facilitate remembrance and fondness, and consequently aid in the continuing of an 'affectionate' cousin-confidant bond. Furthermore,

[204] Colvin, "Edgeworth, Richard Lovell (1744–1817), Educational Writer and Engineer"; McCormack, "Edgeworth, Maria (1768–1849), Novelist and Educationist."
[205] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth November 1791 to Sophy Ruxton," 1791, MS 1006/7 POS 9026, National Library of Ireland.
[206] Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 49–64.

with space in a letter being limited, especially for those that could not afford limitless paper, authors carefully balanced their use of space between news, friendly gossip, encouragement of continuing relations, and social convention.[207] Accordingly, Maria spent valuable page space on Sophy's kindness, which further featured the prominence of the action in their 'affectionate' relationship; moreover, reciprocity and obligation required her to vocalise these sentiments to continue their 'affectionate' relationship. This extends Lindsay O'Neill's argument that reciprocity in letters supported the continuation of the forging of community ties and relationships in networks.[208] Kindness was key to such reciprocity. Maria used the vocabulary of kindness to accentuate her 'affectionate' relationship with her cousin Sophy, and to mediate a continued attachment through fondness and remembrance.

Aside from facilitating intimate relationships, kindness gave kin the language to negotiate a shared remembrance of those who had parented them. Within the eighteenth century, those involved in childcare and childrearing expanded beyond parents to include indispensable aunts and uncles. With this contribution of aunts and uncles, many kin became viewed by the children as surrogate or proxy parents, especially after the loss of one or both parents. As proxy parents, aunts and uncles became involved from the cradle in many aspects of the lives of their nieces and nephews until the death of one of them: they assisted in education, gave financial assistance, acted as confidants, brought respite in times of need or trouble, played with them as children, and acted as nurses, among other roles.[209] Despite having a father, along with a procession of step-mothers, Maria Edgeworth retained an 'affectionate' parental relationship with her aunts and uncles. When geographically distant from her aunts and uncles, Maria encouraged a continuing affection through her letters, specifically in the vocabulary of kindness, which enabled her to articulate how integral they were in her life. Near the end of the century in October of 1791, twenty-four-year-old Maria, in a letter updating her paternal aunt Margaret Ruxton about familial news, fondly remembered a summer stay at the Ruxton home of Black Castle, wherein she felt she would never forget her happiness and vanity instigated by uncle John Ruxton's kindness towards her.[210] By fondly remembering John Ruxton's kindness to 'his little niece,' Maria indicated the affection with which she held her uncle.[211] Yet Maria does not write this fond

[207] Whyman, *The Pen and the People*, 10–11; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 116–20, 126–27, 137–38; Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 109, 114, 153–54.
[208] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 135; Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 1, 14.
[209] Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830*, chap. 8.
[210] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth October 1791 to Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[211] Edgeworth.

remembrance directly to John, but rather to his wife Margaret; this consequently indicates that Maria confidently trusted that her aunt would both appreciate the memory and perceive the ramifications of her reference to their affectionate relationship, even when geographically distant. Therefore, Maria influenced the longevity of their 'affectionate' relationship by re-animating their previous exchanges to trigger remembrances of times physically together. Although written to Margaret Ruxton, Maria assumed that her aunt would in all likelihood pass the contents of the letter with her household, as did many contemporaries regarding received letters.[212] Maria was confident that her strategy of remembering past instances of kindness to re-animate and transfer the encounters of the 'affectionate' physical relationship extended beyond Margaret to her husband and other kin in the Ruxton household.

Maria used her uncle's past kindness to indicate to an 'affectionate' parental bond that survived the physical break when they separated. This practice occurred in the letters of other women too. Margaret Goulston, for example, wrote a short letter to her uncle, Reverend Dr Turner, on 10 September 1700, about the joy and recovery produced by his goodness, tenderness, and kind support during an unnamed misfortune.[213] Although Margaret did not name the kindness, the particular aid given by Dr Turner is immaterial, considering the wider significance given by Margaret to her emotional responses, and given their communal understanding of the meaning behind kindness. Margaret's emotional responses originated from both her understanding of the weightiness of an act of kindness and her past experiences of her uncle's tender, 'affectionate' parental actions. Contemporaries considered the role of tenderness in parenting children to be indispensable.[214] Furthermore, Margaret opined that Dr Turner's and her own husband's past acts of kindness gave her long-lasting happiness.[215] By equating her uncle's and her husband's kindness, Margaret indicated how her uncle continued to parent her during her time as a married adult woman, even at a distance. For Margaret, the purpose of her short letter was to focus on a kind action that symbolised her unremitting 'affectionate' relationship with her uncle, and, even, her husband. Ultimately, both Maria Edgeworth and Margaret Goulston used letters to navigate the ongoing nature of their cherished 'affectionate' parental bonds with their uncles in the absence of physical interactions, by invoking these previous interactions in the present of their letter.

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[212] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 42–43.
[213] Margaret Goulston, "Margaret Goulston 10 September 1700 to Reverend Dr. Turner," 1700, MS RAWL Letters 98 fol. 28, Bodleian Library.
[214] Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830*, 28–47.
[215] Goulston, "Margaret Goulston 10 September 1700 to Reverend Dr. Turner," 1700.

Similarly, nieces invoked aunts in letters to conjure the spectre of their past acts of kindness during physical encounters, and to transport forward their 'affectionate' bond over a geographic distance. As an emotional affair, child-rearing in early modern England could involve a range of emotions including joy, solicitude, concern, satisfaction, grief, care, affection, anxiety, distress, and love.[216] This range of emotional actions shown by caregivers can be termed as 'tender' and had a powerful resonance throughout the eighteenth century. Both men and women could be viewed as being ideal 'tender' parental figures. Disinterested and indifferent parental figures were condemned as lacking Christian and sentimental ideals.[217] Aunt Margaret Ruxton provided comfort and assistance to Maria Edgeworth as a parental figure, resulting in the pair of them being intimate. Consequently, in October 1814 Maria Edgeworth wrote passionately to her aunt about how 'you owe me kindness! Oh no my dearest aunt that is impossible—in a thousand thousand [*sic.*] ways from the time I was a blind child and a deviant child and an ill flavoured [*sic*.] child you have shown me so much and such tender kindness that the debt of love must ever be on my side'.[218] By exclaiming fervently about her aunt's previous kindness, Maria re-animates their 'affectionate' bond in the present. Maria constructs herself as an ill-mannered deviant child needing education and firm guidance, while simultaneously portraying her aunt as a tender parental figure who showed kindness and supported her development into a respectable woman. In doing so, Maria prompts in her aunt fond remembrances situated within their concurrent households, both in the present and the past, to shape the formation of her letter-writing, which was aimed at having a continuous relationship.[219] Ultimately, Maria's exclamations about her aunt's kindness function as a method to establish the continuity of their 'affectionate' bond in the present by utilising remembrance as a dialogic convention to navigate the influences of the past on current circumstances. The niece, Maria, remembered an auntly kindness to aid in fashioning an unbroken 'affectionate' tone with her aunt. By contrast, Mary Granville Pendarves Delany, the aunt, encouraged her niece, Georgina Mary Ann Port, to continue her previous acts of kindness. Mary wrote Georgina many letters with the aim of instructing her niece in how to become a well-educated young lady. In her typical educational fashion, on 9 July 1780, Mary wrote a letter emphasising their 'affectionate' relationship, and, further,

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[216] Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830*, 22–30.
[217] Bailey, 22–47.
[218] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 13 October 1814 to Margaret Ruxton Edgeworth," 1814, MS 1066/7 POS 9032, National Library of Ireland.
[219] Jennifer Summit, "Writing Home: Hannah Wolley, the Oxinden Letters and Household Epistolary Practice," in *Women, Property and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. Andrew Buck, Margaret W. Ferguson, and Nancy E. Wright (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 216.

encourages her niece as a 'mark of kindness' to write to her again.[220] Urging Georgina to continue writing to her aunt as a mark of kindness had two motivations: encouraging correct behaviour as a parental figure, and re-animating their past 'affectionate' encounters to revitalise their present relationship in a continuous 'affectionate' tone. By doing both concurrently, Mary empowers her letter to fashion a space in which her role as an 'affectionate' and parental aunt towards her niece remained, even during their physical separation. Maria Edgeworth and Mary Delany were on opposite sides of the aunt/niece relationship, yet both engaged the remembrance of past kindness into the present to mobilise a sustained 'affectionate' bond during their geographic distance.

Within the assembled epistolary devices of kindness previously mentioned, kin interwove the sending of news with past kindness to invoke a present fond remembrance. One of the important aspects of writing letters for contemporaries included the circulation of familial and other news, which consequently assisted in maintaining a familial network over distance. Contemporaries viewed the process of updating correspondents on news as a means of strengthening the connection between them and as a gesture of good will, so these topics of discussion informed the reader about events pertinent to understanding their world.[221] Kindness within the communication of news gave the writers a medium to negotiate 'affectionate' memories of kin. In a December 1802 letter to aunt Margaret Ruxton, Maria Edgeworth discussed her father, writing, 'I need not to tell you that my Father—such in this moment as in all the past—is kindness itself; kindness far superior to what I deserve, but I am for it'.[222] Unlike previous examples, focussing on specific actions, in this instance, Maria focussed on the whole relationship with Richard Lovell, her father, framing the two of them as the tender, kind father and the grateful, acquiescent daughter. In framing both of them as model kin, Maria displayed how they had good character; contemporaries invoked this broad value system with words like 'quality,' 'honour', and 'credit' to describe a person's moral and social status while also demonstrating their lineage, wealth, occupation, sexual conduct, and conduct.[223] Significantly, each individual with good character reflected well on their family and household. Accordingly, Maria's strategy of presenting the image of a kind father

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[220] Mary Granville Pendarves Delany, "Letter from Mary Granville Pendarves Delany to Georgina Mary Ann Port, July 9, 1780," in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany, Vol. 2*, ed. Sarah Chauncey Woolsey (Boston, MA: Roberts Bros., 1879).
[221] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 169–81.
[222] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 1 December 1802 to Margaret Edgeworth Ruxton," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[223] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 201–7.

and dutiful daughter in a letter to her aunt, proceeded to establish among their wider lineage network a constant 'affectionate' relationship that had no reason to halt in their physical absence over misbehaviour.

However, this 'affectionate' tone did not always occur in familial exchanges. For example, strife arose within the Pierrepoint family after Mary eloped with Edward Wortley Montagu. In 1726, ten years after her elopement, Mary's letter indicates that her fractured relationship with her family had not yet healed.[224] Mary Pierrepoint Wortley Montagu complained to her sister Frances Pierrepoint about several relatives: step-mother Isabella Bentinck Pierrepoint; an unnamed aunt who could be one of Isabella's six living sisters; and Mary's other sister Evelyn Pierrepoint Leveson-Gower. Mary's father Evelyn Pierrepoint, at last, expressed kindness and a willingness to talk with her. Yet, according to Mary, her step-mother forbade it; irritatingly, her other sister and aunt agreed.[225] Sadly, Evelyn Pierrepoint died in 1726, and Mary's own words 'and is now quite useless', take on a poignancy of regret and memory.[226] In writing to her sibling for support, Mary knew that 'affectionate' duty required Frances to provide the necessary emotional and material support.[227] In this search for support, Mary established a space within her 'affectionate' relationship with her sister to negotiate feelings and memories of the incident and grieve her father. By describing her father's last 'affectionate' actions, she negotiated the memorialisation of Evelyn by two of his daughters as an 'affectionate' father who in his kindness forgave his wayward, now dutiful, daughter. Memory of kind relations became used by both Maria Edgeworth and Mary Wortley Montagu to influence their readers to view them as 'affectionate' kin.

Alongside sending news, other people frequently pressed writers into passing on greetings and information, often using the remembrance of kindness. By forwarding greetings and information for third parties in letters, writers participated in the solidification of bonds, and a gesture of good will.[228] In an 1803 letter to her cousin Sophy, Maria Edgeworth mentioned a Mrs Parkinson Ruston, writing, 'Pray do tell Mrs. Parkinson Ruston I am obliged to her for the kindness she has shown me […] and quite love her for all the kindness

[224] Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), chap. 1.
[225] Mary Pierrepont Wortley Montagu, "Mary Pierrepoint Wortley Montagu 1726 to Frances Pierrepoint," in *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1837).
[226] G.F.R. Barker and Rev. M.E. Clayton, "Pierrepont, Evelyn, First Duke of Kingston upon Hull (Bap. 1667, d. 1726)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[227] Crawford, "Sibling Relationships," 223.
[228] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 169–81.

she feels for you'.[229] The woman Maria refers to likely would be Elizabeth Parkinson, who married Charles Ruxton. Despite the use of s instead of x, which is understandable given the slow standardisation of both spelling and girls' education, Maria and Sophy both knew to whom she referred.[230] With both women being confidants, kin, and moving within similar social circles, undoubtedly Maria assumed that Sophy would and could converse with their mutual friend before her, and so passed on her well-wishes for Mrs Parkinson Ruxton. Further, by referring to the kindness done by Parkinson Ruxton to both women as well as her own reaction, Maria attached to the reflection a tone of 'affection', both an 'affection' towards her cousin and an 'affection' for those who manifested kindness (or at the least care) towards her 'affectionately' held kin. 'Affection' and specifically kindness operated as a connecting function between disparate kin or even kin's extended kin. This is seen in Maria's use of kindness to convey well-wishes in a long-distance relationship with her cousin Sophy, and also to extend these wishes to Sophy's relations, who may or may not also be Maria's kin. These kind well-wishes to two women within her 'affectionate' family allowed Maria to cultivate and continue their relationships within a framework of past experienced and future expected kindness, love, and affection, even though they were geographically separated.

Like Maria Edgeworth, Sister Eliza Agnes forwarded a message in her letter using the expression of kindness. In 1800, Sister Eliza Agnes, a Catholic nun in France, wrote to her cousin in England, Lady Charlotte Jerningham Bedingfeld. Besides both women belonging to the Catholic Jerningham family, they were regular correspondents. Before concluding her letter, Sister Eliza Agnes wrote about her thankfulness to Charlotte and brother William for remembering her brother and his family; further, she compels Charlotte to write to or visit her brother and give him kindness, as her brother is anxious to be in touch with Charlotte.[231] Sister Eliza Agnes, with the knowledge of their 'affectionate' relationship, understood that Charlotte would carry out her wishes. Further, the act of asking Charlotte to pass on greetings of kindness included her brother in the 'affectionate' kin circle of cousins and sister-brother. In doing so, Sister Eliza Agnes ultimately fashioned kindness as a means of revitalising their 'affectionate' regards in the presence of physical separation. Using kin to pass on regards and kindness to a third party, whether family or not, allowed Maria and Sister Eliza Agnes to perform the necessary manoeuvres to form a continuous 'affectionate' relationship.

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[229] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth July 1804 to Sophy Ruxton," 1804, MS 1066/7 POOS 9028, National Library of Ireland.
[230] Whyman, *The Pen and the People*, 44, 113–15; Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 3–5, 36–89.
[231] Sister Eliza Agnes, "Sister Eliza Agnes 6 June 1800 to Lady Bedingfeld," 1800, Jerningham Collection #167, Cadbury Library.

Another aspect of third-party information includes snippets of passed-on information in letters, as well as the inclusion of whole or partial letters written by a third party. Each instance of letter forwarding had a purpose. Among family, kin forwarded letters because of their 'affectionate' relationships, their economic and social co-dependence, and their desire to show the information to trusted eyes only.[232] Maria Edgeworth used the forwarding of received letters as a means of continuing her 'affectionate' relationships within her family while apart. At the end of January 1800, Maria wrote to her aunt Margaret Ruxton about various family matters, and she included a letter the family had received from an old friend of Richard Lovell Edgeworth. The reason Maria included this letter within her own written letter originates from the pleasure she derived from reading about how the author remembered Richard Lovell with 'so much kindness', despite all the changes that occurred in France.[233] At the time that Maria wrote her letter in January 1800, it had been a busy month, with France ratifying the new French Constitution and granting Napoleon unlimited power.[234] This old friend's characterisation of her father by the precepts of kindness acted as a social indicator, for Maria, of Richard Lovell's good character—a broad value system that used words like 'quality', 'honour', and 'credit' to describe a person's moral and social status, as decided through factors of lineage, wealth, occupation, sexual conduct, and conduct.[235] These discourses by, for example, Alexandra Shepard and Craig Muldrew, on credit and what factors built the system, including virtues such as trust, honesty, and charity, as well as specific forms of sociability, all aided men and women in forming not only an economic market but also a system by which contemporaries could judge and rank each other.[236] However, such discourses do not include the part of kindness in this multi-layered social usage; therefore, the example just discussed pushes the narrative in a new direction. Within a lineage network, individual good character aided in facilitating the understanding of the whole family's good character; however, Naomi Tadmor neglects to add that the vocabulary of kindness, which, as shown in this example, was an important component in the

[232] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 42–44.
[233] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 29 January 1800 to Margaret Ruxton Edgeworth," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[234] Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), 22.
[235] Dabhoiwala, "The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth Century England," 201–7.
[236] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

proclaiming and presenting of good familial character.[237] As indicated in the previous chapter, the religious origins of both good character and kindness meant that these were intimately linked in the understanding of contemporary men and women. Hence, Maria assumed other kin would be pleased to see the letter and its contents. Accordingly, Maria, in her own letter, forwarded this letter touching on her father's kindness, in order to reinforce Richard Lovell's good character, and, consequently, the Edgeworths' good character. At the same time, she drew together the physically scattered family with continuing bonds of 'affection' over mutual pleasure.

In the various genres of letter-writing, the familiar letter was imperative in conveying an 'affectionate', kind tone alongside the functionalities of vocabulary and intent. The familiar letter, with its loosening of constraints surrounding the format of letters, arose in the seventeenth century, yet the informality permitted by familiar letters did not allow for all types of structure, phrasing, and tone. However, writers of this new style of letter could still use phrasing, structure, tone, and language to indicate their relationship with their correspondents; therefore, the familiar letter did sanction flexibility in terms of style, for example, allowing for alterations such as adding postscripts and toasts.[238] Accordingly, with the mechanics of the familiar letter, writers could indicate through vocabulary, including kindness, the manner of connection between correspondents. Sophy Ruxton, the confidant and cousin of Maria Edgeworth, received a letter from Maria in 1805 with the greeting, 'My dear friend your letters are always most welcome to me and yet I never doubt your kindness when you are silent. Is that not the most footing upon which correspondents can stand?'.[239] With this informal greeting to her cousin, Maria indicates the pair's familiarity; accordingly, she uses the vocabulary of kindness to aid in the steadfastness of their 'affectionate' relationship despite physical distance and lapses of communication. Maria's usage of kindness supported her presentation of an image of Sophy as an 'affectionate' woman sending letters when she could, and that the silence came not out of malice or forgetfulness. Both women understood that life could be distracting and could thus cause momentary lapses in communication. Maria's informal greeting, using kindness, therefore assisted in constructing in her letter an atmosphere of 'affectionate' kin, maintaining their relationship during physical separation.

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[237] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 88–89, 92, 100–102.
[238] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 115–20.
[239] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 26 February 1805 to Sophy Ruxton," n.d., MS 1066/7 POS 9029, National Library of Ireland.

Like Maria and Sophy, sisters and confidants Susan Burney Phillips and Frances Burney D'Arblay corresponded often, until Susan's death in 1800 at the hands of her husband, which devastated Frances.[240] The next chapter, which focusses on Burney's experiences at the Royal Court and in society, makes use of her diaries, which she sent to Susan and other confidants. In a 1793 letter, Susan began familiarly, with, 'trusting to the kindness of chance, I begin at the top of my paper'.[241] Easing into the letter with the vocabulary of kindness, Susan bypasses all the unnecessary platitudes to arrive at her main subject matter; simultaneously, the letter testifies to the sisters' 'affectionate' relationship, even at a geographical distance. By 1793, the disintegration of Susan's marriage to Molesworth Phillips accelerated, resulting in Susan confiding to Frances about the heartache in her marriage. Likewise, in this 1793 letter, Susan depends on Frances' 'affection' and the kind act of forgiveness, which allows her to confide about her marriage woes without having to remain within the constraints of ritualised letter-writing. Consequently, the precepts of kindness and the familiar letter permitted Susan Burney Phillips to dispense with rigidity and embrace her sister in an 'affectionate' manner, as confidants and intimate sisters, that was similar to how they behaved in person. Maria Edgeworth and Susan Burney Phillips both utilised the flexibility of the familiar letter to express their greetings, filled with the sentiments of kindness, in order to resume their 'affectionate' relationships while geographically distant.

Several findings arise from examining the utilisation of emotional practices and contextualizing of expressions of kindness, specifically those used during the physical absence and necessitated by letter writing. Maria and the other female kin used the feelings of wistful remembrance, the sense of being missed or missing, remembrance of past deeds, and their memories of the individual to emphasise absence through kindness. These instances of writing during absence uncover the significance of kind acts and expressions in articulating the feelings generated by absence, while simultaneously transferring their 'affectionate' relationships into the symbolic letter. Further, Maria and her fellow female kin entwined their usage of kindness within the familiar letter genre to aid in their preserving 'affectionate' relationships in the absence of physical proximity. In doing so, female kin fashioned an

[240] Pat Rogers, "Burney [Married Name D'Arblay], Frances [Fanny] (1752–1840)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[241] Susan Burney Phillips, "Susan Burney Phillips 14 May 1793 to Frances Burney d'arblay," in *Diary and Letters of Madame d'arblay, Vol 3: 1788–1796*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett, vol. 3 (London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1893).

experience similar to their experiences face to face, and so, kindness is reasserted back into the 'affectionate' family.

Positive Utterances

Geographic distance from kin prompted, as seen in the previous section, keen feelings of longing, wistful remembrance, and love that are deftly displayed through expressions of kindness and specific remembrances that aid in maintaining 'affectionate' bonds. Likewise, as this section will show, geographic distance prompted writers to display, in the present of their letters, expressions that encapsulate positive emotions, including kindness, as another means of maintaining their 'affectionate' kinship bonds. Positive emotions associated with expressions of kindness included affection, love, sincerity, warmth, and pleasure. These positive utterances were as vital to the negotiation of an 'affectionate' family relationship during physical absence as were the discussion of feelings triggered by absence itself.

In the previous section, the devices of memory and wistful remembrance were used to overcome the limitations of being physically absent from loved ones; contrastingly, in the present section, contemporaries harnessed emotions that were significant to both an 'affectionate' family and kindness, so as to reflect on the state of family itself. Love, a vital emotion in the 'affectionate' family, together with kindness, assisted letter writers in contemplating the nature of their experiences within a kinship network.

In 1787, twenty-two-year-old Maria Edgeworth, in a letter to her unmarried aunt Charlotte Sneyd, used kindness to reflect on the manifestation of love in physical actions. Being the sister of two of Maria's step-mothers (Elizabeth and Honora Sneyd), Charlotte, like other unmarried women, held an invaluable place in her natal family because she could act as a *de facto* mother figure to her nieces and nephews, and this included educating and helping with important childhood moments.[242] Consequently, letters between niece and aunt permitted the pair to continue communication over distance, and kindness allowed them to express the value they placed upon their 'affectionate' bond. This can be seen in Maria's 1787 letter, where she writes about how five-year-old Henry Edgeworth, son of Elizabeth Sneyd, behaved agreeably when he returned to their household after an absence of six weeks at the Sneyd household—Charlotte's kindness and approbation towards his education left

[242] Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 49–64.

Maria satisfied and full of security.[243] Maria's effusive admiration when she wrote, 'so full a conviction of your skill in the art of education,' can be seen as evidence that Charlotte had fulfilled her responsibility of raising and educating young nephew Henry, in a role commonly taken on by many single aunts in order to retain value and agency in their unmarried states. Significantly, Charlotte and her fellow single sister Mary, throughout the 1780s, lived semi-permanently with Richard and Elizabeth at Edgeworthstown and assisted in raising their nieces and nephews. The words, 'that I should part with Henry again to-morrow with infinitely more security and satisfaction than I did two months ago', attest to Maria's feelings of satisfaction and security regarding the kindness done to her younger brother, and they furthermore lend a conspiratorial air between educators whose 'affectionate' intention to raise up younger kin required a constant effort from multiple persons. In other words, a niece and aunt both acknowledged their duty to provide their younger kin a consistent education. In writing, 'his journey has been productive of so much pleasure to me from the kindness and approbation you have shown', Maria effuses positivity over the kindness done to her little brother. Additionally, as an older half-sister involved in his care, she accentuates the idea that Charlotte showed kindness to Maria as well, in writing, 'when he spoke of you to us he seemed to think that we were all necessarily connected in all our commands and wishes, that we were all one *whole* —one great polypus soul'. Consequently, Maria understood her aunt's love for both herself and her other siblings, enacted as an 'affectionate' kindness in contributing to their consistent education.

Like Charlotte Sneyd's kindness, manifested in the provision of consistent education for young kin, Serena Holroyd expressed her love through a physical act, that of visiting relatives. Remaining single her entire life, Serena Holroyd often wrote to her nieces, particularly Maria Josepha Holroyd Stanley. In 1812, Serena wrote about how in her carriage to Chester, she thought about 'Maria's kindness, not indeed forgetting [her brother] Sir John's' during her stay with their household, especially since she 'had a longing desire to see your children of all sizes as well as yourself and your abode, and this wish could not be more delightfully gratified.'[244] Immediately upon departing their household, Serena recaptured the recent emotions she had felt among her kin. In doing so, her actions accentuated how the household shaped the context of kin interactions, that is to say, kin relationships changed

[243] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 9 December 1787 to Aunt Charlotte Sneyd," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[244] Holroyd Serena, "Letter from Serena Holroyd to Maria Josepha Holroyd Stanley, Baroness of Alderley, July 09, 1812?," in *The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha Holroyd Stanley*, ed. Jane Henrietta Adeane (London: Longmans & Co., 1899).

when exiting the household for another space. Thus, the significance of, at one point, being part of a household, meant that these experiences created long-term interactions fundamental to producing an 'affectionate' family: to each kindness and protection.[245] Love, though not spoken, remains at the centre of Serena's account, as seen in her choice of the words 'affectionately', 'kindness', 'enjoyed', 'longing desire', 'tie', and 'dear beings': such vocabulary demonstrates love for her family, and their love for her. Ultimately, in a letter written later that day after travelling some distance away from her kin's household, Serena captured how she felt as she rode away, and how the actions were of an 'affectionate', kind, and protective family, which remained with her outside of the household in which these actions occurred. Serena and Maria Edgeworth used the written letter to reaffirm their love of the 'affectionate' family when apart.[246] Furthermore, for Maria Edgeworth and Serena Holroyd, the psychological space in a letter was the next best thing to physical closeness.[247] Consequently, both women used kindness to reflect on the nature of their 'affectionate' family and their expressions of love through actions.

Other vital emotions in the 'affectionate' family were sincerity and warmth. The flexibility of the boundaries of contemporary kinship meant that the network easily accepted new members through marriage or adoption, and this was aided by methods such as kindness.[248] In early May 1798, Maria Edgeworth wrote to her soon-to-be step-mother Frances Beaufort, who married Richard Edgeworth several weeks later. Widowers were more likely to remarry due to social and economic differences of gender: for example, wealthy or comfortable widows had less incentive to remarry due to their legal freedom, while poorer widows, and especially those who were elderly, found it difficult to find a man to remarry.[249] The attractiveness of wives lay in their fulfilment of economic and social duties, including the raising of children.[250] Nevertheless, contemporaries did have anxieties about whether or not children with new wives would be given priority over children with previous wives.[251] This concern, Ilana Ben-Amos proves, caused relationships between children and parents to be tense, fraught with resentment, or likely to collapse.[252] Further complicating their relationship was the fact that the step-daughter Maria was two years older than the new future

[245] Summit, "Writing Home: Hannah Wolley, the Oxinden Letters and Household Epistolary Practice," 216.
[246] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 88–96.
[247] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 22–23.
[248] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 122–29.
[249] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 78–79.
[250] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2000), 233.
[251] Berry and Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England*, 192.
[252] Ben-Amos, "Reciprocal Bonding," 303.

step-mother Frances Beaufort, meaning that both women were contemporaries by age, rather than generationally separated. Consequently, Maria wrote, 'You call yourself, my dear Miss Beaufort, my friend and companion; I hope you will never have reason to repent beginning in this style towards me. I think you will not find me encroach upon you. The overflowings of your kindness, if I know anything of my own heart, will fertilize the land, but will not destroy the landmarks'.[253] This demonstrates Maria's awareness of the complexity of their future relationship as step-mother and step-daughter. By this point in 1798, Maria had lived through the existence of two previous step-mothers: Elizabeth and Honora Sneyd; Maria therefore knew the significance of starting a new relationship with appropriate sentiments. As such, Maria uses kindness in this letter to her future step-mother to establish their future relationship as 'affectionate', with sincerity, warmth, and love. Moreover, Maria uses this letter to Frances to establish her expectations of the kindness she would receive from Frances, with warmth and sincerity. Additionally, it seems that Frances and Maria did have an 'affectionate,' warm, and sincere relationship for the remainder of their lives.[254]

The negotiating of new kin-relationships in the eighteenth century remained common. For example, Lady Frances Jerningham used the expression of kindness in letters to achieve the same aims as Maria. In 1804, Lady Frances Jerningham wrote to her daughter Lady Charlotte Bedingfeld, and in doing so, enclosed a letter from her future daughter-in-law Emily Middleton, to an unnamed Middleton sister. In the enclosed letter, Emily wrote fondly about their 'affectionate' relationship filled with confidence and docility due to a sister brimming with kindness.[255] Emily used kindness to indicate 'affection' and warmth towards another kin, much like Maria Edgeworth did in her earlier letters. This commonly practiced act of passing on letters written by other people within families often happened because the trust engendered through close proximity, sympathy, affection, duty, and support permitted it.[256] Therefore, it was acceptable for Frances to enclose a letter written by Emily for both her future mother- and sister-in-law to read. Frances and Charlotte both read into the depths of Emily's goodness as a sign of her being an 'affectionate' kinswoman, and this gave these women space to hope for similar future behaviour when she joined the Jerningham family. Emily could be categorised as respectable, 'affectionate' kin, as she emphasised her

[253] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 16 May 1798 to Frances Beaufort," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, 1 vol. (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[254] Pakenham, *Maria Edgeworth's Letters from Ireland*, 429.
[255] Emily Middleton, "Lady Jerningham 16 September 1804 to Lady Bedingfeld Enclosing a Letter: Emily Middleton to Sister," 1804, Jerningham Collection #346, Cadbury Library.
[256] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 42–43, 129–34.

obligation, reciprocation, and affection for her sister.[257] Maria and Frances used kindness in their letters to welcome new family members into an 'affectionate' network of kin with the tones of warmth and sincerity.

In some instances, instead of using kindness as an action, kin would express kindness as a significant marker of gratitude in their letters. Therefore, to contemporaries, gratefulness and kindness counted among the emotions that assisted in generating the 'affectionate' family. In early modern England, unmarried women like Charlotte Edgeworth had a precarious place since they subverted the 'normal' cycles of womanhood by neither getting married nor producing legitimate children, and only rarely governing their own households. Due to the legislative and financial restrictions that made owning businesses harder for single women, and because gaining work outside the household also remained difficult for women, financial security was outside of the ordinary experience of most single women. Likewise, contemporaries incessantly suggested that it was 'unnatural' to be a spinster, and that such women should therefore either marry or remain living as unpaid servants with their family until death. Reasons for singleness included caring responsibilities, death before marriage of the betrothed, shortage of men, and dowries financially insufficient.[258] Charlotte Edgeworth, daughter of Elizabeth Sneyd, remained unmarried until her death from consumption in 1807. In August of 1804, Charlotte Edgeworth wrote to her older brother Henry Edgeworth, confiding about her recent activities, with the avowal near the beginning of how Henry's 'confidence and kindness' gratifies and touches her, and that he will never find it misplaced.[259] Charlotte's gratefulness of her brother's 'affectionate' and kin-like behaviour demonstrates their attachment as confidants, especially as Charlotte testifies to her perpetual unmarried state with the words, 'habit of nature and choice', meaning that she remained Henry's responsibility.[260] While Charlotte must have felt some responsibility for her lack of marriage prospects, she defiantly owned the choices made; simultaneously, she also knew about her brother's responsibility for her care, financial or otherwise.[261] Thus, Charlotte prudently wrote letters to her brother while absent, to remind him of their cherished, 'affectionate' relationship as siblings and confidants. Single women's letters and diaries attest to the weight these women gave to their singleness and the price of their status; furthermore,

[257] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 140.
[258] Froide, *Never Married*, 1–43, 75–80, 90–141, 185–216; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 187–94.
[259] Charlotte Edgeworth, "Charlotte Edgeworth August 1804 to Henry Edgeworth," 1804, MS 1066/7 POS 9029, National Library of Ireland.
[260] Edgeworth, "Charlotte Edgeworth August 1804 to Henry Edgeworth," 1804.
[261] Crawford, "Sibling Relationships," 218–22.

these documents attest to these women negotiating the patriarchal system.[262] Ultimately, Charlotte expressed kindness and gratefulness in a letter to her older brother for their 'affectionate' relationship, and her comfortable place within his life.

Much like Charlotte, Dorothy Wordsworth, another lifelong single woman, used kindness to express to her brothers Richard and John Wordsworth her feelings about their 'affectionate' relationship. A continuous theme in Dorothy's letters to her brothers is financial assistance, with recurrent pleas and thanks for money. In an 1810 letter to Richard, Dorothy conveys gratefulness for his kindness in giving her a 5 guineas bank note.[263] Quick-witted Dorothy knew that her writing alone would not support her.[264] Additionally, like Charlotte Edgeworth, Dorothy understood that Richard did not have to assist her financially, but did so out of filial obligation and care.[265] This was especially the case since she lived with another brother, William, and his wife Mary, although William's financial security at time was precarious.[266] In her letter, Dorothy indicated that the money arrived before she left for a trip, which also explains why Dorothy asked Richard to pardon her for not writing a letter of acknowledgement before she left.[267] Dorothy, in her conveyance of gratefulness, rewrote her dependent relationship with her brother in 'affectionate' terms. Unmarried single women used kindness to indicate understanding of their respective positions so as to ensure continued assistance as part of their 'affectionate' relationship. Consequently, Charlotte Edgeworth and Dorothy Wordsworth used kindness in their letters to negotiate their single state within their 'affectionate' families.

The emotions of love, gratitude, sincerity, and warmth were part of the kind and 'affectionate' family, and by considering emotional practice and a broader cultural context, several findings have been revealed. Kindness aided the associated emotions of love, gratitude, sincerity, and warmth in constructing an 'affectionate' family over distance. Maria and her fellow female kin expressed these emotions as part of their efforts to preserve their 'affectionate' relationship with their kin, particularly since these women reveal in their correspondence the efforts required to sustain an 'affectionate' bond over the years. The space of the letter and the vocabulary of kindness offered female kin a stratagem to employ

[262] Froide, *Never Married*, 215.
[263] Dorothy Wordsworth, "Letter from Dorothy Wordsworth to Richard Wordsworth, July 1810," in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 2nd Ed.., Vol. 2: The Middle Years, Part 1: 1806–1811*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Mary Moorman, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1967).
[264] Turner, *Living by the Pen*.
[265] Crawford, "Sibling Relationships," 217–23.
[266] Alan G. Hill, "Wordsworth, Dorothy (1771–1855)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[267] Wordsworth, "Letter from Dorothy Wordsworth to Richard Wordsworth, July 1810."

within their communications with fellow kin, which did not alienate, but rather arose from and nurtured bonds through generations. Consequently, as a significant device, kindness aided writers in sustaining their 'affectionate' bonds with various relatives who could easily find offence, as the next section explores.

Navigating Difficult Emotions & Situations

Unlike the previous section wherein Maria Edgeworth and fellow women used kindness in conjunction with expressing current positive emotions to sustain their 'affectionate' bonds over distance, this section covers how women negotiated difficult situations and their emotional struggle to recover an efficacious 'affectionate' bond. Emotional practice and a broader cultural context of letters in the eighteenth century are used to examine the fluid and amorphous nature of kindness within the adverse emotions that originate in difficult situations between 'affectionate' kin. These difficult emotions that 'affectionate' women-kin articulated included defensiveness, regret, lamentation, and expression of pain; in expressing these emotions through the language of kindness, the Edgeworths negotiated a range of situations including extended geographical distance, defending the reputation of another relative, and re-establishing neglected kin bonds.

Regret and lamentation articulated through the language of kindness provided female kin with a device to repair or ease their 'affectionate' bond, even when experiencing difficulties. Maria used kindness to navigate regret and lamentation over her brother Richard leaving Britain. In August 1792, Maria resided with her family in Clifton and kept up her correspondence with Sophy Ruxton; in her letters, she relating family news, including how her older brother Richard left for America.[268] For Sophy and her contemporaries, the highly valued gift of letters reaffirmed familial communal ties by passing on news, even if it was inconsequential, as it was a way to connect people together.[269] Throughout the eighteenth century, familial networks expanded due to a higher degree of mobility among members.[270] Richard left for America to live in North Carolina, and this affected Maria's recollection of their meeting and laced it with lamentation and regret, due to absence caused by distance and time. To contemporaries, distance meant geographical and social distance from major social

[268] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 14 August 1792 to Sophy Ruxton," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[269] Hannan, *Women of Letters*, 113; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 123, 145, 176.
[270] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 74–77.

centres like London, Bath, or Dublin.[271] Thus, to Maria, leaving the urban centres of England for North Carolina remained as remarkable as Richard's physical leave-taking for another country. Maria writes that 'last Saturday my poor brother Richard took leave of us to return to America', which caused in her and her parents the feeling that 'we could not part with him without great pain and regret, for he made us all extremely fond of him'. Maria writes further: 'I wish my dear aunt could have seen him; he was very sensible of her kindness and longed to have a letter from her'.[272] Although this kindness occurred in the past, it is indicative of the importance given to such acts that Richard, in his present, recalls, and wields the memory during his familial leave-taking, in words said to or around his sister Maria. Recalling the kindness of an absent family member to family members from whom Richard is about to become absent underscores the long-lasting impact of the memory of kindness in forging remembrance and unity in a kin-group in constant flux as people move, over the course of their lives, throughout England, the colonies, and the world. The telling of a remembered kindness, for both Richard and Maria, allows everyone who hears the letter read aloud to occupy a similar space or place, and thus, to share similar feelings, memories, and conversation. Thus, this memory of kindness experienced in the present as the letter retells Richard's leave-taking allowed the Edgeworths to strengthen their bonds over distance and during periods when there would be silence.

Like Maria Edgeworth, other eighteenth-century women wrote about leave-taking using the vocabulary of kindness. Jane Austen, for example, wrote about a brother's leave-taking. In 1813, the unmarried Jane Austen wrote to fellow single woman and sister Cassandra Austen about how their parents, Reverend George and Cassandra Austen, lamented being separated from their son Charles and his wife's unnamed child.[273] They were a divided family: Charles wanted s/her to come with them to his posting onboard HMS *Namur*, but this child and his wife did not agree because of sea-sickness.[274] Furthermore, since Charles did not know whether 'the child' would accompany them, he had avoided writing to Cassandra because 'they [he and his wife] are both very sensible of your kindness

[271] O'Neill, 75.
[272] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 14 August 1792 to Sophy Ruxton," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).
[273] Jane Austen, "Letter from Jane Austen to Cassandra Elizabeth Austen, October 14, 1813," in *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deidre Le Faye (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[274] John H. Hubback and Edith C. Hubback, *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers: Being the Adventures of Sir Francis Austen, G.C.B., Admiral of the Fleet and Rear-Admiral Charles Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905).

on the occasion [of deciding]'.[275] The poignancy of the reminder of a past kindness, again, resurfaces as a way to communicate the affection unifying the family and the importance of their opinions, while making weighty decisions on issues of familial significance. Just as in the previous example, no one person participated in creating or maintaining an affectionate family: they all were intimately involved in each other's affairs, even at a distance, while simultaneously easing their 'affectionate' bonds through the worries, lamentations, and regrets of day-to-day situations. Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen both used instances of remembered kindness during leave-taking in their letters, in order to engage their wider kin groups in maintaining an affectionate bond to ensure continuing unity, at times when some members might not be heard from for some time.

Within kin groups, feminine kindness as an attribute also significantly allowed women to defend family and friends. Maria's 'affectionate' bond with her step-mother Frances led her to become defensive against accusations and gossip. To contemporaries, the act of defending both self and others was intricately linked with the concepts of honour, reputation, and status; at the same time, there was an awareness, especially among women, of the damaging effects that accusations, gossip, or scandal had on their personhood, which justified the need to defend oneself against accusations.[276] Part of the protection against slander included a family's defence of individual members against injurious scorn of society through tactics such as withdrawal from London and the writing of letters to society acquaintances to deny, defend, or deflect actions.[277] For example, in the days after Richard and Frances' marriage in June 1798, when gossip about their marriage had become overwhelming, Maria Edgeworth wrote to her cousin Sophy Ruxton about her new step-mother's positive behaviour towards her, in order to refute accusations: 'Why cannot we be left in peace to enjoy our happiness […] the more I see of my friend and mother, the more I love and esteem her, and the more I feel the truth of all that I have heard you say in her praise. I do not think I am much prejudiced by her partiality for me, though I do feel most grateful for her kindness'.[278] The space of a letter allowed Maria to refute actively the arguments of those who slandered Frances, by vigorously and vocally accentuating Frances' sweet, affectionate, loving, and kind behaviour towards her—a strategic move designed to

[275] Jane Austen, "Letter from Jane Austen to Cassandra Elizabeth Austen, October 14, 1813," in *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deidre Le Faye (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[276] Dabhoiwala, "The Constructions of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth Century England," 205–12; Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 195–217; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 182–89.
[277] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 195–217.
[278] Maria Edgeworth, "Maria Edgeworth 20 June 1798 to Sophy Ruxton," in *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895).

defuse gossip by emphasising her respectability and 'affectionate' bonds, while disregarding the rumours themselves as being unsubstantiated. Consequently, in using kindness to accentuate Frances' good character instead of contending with the substance of the rumours, Maria conveyed an 'affectionate' trust in her new step-mother's respectability. Furthermore, with letters often being shared beyond the intended recipient, her 'affectionate' sentiments could reach a further audience than Sophy, namely, those who whispered these rumours.[279] Even if the rebuttal remained with Sophy, Maria used the space of the letter as a thought exercise: she could practice her argument against detractors on a trusted confidant. In the defence of her step-mother, Maria used kindness in a letter to Sophy that emphasised Frances' 'affectionate' nature toward her, and thus, bolstered support for her female kin.

Just as the feminine attribute of kindness allowed women to defend other kin, this attribute allowed women to rekindle kinship bonds. The difficulty of maintaining relationships became compounded during periods of silence between correspondents as social credit with another person declined. The composition of interactions depended on social credit, which was a form of social reckoning or appraisal that judged and ranked people in an intricate hierarchy based on their perceived worth and trustworthiness, and based on several interlocking factors.[280] Epistolary credit, a factor of social credit, refers to credit gained in the writing of each and every letter. Therefore, each letter-writer had an awareness of the significance of reciprocity and of the forward momentum of obligation created in the exchange of letters. Individuals therefore closely monitored their exchanges with various familial and social correspondents, as will be seen further in subsequent chapters. The failure to reciprocate letters caused people to complain about the sting of rejection and the loss of correspondence. Consequently, writers took care to nurture their correspondents by giving prompt responses, presenting their letters as gifts, sending separate gifts, offering services, sending news, and offering toasts in order to sustain their bonds. Against all odds, when correspondence failed, letter-writers strove to repair the bond between them using appropriate language, including expressions of kindness.[281] In a June 1800 letter, Frances Beaufort Edgeworth used kindness to re-establish a bond with her step-son Charles Sneyd Edgeworth, by keenly offering an excuse for the lapse in writing: 'you think I have neglected you shamefully and I do not deserve such an amiable son and such a good correspond, but I assure you that accident and not inattention or unkindness have caused my apparent stance—

[279] Finn, "Colonial Gifts," 206, 218–19; O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 122–29.
[280] Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself*, 1–32.
[281] O'Neill, *The Opened Letter*, 115–38.

'.[282] Keenly aware of the implications of failing to keep up their correspondence, Frances knew that Sneyd could take her silence as an 'apparent stance' of rejecting him due to inattention or unkindness. Consequently, in using kindness, Frances aimed to reframe this by arguing that her neglect of their correspondence was accidental in nature. Moreover, in emphasising Sneyd's inherent nature as a 'amiable son and such a good correspond', Frances stressed the lack of Sneyd's responsibility in her neglect of correspondence, while simultaneously drawing on their 'affectionate' relationship to bolster her claims. By disavowing any ill intentions or unkindness, Frances intended to restore communications between them. Frances therefore used kindness after a prolonged silence to re-establish an 'affectionate' relationship with her step-son. Frances Beaufort Edgeworth used kindness as a means to rekindle 'affectionate' bonds by providing a sufficient explanation in order to re-open communication through correspondence.

Making use of the devices of emotional practice and the broader cultural context, this section has presented several findings. During the navigation of difficult situations, Maria Edgeworth and her fellow women used kindness to aid in the expression of regret, lamentation, blame, and defensiveness. Once expressing emotions in the space of the letter, these women were able to explain their actions to their kin satisfactorily, relying on acceptable social-familial customs. By expressing such emotions, these women used a method to re-establish 'affectionate' bonds between kin and put discord to rest. In using kindness and associated emotions to provide acceptable explanations, these women revived and defended their 'affectionate' kinship relationships during difficult periods.

Reconstituting the Affectionate and Kind Family

This chapter constructs an understanding of female kin's familial kindness by examining kindness in these letters, focusing on emotional practice and a broader cultural context, combined with the 'shared language community' examined in the first chapter and seen put to use by other women, like Jane Austen or Dorothy Wordsworth. Built around two forms, either as an action or an expression, familial kindness in the Edgeworth letters belonged within the 'affectionate' framework of emotions that bound a family together. In the form of action, kindness assisted in easing an 'affectionate' relationship through the trials and

[282] Frances Beaufort Edgeworth, "Frances Beaufort Edgeworth June 1800 to Charles Sneyd Edgeworth," 1800, MS 1066/7 POOS 9027, National Library of Ireland.

tribulations of everyday life that caused difficulties, such as absence or silence. Kind actions were as manifold as the various people who engaged with them, and they were commonly personalised for the individual's needs. These actions also aimed to strengthen and retain bonds between kin, or, in some cases, to create bonds between new kin. In the form of an expression, kindness facilitated kin-members' negotiation of their relationships in the absence of physical proximity. Within letters, kin used the vocabulary of kindness to provide a framework in which to shape and present their memories of those who were absent and to aid in maintaining an 'affectionate' bond. Overall, for these people, kindness eased 'affectionate' relationships by aiding in the vocalising of the various associated emotions like love and wistful remembrance, which comprised the 'affectionate' family. 'Affections', one of the terms used in the early modern period to refer to emotions, comprised a variety of virtuous and gentler feelings; as this chapter attests, contemporaries viewed kindness as an 'affection' that supported the lineage family in familial 'affectionate' behaviour such as love. Therefore, examining emotional practices within the 'affectionate' family has extended the existing scholarship to include kindness. This also suggests that scholars should change their understanding of how contemporaries undertook other practices, like love.

CHAPTER 3:
THE EXPERIENCE OF FRANCES BURNEY D'ARBLAY IN THE ROYAL COURT AND ELITE SOCIETY, 1769–1815: ACTIONS OF SOCIAL KINDNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

> Pride is like the rust that seizes and stiffens the spring of an engine and checks its motion, so that no force can set it to work; but kindness is like oil, which smooths and supples the machine, in such a manner that the parts move of themselves.[1]
> -Patrick Delany (1686–1768, Preacher) in *Fifteen Sermons Upon Social Duties,* 1744

Patrick Delany's remark illuminates an essential function of social kindness: to act as a lubricant easing all participants through the social codes of politeness, sociability, and sensibility, as, unlike these others, kindness signalled genuine affection that in the economy of these social codes showed real belonging within particular social groups. Furthermore, unlike the previous chapter on kindness and familial relations, this chapter looks to social kindness, which can be understood as the privileging of certain behaviours and actions that sought to unite disparate, unrelated people. For as chapter one demonstrated, contemporaries read and digested similar teachings about the place of kindness within the construction of social life. Furthermore, they learned about how, when practised, social kindness circumscribed the limits of acceptable fashionable behaviour—based on those ideals set forth in chapter one—that aided in the formation of a community. As such, contemporary men and women could use instances of social kindness as markers that indicate how others perceived their social belonging. For Frances Burney D'Arblay (1752-1840, novelist), the enactment of social kindness by others provided the means by which she gauged her belonging to particular groups.[2] In interpreting such actions, Burney gauged and generated her communal belonging, which resulted in a demonstrable public validation.[3]

This chapter focusses on Frances Burney D'Arblay's diary entries recording enactments of social kindness by the members of two different social groups. The first group

[1] Patrick Delany, "Fifteen Sermons upon Social Duties. By the Author of the Life of David." (1744), 227, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
[2] Throughout this chapter, 'communal belonging' is used to indicate to Burney group (artistic-literary and Royal Court) membership. Membership also meant a constant surveillance of one's behaviour, as communal membership or belonging in this group could be revoked.
[3] Throughout this chapter, 'public validation' is used to indicate how Burney felt and sought affirmation through locating visible behavioural markers of acceptance from members inside the specific groups (the Royal Court and her artistic-literary circle) to which she belonged.

was members of the Royal Court, where, from July 1786 to July 1791 Burney served as Queen Charlotte's (1744–1818) second keeper of the robes, a position that fell within the Wardrobe department and was responsible for accounting, sourcing, and dressing said clothes onto the Queen's person.[4] The second group is Burney's own lively social eclectic group—never officially named—of like-minded literary thinkers and artists who gravitated to her father, Dr Charles Burney, and later to herself in the 1780s following the fame her novels generated. In her childhood, this group included family friends like Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792, painter) and Hester Lynch Thrale (1741–1821, bluestocking and diarist); in adulthood in the 1780s this group expanded to include people like Mary Delany (1700–1788, bluestocking and artist), Edmund Burke (1729–1797, politician and philosopher), Elizabeth Montagu (1718–1800, bluestocking and writer), and Anna Ord (c 1726–1808, bluestocking).[5] Comparing Burney's interpretations with those of other contemporary women, like Mary Delany (1700–1788), as this chapter does below, illustrates the common usage of kindness as a form of social contract that provided public validation.

The available forms of sociability, sensibility and politeness all co-existed throughout the eighteenth century, and each of these influenced aspects of a person's behaviour while interacting in the social milieu. As a code of behaviour found in specific circumstances, politeness signalled that expected manners aided in forming convivial communal cohesion; sensibility's connection of the nervous system, consciousness, and feelings was geared more toward the inward state of an individual's feelings; and sociability changed according to situational needs and could accommodate mixed-sex socializing. This chapter contributes to debates in the historical subfields of the study of politeness, sociability, and sensibility. Recently, however, these fields momentum has slowed as historians move on to other, newer areas of inquiry.[6] This chapter revisits and reconsiders these three fields in a new way. During this century, people were deeply interested in the nature of social interactions and relationships, as well as the need for civility and ease; re-inserting kindness into the historiography displays how the multifaceted feminine-friendly emotional practice aided women in navigating tension, difficulties, and varied situations that cropped up in their social experiences. Furthermore, sociability in the eighteenth century has often been looked at

[4] Pat Rogers, "Burney [Married Name D'Arblay], Frances [Fanny] (1752–1840)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[5] Rogers.
[6] Soile Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Bodies, Identities, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 1–2.

through the lens of politeness. However, this work approaches sociability by looking at it through kindness, which is significant, particularly for women.

The study of sociability has two strands: the domestic and the public, both of which are physically marked by the features of good-will, desire, care to please companions, integrity, easiness, and social affection.[7] Domestic sociability, as best described by Amanda Flather, centred on a home-based space where people socialised in a pattern of easiness and conviviality, renewing friendships, acquaintanceships, and patronage, through short- or long-term visits filled with hospitality, neighbourliness, social events, conversation, and charity.[8] One activity that occupied guests during visiting is card-playing, which served as a way for hosts to provide easy, low-pressure entertainment that reinforced or formed bonds between players even if, as Janet E. Mullin demonstrates, that did not always prove true.[9] Contemporaries viewed public sociability as a reflection of morals and status, displayed, as Ingrid Tague contends, through conversation, visiting, leisure activities like attending Vauxhall, and other social activities like balls.[10] However, during the performance of sociability, elite practitioners prized exclusivity and thus created the appearance of inclusivity while fashioning exclusivity to all but the members of their social set.[11] Public sociability often appeared homosocial, in certain places such as Bath. In these places, women on a short- or long-term visits could engage in same-sex activities, like bathing, which helped women create a gendered identity.[12] At the same time, scholarship has shown that sociability could be used as a response to politeness with sociability's flexibility, allowing for change according to the situation. Kate Davison, in her examination of gentlemen's sociability, argues that contemporaries waved off politeness in favour of sociability when needs and circumstances dictated, as, for example, using slapstick and vulgar thoughts to aid male homosociability during bouts of drinking.[13] Likewise, Philip Carter's case study, 'James

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[7] Philip Carter, "Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in Early Eighteenth-Century Urban Society," in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century: Roles, Representation, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Routledge, 2014), 31–57.

[8] Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 94–133.

[9] Janet E. Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 4 (2009): 999–1000.

[10] Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 162–217.

[11] Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740-1800," 72–75.

[12] Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), 117–41.

[13] Kate Davison, "Occasional Politeness and Gentlemen's Laughter in 18th Century England," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 943–45.

Boswell's Manliness', emphasises how politeness at times needed to be discarded, and how the various forms of sociability enabled the gentleman to tailor his social interactions to fit the current context.[14] This chapter establishes kindness as another factor that shaped sociability and acted for contemporaries as a significant choice when desiring to create social unity among acquaintances, friends, and strangers. Furthermore, kindness exposes the link between sociability, sensibility and politeness: all three used kindness as a means to ease the participants through the navigation of tensions, different circumstances, and situations that people would encounter in their social lives, and this enabled social bonding and acceptance.

Politeness in the early eighteenth-century provided people with the 'rules' needed to 'civilly' and 'tolerantly' carry out the multitude of social interactions that were required in Britain's changing society. As such, politeness is an umbrella term for a constellation of meanings that were associated with decorum in behaviour and personal style. Personal style included consciousness of good form, agreeability with merit, mutual tolerance, overriding importance of social comity, and liveliness; decorum in behaviour included utility in things, simplicity against exaggerations of scale and moderation, reciprocity, improvement in morality, expertise, and pursuit of general culture.[15] The leading proponents of politeness, the Earls of Shelburne and Shaftesbury, have been studied for their intellectual arguments, representation of the ideals of politeness in their own lives, and self-formation based on politeness, to form a directed understanding of how contemporaries comprehended politeness.[16] Lawrence Klein's analysis of the Earl of Shelburne, for example, demonstrates how one philosopher's instigation of the theory of politeness came from an authentic desire to please and create social comity.[17] Masculinity and polite society have been studied to form an understanding of how society influenced the construction of masculinity. For example, being crucial to gaining acceptance by others, Philip Carter argued that male readers of a variety of published works understood and negotiated the dominant ideal of men's

[14] Philip Carter, "James Boswell's Manliness," in *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michelle Cohen (Taylor & Francis, 1999), 128–30.
[15] Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (December 2002): 874–78.
[16] Lawrence E. Klein, "Sociability, Politeness, and Aristocratic Self-Formation in the Life and Career of the Second Earl of Shelburne," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 676; Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early 18th Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pt. 1.
[17] Klein, "Sociability, Politeness, and Aristocratic Self-Formation in the Life and Career of the Second Earl of Shelburne," 676.

participation in polite society.[18] Regarding femininity, Solie Ylivuori argued that politeness (which equalled internal goodness) translated the sentimental beliefs of the body (that of being a truthful mirror of self and reflecting the state of a person's internal virtue) through the physical presentation of honour, chastity, and modesty.[19] Relating to questions of authenticity as discussed in chapter one and four, this current chapter addresses the particular problem of social facades and questions of authentically belonging, as seen through the lens of politeness. The *Spectator* and *Tatler*, likewise, are studied for their interpretation and promotion of politeness in their publications to their readers. Paul Langford, for example, calls the formation of politeness in these journals a 'code' for those lacking traditional components of social status to achieve aims.[20] The scholarship of politeness is further complicated by those who focus on how contemporaries subverted, manipulated, and managed politeness in their daily lives. In re-orienting the historiography of politeness to incorporate the concept of 'occasional politeness', Kate Davison establishes that contemporaries expected a polite comportment on certain occasions among certain people, and when those thresholds are not met, contemporaries could revel in the looser manners of rudeness and lewdness, which Davison terms 'intimate bawdiness'.[21] Furthermore, the case study of James Boswell shows how contemporary men struggled with the dissonance between ideal politeness and actual politeness, while acknowledging that class, age, sex, geographical location, time, and day all influenced what level and type of respectability, politeness, and manliness would be shown.[22] Jenny Davidson's study of hypocrisy and the politics of politeness illustrates how contemporaries attempted to align hypocrisy and politeness in a constellation of positive actions.[23] Likewise, Helen Berry's focus on coffeehouse periodicals, 'agony uncles', and flash talk uncovers how these participants

[18] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1600–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 209–17.
[19] Solie Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2016): 84–87.
[20] Paul Langford, "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311–12.
[21] Kate Davison, "Occasional Politeness and Gentlemen's Laughter in 18th Century England," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 923.
[22] Philip Carter, "James Boswell's Manliness," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michelle Cohen (Taylor & Francis, 1999), 112–16, 126–30.
[23] Jenny Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–12.

inverted the code of politeness to create their own frank version of Addison and Steele.[24] Similarly, as Karen Harvey demonstrates, men, while reading erotica, strove to be refined readers; their rough homosociability both mocked and aspired to the restraint of politeness.[25] Lastly, of particular interest in this chapter is Solie Ylivuori's Foucauldian examination of feminine politeness as both a disciplinary power, producing docile bodies, and as a viewpoint that enables the practice of both freedom and self-control in the polite individual.[26] Frances Burney's diaries are among Ylivuori's primary source material, and she argues that, by acts of self-discipline and internalisation, Burney used her diaries to identify and incorporate different polite roles into her own identity; in addition to this, Burney believed women to be capable of self-control in order to become ethical, polite subjects, both of which are of significance in this chapter's analysis of Burney's public validation of her belonging through kindness and politeness.[27] These are a small portion of the scholarship on politeness, but these examples feature the versatility and continuing changes regarding how politeness was understood by social historians, and this will be developed further in this chapter. In re-inserting kindness into polite historiography, we discover that contemporaries needed mechanisms like kindness to aid in the practice of politeness. With kindness, as this chapter discovers, women were able to transition through a variety of situations with ease, due to the knowledge of how this multi-faceted feminine-friendly bridge connected politeness to sociability and sensibility. Kindness enabled women to soften the edges of politeness, dampen the potential dangerousness of sensibility with its 'affectionate' state, and heighten the bonds of sociability.

G.J. Barker-Benfield defined sensibility in the eighteenth century as the psycho-perceptual scheme behind the nervous system, and invested by proponents with spiritual and moral values.[28] His influential 1992 study on sensibility in the eighteenth century, *The Culture of Sensibility*, established the entwinement of sensibility with the reformation of manners, 'sentimental' novels, consumption, luxury, and a rise in living standards because it

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[24] Helen Berry, "Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffee House and the Significance of 'Flash Talk': The Alexander Prize Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 67, 75–79, 81.

[25] Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 74–77.

[26] Solie Ylivuori, "A Polite Foucault? Eighteenth-Century Politeness as a Disciplinary System and Practice of the Self," *Cultural History* 3, no. 2 (2014): 171.

[27] Ylivuori, 181–83.

[28] G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), xvii.

supposedly enabled people to reconcile with a newly emerging consumer society. Recently, since this key book established sensibility as a response to consumer society, historians have narrowed sensibility from Barker-Benfield's comprehensive application to focus on specificity within various aspects of life in eighteenth-century society. For example, Joanne Bailey showed parenting as influenced by sensibility—alongside Christianity and domesticity—and resulted in a demand that parents of both genders exhibit tenderness, anxiety, grief, distress, love, etc., as showcased through, for example tears and nervous trembling.[29] Fascinatingly, newer studies have taken sensibility from the outwardly consumeristic society into the inward self. For example, Patricia Spacks argues that sensibility and privacy enabled the self to conceal and reveal an inward feeling.[30] Like Spacks, Paul Goring widens the scope when he investigates the relationship of sensibility with the body—not feelings—to argue that it was a system of gestures and expressions that shaped public appearance towards bodily eloquence, which operated as a crucial textual space for a symbolic inscription of politeness.[31] Linking polite society's ideologies of sensibility and sociability with expressions personified in the body resulted in the manifestation of several feelings, including kindness; therefore, since contemporaries closely connected the body and outward manifestations, people used the emotional practice of kindness to support this display of acceptability and respectability. Hence, kindness enables these phenomena to unify and create social communities.

Within the realm of friendship, contemporaries translated sociability, politeness, and sensibility into one of the overarching theories that governed expectations within interactions: regulating behaviour of friends towards that which allows for the formation of ties. The bluestocking circle, in which Burney had nominal membership, consisted of intellectual friendships that supported members' efforts at autonomy and an active mental life.[32] Deborah Heller uses Burney to describe how others in the Bluestocking salons viewed Mary Montagu and Elizabeth Vesey.[33] For Amanda Vickery, friendship among the elite and middling classes

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[29] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 19–47.
[30] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 225–28.
[31] Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–29.
[32] Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 81–87.
[33] Deborah Heller, "Bluestocking Salons and the Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22, no. 2 (May 1998): 62, 72, 73, 75, 76.

functioned as a way to continue sociability among vertical ties throughout society.[34] The definition of friendship is not straightforward or simplistic, as Naomi Tadmor reveals in her influential study *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*. Tadmor argues that for contemporaries, the term 'friend' could mean kin; political, economic, or social alliances; spiritual and intellectual connections; and sentimental relationships.[35] Continuing Tadmor's work, Lizabeth Powell advocates for the continued obliteration of the instrumental-sentimental friendship dichotomy with her case study on Sir Thomas Parkyns, demonstrating that friendships could encapsulate both sentimental affection and instrumental needs.[36] In the characterisation of spa friendships among the Bluestockings, Allison Hurleys' quoting of Burney illuminates the short-term nature of these friendships and how contemporaries characterised these bath-goers.[37] I insert the emotional practice of social kindness throughout the present work into the aforementioned friendship circles—the Royal court and Burney's literary artistic group—to establish that emotions lubricated friendships. For without the lubricating effect of emotions, including kindness, these friendships would be solely instrumental, and as recent historians have shown, affectionate or sentimental aspects of friendship were important in sustaining the link between friends.

The fascination and debate of historians, biographers, and literature and feminist scholars has stimulated a past body of scholarship on Burney that is a complicated interdisciplinary affair. Since 1927, there have been ten biographies on Burney written by biographers, literature scholars, and the odd historian.[38] Beyond biographical writing, Burney scholars have congregated around two discussions that are influenced by her published works. When focussing on Burney's novels and plays, scholars have analysed their literary

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[34] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1999), 195–223.

[35] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 167–271.

[36] Lizbeth Powell, "The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship," *Midlands History* 41, no. 2 (2016): 199.

[37] Alison E. Hurley, "A Conversation of Their Own: Water-Place Correspondence Among the Bluestockings," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2006): 2, 9, 14.

[38] Muriel Masefield, *The Story of Fanny Burney* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927); Claire Harman, *Fanny Burney: A Biography* (Harper Collins, 2000); Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Julia Epstein, *The Iron Pen: Frances Burney and the Politics of Women's Writing* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1989); Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* (Random House, 1998); Epstein, *The Iron Pen: Frances Burney and the Politics of Women's Writing*; Emily Hahn, *A Degree of Prudery: A Biography of Fanny Burney* (London: Arthur Baker, 1951); Janice Farrar Thaddeus, *Frances Burney: A Literary Life* (St. Martin's Press, 2000); Nigel Nicolson, *Fanny Burney: The Mother of English Fiction* (Short Books, 2002); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *A Known Scribbler: Frances Burney on Literary Life*, ed. Justine Crump (Canada: Broadview Literary Texts, 2002).

merits or their representations of eighteenth-century society.[39] Scholars have also focussed on her private writings. According to scholars, Burney's private writings have two components. The first is her pathographic writing (journals and memoirs written during or after an illness or death). In this genre, scholars have largely focused on Burney's journals on King George III's madness, her breast cancer, and her husband's final illness, as precursors to modern pathographic genre.[40] Additionally, during the brutal but well-deserved dismantling of Macalpine and Dent's porphyria thesis, Timothy J. Peters uses Burney's record, among others, as evidence of King George III's madness.[41] In this genre of pathographic writings, previous examinations by scholars have not focused on the social aspect of the records, because the record of the illness or death overshadowed the importance of the background details of polite society, relationships, or emotional practices. This chapter brings forth, from the record of King George III's madness, the importance of kindness in the negotiation of belonging inside court life for those dealing with the side effects of the illness. The second strand is Burney's journals throughout her lifetime. Discourses on the court journals include Gillian Skinner's analysis of how Burney anxiously and internally negotiated the requirements of propriety, including her daily navigation of an unfamiliar and challenging court.[42] As this chapter explores, Burney navigated the paths of authenticity and social expectations using numerous tactics, including kindness. Lorna J. Clark, in a similar but slightly different vein, approaches the court journals as epistolary fiction—Burney also published sentimental fiction—that uses similar techniques to the novel, like the building of

[39] To name a few: Peter Sabor, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Edward W. Copeland, "Money in the Novels of Fanny Burney," *Studies in the Novel* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 24–37; Lillian D. Bloom, "Fanny Burney's Novels: The Retreat From Wonder," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1979): 215–35; Rose Marie Cutting, "Defiant Women: The Growth of Feminism in Fanny Burney's Novels," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 17, no. 3 (Summer 1977Th): 519–30; Joyce Hemlow, "Fanny Burney and the Courtesy Books," *PMLA* 65, no. 5 (September 1950): 732–61; Darryl Jones, "Radical Ambivalence: Frances Burney, Jacobinism and the Politics of Romantic Fiction," *Women's Writing* 10, no. 1 (2003): 3–25; Miranda J. Burgess, "Courting Ruin: The Economic Romances of Frances Burney," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 2 (1995): 131–53.

[40] To name a few: John Wiltshire, "'Love unto Death: Fanny Burney's Narrative of the Last Illness and Death of General d'Arblay," *Literature and Medicine* 12, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 215–34; John Wiltshire, "Frances Burney, the Court, the King and Pathography," *Women's Writing* 23, no. 3 (2016): 378–89; John Wiltshire, "Early Nineteenth-Century Pathography: The Case of Frances Burney," *Literature and History* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1993); Sangetta Mediratta, "Beauty and the Breast The Poetics of Physical Absence and Narrative Presence in Frances Burney's Mastectomy Letter (1811)," *Women: A Cultural Review* 19, no. 2 (2008): 188–207; Julia Epstein, "Writing the Unspeakable: Fanny Burney's Mastectomy and the Fictive Body," *Representations* 16 (166 131AD).

[41] Timothy J. Peters and D. Wilkinson, "King George III and Porphyria: A Clinical Re-Examination of the Historical Evidence," *History of Psychiatry* 21, no. 1 (2010): 3.

[42] Gillian Skinner, "'A Tattling Town Like Windsor': Negotiating Proper Relations in Frances Burney's Early Court Journals and Letters (1786–87)," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 38, no. 1 (2014): 13–14.

literary suspense for the reader.[43] As will be seen, this chapter's analysis includes the significance of Burney's literary techniques in portraying her narratives and understanding of belonging. During an examination of Queen Charlotte's patronage practices, Clarissa Campbell Orr only mentions Burney's role of vetting books and acquiring John Lightfoot's patronage.[44] Studies like these are mainly undertaken by literary scholars who focussed on the nuances and meanings of words, composition, and other narrative techniques. Despite the lightness in historical methodology, these works are valuable in understanding Burney's narrative, for they illuminate techniques, outcomes, and desires through analysis of her textual writings as objects themselves rather than simply containers for content, creating a robust analysis of not only the content but also the form that the context took.

The source material of Frances Burney D'Arblay's journals provides access and space to study kindness within two micro-spaces of polite society: The Royal Court and the social sphere of Burney's literary-artist group. Using Burney's journals in this project means a consideration of the limitations and usefulness of these sources is necessary. First, Burney and her niece Charlotte Barrett worked together to edit and revise her journals for publication, which was followed closely by several other nineteenth-century editors. The publication of Burney's edited collections continues unabated. Recently, her court journals, edited for the first time by Peter Sabor, are recovering the redacted parts of Burney's court writings—or at least attempting to, as some parts of the journals unfortunately remain unrecoverable.[45] The labours of Sabor and his fellow editors are welcomed by the academic community, since their efforts are revealing new entries, alongside renewed understandings of older known entries by fleshing out the sometimes previously scant accounts. Despite these limitations, the format of the source as a journal permits scholars accessibility into the space of court and society through the lens of the everyday, contemporary participant.[46]

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[43] Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience," 230; Lorna J. Clark, "Epistolarity in Frances Burney," *The Age of Johnson* 20 (2010): 217.

[44] Clarissa Campbell Orr, "Queen Charlotte as Patron: Some Intellectual and Social Context," *Courts and Creativity* 1, no. 10 (2014): 192, 204.

[45] See, for example, Frances Burney D'Arblay, *Diaries and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, ed. her niece (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney Vol 1. 1786*, ed. Peter Sabor (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. Volume II: 1787*, ed. Stewart Cooke (Oxford University Press, 2011); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. Volume III and IV: 1788.*, ed. Lorna J. Clark (Oxford University Press, 2014); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. Volume V: 1789*, ed. Geoffrey Sil (Oxford University Press, 2017); Frances Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. Volume VI: 1790–91.*, ed. Nancy E. Johnson (Oxford University Press, 2019).

[46] Irina Paperno, "What Can Be Done With Diaries?," *The Russian Review* 63, no. 4 (October 2004): 571–73.

Second, Burney *did not* write her journals as events happened but, rather, retrospectively. Consequently, since she wrote after the events happened, scholars need to consider several questions, including the validity of Burney's journals as 'journalistic' endeavours, the placement of Burney's retroactive memory in relating these events on the written page, and how Burney's judicious editing as she wrote came about because of the distance between events and recording. Despite the limitations of writing retrospectively within this edited record, the journal provided Burney a space to negotiate her understanding of her identity and personal journey; the articulations used give scholars an understanding of the boundaries surrounding gender and social identity.[47]

Third, Burney's journals were not private. In her habitual writing to individual family members including her sister Susan Burney Phillips, she included these journals. Despite this limitation, Burney writing her journal as a record for her geographical distant family and friends to read provides scholars with an insight into unspoken yet mutually understood words, associations, behaviours, and expectations. These last two factors—the retrospective recording of events and sharing of journals with others—contribute to scholars studying Burney's journals as novelistic constructions. Nevertheless, these challenges for scholars do not detract from the usefulness of the sources, as they aid in understanding how social relations were framed and understood, instead of what actually happened. Accordingly, the scholar can comprehend the formulation of the journals and their events as a means of accessing the way in which Burney chose to write about events, and this allows us to ask: why did Burney include what she did and in the manner she did? Ultimately, Burney's court and social journals provide invaluable intelligence about how the usage of kindness in society and the court was understood, as well as how gender and personal identity were forged in diaries.

Social interactions centred on the exhibition of certain feelings, behaviours, and actions, which were consolidated into acceptable decorum that strengthened the positive unity of society, as an aspect of this, kindness gave participants a tactic to gauge and endorse their position within society. Frances Burney D'Arblay used her journals and diaries as spaces to interpret actions of kindness done towards her, and in doing so, she used the interactions of sociability, politeness, and sensibility's codes of behaviour in combination with kindness' cultural meaning of genuine affection; signalling real belonging using these

[47] Paperno, 571–73; Effie Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 3.

factors, she gauged her community to find public validation on her position. In using contemporary women alongside Burney, this chapter widens her interpretation and usage of kindness outwards to a collective form of self-fashioning among women, revealing how many used readily available knowledge of cultural and feminine expectations to personally calculate their status within a community. It will do so by exploring first the Royal Court and then Burney's experiences in her literary-artistic community, and it will end with an exploration of the significance of unkindness for social participants. The chapter addresses the following questions: How did women interpret others' acts of kindness towards them in their personal writings? Were acts of kindness interpreted uniformly or did they have different readings? In what ways did women use these acts of kindness to navigate their positions in society?

The Court: Burney and the Courtiers

Felicity Nussbaum in her chapter 'Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces' traced the correlation between keeping a diary and the formation of self-identity. Eighteenth-century women's diaries and commonplace books operated as a somewhat private space in which to transgress cultural definitions of gender and self, to express on the page sentiments that went 'unthought, unsaid, and undervalued'.[48] Further, women diarists like Burney, in their narratives, reflected and produced multiple positions of self and opinion as they interacted with popular gender identities and formations. Nevertheless, Nussbaum cautions scholars to remember that women's subjectivity in texts remains inevitably caught up in reproducing male definitions of themselves, because the cultural definitions of gender remained embedded in the female mind—consciously and unconsciously, even while subverting and contesting. Nussbaum acknowledges that the contradictory nature of subjectivity resulted in diaries having fissures.[49] Subjectivity in Burney's diary comprised fissures arising from her attempt at reconciling the cultural discourse on gender with her own conceptions of self. Nonetheless, Burney used literary and cultural devices, including kindness, to assist her crafting of a self-identity that fit within the cultural constraints, and still expressed a female voice. The crucial element of kindness,

[48] Felicity A. Nussbaum, "Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces," in *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (UNC Press Books, 1988), 154.
[49] Nussbaum, 154–56.

especially for Burney, aided in this process of defining and associating her self-identity with others in society, as presented in carefully constructed diaries for her audience, and resulting in a reading experience both entertaining and mimicking real life. Burney does not fashion herself as the idealised woman that was imagined by publications discussed in the first chapter, such as *The Female Spectator*. Instead, as in *Evelina*'s narrative, Burney utilised several literary devices to craft a social commentary that transmitted both a believable personality and an accessible portrayal of events through the interweaving of seriousness (introspections, rueful admissions of mishaps or missteps, earnest desire for belonging), entertainment (irreverent dashes of wit, brutal backhanded compliments), and calculation (near-parodying of fawning, underlying gasps of being a near-romantic heroine). Burney uses a tone of self-deprecation to construct a duality in herself as both following feminine constraints and also conveying her female voice. The potentially deferential nature of the actions of social kindness allowed for the concept's occupation of an important space within Burney's construction of self-deprecation. Through recounting and analysing acts of social kindness, Burney created a self-deprecating narrative where she could establish her status as belonging without opening herself to charges of being boastful. For Burney, kindness was crucial to understanding her social position and communicating it to others.

As examined in the second chapter, the correlation of kindness and gift-giving provided contemporaries with a technique to comprehend the intentions behind a gift and to formulate a response. This informs the analysis of the first example in this chapter, of Burney's receipt of a gift. Burney used Madame Juliana von Schwellenberg's (1728–1797) 'kind' gift of a sedan chair in 1788 as a barometer of her belonging. During her period under Queen Charlotte's employ, Burney's supervisor Madame Juliana von Schwellenberg appeared as a recipient of a complex albeit entertaining portrayal in court narratives. Burney's entertaining narrative aimed to create in her reader an experience of real life in the Royal Court. This real-life narrative included the struggle between a personal desire for writing time and the demands of duty, including that of being a good Christian. This struggle between desire and duty is manifested in the diary pages through Burney's resentment and dislike of Madame Schwellenberg, as entertainingly displayed with the use of nicknames like 'Cerberus' and 'Presidente', yet despite this, she visited her supervisor when ill.[50]

[50] Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience," 228; Burney D'Arblay, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney Vol 1. 1786*, 309; Howard, "'Living Proof:' Frances Burney's Court Journals and Letters, Volumes 1 and 2," 119.

The ill-health that plagued Madame Schwellenberg from September 1786 to June 1787 seemed to have left a desire in her to disperse her belongings and organise an orderly settlement of earthly concerns to signify her readiness to die.[51] Burney explained her reasons for visiting a deathly ill woman, whom she disliked, in terms of the religious duty of charity.[52] Similarly, in another instance, just as duty made Burney visit her *bête noire*, duty ensured Princess Furstenberg of Swabia and Madame Munster visited, with 'unceasing kindness', an ill Melesina Trench (1768–1827, author) in March of 1800.[53] Madame Schwellenberg's awareness of the possibility of looming death led to her pressing Burney in February 1788 with a 'quite unwonted kindness of manner' to accept a sedan-chair. The recognition of gifts, like the sedan chair, was a part of dying, grieving, and funerals, and each personalised gift was tied closely to how the presenter distinguished the recipient by acknowledging their closeness, friendship, and regard.[54] Gifts were not the only method that people were given to recognise their relationship to the deceased or dying. For example, being informed of a death demonstrated connectedness, as Lady Maria Skinner Nugent (1771–1834, author) 'out of kindness' in November 1802 was informed of the illness of her friend 'Venus' after her death in Jamaica's King House.[55]

Burney thanked Madame Schwellenberg for the chair and wished her, 'very sincerely, better'—a lukewarm sentiment since afterwards she writes, 'nor do I doubt her again recovering, as I frequently seen her much worse', revealing how acts of kindness crafted space for both parties to reflect on the nature of their situation without transgressing acceptable boundaries. In the commentary, this tension between Burney and her superior, Madam Schwellenberg, surfaced in her unenthusiastic sentiments mentioned above, and in the fatalism showcased when she wrote that, 'true, she must die at last, but who must not?', and 'all the world's fairest ornaments must go the same way'. Further, the gift of the chair represented to Burney a materialistic symbol of her fatalism, since Madame Schwellenberg herself, 'saying, I might as well have it while she lived as when she was dead, which would

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[51] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2000), 195–96.
[52] Houlbrooke, 191–92.
[53] Melesina Chenevix St. George Trench, "Diary of Melesina Chenevix St. George Trench, March 1800," in *The Remains of the Late Mrs Richard Trench, Being Selections from Her Journals, Letters and Other Papers*, ed. Richard Chenevix St. George Trench (London, England: Parker, Son & Bourn, 1862).
[54] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, 293.
[55] Maria Skinner Nugent, "Diary of Maria Skinner Nugent, November 1802," in *A Journal of a Voyage to, and Residence in, the Island of Jamaica, from 1801 to 1805, and of Subsequent Events in England from 1805 to 1811, Vol. 1* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1839).

soon happen', paired with Burney's previous experiences of illness as vocalised in, 'Ah! the survivor of all such—not the departed—will be worthy of pity', to craft a lasting moment of this episode that she may or may not have been welcoming towards. Burney's fatalism displayed the tension at stake in receiving a kindly gifted chair and produced a social commentary about two women who both struggled with the prospect of imminent death. It is impossible to know whether or not Burney's sympathy was blunted due to the previous episodes in which Madame Schwellenberg's illness flared up, since she wrote, 'nor do I doubt her again recovering, as I have frequently seen her much worse', causing her to become overwhelmed, or whether it was because of her dislike for her superior. However, Burney understood that her duty as a good Christian woman meant that there were expectations placed upon her actions, especially surrounding the dogma of kindness, politeness, and sociability. Madame Schwellenberg's rare kindness to Burney reflected Thomas Foxcroft's (1697–1769, minister) principle of 'Christian kindness', which admonishes people to 'be courteous, obliging, useful, serviceable unto others, by all instances of kindness which lie in our power'.[56] Burney struggled with receiving Christian kindness from a person she disliked for her personal feelings. This may have led her to want to reject Madame Schwellenberg's gift, but she also knew that a dying woman deserved sympathy, even if it was lukewarm. Even so, a sense of fatalism prevented her from fully being able to engage with these traumatic moments. Complicating this social commentary is the fact that Burney simultaneously gauged belonging and gained public validation during this episode. In a retroactively written court journal, later read aloud by her sister in drawing rooms, Burney fashioned an episode of the kindly-gifted sedan chair, a narrative of a woman struggling with conventions of sociability and politeness. This struggle included showing Burney's superior good-will, agreeableness with merit, mutual tolerance, and social affection because of her dislike and resentment, while concurrently acknowledging the unwonted [rare] kindness and token of regard by Madame Schwellenberg.[57] Curating kindness as both a cultural discourse and as an action done towards her, Burney's social commentary ultimately provides a glimpse into the complicated nature of social relationships between two women whose approach and sentiments remained flexible according to what different situations demanded, such as the possibility of impending death. This flexibility also provided space for Burney, or

[56] Thomas Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness, Being a Sermon Preach'd in Boston, on the Lord's-Day, Febr. 28th. 1719,20. And Now Published, with Some Enlargement, at the Importunity of Many That Heard It. By Thomas Foxcroft. [Eighteen Lines of Scripture Texts]." (Boston, MA, 1720), 34.
[57] Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience," 223–25, 228.

even Madame Schwellenberg, to accommodate the demands of kindness and politeness. In this episode, Burney displays her integral position in the Wardrobe department, allowing for public validation of her belonging in the Royal Court.

In court society, Burney's methods of gauging and validating belonging through kindness included reactions to instances of her own ill health. Burney aimed for her diaries to be entertaining narratives that emulated her real life; nevertheless, her real-life experiences were also essential in allowing Burney to understand and explore her identity. During her years as second-keeper of the robe, Burney suffered health issues that ultimately led her to resign in July 1791; during this period, the way men and women treated Burney occupied a vital position in her exploration of others' perceptions of her.[58] Burney portrayed herself, as seen by the court, as a woman with delicate health and consequently wrote about the responses from others to track their esteem. In January 1789, during the Royal Court's house arrest that sanctioned no entry or exit to the building, she wrote,

> I joined in the lamentation, and its cause, which confined us all to our cells. Sir Lucas [Pepys, 1742-1830, royal physician] declared my confinement menaced my health, and charged me to walk out, and take air and exercise very sedulously, if I would avoid an illness.
>
> Colonel Welbred [Robert Fulke Greville, 1751-1824, military] instantly offered me a key of Richmond Gardens, which opened into them by a nearer door than what was used in common.
>
> I accepted his kindness, and took an hour's walk—for the first time since last October; ten minutes in Kew Gardens are all I have spent without doors since the middle of that month.[59]

Burney established that Pepys and Greville both approached her ill health with attentiveness and preferential treatment, thereby validating her belonging among the denizens of the Royal Court. She emphasises the nature of this attentiveness and preferential treatment through time and geography. The word 'instantly' in regard to their actions towards her at once conjures the immediacy of their attentiveness to her plight. Similarly, courtiers giving Burney a key to an uncommonly used door impresses on the readers Greville's care, trust, and attentiveness. These two facets together reinforce the image of her belonging to the Royal Court. The men's

[58] Rogers, "Burney [Married Name D'Arblay], Frances [Fanny] (1752–1840)."

[59] Wiltshire, "Frances Burney, the Court, the King and Pathography," 381; Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, January 1789," in *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Vol. 3: 1788–1796*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett (London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1893).

attentiveness derived from the fact that contemporaries believed that compassion and pity aided those ill in their recovery by giving them emotional and physical support during their period of illness. Thus, Pepys' compassion occurs through his medical diagnosis, recommending that air and exercise would benefit Burney after suffering in the confined spaces of the closed Court, and Greville's compassion emerges in his physical act of instantly offering Burney a key to the Garden; both establish their aid in her recovery.[60] Compassion towards Burney is seen once more, just over a year later in August 1790, when the Royal Court physician Dr Gisbourne sent her favourite servant, nicknamed 'Columb', to St. George's Hospital for surgery, out of 'interest and kindness' towards Burney.[61] In writing about the incident, Burney sought to establish her central position in a polite network through the other's acts of kindness towards her during episodes of her or her servant's ill health. Burney's strategy of emphasising belonging through other's acts of kindness during an illness harkens back to the sermon of Thomas Foxcroft, who in 1719 wrote, '[communities] very much depend upon the maintaining of mutual kindness. Without this, no community can be happy and blessed'; thus we see the suitability of kindness as evidence of acceptance and affection, which together indicated belonging.[62] Contemporary women, including Burney, correlated recovery from ill health with the vitality of their relationships, and this is consequently seen in the potency of Burney's emphasis on belonging during ill health.[63] In her writing Burney does not fashion a narrative of returning the kindness she received; nevertheless, by emphasising the kindness she received, she fashioned a community where she belonged through gauging and receiving public validation from other people's acts of kindness. In writing about these events, Burney used all three men with whom she had real experiences—Pepys, Gisburne, and Greville—as literary devices alongside kindness, which assisted her in structuring a narrative of someone with real belonging to a social community.

Through the act of emphasising that she received attention from these men—Greville, Gisburne, and Pepys—in the Royal Court during episodes of ill health, Burney fashioned herself as a sentimental heroine. Being a sentimental heroine for Burney meant that her readers intimately understood the kindness of the attentive treatment by fellow courtiers

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[60] Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender and Belief in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2015), 184; Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, January 1789."
[61] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, August 1790," in *Diary and Letters of Madam D'Arblay, Vol. 5: 1789–1793*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett (London, England: H. Colburn, 1842).
[62] Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness," 29.
[63] Weisser, *Ill Composed*, 3.

during illness because of their shared culture.[64] Burney's experience of writing sentimental novels gave her the necessary knowledge about crafting a sentimental heroine and the prominence of the feminine in the sentimental novel.[65] By writing herself as a sentimental heroine through the experiences of kindness, she enacted sentimentality to awaken in the readers a mutual cultural understanding; this reveals how for some authors, kindness was an important element in the sentimental novel, for it helped convey a sense of milder feeling found in 'affections.'[66] Burney achieved the construction of a sentimental heroine through a few different literary devices. First, the sentimental heroine gloried in the agony of the experience, as when Burney, in January 1789 in a *tête-à-tête* with Greville and Pepys in the physicians' room, lamented her confinement because of King George's long-term illness, which had caused house arrest for the entire court.[67] Second, the sentimental heroine's helplessness in the face of need, expressed through restriction on bodily movements, as when Burney's illness coincided with the Royal Court's house arrest due to King George's illness, meaning that she could not exit the building until she received the key from Greville, and was expressed with the vocabulary of 'first time', and 'all I have spent'.[68] Third, this helpless, sentimental heroine tantalised readers with an innocent romance between her and 'Colonel Welbred': this is hinted at with a nickname, and the flirtatious exchange between them at the beginning of their encounter, and her intense feelings about him expressed with the language of 'embarrassment' and 'pleasure'.[69] Harnessing the sentimental literary device enabled Burney to approach the topic of communal belonging as located in interpersonal relationships by positioning herself as the central figure, the heroine whose state of belonging must be interrogated to move the narrative forward. Hence, this sentimental narrative acted for Burney as a mediator of mutual understanding between her and her readers about the significance of kindness, expressed by sending a favoured servant to hospital and unlocking a closed door to an outdoor space. Such enacting of social dogma in individual interactions cascades out to encompass nearly all members. Burney's usage of kindness as both an emotional practice and a cultural discourse exploits the concepts examined in the first

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[64] Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14.
[65] Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640–1990*, 104; Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 143.
[66] Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 143–44.
[67] Clark, "Epistolarity in Frances Burney," 215.
[68] Clark, 203, 207.
[69] Clark, 197–98; Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 315–20.

chapter, and so creates an association of an entire network of meaning enacted through bodily comportment. In this understanding of kindness, Burney created a sentimental narrative wherein she used acts of kindness done to her to gauge and ultimately validate her membership in society. In the end, the importance of kindness in Burney's process of using others for self-validation in the language of sentimentalism hints at a possible avenue where contemporary women learned this function to enact it in their everyday lives: in sentimental novels and from such writers as Burney. Not only did Burney use positive iterations of kindness towards her to endorse belonging, but she also used a lack of kindness to track her changing communities. In her narrative, Burney viewed invitations from other individuals in the community as a kindness done towards her. Therefore, throughout her journals, both during her years of service and after, Burney indicated appreciation at receiving invitations from various individuals of different ranks. Accordingly, in May 1790 Burney wrote, delightedly,

> --This evening, I obtained leave to make my first visit, from Court, to Lady Mary Duncan [1723–1806]. I was really glad to see her again, and very kindly received, though not with the same cordial openness as when I came from St. Martin's-street. She is a professed enemy of the Court, and it manifests no little remnant of original kindness that she will any longer even endure me… Very few of my old friends were there; I think only Mr Nicholls and Miss Farquhar. My father presented me to the new Duchess of Dorset, who seems to assume nothing upon her new dignity.[70]

By the end of the seventeenth century, the act of socialising diversified to include a move to inside the home. Hostesses welcomed friends and various acquaintances for diverse activities including (but not limited to) tea, card games, or concerts that facilitated the completion of agendas including political manoeuvring, maintenance of their social position, or aid in their husbands' business ventures.[71]

Moreover, in receiving people at her house, the welcome of a hostess varied towards her guests according to several factors. For example, at this concert, Lady Mary Duncan's

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[70] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, May 1790," in *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Vol. 3: 1788–1796*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett (London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1893).

[71] Mullin, "'We Had Carding': Hospitable Card Play and Polite Domestic Sociability Among the Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century England," 990; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 14–15; Elaine Chalus, "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2000): 684–92; Margot Finn, "The Female World of Love and Empire: Women, Family and East India Company Politics at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *Gender & History* 31, no. 1 (n.d.): 19–21.s

muted behaviour embodied her withdrawal of original warm kindness towards Burney. In order to understand Lady Duncan's new behaviour, Burney rationalised these actions by emphasising that her friend disapproved of the court; thus, since she had become a member of the Royal Court, her friend undoubtedly did not appreciate such a move. Consequently, Burney established that even those outside the Royal Court viewed her as belonging to the elite community. Using Lady Duncan's muted behaviour and Burney's aspiration for continual belonging among her different social communities, she attempted to position a palatable emotional overtone to the visit by using emotion words such as 'really glad' and 'very kindly'. Accordingly, the fickle enterprise of belonging, especially among the elite, required constant maintenance and could quickly become destroyed through actions like creating a scandal or moving social communities.[72] Therefore, belonging required an active concentration on tracking one's status. This could occur through kindness, as it operated as a means of understanding one's current social position and value; unlike politeness, kindness promoted genuine affection, which signalled real belonging among particular social groups.

Other contemporary women had similar episodes of using kindness (or its removal) to judge belonging. For example, Lady Mary Campbell Coke (1727–1811), like Burney, had to negotiate her reception ('I now leave you to judge if she meant to be civil […] she has often expressed the greatest kindness and friendship for me') after the Duchess of Norfolk (Catherine Brockholes Howard, d 1784) went to great lengths to avoid her; this reveals that the process of belonging required delicate manoeuvring from many people in society, and that kindness aided this process.[73] Likewise, participation in the Royal Court excluded Burney from some social circles, while it simultaneously welcomed her to others. For example, after her resignation, Burney recalled receiving an invitation from Queen Charlotte in June 1792, to see the Royal Couple at a Ball. Burney regretfully wrote that she had to decline because of inability to get to the Ball in a carriage, despite her desire to attend the Ball because she 'certainly should much like to have seen them "in all their glory" [parading at the Ball in their finery] after seeing them thus in all their kindness [during her years at court]'.[74]

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[72] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 193–227.

[73] Mary Campbell Coke, "Diary of Lady Mary Campbell Coke, September 1769," in *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke, Vol.3* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1889).

[74] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1792," in *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Vol. 3: 1788–1796*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett (London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1893); Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, ca. 1740–1800," 61–64.

Through these two contrasting experiences from Lady Duncan and Queen Charlotte's invitations, Burney gauges and ultimately validates her own sense of belonging among her social groups. Kindness acts as a pivotal word that signified the level of attachment ('no little remnant of original kindness' and 'in all their kindness') that Lady Duncan and Queen Charlotte had for Burney. The level of attachment or affection encompassed in the concept of kindness, importantly, signified and validated her belonging because it denoted efficacious social relationships.[75] When an efficacious relationship ceased to exist, a sense of validating one's belonging occurred through membership in another group, as when Burney wrote, 'from Court', 'very few of my old friends were there; I think only Mr Nicholls and Miss Farquhar', and 'my father presented me to the new Duchess of Dorset'.[76] Unlike previously, these episodes of kind invitations do not feature a sentimental heroine; however, Burney changed genre and literary devices in her narratives over the years, in order to emulate her real life and entertain her readers.[77] In using the emotional practice and cultural discourse of kindness, Burney fashioned herself as the central figure in the drama on the pages. Accordingly, through her process of gauging and navigating the borders of her social community, Burney validated her own sense of belonging to this group.

Burney's diaries, as seen in the preceding paragraphs, entertained readers and attempted to emulate her real life. Through understanding kindness as an emotional practice and as a cultural discourse, the narrative of the journals during Burney's Court years are a mixture of literary and epistolary devices, carefully crafted tones and emotions, and literary characters that ultimately displayed the integral nature of the mechanisms that enable contemporaries to maneuverer through polite society while locating public validation. The genuine affection of kindness signalled, in the economy of politeness, real belonging within particular social groups. As a woman using a feminine virtue, kindness, Burney approached these social situations with a particular understanding that would have been either absent in men or manifested slightly differently, if they used the male form of kindness. Thus, in every carefully crafted episode that appeared on the page, Burney uses the ancillary characters' actions of kindness towards her to gauge and validate her belonging in her social community. She creates public validation under the guise of navigating the perils of competing forces of expectations and emotion. Finally, as shown throughout this section, kindness underpinned and aided Burney in her exploration, and it ultimately validated belonging in polite society by

[75] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 15.
[76] Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, May 1790."
[77] Clark, "Epistolarity in Frances Burney," 194.

providing her with an acceptable form to express acceptable decorum while fashioning her narrative.

Experiences of Unkindness

Contemporaries may have understood kindness as existing on a scale ranging from kindness to absence of kindness to unkindness. As such, it provided a means of considering their place in society. Burney's narrative used unkindness as a contrast to kindness, to demonstrate both its essential function in administering social ostracism or judgement to wayward women and its function to gain forgiveness for social missteps. Comparable to the Royal Court narrative mentioned in the previous section, Burney's social narratives were entertaining and constructed to mimic her real-life experiences, with a variety of literary devices that generated a sense of familiarity within the readers, recording the brutal backhanded compliments, dashes of wit, and perhaps gleefully admitted mishaps and missteps. Altogether, these narrative elements generated a tone of self-deprecation that developed a space for Burney to assert belief of her belonging without accruing condemnation for over-stretching in her articulations of belonging. Furthermore, in this section the social group discussed is—as mentioned in the introduction—the literary-artistic set that Burney's father Dr Charles Burney formed around himself, and which was later expanded by Burney herself in adulthood. By qualifying how she used and received unkindness, Burney fashioned an image of herself as a woman who understood the implicit boundaries surrounding women's behaviour, and who knew the requisite requirements to navigate successfully in her bid to retain belonging while indulging, to an extent, her inner feelings about the circumstances.

This is best emphasised in January 1779, when Burney contrasted two instances of Mrs Thrale's actions: her preening pride over receiving kindness against being ruefully scolded, alongside Dr Johnson's reasoning with her in person for overreacting to being 'pamphleted':

> However, we correspond, and Mrs Thrale's [Hester Lynch Thrale, 1741–1821, diarist] kindness for me promises to be as steady as it is flattering and delightful to me; but I never knew how much in earnest and in sincerity she was my friend till she heard of my infinite *frettation* [annoyance; italics original] upon occasion of being pamphleted; and then she took the trouble to write me a long scolding letter; and Dr Johnson [Samuel Johnson, 1709–1784, writer] himself came to talk to me about it, and to reason with me; and now I

> see that they have sufficient regard to find fault with me, I do indeed hope that I am well with them.[78]

As short or quarto books, pamphlets had one to twelve sheets or between eight and ninety-six pages, making them affordable for those of all classes.[79] Simultaneously, pamphlets became a by-word that represented greedy and malicious pamphleteers; because of this, pamphlets often came to be used as an insult about writing.[80] With Burney in her letter describing the situation as 'infinite *frettation* upon occasion of being pamphleted', she indicates that her objections came not from a pamphlet, but rather the conceptual associations that meant she had received an insult to her writing.[81] Burney had to have voiced her indignation strenuously, to both Mrs Thrale and Dr Johnson, in order to cause their censure of her behaviour, despite her underplaying the insult in her writing as merely annoying. Friendship, couched in terms of kindness, meant that Mrs Thrale and Dr Johnson had the responsibility to offer Burney counsel and to regulate their behaviour when necessary.[82] If these two friends had not given Burney counsel at a critical hour, she would be, as Thomas Gisborne (1758–1846, Anglican minister) argued, an unfortunate individual without 'judicious friends' to receive counsel with 'kindness'.[83] Despite her misstep, Burney comprehended the relevancy of the kindness of her friends in her public validation of belonging, for she received from friends a rebuke, flattering and delightful kindness, and correction of behaviour that could dismiss her from society. As can be seen, Burney's narrative of belonging occurred alongside the scale of negotiation.

For example, at the beginning of the paragraph detailing this episode, Burney starts by mentioning that Streathamites gave her invitation to join or 'in Mrs Thrale's words, to go home'. In this way, she introduces the real topic of her conversation: Mrs Thrale. Burney then eases into talking about her friend by saying, 'however, we correspond, and Mrs. Thrale's kindness'. Thus, afterwards, Burney could demonstrate her surprise at the intensity of Mrs Thrale's friendship and kindness after receiving a scolding about her behaviour.[84]

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[78] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Letter from Frances Burney D'Arblay to Samuel Crisp, January 1779," in *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Vol. 1: 1778–1780*, ed. Charlotte Francis Barrett (London: H. Colburn, 1842).
[79] Raymond Joad, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.
[80] Joad, 7, 10, 11.
[81] Burney D'Arblay, "Letter from Frances Burney D'Arblay to Samuel Crisp, January 1779."
[82] Lizbeth Powell, "The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship," *Midlands History* 41, no. 2 (2016): 195.
[83] Thomas Gisborne, "An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex." (London, 1797), 115.
[84] Burney D'Arblay, "Letter from Frances Burney D'Arblay to Samuel Crisp, January 1779."

Consequently, Burney constructed a continuum of belonging by showing her acceptance in several groups (e.g., Streathamites, Mrs Thrale, Dr Johnson), which ebbed and flowed in strength and intimacy. Another literary device, the showing of correct markers of sociability (good-will, desire and care to please, and easiness), endorsed Burney's establishment of a continuum of belonging and behaviour throughout the encounters.[85] In these diaries, through multi-level epistolary devices, Burney fashioned Mrs Thrale's kindness into a cultural discourse. Ultimately, in the experience of being rebuked by friends, which has a negative connotation, Burney understood their actions as a kindness because, through a sharp rebuke, they conveyed their own understanding of where she stood within their mutual community, as an insider who, despite social missteps, remained an important member of the community, and whose missteps, upon correcting her behaviour, would be forgotten. Hence, while Mrs Thrale's actions of rebuke could be a sharp unkindness, the reasons for them and what they told Burney transformed them into a well-meant kindness that signalled social acceptance after appropriate social approbation.

Social missteps could result in 'an improvised visiting list, a snub at the opera, the failure to receive an invitation to an assembly' from society members, including Burney and her circle, as they enumerated their disapproval because, as the *Lady's Polite Secretary* wrote, '[my] whole conduct may be strictly scrutinized'.[86] Social connections built a society, and these members used managerial mechanisms (for example, snubbing, spurning, 'cutting') to ensure a cohesiveness among the collective.[87] Understandably, Burney displays these managerial mechanisms in a couple of her narrative episodes. First, Burney encounters a Miss L., who she publicly cuts in June 1775 on a walk through Spring Gate with her sisters 'Hetty' [Esther Burney, 1749–1823] and 'Susey' [Susan Burney Phillips]. After Miss L. approached the sisters, Burney answered 'rather coldly' and Hetty 'turned from her abruptly'. Once Miss L. walks away, 'Susey says that she looked greatly disappointed'. Burney justifies her actions despite feeling 'very sorry that I did not speak with more kindness to her' by stating the 'attractive' Miss L. has 'lost her character' due to a scandal,

> She should quit her way of life before she grows more abandoned, I shall have great pleasure in shewing her any civility in my circumscribed power, for the

[85] Philip Carter, "Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in Early Eighteenth Century Urban Society," in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century: Roles, Representation, and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Routledge, 2014), 31–57.
[86] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 217; Du Bois, "The Lady's Polite Secretary," 66.
[87] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 217–18.

> remembrance of her innocence when I first knew her. Miss Strange has heard the story of her marriage *all* [italics original] contradicted.[88]

Second, Burney attempts to avoid Mrs Pringle in 1770. Burney stops walking along Poland Street so that she 'may not more see Mrs Pringle since I dare not visit or even speak to her, when it is not unavoidable'. She then recounts how a few days ago, when a friend, Miss Allen, was standing in their parlour window with her, Mrs Pringle passed by and motioned for her to open the window. She did so, 'although I was terribly confused what to say to her, for it was not in my power to explain the reasons of my absence from her' even after 'so much kindness and civility as we have met with from her, I am sure excuses were very necessary'. In the ensuing conversation that Burney recounts, Mrs Pringle asks for an explanation for her avoidance, which Burney could not adequately explain, as she writes, 'I was much at a loss what to say, but stammered something about the hurry of moving, want of time, etc.' To this, Mrs Pringle says that she finds it 'very ungrateful in you'. Mrs Pringle's boldness 'confounded me,' causing a softening in her stance by giving an intimate farewell: 'well, my dear, I am glad to see you so well—I wish you good morning'. Afterwards, Burney laments that she believed it to be the last time 'I shall speak to Mrs Pringle. I have a very strong sense of the favours we have received from her, and were it in my power, would convince her that I have—but it is not'.[89]

The desires of Miss L. and Mrs Pringle to converse and be friendly validated Burney's belonging and can explain the severity of her snubbing, especially since kindness commonly lubricated social interactions within polite society. In other words, Burney's lack of kindness towards her fellow participants in polite society was at stake. The removal of kindness was deeply telling, with regard to social acceptance, belonging, and signalling social reprobation. Hence, when Burney's sister Susan Burney Phillips reprimands her actions towards Miss L. ('I was afterwards very sorry that I did not speak with more kindness to her, for Susey says that she looked greatly disappointed'), she contrasts this with how she reprimanded herself, by examining Miss L.'s previous behaviour towards her ('yet, after so

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[88] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1775," in *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778. With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters, Susan and Charlotte Burney, Vol. 2*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: G. Bell & Son, 1889).

[89] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1775," in *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778. With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters, Susan and Charlotte Burney, Vol. 2*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: G. Bell & Son, 1889); Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, 1770," in *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778. With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters, Susan and Charlotte Burney, Vol. 1*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: G. Bell & Son, 1889).

much kindness and civility as we have met with from her, I am sure excuses were very necessary').[90] Burney used these well-known social mechanisms to enforce self-management of both her own social position and also that of others; however, she also felt chagrined to be on the receiving end of a 'cutting' in the same way as Lady Mary Campbell Coke ('she was not uncivil, but did not say she was glad to see me or has she expressed the least kindness or friendship for me').[91] Burney emphasised her acceptance by the social group, and in doing so stressed the severity of her actions towards these two women, despite the excuses given for their behaviour. Crucially, Burney could not admonish her cohorts without socially acceptable reasons; thus, Burney furnished her readers with reasons for her behaviour. First, Burney attested to the fact that Miss L. committed an unknown scandalous behaviour— 'It is, however, impossible, and improper to keep up an acquaintance with a female who has lost her character'. Secondly, her step-mother Elizabeth Allen Burney (1728–1796) and Samuel Crisp's (1707–1783, playwright) opinion about Mrs Pringle affected Burney's actions in 1770, and even a year later in November 1771. At this point, Mrs Pringle moved to the East Indies to her son Captain Andrew Pringle, causing Burney to lament:

> And thus, I suppose will close for ever all acquaintance with this agreeable woman and our family. On my side how unwillingly! for I cannot join in the bad opinion mama and Mr Crisp have so strangely, so causelessly conceived of her. Her kindness and friendship to *us* [italics original] she could have no interest in, it would be ingratitude not to regard her for. Independent of these more serious reasons for regret at her departure, I must also own that since we have droped [*sic*.] her acquaintance, we have never made any half so lively and agreeable. But what principally concerns me, is that she has left the kingdom with an idea of our ingratitude. Dear, wise, and good Mr Crisp has surely been too severe in his judgement. What a misfortune I should deem it to think so ill of mankind as he, the wisest of his race, tries to make me think![92]

[90] Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1775"; Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, 1770."
[91] Mary Campbell Coke, "Diary of Lady Mary Campbell Coke, December 1767," in *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke, Vol. 2* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1889).
[92] Frances Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, November 1771," in *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778. With a Selection from Her Correspondence and from the Journals of Her Sisters, Susan and Charlotte Burney, Vol. 1*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: G. Bell & Son, 1889); Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1775."

Scandalous behaviour, which invited censure, breached society's unwritten codes, including, especially for women, sexual codes.[93] In order to maintain belonging, Burney joined in with communal censuring, showing the political nature of kindness; consequently, this created the dichotomy of the social member who must both maintain and use their belonging. Miss L. must have committed a sexual scandal based on Burney's use of both a euphemism and synecdoche to convey another level of meaning below her surface words. That is, Burney conveyed to contemporaries Miss L.'s sexual indiscretions with cultural references: the quality of Miss L.'s dressing, 'lost character', appropriateness of acquaintanceship, comment on Miss L.'s education, and mention of Miss L.'s marital state when she wrote that she 'has heard the story of her marriage all contradicted'.[94] Regarding Mrs Pringle's snubbing, Burney had to follow the inexplicable position of two people who held importance in her life (step-mother and confidant) for the unity required in adhering to the wishes of those higher in the hierarchy. Accordingly, this explains Burney's act of listening to her step-mother and her intimate confidant.[95] Burney's demand for an endorsement of her belonging created a dichotomy of maintaining acceptance through the use of kindness, which then heightened the severity of her communal censuring. The acceptability of this manoeuvring resided in Burney knowing the boundaries of her community and her role in participating in the social mechanisms that enforced self-management. If she did not participate, then she did not belong, and that is the crux of these episodes. To be unkind was political and powerful, for unkindness operated as another key means of negotiating social relationships. Burney gauged and validated her social survival by facilitating the censure of those who transgressed the bounds of acceptable conduct.

Throughout Burney's narrative, unkindness remains a significant method of reinforcing social boundaries after wayward behaviour occurs, and it is also a means of receiving forgiveness after an appropriate period of punishment. During this period, women had to be particularly careful about their social actions because of the multiple pitfalls that were especially associated with women and their behaviour in society. Among this, unkindness is one of many methods that society used to censure women for their social transgressions, and likewise one of numerous techniques that women used themselves to self-mediate communal boundaries. Therefore, unkindness allowed Burney to display her

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[93] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 193–227.
[94] Burney D'Arblay, "Diary of Frances Burney D'Arblay, June 1775."
[95] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 27.

knowledge of the boundaries of polite society, the use of ostracism as punishment and the appropriate judgement of those who were wayward; it also allowed her successfully to navigate through her own social mishaps, from the immediate social reprobation to reclaimed acceptance after carrying out the appropriate actions, which allowed her to retain her communal belonging with its usage of sociability, politeness, and sensibility.

Burney's Public Validation from Social Kindness

In contrast to chapter four's focus on expressions of kindness within spiritual diaries, this chapter has focused solely on understandings of social kindness. In order to do this, this chapter focuses on one specific woman, Frances Burney D'Arblay, who referred to kindness steadily throughout her personal writings. The chapter has explored Burney's rich account of social experiences during her time at the Royal Court and in her interactions within her social community, the literary-artistic set.

A diligent record-keeper in journals throughout her life, Frances Burney D'Arblay, carefully crafted entertaining texts that brought the reader into her real life. Furthermore, Burney remained the central figure on the page, despite the inclusion of other people like Mrs Schwellenberg and Dr Johnson, who drove the narrative's action. As attested by Lorna J. Clark and other scholars who have explored the contexts of Burney's personal writing, it is understood that her journals were carefully written after events took place.[96] Burney's carefully crafted narratives thus include an intricate weaving of real-life and other particular agendas, by using literary and epistolary devices to tell multiple experiences simultaneously.

Burney reflected after time had passed, as she wrote her journals and diaries, interpreting the actions of kindness she received from contemporaries in order to gauge her communal belonging among the Royal Court and her literary-artistic social group. By simultaneously considering other contemporaries like Lady Mary Campbell Coke, this chapter has extended Burney's own usage to show how other elite women shared this concept.

In showing actions of social kindness, this chapter adds to the subfields of sensibility, sociability, and politeness by uncovering a new and crucial aspect of how social lubrication

[96] See, for example, Clark, "Fanny Burney's Methods of Narrating Court Experience"; Clark, "Epistolary in Frances Burney"; Skinner, "'A Tattling Town Like Windsor': Negotiating Proper Relations in Frances Burney's Early Court Journals and Letters (1786–87)"; Wiltshire, "'Love unto Death: Fanny Burney's Narrative of the Last Illness and Death of General d'Arblay"; Wiltshire, "Frances Burney, the Court, the King and Pathography"; Wiltshire, "Early Nineteenth-Century Pathography: The Case of Frances Burney."

occurred during the display of these expected social behaviours, to ensure that human fallibility did not seize the desired ease of relationships. Crucially, kindness is differentiated from these subfields by its use as an emotion to encourage genuine affection and signal real belonging, which also explains why it was an ideal method to use in social interactions alongside these three movements of regulating and dictating behaviour. Further, by establishing the vital factor of the emotional practice of social kindness in the operations of politeness, sociability, and sensibility, this chapter has established that other emotional practices such as affection also occupied the same role within polite society.

CHAPTER 4:
KINDNESS WITHIN THE SPIRITUAL DIARY: THE EXPERIENCES OF FOUR QUAKER WOMEN, C. 1792–1815

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Protestant faith's advocation of self-examination gave rise to a genre called the spiritual diary, which endured throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1] There are no statistics indicating exact numbers, yet the preponderance of spiritual diaries left behind by the men and women of various Protestant denominations, now held in archives and libraries, suggests that a portion of society undertook this practice.[2] This thesis examines, overall, source material from 1,629 examples in women's letter and diaries and 4,494 examples in published literature; of these, 42 letters and 64 diaries are clearly religious in the sense that these works each vividly display the writers' conscious use of religious language to discuss religious concepts as applied to their own lives. Within this wider set of sources, this chapter analyses 16 letters and 53 diaries written by Quaker women. The Quaker community and its women are the focus of this chapter for several reasons. The pervasiveness of religion in this period resulted in the Christian theology of kindness becoming widely used outside of specifically religious contexts, as examined in depth in the other chapters throughout this study, meaning that Quakers did not have a monopoly on kindness. However, Quakers were distinctive as one of the religious communities that existed outside of mainstream Anglicanism yet inside the diversity of smaller Protestant sects, making it particularly important for them to maintain their communal identity. As this chapter shows, one of the key ways in which they did so was by vocalising their religious theology of kindness in written works.[3] This chapter focuses on women because, as chapter one showed, while men did practice Christian kindness, the common feminisation of Christian values implicitly changed the understanding of kindness into an inherently feminised concept. Therefore, while men have their own version of kindness, this chapter will not discuss it. This chapter uses a case study approach by focusing solely on the published diaries of Quaker women including Margaret Hoare Woods (1747–

[1] Effie Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 3.
[2] These spiritual diaries are spread about numerous different archives in the United Kingdom and North America. Examples of archives/libraries that have spiritual diaries include Quaker's in Britain's The Library of the Society of Friends, University of Leeds Special Catalogues, Durham University Special Catalogues, and Bristol Archives.
[3] Cynthia Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love': Constructing Personal and Religious Bonds in Eighteenth-Century Women's Diaries," *Journal of Religious History* 39, no. 3 (September 2015): 386, 388, 395.

1827, diarist), Mary Waring (1760–1805, diarist), Elizabeth Gurney Fry (1780–1805, reformer), and Hannah Chapman Backhouse (1787–1850, travelling minister). Unlike other isolated examples (where a diarist wrote only for a short time within the period or only a portion of the diary survived), each woman chosen here has written in their diaries a deliberately clear consideration of how religious tenets applied to their own lives throughout this time period examined. This resulted from their livelihoods as Christian women active in their faith with the knowledge that their works would very likely be published after their deaths for the edification of young Quaker women.

This chapter features two aspects of Christian kindness. First, it discusses how the theology of Christian kindness, as explored in chapter one, stemmed from God's responsibility for humanity's magnanimity, exemplary lives, and salvation. Of particular importance to Quakerism was the dogma of salvation, with numerous Christian theologists spending a lot of time discussing when, who, how, and why people received salvation: so with an understanding of humanity journey towards salvation, even if they are one of the few elected to be saved, Quaker women were able to clarify their own position and navigate their own actions and thoughts regarding salvation. While all other Christian denominations were equally absorbed by salvation, women in Quakerism had a unique space within the religious community to be actively vocal about their own spiritual journey, as seen through preaching, as travelling ministers, and in their written diaries. Secondly, kindness, as explored in chapter one, was a Christian virtue demarcated by its ability to unite the ideals of love, charity, care, compassion, goodness, and mercy together into an available verbal expression for women to articulate the fulfilment of their gender identity, and consequently to retain salvation. Or in other words, one of the principal ways that Quaker women understood themselves to be receiving salvation was through enacting the ideals of kindness. Together these two aspects allowed women to explore their feelings and enactments of kindness in their diaries; moreover, these diaries had a significance as a didactic tool for other Quakers and fulfilled a secondary function in being read by others and used as teaching tools, thereby giving women a legitimate platform in spiritual writing to position themselves as religious educators with authority to independently assert their voices.

Harkening back to chapter one's discussion of the tenets of religious kindness, this chapter shows how women take these principles and apply them to their own spiritual understandings of their lives. Unlike other chapters focussing on secular matters influenced by religious kindness, this chapter focusses on religious kindness in a specific denomination. As such, I argue that the language of kindness helped Quaker women explore a balance in

their writings between, first, the feminine and religious expectations and, second, their personal feelings and experiences. In this balancing act, Quaker women used the language of kindness in two synchronised ways, resulting in their communication with God and later, upon death and publication, their readership. In the first way, the idea of kindness—doing it, and expressing it to others—in diaries gave Quaker women a device with which to examine whether their behaviour during everyday experiences met feminine or religious ideals. In the second way, when writing down their daily experiences, Quaker women used kindness as a focal point to locate, examine and argue their proof of election. Ultimately, Quaker women used the language of kindness, similar to Burney in the previous chapter, as a gauge by which they understood their relationship to God and salvation.

Among historians in the last twenty-years there has been growing interest in eighteenth-century British Quakers—particularly those who were female. For example, Matthew Reilly uses the case study of the female preacher May Drummond to explore the blurred boundaries around unconventional Quaker female roles of ministering and public preaching. Drummond received censorship from the male leadership because of her secular popularity and usage of Muslim secular literature, both of which defied orthodox Society (Quakers referred to themselves as Friends or Society) by subverting entrenched structures and threatening traditional power.[4] Similarly, Amanda Herbert used seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Quaker women's published writings in examining the topics of female friendship, itinerant ministry, and testimonies of suffering to argue that in the process of contravening societal norms, itinerant female ministers negotiated their sufferings through companionship with women of their own faith and thereby proved their membership among God's chosen ministers.[5] Expanding to group case studies of Quaker women, Sheila Wright, for example, has demonstrated how the difficulty of finding a suitable husband necessitated that a portion of the population remain single: however, their fellows did not deride these women because the Society offered companionship, security, strength, status, self-worth, self-esteem, influence, and independence, thus giving women permission, carefully and with intent, to transgress the expectation of marriage.[6] Helen Plant used the records of the Monthly Meetings of the Yorkshire Quarterly (alongside personal correspondence, spiritual diaries,

[4] Matthew Reilly, "The Life and Literary Fictions of May Drummond, Quaker Female Preacher," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 28, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 311–12.
[5] Amanda E. Herbert, "Companions in Preaching and Suffering: Itinerant Female Quakers in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World," *Early American Studies* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 112–13.
[6] Shelia Wright, "'I Have No Horror of Being an Old-Maid:' Single Women in the Religious Society of Friends 1780–1860," *Quaker Studies* 16, no. 1 (2011): 95–97.

and autobiographies) to argue that the growing numbers of female ministers, a transgression of the social injunction on women preachers, in the second half of the eighteenth century resulted from social and economic trends, family ties, and support networks of kinship and friendship.[7] This chapter seeks to builds on these discussions about how Quaker women experienced and challenged societal norms by focussing on their attempt to, and (often) failures at enacting kindness to others.

Scholars' works have often focused on the patriarchal implications of Quaker theology on women's lives. For example, Naomi Pullin convincingly demonstrates that the women's 'traditional' sphere of the household became integral to their contribution to the public life of the Society. Households provided female public ministry with a measure of respectability, supporting female itinerant ministers, and forging long-distance female Quaker friendships through the sharing of clothing, food, transportation, and declarations of love and companionship.[8] Similarly, Sheila Wright uses Quaker records including Monthly Meeting, Minute Books, and travelling ministers' certificates (alongside personal correspondence and memoirs) to argue that Quakerism gave women a role as protectors and propagators in households, and that this allowed them to be serious ministers without facing accusations of being unfeminine. [9] Therefore, histories of Quakers explore different forms of women's autobiographical writing, forms of Quaker gender identity, and unconventional female roles in the Society; however, none of these have focussed on kindness (or, more broadly, the ways in which women analysed and reflected on their daily lives through considerations of Christian virtues, for virtues broadly appeared as a supporting feature when studying how women approached specific parts of Quakerism). This is discussed more in the next paragraph. Accordingly, by using case studies of Quaker spiritual diaries that include instances of religious kindness, this chapter will develop the historiography in two new directions. First, it will display another way in which contemporary Quaker women used vocabulary to display their knowledge and practice of Christian virtues, and second, it will add another factor to those that composed the standards of feminine gender identity of both wider society and the religious community of Quakers; both of these historiographical developments show the significant role of Christian kindness. These two developments

[7] Helen Plant, "Patterns and Practices of Women's Leadership in the Yorkshire Quaker Community, 1760–1820," *Quaker Studies* 10, no. 2 (2006): 230–39.
[8] Naomi Pullin, "Sustaining 'the Household of Faith': Female Hospitality in the Early Transatlantic Quaker Community," *Journal of Early Modern History* 22 (2018): 118–19.
[9] Shelia Wright, "Quakerism and Its Implications for Quaker Women: The Women Itinerant Ministers of York Meeting, 1780–1840," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 412–14.

together illuminate how, in diary accounts, women strove to ensure deployment of expected dogma around kindness, so as to signal their respectability and femininity as understood by their Quaker and Protestant cultural norms. At the same time, these women found spaces to exert their own agendas to declare themselves as respectable women through carefully picked examples in their daily lives.

Historians originating in both the secular and Quaker traditions have in the last forty years provided a complex representation of the practice of keeping Quaker spiritual diaries as recordings of the women's textual journey or communication with God and Christianity. For example, Judith Jennings in a case study of Margaret Hoare Woods, one of the women in this chapter, contends that the diary captured the intricate nature of her relationship with religion, showing a model of the quiescent woman—deeply religious, devoted to family, concerned for the poor, and willing to accept subordination—who also had anguishing doubts, misgivings, and resentment as she struggled to define herself within her gender and religious constraints.[10] Comparably, Josephine Teakle, in a case study of Mary Birkett Card, asserts that her manuscripts—including a spiritual diary—encapsulated a dynamic woman who struggled to define herself in the confines of gender and religious boundaries while maintaining her personal sense of identity.[11] Scholars have likewise focussed on the spiritual diaries of women in other Protestant denominations, contributing to the awareness of their uses and limitations as a source material. As shown, work has been done that seeks to examine how women reflected on their enactment of particularly gendered behaviours, and this chapters works to build on this by adding another means—kindness—by which women accomplished their reflections regarding gendered behaviour.

These previously mentioned scholars have in a number of cases used spiritual diaries to gain knowledge about both this form of writing and the world in which this writing occurred. Historians have used these spiritual diaries to show that on occasion, diaries allowed women to express themselves more freely than they could in physical encounters, due to the ability of diaries to allow women to negotiate linguistically within the constraints of social expectations on feminine behaviour, despite the limitations of diaries regarding

[10] Judith Jennings, "The Journal of Margaret Hoare Woods: 'Bow Me in Deep Humility of Soul...,'" *Quaker History* 75, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 26.
[11] Josephine Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774–1817): Struggling to Become the Ideal Quaker Woman," *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 186–90.

writing conventions and those who would read the work.[12] They have also been important in revealing to scholars that in many cases, female diarists exploited writing and feminine conventions to create a distinctly personal female voice that was little censored by external restrictions of expectations because their voice lay safely within the accepted conventions; however, as people who have read published works and taken in others' opinions, women often had their own internalised restrictions regarding the conventions to which they adhered, and this also contributed to the shape of the diarists' narratives.[13] Moreover, historians have used spiritual diaries to explore how women wrote versions of their individual journeys of self-discovery within the pages; consequently, the historian can study conceptions of self-identity and formulations of gender identity through these self-conscious journeys.[14] In some cases, historians have used spiritual diaries to explore how the collective religious community shaped the diary to function socially as an embodied individual and communal memory of religious cultures; thus, historians can access individual religious communities through the individuals who practiced within them.[15] Further, in these cases, historians show how these spiritual diaries continued to shape their religious communities as they were edited, published, and shared among congregants; accordingly, historians can use the diaries as living documents pertaining to a period of time, allowing for a tentative understanding of the community as a whole.[16]

However, these uses are dampened by the diaries' limitations. Firstly, diary manuscripts were often edited to erase parts unrelated to spirituality or religious expectations; thus, historians are limited in their scope of questioning to the religion and spirituality of the community.[17] Secondly, Quaker spiritual diaries underwent a rigorous editorial process—they were usually first edited by a family member, and then also by the London Morning Meeting committee for publications; accordingly, a consequence of this serious editing by

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[12] Felicity A. Nussbaum, "Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces," in *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (UNC Press Books, 1988), 154–56.
[13] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 61, 72; Nussbaum, "Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces," 154–56.
[14] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 65–72; Cythnia Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love': Constructing Personal and Religious Bonds in Eighteenth-Century Women's Diaries," *Journal of Religious History* 39, no. 3 (September 2015): 386, 388, 395.
[15] Sheila Wright, "'Gaining a Voice:' An Interpretation of Quaker Women's Writing 1740–1850," *Quaker Studies* 8, no. 1 (2003): 37; Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 65; Gillian Wright, "Delight in Good Books: Family, Devotional Practice, and Textual Circulation in Sarah Savage's Diaries," *Book History* 18 (2015): 53–55, 64–68.
[16] Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love,'" 386–97.
[17] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 38–39.

Quakers was the potential for a misrepresentation of authors, with their originality being distorted or lost.[18] Thus, historians have to question the fullness of the sources consulted, and whether or not that (mis)representation affects the study undertaken. Nonetheless, Sheila Wright logically contends that manuscripts retained enough of their originality to find their voices below the conventions and expectations.[19] Third, women wrote their diaries with an aim of spiritually educating future readers, meaning that authors may have distorted or omitted parts of their lives or feelings on purpose, in order to achieve acceptability in the eyes of their readers.[20] However, as women used their diaries to complete their aims, scholars can gain a picture of what women diarists held important and how they achieved their objectives. This is useful in this chapter because, by focussing on the diarist's agendas, the historian forms an understanding of the intent behind their narrative.

Overall, despite the limitations of spiritual diaries, these sources are valuable to this project for two general reasons. First, these sources are conduits to gain access to an understanding of women's relationship with God and religion; second, these sources are mediums for accessing—to name a few—the formulation of women's assertions of self, gender identity, and personal objectives, through the emotional language of kindness. Unlike other religious source material, spiritual diaries were written not for immediate publication, but for a fantasised publication after the author's death; as such, diarists could be a little freer with their thoughts while they write throughout the circumstances of their lives, making each diary an evolving organism, unlike the much more static sermons and published works. This chapter sees the thesis coming full circle. Here I return to some of the questions raised in chapter one regarding kindness and its centrality in people's lives, especially as an important Christian virtue, and particularly for women. This chapter explores how Quaker women reflected on their relationship to God in their diaries but also how they reflected on their own spiritual, Christian lives, and importantly, how kindness acted as a method to undertake such reflections. In writing their diaries, Quaker women chose to consider their own enactment and experience of kindness and to think about how, in producing diaries that would become didactic texts, they also sought to shape the understanding of others. Hence, as important

[18] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 39–40; Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774–1817)," 179.
[19] Wright, 40.
[20] Althea Stewart, "Good Quaker Women, Tearful Sentimental Spectators, Readers and Auditors," *Prose Studies* 29, no. 1 (2007): 81–83; Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37–38, 48–50; Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 61, 63–78, 70–74; Jantzen, "Choose Life!," 148.

repositories and teaching aids, Quaker women's diaries provide a source with which to think through the bounds of Christian kindness.

This chapter argues that the idea of kindness—doing it and expressing it to others—helped Quaker women explore a balance between the religious and feminine expectations, alongside their personal feelings and experiences. Quaker women used the language of kindness in two concurrent ways resulting in their own communication with both God and, later when the diaries were published, their readership. First, Quaker women used the concept to kindness to examine, punish, and form opinions about whether their behaviour met feminine or religious ideals. Kindness offered a key framing device within which women assessed and understood their behaviour and relationships. Second, as they jotted down the details of their daily lives, Quaker women used kindness as a focal point to detect, examine and argue their proof of election, an act that will be explained below in detail. Ultimately, Quaker women used the language of kindness, in a way similar to that seen in the previous chapter, as a way to measure their relationship with God and their salvation.

Protestant and Quaker Theology

The foundation of the early modern spiritual diary is the theology of predestination, which argues that, at death, only a few chosen Christians will ascend to heaven. No one knew if they were among the chosen few and so, in their spiritual journeys, contemporaries used different methods to prove their election.[21] One technique included that of recording evidence of providence by scrutinising daily conduct in order to discern God's intervention in their lives, thus also helping to reconstruct a map of desirable and undesirable behaviour. Predestination meant that salvation caused pious conduct, and thus it would be observable in daily life; by being examples of people living godly lives, writers of spiritual diaries expected to educate others, especially fellow Quakers, in how to live religiously, because they offered proof of their own actions and possible predestination.[22] Additionally, in this Protestant theology of predestination, individual self-surveillance replaced the Catholic confessor. The genre of religious guides and manuals advised readers to consider self-examination and self-surveillance as an oral or silent duty, and so, many people turned this into a written task in the form of spiritual diaries.[23] The multifaceted act of confessing in writing encouraged and

[21] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 4.
[22] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37, 65.
[23] Botonaki, 4.

enhanced a woman's personal progress in search for a stronger personal faith.[24] Furthermore, the written task of self-scrutiny helped a Protestant communicate with God methodically, while checking and punishing themselves.[25] Specifically, within Quaker theology, spiritual diaries took on particular importance because Quakers believed that one aspect of God's work in the world occurred through their words; therefore, when women wrote their spiritual diaries they understood that they were active participants in spreading God's work by leaving a record of piety drawn from theology that at the same time was reflected on by the women themselves so as to teach, influence, and pass on piety to their readers.[26] Additionally, membership in Quakerism depended on written and verbal autobiographical statements (finding a voice, giving testimony, and audibly proclaiming one's self) that resulted from the 'Inner Light' working and manifesting within the individual.[27] Consequently, the complexity of the theology of predestination explains why the spiritual diaries of these Quaker women focussed on scrutinising their personal behaviour and what this meant in terms of their relationship to God.

Fortified with this understanding of the theology that underpinned the Quaker spiritual diaries, the expressions of kindness used by Quaker women can be contextualised and understood. The meaning, identity, and understanding that contemporaries had of the word kindness meant it could aid writers by providing diarists with part of a verbal language to help undertake the theological aims of written self-examination and public testimonial. Likewise, as shown in chapter one, Christian kindness remained vital to comprehending and articulating the complexities of faith and God in the eighteenth century.[28] Hence, Quaker women used two mediums they understood well—Christian kindness and spiritual diaries—to undertake their interaction with religion and God in their everyday life.

Role of Self

[24] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37.
[25] Botonaki, 5.
[26] Rothermel, "Prophets, Friends, Conversationalists," 72.
[27] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 61. The concept of Inner Light stated that in every human soul resided the existence of a spark of divinity responsible for individual conscious and universal truth, and thus the human capacity for moral and spiritual restoration (Phyllis Mack, "Religion and Gender in Enlightenment England: The Problem of Agency," in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity* (Cornell University Press, 2014), 157.)
[28] Christian kindness as asserted in Chapter One is understood to be the theology of kindness intertwined God's love, salvation, and goodness into a framework that taught young girls and women the 'naturalness' of the restrictiveness of virtuous behaviour and its reward (a good, kind life).

Diaries provided a confessional space for Quaker women. For those of the Protestant faith, the primacy of the self originates in the theology of predestination, and even though different Protestant denominations had slightly different interpretations, there is a commonality found in the spiritual diary operating as a place for careful self-surveillance of behaviour and responsibility, so as to check and punish sinful behaviour.[29] In this course of self-scrutiny and punishment, diarists conversed directly (and sometimes indirectly) with God; hence, the diaries became a means of solidifying and transcribing their 'direct' interpersonal relationship and contact with God.[30] Furthermore, in their communications with God and with the knowledge surveyed in chapter one about kindness being a regulator of behaviour towards idealised virtues, these Quaker women used the concept of kindness as a means of exploring—through self-scrutiny, self-surveillance and self-examination within the confines of Christian virtues and femininity —their virtuous and unvirtuous behaviour. Consequently, emotional language aided Quaker women in expressing opinions, feelings and ideas. Moreover, kindness allowed Quaker women to express their understanding of religious knowledge by putting it into practical use by writing down on the page their understanding of a concept, for example subjection, and then relating it to their own lives, thereby creating a teachable moment. Therefore, I argue that during this undertaking, these women emphasised to God that they understood their feminine and religious duties. At the same time, these women also explored their own opinions and experiences to come to an understanding that accepted both the importance of religious duties and their own suffering as humans. In this way, these Quaker women used their diary writings to repent and refrain from sinning.

The first case study considers Margaret Hoare Woods, a quintessential Quaker woman. She lived a quiet life in London as the wife of Quaker woollen-merchant Samuel Hoare, a devoted mother to her four children, and devoted daughter, sister, cousin, aunt to her extended family. She died in 1821, at the age of seventy-three, nine years after her husband. On her death, she left her eight-volume diary—kept throughout her life—to both her daughter Margaret—who unfortunately was frail and lame causing Woods to devote a great deal of attention to her—and her granddaughters for their spiritual education. Her family first published the diary in 1829, with a third edition subsequently appearing in 1850.[31] Since Margaret Hoare Woods aimed to instruct her female descendants spiritually after she died, her diary included reflections about what caused people like her to struggle with subjection to

[29] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 4–5.
[30] Botonaki, 4.
[31] Jennings, "Journal of Margaret Hoare Woods," 26.

God. A recurring theme for Quaker female diarists was their exploration of the concept and enactment of kindness as a means to explore their continual struggle with religious and feminine expectations. One narrative method harnessed by authors included reflecting on the habits of other people while also exploring their own anxieties and worries about religious failings and struggles. Woods began her diary in 1771 at the age of twenty-three as a written aid in progressing against her internal struggles of adhering to the tenets of religion, and primarily that of subjection.[32] Female subjection throughout this period remained a noteworthy part of gender formation, as Eve's sin caused contemporaries to perceive women to be in a place of inferiority and subjection.[33] Consequently, within spiritual diaries, women constructed an image of themselves submitting to a male God who symbolised a paramount patriarchal figure within society.[34]

Even as late as November of 1806, Woods ruminated philosophically on the cause of struggling with subjection to God: self-love. Self-love causes a 'self-indulgence' that promoted the pursuit of 'our own happiness' causing narcissism,

> it should be the care of one of a number, not an exclusive care of the sole individual self. Where the love of self too strongly predominates, it narrows the mind. It leaves no room for the benevolent affections, and that reciprocation of kindness and good offices, which constitute the principal happiness of a social being.[35]

Ultimately, Woods argues that self-love occurred at the expense of God's ordained communal happiness, care, good offices, and kindness. In essence, kindness marked out the line between selfishness and the social, thus, together, marking kindness as both inherently social and Christian. As seen in chapters one and three, kindness to contemporary authors could be both Christian and social: gentle pious kindness was understood as the antithesis to the dangerous fashionable woman, and yet in practicing kindness in fashionable society, women sought to retain both virtue and social capital without being branded as unrespectable due to their selfishness (as chapter one asserts, the danger of the fashionable woman was that

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[32] Jennings, 27; Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 21; Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37.

[33] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Third, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 30–31; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (Taylor & Francis, 1995), 234; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1995), 389.

[34] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 38.

[35] Margaret Hoare Woods, "Diary of Margaret Hoare Woods, November 1806," in *Extracts from the Journal of the Late Margaret Woods, From the Year 1771 to 1821* (London: H. Longstreth, 1850).

she was, ultimately, selfish). By indicting self-love, Woods inserted herself into the spirited eighteenth-century philosophical debates and positioned herself nearer to Mary Astell (1666–1731, writer) and John Norris (1657–1711, philosopher), who argued that love was the highest form of knowledge and that God was the only worthy recipient of a Christian's love.[36] Likewise, by arguing that 'we are so formed by the Author of our existence', Woods viewed love for others as a Christian duty originating from God. Yet, by arguing that people have a 'natural' urge to love and care for others, exemplified by 'benevolent affections' and 'kindness and good offices', Woods diverges from Astell and Norris by arguing that God sought love to be directed outwards, even communally. Good offices in this instance meant aiding another in completing needs, and in this can be seen the compatibility of both in promoting communal love. The reason for communal love, Woods argues, is that love abetted the self and community to function in a spirit of communal unity. Further, Woods complements her musings with Joseph Butler's (1692–1752, philosopher) philosophy of self-love: the problem of self-love resides in its possibility of becoming immoderate, and thus selfish, due to the association of selfishness with the breakdown of society.[37] Woods applies this association of selfishness throughout her diary entry in a continual association of self-love with a vocabulary of negativity. Consequently, to Woods, selfishness occurs because self-love encouraged individuals to disregard communal needs causing a breakdown of essential principles that promoted social interconnected-ness including good offices and kindness. Similarly, in a message that Woods internalised, Thomas Foxcroft in his sermon *Discourse on Kindness* (1719) perceived that self-love caused a demise of kindness through its 'reigning of envy, self-will and self-love, and the harsh methods of false intemperate zeal, and unreasonable partiality' and 'give rise to no small part of the disorders and miseries under which an unhappy world is groaning.' [38]

Essentially, self-love reduced the ability to focus on doing good offices of kindness towards others. Consequently, self-love weakened Christian women's subjection to God. Woods, by musing on this philosophy in her spiritual diary, reflected on her personal struggles and in this way found her voice regarding Christian theology and the socially

[36] Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39.
[37] Stuart Brown, *British Philosophy and the Age of Enlightenment*, vol. 5, History of Philosophy (Routledge, 2012), 210–17.
[38] Thomas Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness. Being a Sermon Preach'd in Boston, on the Lord's-Day, Febr. 28th. 1719, 20. And Now Published, with Some Enlargement, at the Importunity of Many That Heard It. By Thomas Foxcroft. [Eighteen Lines of Scripture Texts]." (Boston, MA, 1720), 29.

expected feminine and religious duties. This philosophical discourse about Christian women's struggles with a vital duty (subservience) occurred within the pages of Woods' diaries not only for herself but also for her future readers—her daughters, granddaughters, and those who would buy a published edition later.[39] Linking back to previous chapters, we see that Woods understood kindness similarly to those women in chapters one and three who viewed it as both inherently Christian and social, but also like those in chapter two, who understood kindness as a technique that enabled women (and men) to act with goodness towards each other. Further, like all contemporaries in every chapter, Woods understood kindness as a feminine behaviour that aided in creating a sense of community, be that within the family, certain social groups, or in religious congregations; without kindness, people became distant and communities broke down. Thus, in studying her emotional language in context, we can see that Woods blamed self-love and the demise of the good office of kindness for her (and others') struggle with subjecting themselves to God.

Additionally, Woods developed and expanded the social nature of kindness by reflecting on how self-interested women neglected the essential aspect of the feminine duty of charity. To eighteenth-century women, just like kindness, as chapter one establishes, the Christian virtue of charity remained critical in idealised female identities.[40] The anonymously written conduct manual, *Letters Addressed to Two Young Married Ladies* (1782), emphasises that the ideal woman understood that her actions on earth affected God, by writing, 'our blessed saviour so strongly recommends this duty [charity], that he even looks upon all offices of charity and compassion to the poor as instances of kindness to himself'.[41] Hence, we see the intertwined nature of charity and kindness as they were both religious feminine expectations and gendered expectations. As such, the idealised female identity, as explored in greater detail in chapter one, included characteristics of being charitable, productive, cooperative, dependent, subservient, chaste, and devoted.[42] All of these idealised qualities—

[39] Jennings, "Journal of Margaret Hoare Woods," 26.

[40] Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 200–01; Ruth Watts, "A Gendered Journey: Travel of Ideas in England, c. 1750–1800," *Journal of the History of Education* 37, no. 4 (2008): 518.

[41] Anonymous, *Letters Addressed to Two Young Married Ladies, on the Most Interesting Subjects* (Dublin, 1782), 18.

[42] Solie Ylivuori, "Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 1 (March 2016): 79; Catherine Kerrison, "By the Book: Eliza Ambler Brent Carrington and Conduct Literature in Late Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Magazine* 105, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 30; Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), 115; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 25, 40; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 4–5, 21–24.

including kindness—transformed a woman into a self-sacrificing harder worker; thus, in positioning women with the primary responsibility of ensuring easy relationships, it emphasises the nature of kindness as that of focusing on people's relations. Woods taught her future readers about how the religious tradition of charity and kindness were both a feminised duty that aided in fostering a sense of community, and also, consequently, should often be done together with a sense of authenticity. This focus on authenticity mirrors the discussions in chapter one about genuinely doing kindness and about Burney's focus on the authenticity of her belonging as gauged by others' kindness. By situating her argument within the subjects that women were able to discuss due to their gendered expectations, Woods justifies why her readers should learn her lesson about charity and kindness. Thus, on 13 January 1807, Margaret Hoare Woods deliberated on the feminine duty of charity. Woods argued that kindness and charity should be genuine without 'reproach' or condescension, with the aim of promoting 'happiness' and 'well-being':

> If we give what we have to give grudgingly, or perform an act of kindness with reluctance, it loses great part of its value, and becomes oppressive, rather than gratifying, to the receiver. To contribute to, and promote the happiness and well-being of others, should be our end and aim in every act of liberality [giving or spending freely]; and the generous mind will not be disposed to claim any merit for doing that which is, perhaps, to stamp it no higher, only one of the duties of social life. Neither will it be looking for returns in submissions and acknowledgements, though the grateful heart will be ready to express itself.[43]

Woods linked these two inextricably due to using the words 'charity' and 'kindness' interchangeably during her ruminations about this feminine duty. This interchanging of charity and kindness does reflect, as seen in chapter one, the fluid nature of kindness' association with other feminine virtues in the minds of contemporaries when they talked about respectable womanly behaviour. Thus, kindness in Woods' diary entry featured, above all, as being distinctly social, in that it promoted the happiness, well-being, and unity of the Quaker community. Simultaneously, Woods' argument showed her negative reaction to the self-servicing aspects of some women's reluctant charitable efforts, as seen in the language used elsewhere in the entry: 'wormwood and gall', 'with reproach, or impressing a sense of

[43] Margaret Hoare Woods, "Diary of Margaret Hoare Woods, January 1807," in *Extracts from the Journal of the Late Margaret Woods, From the Year 1771 to 1821* (London: H. Longstreth, 1850).

the obligation', 'give grudgingly', 'with reluctance', 'becomes oppressive', and 'to claim any merit'. Theologically, Christians understood charity as loving one another despite differences of inequalities, in order thereby to offer succour to those in need.[44] Therefore, women—particularly elite women—performed public and private charity to proclaim their Christian virtues and reinforce their status by demonstrating public power with concrete results; an excellent example of this virtue signalling is the proliferation of charity schools throughout the latter eighteenth century by those who desired to proclaim their values of charity, while not actually being charitable when the realities of these schools is considered.[45] For Woods, these acts of charity destabilised the value of feminine charity and kindness, and this is seen in her usage of negative language. Altogether, Woods' philosophical musings transmit an image of a woman frustrated with the self-interested acts of kindness and charity performed by others; thus, she used the confines of her diary to question authenticity and teach her future readers about the true meaning of these religious duties as being selfless, rather than self-serving.

Further, Woods philosophised on how natural it was for women to struggle with meeting religious and gendered expectations because, regardless, God continued to show them kindness. By the age of sixty-one in 1809, Woods had lived a lifetime of struggling—and sometimes failing—to conform.[46] Consequently, within the confines of her spiritual diary Woods explored why she continued to struggle with expectations. Again, Woods focussed on addressing a wider group in her philosophical musings (though her struggles informed her interest); subsequently, this facilitated the making of her spiritual diary into an educational tract for her future readership. Thus, in December 1809, Woods contemplated the fallibility of humans—particularly women—reasoning that, 'we should not lead young people astray, by a false fear and timidity in speaking the truth; at the same time, we should point out the impropriety of actions, and hold up to censure, the failings rather than the men; considering that in a greater or less degree we all err, and fall short of what we ought to be, and stand in need of the kindness and forbearance [patient self-control] of others in return'.[47] In this extract, Woods displays her understanding of the ability of kindness to create a relationship with others, by arguing for self-control with censure for actions instead of censuring people

[44] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, 26.
[45] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 139; Tague, *Women of Quality*, 201.
[46] Jennings, 31–34.
[47] Margaret Hoare Woods, "Diary of Margaret Hoare Woods, December 1809," in *Extracts from the Journal of the Late Margaret Woods, From the Year 1771 to 1821* (London: H. Longstreth, 1850).

themselves, as all people ought to be shown kindness, especially when they were struggling with the expectations of duty. In other words, Woods conceptualised kindness as a means to give each other forbearance during periods of time when people were struggling; this is another way that kindness aided in creating unity among a community.

By emphasising the distinctness of actions from their personhood, Woods deployed a narrative device that separated herself from her actions, a long-standing female Quaker motif in spiritual diaries. Sheila Wright shows that Quaker women consistently denied that their actions originated from themselves, and instead shifted responsibility of their actions to God.[48] With regard to kindness, by divesting themselves of personal responsibility for their own actions, these women could point to the kindness of God, even through his intermediaries, as being behind their life experiences. In this way, they could absolve themselves of culpability for not always adhering to gendered expectations, because religious expectations could diverge from those gendered expectations; in fulfilling their religious expectations, these women could reasonably expect absolution, or at least tolerance, for their gendered transgressions. By shifting the responsibility for her actions from herself to God, Wood provides space for herself—and her future readers—to assertively declare opinions without having the natural weakness of their gender being held against them. For in the wider culture of the eighteenth century, contemporaries held women to be naturally inferior in intellectual, physical, sexual, and emotional self-control capacities, and they were therefore held responsible and possibly punished for their own short-comings.[49] Furthermore, Woods' mention of 'false fear and timidity in speaking the truth' references a Quaker doctrine: membership in Quakerism depended on autobiographic statements comprising of finding a voice, giving testimony audibly, and publicly proclaiming oneself (resulting from the manifestation of Inner Light in the individual).[50] Accordingly, by referencing struggle alongside a meaningful part of Quakerism, Woods extended the notion that the significance of struggling with faith should be considered as important as struggling for the faith (Quakers believed that Christ's genuine followers suffered in his name).[51] Throughout this philosophising about the naturalness of struggling, Woods consciously addressed her future audience, and so anticipated teaching them an important lesson: to struggle is normal and all

[48] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 38, 50.
[49] Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 21–34; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 17–22.
[50] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 61.
[51] Herbert, "Companions in Preaching and Suffering," 75.

of us will keep God's kindness and by extension, everyone else's. In arguing forbearance of kindness through struggling, Woods also showed how kindness kept a community feeling united even when members struggled and perhaps failed. Consequently, Woods used the emotional language and theology of kindness to navigate the expectations placed on her gender regarding struggling, and hence came to terms with her own experiences of struggling while testifying to the worthiness of her continual receiving of kindness and forbearance.

Alongside philosophical musings, Margaret Hoare Woods used kindness as an expression to allow for her prostration to occur in a feminine fashion while also showing repentance to God. A useful aid in teaching readers, a diary entry filled with personal introspection sanctioned the diarist to carefully preserve her religious community's ideas, identity and culture, and accordingly taught future readers religious vocabulary and theology.[52] At age sixty-seven, Margaret Hoare Woods wrote, on 15 November 1815:

> Most holy Lord God, I approach the presence of thy Divine Majesty with fear and trembling. I beseech thee, hold out the sceptre of thy love, that I may not be utterly cast down, but draw nearer and nearer to thee, who hast declared thyself to be a God of mercy and loving kindness. Day after day, and year after year, I have struggled to maintain a warfare with the corruptions of human nature; and though I have often been vanquished and fallen, yet I trust, through thy strength and renewed help, I have been again raised up; for which I desire to offer unto thee thanksgiving and praise.[53]

God's continuous compassionate loving kindness to Woods despite her struggle with expectations of submission, self-sacrifice, and self-alienation caused her to vocalise repentance and dismay through two mechanisms of the spiritual diary genre: the strengthening of personal faith through progress after confession, and a personal conversation with God.[54] Throughout this entire excerpt, Woods continues a conversation with God by addressing him directly and personally, maintaining a subservient position with continual usage of verbs like 'trust', 'thanksgiving', and 'praise'. The confessional strengthening of her faith emerges with Woods telling God about her continual warfare against the corruptions of human nature. Consequently, God forgives for Woods having struggled, as described in her phrase, 'I have been again raised up'. In her discussion of repentance, Woods references the

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[52] Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love,'" 388–90.

[53] Margaret Hoare Woods, "Diary of Margaret Hoare Woods, November 1815," in *Extracts from the Journal of the Late Margaret Woods, From the Year 1771 to 1821* (London: H. Longstreth, 1850).

[54] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 15–16; Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37.

theology of Christian kindness (established in chapter one), in which God's natural loving-kindness caused goodness in life and prompted a need for virtuous living of self-sacrifice and self-regulation. Thus, Woods interwove into her repentant confessional an underlying narrative of being blessed, alongside attempts to fulfil feminine expectations of self-regulation and sacrifice. Woods bolstered this underlying narrative with language to describe struggling with corruption, failing the struggle, and being renewed again by a merciful God. Quaker women often used the medium of their spiritual diaries to tell narratives in which their blatantly subversive behaviour nevertheless ultimately adhered to accepted standards of formatting, writing, and content.[55] For example, twenty-year-old Hannah Chapman Backhouse had a diary entry in February 1807 in which she discussed an accounting for her own and other's behaviours. She wrote that, 'in moral duties I hope I am approved, and when they come in the balance with self-indulgence'; 'in forbearance I think I am not deficient'; 'as to learning and accomplishments, I have been industrious in that way; but the older I grow, the more these things retreat into the background of my affections'; alongside this, she concurrently wrote a subversive story about desire for a reversal of the lack of 'active kindness in my own family', meaning both a want of goodness and a holding to account other women who lack self-sacrifice or self-regulation.[56] Testifying in their own words, these two women demonstrated in their spiritual diaries that the theology of Christian kindness remained relevant in their spiritual journeys. Ultimately, Woods, in her role of confessing and repenting her sins, used the emotional language of Christian kindness to mark her knowledge about the faith despite her active struggles in fulfilling the gendered expectations of submission, self-sacrifice, and self-alienation. This reveals that kindness within the religious community was understood as a technique that women used to signal their fluency in religious dogma, so as to be able to converse with their readers about topics that might be controversial, such as the fact that, despite struggling, they were still devout, pious women.

Furthermore, within the construction of self, women also used kindness to articulate their feelings regarding religious gender expectations. Simultaneously, in the course of writing about their feelings regarding religious gender expectations, the diarists taught their future readers a religious vocabulary and theology to create a communal sense of religious identity.[57] The second case study considers Hannah Chapman Backhouse, mentioned briefly in the last paragraph. With her parents Joseph Gurney and Jane Chapman both being from

[55] Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 63–65.
[56] Chapman Backhouse, "Diary of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, February 1807."
[57] Aalders, "'Your Journal, My Love,'" 388–90.

distinguished Quaker families, she grew up steeped in the tradition of Quakerism. At the age of twenty-four she married the Quaker banker Jonathan Backhouse, who passed away eight years before her in 1842. While her early life does not appear overtly religious, by her early twenties she began experiencing a strong religious calling—for example, beginning to speak at Quaker meetings in 1820— which led her, accompanied by her husband, to become a travelling minister around England, Ireland, and North America, especially after the death of her eldest son in the later years of the same decade.[58] Nevertheless, even before Backhouse's spiritual awakening, she showed awareness of religious expectations regarding her gender as seen in her spiritual diary. For example, nineteen-year-old Backhouse wrote in August 1806 that her brother Joseph's (1796–1820) 'sore-throat' resulted in her attending the sick-room out of duty even though she had an aversion to such activities,

> Beginning to act from duty in such cases, one may end by acting from affection, and then it becomes necessary to one's satisfaction to do so. A woman who cannot suffer the confinement of a sick-room, leaves unfulfilled one of her most marked duties, and can never be fit for a wife. It is a difficult task when one is not spurred onward by the continual impulse of the heart, or, in short, when self is a dearer object than the invalid. When alarmed by danger, few are so indifferent as not to desire to use all their powers; but when it is only pain or sickness, I could often wish my heart were more susceptible of kindness and compassion than it is.[59]

Backhouse used the language of kindness to reflect on the feminine duty of being useful in a sick-room. She understood the importance of being kind, compassionate, and patient in the sickroom, despite feeling weary of its demands herself. The cultural conception of women's work included duties surrounding birth, illness, and death; furthermore, many unmarried women were exploited as unpaid labour for their families, including performing the duty of sick-nursing.[60] At the time of the entry, nineteen-year-old Backhouse had not yet married, and so had the duty of taking care of her younger brother. This explains why she emphasised the concept of duty throughout her record of the situation. Therefore, this diary account of

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[58] John Banham, "Hannah Chapman Backhouse (1787–1850) Quaker Traveller," in *Durham Biographies*, ed. G.R. Batho and A. Roberts, vol. 6, 6 vols. (Durham: Durham County Local History Society, 2009).
[59] Hannah Chapman Backhouse, "Diary of Hannah C. Backhouse, August 1806," in *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of H.C. Backhouse*, ed. Jane Fox Gurney (London: R. Barrett, 1858).
[60] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2000), 191–92; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 188.

tending to her ill brother is filled with contradictory sentiments about expected feminine duties in the sick-room. Backhouse indicates that she found duty of the sick-room exhausting, using the language of 'aversion', 'constant attention to trifles', 'want of employment and ideas', 'great cross', and 'wish my heart were more susceptible of kindness and compassion'. However, this personal exhaustion challenged her acknowledgement and understanding that she must fulfil her duty—what was expected of her as a woman—with enthusiasm and grace. Backhouse's understanding of duty aligned with ideas of female behaviour that were expressed in print culture broadly, and taught in published literature including etiquette and conduct manuals (as shown in chapter one), such as in the anonymously written 1772 'Essay on Peevishness' in the *Hibernian Magazine* (1772–1812). This essay discussed the destruction of communal happiness and unity because, 'in every other state of inferiority the certainty of pleasing is perpetually increased by a fuller knowledge of our duty; and kindness and confidence are strengthened by every new act of trust, and proof of fidelity'.[61] This etiquette tract taught young girls and women that understanding and fulfilling duties increased their desire to please, which could both be evidence of kindness and produce it.

For example, Backhouse's cousin Elizabeth Gurney Fry wrote in March 1804 about how the death of her mother-in-law Elizabeth Lambert Fry brought her closer to her father-in-law William Storrs Fry, who 'from the time of her marriage, had treated her with uniform kindness and attention', and now that he was grieving, it 'was her pleasure as well as duty, to unite his own children in soothing his declining years'.[62] However, for Backhouse, kindness demarcated a desire to help those who were ill, for she writes that, 'I could often wish my heart were more susceptible of kindness and compassion than it is'. She felt she failed in carrying out the duties of the sick-room. Compassionate kindness became both a means and a symbol of the sick-room: as a symbol for perfection of feminine duty, and as a method whereby she would easily complete the necessary sick-room duties by being genuine, authentic, and enthusiastic. Accordingly, Backhouse used the emotional language of kindness to create a space to reflect on her understanding of and feelings about the feminine duty of the sick-room while repenting for her slightly deviant behaviour; thus, we see that kindness was a social practice and a duty. This particular concept of Backhouse's harkens back to chapter one's conception of kindness as coming from the heart, meaning that it needed to be

[61] Anonymous, "Essay on Peevishness," *Hibernian Magazine*, 1772, 177.

[62] Elizabeth Gurney Fry, "Diary of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, March 1804," in *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from Her Journals and Letters, Vol. 1*, ed. Katherine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Fry Cresswell (London: C. Gilpin, J. Hatchard & Co., 1847).

genuinely felt as well as acted; in other words, duties, while being completed, needed to be authentic as well as fulfilled, and this is where kindness helped the person performing the duty. Additionally, Backhouse's perception refers back to chapter two's questioning of kindness as a series of acts. Therefore, although Backhouse situated her kindness within a particular Quaker context, she borrowed from broader conceptions of kindness as well: that is, the notion that women had a duty—social, religious—to sincerely complete acts or expressions of kindness while undertaking other duties.

Further, kindness acted as a means of focussing a discussion around the particularly religious expectations of feminine behaviour, like fashionable amusements. The third case study considers Elizabeth Gurney Fry. Like her cousin Backhouse, she came from a tradition of Quakerism, being born into two prominent and pious Quaker families, the Gurneys and Barclays. At the age of twenty, she married Quaker banker Joseph Fry, with whom she went on to have eleven children, survive bankruptcy and downsizing, and disavowal by their Quaker community. Since 1799 when she adopted the trappings of the strict Quakers, Fry was active in her faith. Her many activities included visiting the Irish colony with clothing, food and medicine; becoming a Quaker minister in 1811; advocating for vaccines, especially regarding smallpox; agitating for better treatment of female prisoners; founding several schools, including one for the children of prisoners; founding several societies focussed on social reform; journeying to the continent to visit prisoners and fellow reformers; and constantly preaching. Her faith was further strengthened by fellow Quakers William Slavery (1750–1804, minister), Priscilla Hannah Gurney (1757–1828, minister), and Deborah Darby (1754–1810, minister).[63] Fry kept a spiritual diary from an early age, charting her spiritual progress.[64] Following the tradition of those who influenced her, Fry wrote her spiritual diary with the hopes of aiding the spiritual advancement of future readers and, thus, she focussed on many seemingly trivial matters that had religious significance. For instance, Fry wrote in her diary on 4 March 1799 about refusing her brother Joseph John (1788–1847, banker) when he asked her to dance.[65] She considered how refusing to dance created a duty to her brother:

> I must out of kindness to him not be tempted by any one else. Have mercy, oh God! have mercy upon me! and let me act right, I humbly pray Thee; wilt

[63] Francisca de Haan, "Fry [Nee Gurney], Elizabeth (1780–1845)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 2004.
[64] Elizabeth Gurney Fry, *Elizabeth Fry: A Quaker Life: Selected Letters and Writings*, ed. Gil Skidmore (Rowman Altamira, 2005), 1, 15.
[65] de Haan.

> Thou love my dearest most dear brothers and sisters, wilt Thou protect us? Dear John! I feel much for him, such as these are home strokes, but I had far rather have them, if indeed guided by Supreme Wisdom; for then I need not fear. I know that not dancing will not lead me to do wrong, and I fear dancing does; though the task is hard on their account, I hope I do not mind the pain to myself. I feel for them; but if they see in time I am happier for it, I think they will no longer lament over me.[66]

In this extract, dancing symbolises a temptation with which Fry struggled; accordingly, she prayed to God using the guiding principle of kindness. Behind her struggle with the temptation of dancing is the fact that in 1799, Fry made herself known as a plain, or strict, Quaker. A plain Quaker practiced 'plainness' (having plain language, dress, and manners) in order to undertake a self-perceived intervention in the social symbolic, by for example refusing hat honour and adopting plain speech or Quaker grey.[67] The theological basis for the practice of plainness resided in the theology of Quietism. Flourishing from the 1690s to 1820s, Quietism maintained that by withdrawing literally from the world and listening to the silence within oneself, by annihilating self-will and stifling human emotions and impulses, a Quaker can hear the voice of God communicated through their Inner Light to impart true wisdom.[68] Not all Quakers adopted this practice of plainness or Quietism, but for those who did, dancing represented worldly ostentation and distraction from communication with God. For example, American Quaker Elizabeth Ashbridge (1713–1755) formulated the foremost aspect of her suffering as resisting motion, particularly that of dancing forced on her by her husband.[69] Hence, following in the footsteps of eminent Quakers, dancing became a symbol of temptation for Fry; she therefore withdrew from dancing in order to receive God's word, and yet, she still desired to dance and felt pain in how her withdrawal also brought pain to others—in this case, her brother. Accordingly, this language of temptation appears within her diary entry and matches her prayerful utterances and beseeching. Further, she uses her expressions of kindness as a symbol of her success in replacing the desire to dance, despite the pain she experienced the process, with a more appropriate virtue of Christian kindness.

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[66] Elizabeth Gurney Fry, "Diary of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, March 1799," in *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from Her Journals and Letters, Vol. 1*, ed. Katherine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Fry Cresswell (London: C. Gilpin, J. Hatchard & Co., 1847).

[67] Edwina Newman and Judith Jennings, "New Perspectives on Eighteenth-Century British Quaker Women," *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 162; Jantzen, "Choose Life!," 137–38.

[68] Plant, "Subjective Testimonies," 298–99; Rothermel, "Prophets, Friends, Conversationalists," 76.

[69] Kristi Carter, "Contempt for Her Practice: Elizabeth Ashbridge's Quest for Religious Freedom Through Pious Rhetoric and Rebellious Female Agency," *Women's Studies* 47, no. 6 (2018): 604.

Christian virtues, including kindness, as explored in chapter one, urged women to undertake appropriate behaviour of piety, productivity, submissiveness, gentleness, self-regulation, and moderation. By using kindness in her attempts to resist the desire to dance and remember to be kind to John, Fry articulates the concept as a form of deference. By understanding kindness as a method to convey deference, it is emphasised again in this chapter how contemporaries utilised this virtue in their actions and thoughts to further embody the respectable, and in this case, the spiritual, woman, as the respectable, spiritual woman would always be deferential to others' needs and to the duties that were required of them. Moreover, Fry made her diary readers witness her exhibition of and struggles with model religious behaviour. We see evidence of this in the fact she refused to dance with her brother; out of a sense of kindness towards her sibling and an awareness of God, she remained firm against the desire to dance with someone else, mused on the dangers of dancing, and understood the difficulty of the task, but she did not mind the pain, if instead she could find happiness. In these diaries, the narrative about struggles is key, because that which is easy, is not worthy. Consequently, Fry had to suppress distracting emotions like desire and temptation, but kindness, as ordained by God, allowed Fry to complete the ideals of Quietism, that is, restraint, silence, and subjection.[70] By using the emotional language of kindness, Fry creates an acceptable space to explore and express her understanding of her feminine role within the theology of Quietism.

Spiritual diaries aimed to teach readers about their religious communities' theology and identity; consequently, the role of the self became an important aid in conveying such knowledge. In their position as surveyors of their own souls, the Quaker women examined here used the emotional language of kindness as a significant framework to create written spaces in their spiritual diaries to communicate both to God and to themselves the fact that they understood the religious and feminine duties expected of them. As these women conversed with God, they came to accept their religious duties and their own suffering as both Quakers and humans. The emotional language of kindness operated as a principal framework for these women to express opinions and ideas in an acceptable manner. In this way, the women were able to repent or keep from sinning.

Proof of Election

[70] Teakle, "Mary Birkett Card (1774–1817)," 186.

The previous section discussed the confessional aspect of spiritual diaries; the following section discusses proof of election. Quaker women carefully scrutinised their daily lives for signs of grace, and thus discerned God's intervention in their lives.[71] In their spiritual diaries, women identified signs of grace in customary to painful events that occurred both within their domestic lives and in their active pursuit of faith. Aside from the theology of predestination that gave importance to this religious duty, Quaker women reasonably assumed that upon death, their diaries would receive editing before being published for educational purposes, meaning that future readers would understand and learn about their personal proof of election.[72] Significantly, Quaker women used religious theology—especially kindness—as well as motifs and tropes to locate, explore, and declare the events they experienced as their proof of election. In studying these literary and theological deployments, we observe a pattern of understanding and meaning. Thus, we can look at how, in these recorded events, Quaker women found signs of God's intervention through direct and indirect means. In this case specifically, we see this through the expression or act of kindness from another to themselves—including how the other people in their lives were agents of God—to discover how such contexts intertwined with their individual understanding of theology and literary conventions. As such, many women did not overtly assert their proof of election because this type of bold assertion was overridden by the religious concepts that viewed women as humble and modest; accordingly, these women signalled their election through mutually understood terms and symbols, like that of kindness. Thus, kindness operated for Quaker diarists as a method to locate signs of God's grace—and hence their proof of election.

To emphasise the continuity of God's love for them, women identified in their spiritual diaries experiences of Christian kindness as signs of God's intervention. Elizabeth Gurney Fry, a dedicated spiritual diarist, recorded numerous instances by which she declared God's grace and intervention. Besides signalling her status as an elect Christian, Fry taught her future readers about the religious expectations and theology that was significant to female spiritual writers. Despite being a dedicated social activist well known for her prison reform efforts, Fry remained dedicated to her family. Quakerism expected of its female adherents who actively engaged in public activities also to fulfil their familial duties.[73] Thus, in her diary Fry based her signs of God's grace overwhelmingly within the domestic setting of her

[71] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 4–5.
[72] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 39–40; Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 65.
[73] Plant, "Subjective Testimonies," 302–10.

family. Hence, twenty-nine-year-old Fry wrote in November 1809 about the aftermath of the death of her father, John Gurney:

> This day has altogether been a comfortable one, though very low at times, and having to walk in the valley [reference to Psalm 23. 4]; may I be enabled, if it be right for me, to trust and not to fear. I have greatly felt my beloved father's loss to-day; and yesterday, though calm, yet I suffered much on his account; he was in some things, like my heart's delight, I so enjoyed to please him and was so fond of him, that to hear of the sufferings he passed through, before he came to a state of reconciliation, greatly affected me to-day; but I have had more comfort on his account, than anything else. The great love and kindness I have received from them all, and my uncle Joseph [1757–1830, John Gurney's brother and father of Hannah Chapman Backhouse], has been encouraging to me; and my husband [Joseph Storrs Fry, 1777–1861] has been a true helpmate, and sweet counsellor.[74]

Within this account of grief and death, the kindness of others as agents of God and her father's good death together create a narrative of God's grace. Contemporaries perceived three ways to grieve: first, the unnaturalness of feeling no grief; second, the lack of faith, reason, self-control, and/or perverse wilfulness in surrendering to feelings in an excessive grief; and third, a moderate grieving with appropriate amounts and types of sentiments.[75] In her comment, 'The great love and kindness I have received from them all', Fry establishes the Gurney-Fry family's grief as 'moderate' by showing that their reactions manifested as unity, love, and kindness. This signified a promising future because God's grace intervened through their actions of succour and comfort to each other. Simultaneously, by writing 'that to hear of the sufferings he passed through, before he came to a state of reconciliation [gone to heaven]', Fry fashioned for her father a good death. Notably, a 'good' or 'hard' death indicated an individual's eternal fate in heaven, purgatory, or hell; consequently, it was important to represent the recently deceased as having had a good death.[76] Contemporaries defined a good death as submitting to God's hand, surrounded by family or friends, with the time and capacity for the orderly settlement of worldly concerns, spiritual preparation, full

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[74] Elizabeth Gurney Fry, "Diary of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, November 1809," in *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from Her Journal and Letters, Vol. 1*, ed. Katherine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Fry Cresswell (London: C. Gilpin, J. Hatchard & Co., 1847).

[75] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, 221.

[76] Lucinda Becker, "The Absent Body: Representations of Dying Early Modern Women in a Selection of Seventeenth-Century Diaries," *Women's Writing* 8, no. 2 (2001): 260–61.

acceptance of fate, and an easy, quiet death.[77] For example, early Methodist Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer nursed John Wesley (1703–1791, founder of Methodism) during his final illness and death in March 1791. Mortimer wrote in a letter how God notices and values kindness, especially those that aided in a good death: 'your tender sympathy and kindness, my dear madam, were a real blessing to me. My God will take your offered kindness to my dearest father, as done unto himself. At present, he [Wesley] hangs between life and death, but in all human probability will soon leave the dull body behind and fly to the regions of unclouded day'.[78] Intimating that her father experienced a good death and ascended to heaven, Fry signified to her future readers that God's grace visited John Gurney and, by extension, his family—including her. Thus, in the two narratives of the emotional language of kindness in grief and a good death, Fry showed that she viewed her relatives' actions of comfort and grief at her father's good death as proof of both election and God's grace. That spiritual kindness had such an important role in Fry ordering her feelings and thoughts during her grief displays how this concept remained important to women for its ability to help in articulating weighty subjects—like her father being saved—and allowed women the space to work through their feelings, while remaining respectable.

During painful events, women viewed other family members as God's agents, and so their kindness became God's intervention. In using this tactic of God's personal care, Quaker diarists showed awareness of the aim of their diaries to educate future readers about religious theology, and, significantly, to provide an example of a godly life.[79] Thirty-four-year-old Elizabeth Gurney Fry wrote in her spiritual diary on 16 April 1814 about a period in her life during which she experienced unknown tribulations. The exact nature of her discomfort is unclear, but two months later, in July, her daughter Louisa [1814–1896] is born. Fry writes how her sisters Rachel [Gurney, 1778–1827], Elizabeth Shepard Gurney [n.d.–1855, wife of brother Samuel Gurney] and Elizabeth Fry [1779–1844, sister of husband, Joseph Fry] through 'much kindness' supported her causing a rush of feeling:

> Sweet as the encouragement given has been, yet there have been seasons when I have been too low to take it, or to feel it; but in abundant mercy a little help,

[77] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, 183–207.
[78] Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer, "Letter from Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer, March 1, 1791," in *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Mortimer: With Selections From Her Correspondence*, ed. Agnes Collinson Bulmer (London: T. Mason and G. Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1836).
[79] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37.

> has been administered to my very unworthy soul from the Fountain Head, and my fears have been greatly quieted.[80]

During this unknown painful experience, Fry uses the concept of Christian kindness to signal to future readers that she received God's grace through the earthly agents of her female kin (sister, brother's wife, husband's sister), who gave her comfort, encouragement, mercy, and assistance.[81] Christian kindness, as Thomas Foxcroft poignantly argued in his 1719 sermon, was 'service and consequence'. He further noted that 'This spiritual armour, this coat of Maile [chain mail or maille] is of such behold and necessity that if we are found naked and uncloathed [*sic*] upon, we lie open and exposed to innumerable evils and perils'.[82] One aspect of Christian kindness, explored in depth in chapter one, was that God gave humanity kindness by giving scriptures and goodness. Another aspect of Christian kindness, also explored in chapter one, argues that feminine Christian kindness—that is, God's kindness enacted through the bodies of women—restricted women to a set of 'natural' behaviour (piety, productivity, submissiveness, gentleness, self-regulation, and moderation), which the Church promised as part of natural biology, and thus, attempted to bond women to society by promoting these virtuous behaviours as their only alternative. Therefore, Fry conveys the idea that God's kindness manifested itself on earth through the actions of her close female kin, who were His agents, with the sentence, 'received much kindness from my dear sisters, Elizabeth Gurney and Elizabeth Fry', and she simultaneously invests their behaviour with the traits of ideal feminine behaviour. This behaviour emerged from the doctrine about feminine kindness and the religious doctrine of human as surrogates for God on earth, as seen in chapter one. In the quotation above, Fry underlines the difficulty of accepting God's kindness and how earthly agents encouraged her to accept God's goodness even when she was feeling low. Further, articulating the significance of woman-centred kindness by emphasising that she received kindness from two of her sisters, Fry uses an essential part of Quaker theology that often appeared in female spiritual diaries: women symbolically placing themselves (and other women) in the position of submissiveness to the ultimate patriarchal authority of God.[83] For example, twenty-two-year-old Hannah Chapman Backhouse wrote on 9 March 1809 in her spiritual diary about her religious calling:

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[80] Elizabeth Gurney Fry, "Diary of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, April 1814," in *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, with Extracts from Her Journal and Letters, Vol.1*, ed. Katherine Fry and Rachel Elizabeth Fry Cresswell (London: C. Gilpin, J. Hatchard & Co., 1847).
[81] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37.
[82] Foxcroft, "A Discourse Concerning Kindness," 3.
[83] Wright, 38.

> through the mercy of everlasting kindness, great is the change that this year has wrought in me; the power of Love has enticed me too begin that spiritual journey which leads to the promised land; I have left, by His guidance and strength, the bondage of Egypt, and have seen His wonders in the deep.[84]

Therefore, in presenting these women as being submissive to God, Fry portrays them as vessels of God's mercy towards her suffering. Consequently, within her account of suffering, Fry uses the emotional language of kindness to shape a space wherein she received God's grace through the surrogates of her female relatives. Further, in showing God's agents as being female, Fry shows how contemporaries understood that within spirituality, and especially Quakerism, women could and often did gain a special relevance that they would not have in the secular world, for acting on behalf of God is not inconsequential, and kindness highlights this relevancy.

Alongside everyday painful experiences, Quaker women also located signs of God's grace in their everyday worship experiences. The fourth case study looks at Mary Waring, a life-long single Quaker woman at Goldaming Meeting-House who left behind a rich spiritual diary documenting her spiritual journey and everyday experiences. These experiences included travelling as a minister and representative of her Meeting—the name for the place where Quakers worshipped. Upon her death, Waring's diary became an important source for young Quaker women in their quest to learn about their religion and expected gender identity, particularly with episodes about God's grace serving as tools of edification. In February of 1797, Waring wrote about her experiences at the Meeting: 'though I had to wrestle awhile for the blessing, this morning at meeting, yet was not sent empty away: such is the continued kindness of a gracious Providence to, I am often led to think, the meanest of his works'.[85] In this extract, Waring attributes kindness as coming directly from God, using the positive verbs of 'blessing', 'continued', and 'gracious'. Further, Waring had two reasons for viewing the act of 'continued kindness of a gracious Providence' to her, a 'meanest of his works', as a sign of God's grace and her proof of election. First, she juxtaposes her status of struggling and being unworthy against evidence of God's intervention in her life, that is, receiving 'continued kindness' and 'blessing'. Second, in writing 'this morning at meeting', Waring situates herself in physical proximity to God by being in a space dedicated to worship;

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[84] Hannah Chapman Backhouse, "Diary of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, March 1809," in *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse* (Privately Printed but Not Published, 1858), 32.
[85] Mary Waring, "Diary of Mary Waring, February 1797," in *A Diary of the Religious Experience of Mary Waring, Daughter of Elijah and Sarah Waring, Late of Goldaming* (London: William Phillips, 1809).

accordingly, this indicates her active involvement in faith. The need to enhance personal progress within the written spiritual document of a diary meant that indicating active faith throughout this period remained essential.[86] For example, the Quaker Ruth Follows (1718–1809) emphasised in her diary the close relationship between actively attending worship and receiving kindness from God. During her travelling ministry, she wrote in May 1775 in Northern England that 'on the first-day were at the meeting at Sunderland [County Durham], and a large number there was, but alas! few who live as they ought; yet the kindness of the Lord was indeed manifested'.[87] By intertwining active faith, the emotional language of kindness, and signs of grace, Waring creates a tapestry wherein she located signs of God's intervention in a daily life filled with active faith: this tapestry tells how contemporaries understood kindness as a significant aspect of both having an active faith but also of how kindness allowed for a type of symbolic proximity to God, who delivered salvation.

Furthermore, Quaker women inserted God's continued kindness and grace into their religious covenanting. During the eighteenth century, contemporaries debated the nature of a religious convent—whether it was unilateral (from God to Christians) or bilateral. However, most contemporaries viewed their covenanting with God as a bilateral agreement involving mutual obligations of both parties.[88] For example, Richard Brothers (1757–1824, philosopher) wrote, in his 1794 prophetic book, that 'for the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed: but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, says the Lord that has mercy on thee'.[89] Likewise, written spiritual diaries themselves could be viewed as a form of written covenanting.[90] Consequently, Mary Waring's spiritual diaries became a base for her religious covenanting within the pages; furthermore, she taught her future readers about the process of entering into a covenant with God. In November 1798, Mary Waring wrote about how she 'sat up last night with a neighbour; yet did not feel easy to stay from meeting [service at Goldaming], which proved a sweet, solacing season, so that I could say, it was good for me to be there: ever desiring to

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[86] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37; Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 66; Newman and Jennings, "New Perspectives on Eighteenth-Century British Quaker Women," 160.

[87] Ruth Alcock Follows, "Diary of Ruth Alcock Follows, May 1775," in *Memoirs of Ruth Follows, Late of Castle Donnington, Leicestershire, for Sixty Years a Minister in the Society of Friends: With Extracts Form Her Letters* (Liverpool: C. Bentham & Co., 1829).

[88] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 18–21.

[89] Richard Brothers, *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times. Book the First. Containing, with Other Great and Remarkable Things, the Restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, by the Year 1798, under Their Revealed Prince and Prophet.* (London, 1794), 17.

[90] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 21.

esteem the loving-kindness of the Lord the greatest of all blessings'.[91] A circuitous pattern of Waring's behaviour can be viewed in this example. At the Meeting, Waring prays and submits to God, which then guarantees her continued reception of God's loving-kindness and grace, repeated *ad nauseum*. In the language of 'sat up last night with a neighbour; yet did not feel easy to stay from meeting', Waring emphasises the indispensable nature of her covenant with God, and, therefore, her circuitous behaviour continues during exhaustion from duties. Consequently, Waring establishes that duties and exhaustion were not an excuse to discontinue her side of the spiritual accounting, as seen in her commercial language of keeping a balanced account: 'sat up last night with a neighbour; yet did not feel easy to stay from', balanced against 'ever desiring to esteem of the loving-kindness of the Lord'. Waring wrote her daily activities as a type of accounting of her behaviour contrasted against God's grace, and so created a tone of Protestant celebration of industry and thrift (which was not unusual, as Effie Botonaki has shown in seventeenth-century spiritual diaries).[92] For example, Methodist Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer, in November 1804, accounted the loss of sight in one eye as just payment for her husband being 'kindness itself', along with the knowledge that, 'but I have one good eye; and if the eyes of my understanding are but more fully opened, I shall do well'.[93] Using a tone of spiritual accounting in her pattern of earning kindness and grace, Waring (and Mortimer) established the importance of a bilateral covenant between God and Christians. Ultimately, Waring used the emotional language of kindness within her daily accounting in her covenant with God to establish her proof of election. This shows that, to eighteenth-century women, kindness in spirituality was understood to be one of the avenues that could open a conversation with God, even if it was one-sided, in their diaries. In the course of these conversations about various everyday topics that show their piety, women used perceived kindness as proof of their election, which, to them, shows how both parties, themselves and God, were living up to their promises to each other.

Religious bilateral covenanting with God, for Mary Waring, continued five years later in a discussion aimed at teaching her readers about the peculiarities of maintaining faith,

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[91] Mary Waring, "Diary of Mary Waring, November 1798," in *A Diary of the Religious Experience of Mary Waring, Daughter of Elijah and Sarah Waring, Late of Goldaming* (London: William Phillips, 1809).
[92] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 13–18.
[93] Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer, "Diary of Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer, November 1804," in *Memoirs of Mrs Elizabeth Mortimer, With Selections From Her Correspondence*, ed. Agnes Collinson Bulmer (London: T. Mason and G. Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1836).

especially with regard to humanity's duty to God. In April of 1802, Mary Waring's diary has an entry that reads:

> Read some letters from those to whom I was once nearly united; and who of later years have deserted the precious cause of truth. My soul was deeply prostrated, under a humbling sense of the continued kindness of a merciful God, who hath hitherto preserved me alive amidst so much weakness; and renewed desires were begotten in my heart for the recovery of these strayed ones.[94]

With the language of 'continued', 'preserved me', 'renewed', and 'recovery', Waring identifies the importance of kindness in the process of identifying God's intervention in her life, as God's compassionate kindness counteracted her human weakness and renewed her faith. Waring's claims of kindness renewing faith resulted from a tradition of Christian theology, as explored in chapter one, and, for example, as Timothy Priestley's (1733–1804, scientist and minister) 1790s *The Christian Magazine* taught, 'a sense of the Lord's kindness will undoubtedly be one of the most powerful motives to excite us to an entire dependence on him, and to please him in all things, nay, raise our hearts to the highest love'.[95] In the specific device of covenants, kindness, according to Waring, counted as proof of election because God's truth and trade created a written bilateral covenant. The theology of God's truth had prominence among the Quakers for two reasons: one, it was only through Inner Light that a follower could recognise the truth of scripture (God's truth, essentially) shared amongst the adherents, and, two, Quakers had a responsibility to spread the truth through literary theory and language, in published works.[96] For example, in a letter that Quaker Sarah Lynes Grubb (1773–1842, travelling minister) sent to her cousin Sarah Pim Grubb (1746–1832, businesswoman) on 12 December l797, she wrote, 'didst thou ever know of so many out together on religious service in the two nations as now? I long we may accept the present large offer many ways of everlasting kindness, mercy, and truth'.[97] Grubb's covenant exists as congregants doing kindness, mercy, and truth daily. Waring's use of the motif of truth—

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[94] Mary Waring, "Diary of Mary Waring, April 1802," in *A Diary of the Religious Experience of Mary Waring, Daughter of Elijah and Sarah Waring, Late of Goldalming* (London: William Phillips, 1809).
[95] Rev. Timothy Priestley, ed., *The Christian's Magazine, or Gospel Repository*, vol. 1 (London: T. Chapman, 1790), 296.
[96] Jantzen, "Choose Life!," 151; Rothermel, "Prophets, Friends, Conversationalists," 85; Wright, "Single Women in the Religious Society of Friends 1780–1860," 92; Michele L. Tarter, "Reading a Quaker's Book: Elizabeth Ashbridge's Testimony of Quaker Literary Theory," *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2 (2005): 176–82.
[97] Sarah Lynes Grubb, "Letter from Sarah Lynes Grubb to Sarah Pim Grubb, December 12 1797," in *A Selection from the Letters of the Late Sarah Grubb, Formerly Sarah Lynes* (Sudbury, England: J. Wright, 1848).

with the language 'precious cause of truth'—in her spiritual diary followed well-established conventions that her future readers would have understood. Waring used this motif to infer that those who lost God's truth correspondingly lost his compassionate kindness, as seen in her writing directly afterwards: 'my soul was deeply prostrated, under a humbling sense of the continued kindness of a merciful God'. Accordingly, for Waring, by departing from the path of truth, a follower broke their bilateral covenant with God, as seen in the language of spiritual accounting and the understanding that a spiritual diary itself acted as a written covenant.[98] Furthermore, 'continued kindness' highlights God's attention, harkening back to chapter two's discussions of attention, authenticity, and social contracts. Waring's entire entry here has an account-book influence, with checks and balances: those who drift from God's truth ended the bilateral convent, so, to ensure its continuance, she submits herself to God's authority, and in return God gives her continuing strength and faith. In using the motif of trade and truth to display a bilateral covenant fulfilled by God with compassionate kindness, Waring establishes that adherence to her religion—Quakerism—resulted in signs of God's grace.

By establishing that God constantly used humans as his agents during ordinary and painful experiences, these diary writers revealed to future readers that the rewards of faithfulness and knowledge of religion, including kindness, comprised their actual salvation. Twenty-year old, unmarried, Hannah Chapman Backhouse wrote in her spiritual diary in February 1808 about her feelings for her father Joseph Gurney [1757-1830, banker] after they walked home from a Meeting,

> His great kindness to me and his sweetness altogether, made me love him inexpressibly, and I could have shed tears. In such moments I feel unworthy and ashamed of myself as his daughter: I can scarcely bear to think what I might be to him.[99]

With the words 'privilege', 'great kindness', 'sweetness', 'made me love', 'shed tears', 'feel unworthy and ashamed', and 'what I might be', Backhouse writes an emotional account that accentuates the significance of her principal message: as agents of God, their father-daughter relationship operated as a conduit for grace in the form of kindness. This demonstrates that within the confines of spirituality, Backhouse understood kindness as heavenly, sent to her through close human intermediaries, in this case her father, and in this way, everything good

[98] Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries," 21.
[99] Hannah Chapman Backhouse, "Diary of Hannah C. Backhouse, February 1808," in *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of H.C. Backhouse*, ed. Jane Gurney Fox (London: R. Barrett, 1858).

he did was understood as a kind proof of her election. In doing this, Backhouse argues in this extract that their father-daughter relationship fulfilled the dictates of a 'tender' parent, with the language of, 'his great kindness to me and his sweetness altogether, made me love him inexpressibly'. Although Backhouse does not disclose the exact nature of his kindness, she does gesture to the eighteenth-century contemporary value of emoting appropriately, and so, refers to the idea of the 'tender' parent who encompassed the characteristics of being affectionate, fond, kind, joyous, solicitous, and concerned.[100] For example, Margaret Hoare Woods, a Quaker woman mentioned earlier, used the expectations surrounding 'tender' parents to write about her grief on 18 May 1800, after her granddaughters' death: 'Friends counsel quick dismission of our grief:/ mistaken kindness! Our hearts heal too soon,/ Are they more kind than He who struck the blow?/ Who bid it do his errand in our hearts?'[101] Further, to emphasise the form of their father-daughter relationship, Backhouse strategically employs the Quaker motif of weeping, in writing that, 'and I could have shed tears'. Quakers endowed tears with significance and sentimental moral virtue because, to them, crying signalled the virtue of fellows who shed tears out of pure compassion.[102] Altogether, this duality of the tender parent and tears shaped how the future readers would understand her own reaction to her father—Backhouse had a reasonable expectation that upon her death, her family and others would edit and publish her diaries for educational purposes.[103] Using words of feeling—'love', 'tears', 'unworthy', and 'ashamed'—Backhouse fashions the tale of an unmarried daughter who keenly felt two simultaneous responses: overwhelming love and ashamed unworthiness. These responses that Backhouse manifested towards her father were also the responses women often made towards a patriarchal God. This extension of God's behaviour through an earthly male patriarchal figure, such as husband or father, occurred regularly in this period; in published literature contemporary women were to reflect their love and affection through obedience.[104] Further, submission to God (the ultimate patriarchal figure) is another important element that Quaker women regularly employed within their spiritual diaries.[105] Backhouse, through her actions towards her father, correspondingly acted

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[100] Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 22, 26–30.
[101] Margaret Hoare Woods, "Diary of Margaret Hoare Woods, May 1800," in *Extracts from the Journal of the Late Margaret Woods, from the Year 1771 to 1821* (London: H. Longstreth, 1850).
[102] Stewart, "Good Quaker Women, Tearful Sentimental Spectators, Readers and Auditors," 76–81.
[103] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 37, 39–40; Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified,'" 65.
[104] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester University Press, 2011), 119.
[105] Wright, "'Gaining a Voice,'" 38.

towards God, and vice versa. This intertwining of spirituality, patriarchy, and kindness demonstrates that Backhouse understood this eighteenth-century concept of kindness as an inherently symbolic tool for her participation in the 'natural' system of gender hierarchy and performance. This led her to be able to argue that when these men—God and, in this world, her father—acted kindly towards her, it was proof of her divine election because she participated in this 'natural' system every day.

In fulfilling the dictates of using their spiritual diaries to prove their election, Quaker women illustrated and analysed everyday experiences on the pages. Concurrently, as they proved their election, these women taught their future readers about religious theology, gendered expectations, and an example of a godly life. These episodes occurred during normal events as well as painful moments in these women's domestic lives and during their religious observances. Women wrote about the signs of grace and God's intervention that they located in their experiences through direct and indirect means; often other people appeared in these episodes as agents of God who showed Quaker women His grace and intervention. These Quaker women used religious theology—like covenanting—and literary motifs or tropes to locate, explore, and prove their signs of grace throughout the various episodes. Part of the arsenal they employed to do this was kindness. To these Quaker women, kindness existed as an important aspect of religious theology and literary language, which meant that they could locate signs of grace and God's intervention in actions and feelings of the people on the page. Women understood kindness this way because, as shown, this concept allowed them to manoeuvre within their spirituality in order to affix and vocalise their conceptions of how they fulfilled their duties—either directly to God or to a communal dictate such as gender roles—and in doing so, they proved to themselves and their readers why they could and did argue for their election. Consequently, the emotional language of kindness enabled the expression of opinions and ideas within the pages of the spiritual diary; it gave women a framework to express their understanding of religious knowledge.

The Articulation of Kindness in Quaker Spiritual Diaries

Four Quaker women—Margaret Hoare Woods, Mary Waring, Elizabeth Fry Gurney, and Hannah Chapman Backhouse—diligently kept spiritual diaries throughout their adult lives. The inherent expectations and needs of this genre of diary-keeping shaped what they produced and the usages of kindness found within them. As mentioned throughout, the spiritual diary's inbuilt expectations of exacting self-examination shaped how and why the

diaries were kept, and also shaped the structure of this chapter into 'role of self' and 'proof of election'. Further, Quaker women, when writing their spiritual diaries, had a reasonable expectation that upon their death, their diaries would be edited and published for educational purposes. This expectation shaped how women approached and wrote their religious experiences, as seen throughout this chapter. Together, these two aspects shaped the usage of kindness examined throughout this chapter and influenced the ways in which kindness became a linguistic strategy to aid in achieving the diarists' aims.

This chapter has argued that the language of kindness helped Quaker women to explore a balance between religious and feminine expectations and their personal feelings and experiences. Women used kindness in two main ways that resulted in communication both with God and their later readership. First, Quaker women used kindness when examining and criticising their own behaviour, in accordance with religious and feminine expectations, while simultaneously exploring their own opinions about their experiences. Women used kindness to convey their understanding and adherence to religious and gendered expectations. Secondly, Quaker women used kindness as a focal point to locate, examine, and argue their proof of election from their experiences in their day-to-day lives; they chose daily experiences of kindness to argue their proof of election, and to reinforce the way in which others within their communities viewed them. Ultimately, Quaker women used the rhetoric of kindness in their personal journeys to negotiate a communication with God characterised by a carefully wrought balance between their own feelings and the spiritual and gender expectations. Ultimately, women understood religious kindness as a both a means to demonstrate their fluency in theology and as a means to find agency through harnessing these aforementioned ideals to create a space in which to examine their lives without transgressing boundaries. For example, by harnessing their understanding of the 'natural' order of gender with God as the ultimate patriarchal figure, these women were able to assert their own opinions of what episodes in their lives proved their elected status and simultaneously remain a respectable woman in her proper place. In being able to do so, this understanding of spiritual kindness shows us that women were intimately aware of the flexibility of the concept, but it also shows that they were not hesitant to rework these to their advantage; these women knew that kindness as a virtue helped them signpost their own respectable behaviour, even when failing to upkeep the stringent standards placed upon women. Above all, in this chapter, women understood that since the origin of kindness is with God, then every experience and every act of kindness is continuing proof that they have not failed in their womanhood, as it is a gift given or taken away by God himself. Ultimately, as in some ways

with Burney, kindness provided a gauge by which Quaker women came to understand their relationship with God and salvation. This chapter's place within the broader project can thus be seen as a further exploration of chapter one's establishment of the spiritual origins of kindness in the didactic literature, to show how women themselves used this concept within their own spiritual journey. Furthermore, this chapter also demonstrates links between the other two chapters: as in the previous chapter, women used kindness as a means to gauge an important aspect of their experience, and, as in chapter two, women used kindness as a means to showcase their authenticity.

Threaded through this chapter are two themes, which develop our understanding of Quaker women and spiritual diaries. This chapter adds to the field of the study of Quaker literary motifs and tropes by showing that kindness operated as a key concept; kindness helped diarists express their underlying religious understandings to their future readers and, significantly, to God. At the same time, this chapter extends the understanding of the factors involved in a woman composing a feminine gender identity within the standards of both wider society and her religious community of Quakers, while simultaneously expressing personal opinions. This reveals that kindness had a place within the spiritual community of women who diligently wrote in their diaries about their experiences of Christianity and their concern for their soul's salvation. For these women, religious kindness appeared both as a religious concept that aimed to regulate their behaviours and as a means to partly circumvent and gain control of their own behaviour while remaining a respectable, god-fearing woman.

CONCLUSION:
FEMININE KINDNESS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By consistently focusing on women's uses and understandings of kindness, I discover several significant connections between social practices and emotion that contribute to our understanding of the British eighteenth century. These connections build upon an established definition of eighteenth-century female kindness as a duality: both as a practice manifested in acts between several people, and as a series of expressions, which enabled women successfully to navigate social relationships. Women, as explored in chapters two to four, understood kindness as a method of overcoming social difficulties, a means of navigating and building relationships, and a way of signalling their femininity. Maria Edgeworth strengthened her 'affectionate' familial bonds; Frances Burney D'Arblay found a public affirmation of her actions within two social communities; and Margaret Hoare Woods, Mary Waring, Elizabeth Gurney Fry, and Hannah Chapman Backhouse questioned the authenticity of their inner selves in relation to their religion.

In the examination of printed books and periodicals, Chapter 1 laid the foundation for the rest of 'Through Women's Writing' by establishing how and where women learned this specific form of kindness. The didactic works studied demonstrated that authors defined feminine kindness in both physical and social terms, to teach about the consequences of anxiety- and fear-producing female behaviour, and to enforce expectations surrounding respectability. Overall, Chapter 1 established that the metaphor of the body, theology of Christian kindness, and anxieties surrounding fashionable kindness taught readers the basic forms from which they reworked and subverted in their own versions of the practice, while remaining within the acceptable boundaries of femininity.

In Chapter 2, kindness emerged as both actions and expressions that aided kin in negotiating associated emotions like love and wistful remembrance, to sustain or create bonds between each other. In such a configuration, the actions of gift-giving, offering or completing favours, and expressions of kindness allowed the Edgeworth women to negotiate continued efficacious bonds with kin, especially in the absence of physical proximity. Ultimately, this analysis established the importance of these mechanics of kindness in the eighteenth-century 'affectionate' lineage family.

In Chapter 3, the analysis established the equal importance of kindness alongside the movements of sensibility, politeness, and sociability. With Burney's continual feeling of anxiety over the security of her position as a second keeper of the robes and as a novelist

among her fellow cohorts within society, she interpreted actions of kindness to reassure herself of public validation and communal belonging.

Chapter 4 explored how the language of kindness aided in investigating questions of authenticity, both feminine and religious expectations, and their own feelings or experiences. These four women did this act of exploration through examining, punishing, and forming opinions about their everyday behaviour, and in locating, examining, and arguing their proof of election in episodes defined by kindness.

Displaying how individual women navigated their experiences through an acceptable emotional practice, I consistently uncover the notion that feminine kindness took two forms—either actions or expressions. As self-identified by authors, other people in their lives completed specific 'kind' actions, deeds, or events. Simultaneously, women themselves used specific vocabulary to convey to the reader that a wider opinion or sentiment had origins in kindness. Each of these forms, actions, and expressions, were united by several principles. Christianity influenced all forms of kindness because of the enduring importance of this religion's theology and concepts to contemporaries in the formulation of their worldview. Further, while these instances of kindness originated as female-oriented, men could also use kindness, albeit with a few differences. Lastly, as shown consistently throughout the different chapters, kindness could change in the hands of women to a religious, emotional, or social form, depending on what they needed in a particular situation, thus helping to convey a specific underlying meaning and promote their agendas.

The analysis in Chapter 1 established the shared consensus of kindness as a Christian virtue that signalled femininity. However, scrutiny in the following three chapters on women's letters and diaries showed that women understood and used kindness in many different ways. During everyday personal interactions and in correspondence, women, as seen throughout each chapter, fully participated in the labour required to enact kindness. Each chapter's analysis uncovers the ways that kindness allowed women a means of enacting and navigating social relationships. Although used discriminately, women manifested kindness through particular acts, such as gifting, and through expressions. Through such acts and expressions women worked to forge and maintain their relationships with others over time, and often over distance. This project therefore contributes to the historiography of relationships, including family relationships and friendships, by showing how the multi-faceted feminine-friendly nature of kindness is part of the corpus of essential practices and emotions that women undertook in navigating tension, difficulties, and varied situations in

their social encounters. They did all of this to ensure that their relationships moved forward or continued in the manner they desired—that is, warmly.

Due to its social importance, kindness also operated as a means by which women could judge the nature of their social relationships. Acts and expressions of kindness allowed them to ascertain their significance and mark their belonging or exclusion within specific groups. While politeness has long been understood as a crucial determination of the tenor of social relationships, this thesis underlines the centrality of kindness as a key gauge within women's social relationships. As shown in chapter three with the example of Burney, the difference between politeness and kindness is in the question of authenticity: contemporaries understood that kindness came from a genuine and authentic place within themselves, whereas politeness was a regulated expression that was taught to people throughout their lives. Hence, as demonstrated in the chapter's analysis, when contemporaries practiced both kindness and politeness simultaneously, they were able to show others how they were completing politeness with a genuineness and authenticity that might otherwise have been open to debate. In this sense, this project contributes to the historiography of politeness and social interactions by emphasising how kindness can be placed in a similar yet slightly different position; it was from that position that kindness aided the smooth practice of politeness in social interactions, and also highlights through a new perspective the importance of authenticity in social interactions. Additionally, religion operated as a gauge for women in both interpersonal relationships and in their relationship with God, and this likewise contributes to historiographical discussions. As stated in the Introduction, this project sought to build upon the understanding of how Christian religious ideals influenced the shape of relationships and of women's lived experiences. Throughout this study, Christian theology has been shown to have influenced the ways in which women engaged and re-worked their responses to events in their lives and how they behaved in their relationships.

Alongside the overall themes of religion and social relationships, the analysis of each chapter consistently addresses the question of authenticity in different circumstances and finds the value of kindness in its enactment and genuine expression. In chapter one's outline of the importance of kindness in women's behaviour and social interactions, published literature consistently stressed that kindness should be expressed and enacted 'from the heart'. Similarly, as chapter four demonstrated, Quaker women also identified the importance of showing genuine kindness. By contrast, the analysis of Edgeworth and Burney in chapters three and four discovered that the appearance mattered as much, if not more, than actual authenticity in their kindness. Therefore, the question of practicing kindness without

authenticity arises in each chapter, along with the difficulty of gauging and understanding it. With such an important theme recurring throughout this study, these findings regarding authenticity critically add to the historiography of several fields (e.g., the social world, religion, family), by underscoring how scholars need to consider the significance that contemporaries placed on both authenticity and on what aided them in putting forth an image of authenticity to others. This pressing desire to be or to be perceived as authentic coincides with the use of several different methods to complete these aims. Such methods, like kindness, complicate the existing historiography, and lead historians to ask: how can authenticity be evaluated and what were the key indicators of being authentic? The three themes of religion, relationships, and authenticity together illuminate kindness as an essential activity in the daily exercise of fulfilling feminine expectations and navigating various bonds.

Overall, the exploration of women's kindness in this project adds to the field of British eighteenth-century studies in several greater ways. Most importantly, this study restores kindness, which had received little attention in the past, to its previous position as an essential virtue that was expressed daily and which formed part of the construction of femininity. From this restoration, we illuminate the importance of kindness in societal expectations surrounding women's behaviour, and as such, we are propelled to re-orient the associated historiography—including that of religion and relationships—to examine known facts through a new lens of analysis. This in turn leads to an enrichment of these historiographies and of the scholarly understanding of the eighteenth-century world.

Examining kindness contributes to several associated fields. First, contributing to a scholarly shift in exploring the complexity of family relationships, this project furthers the discussion with the addition of kindness as a feature of love, 'affections', and the 'affectionate' family. Part of this shift includes acknowledging that many different scholars tend to use modern terms to understand 'affectionate' relationships, whereas kindness allows us to see how contemporaries defined 'affection', their relationships, and the associated constellation of emotions that helped keep their relations easy and provided women with a framework to connect to others with affection. Accordingly, women could thus also build a relationship that would continue throughout hardship and difference. As seen in chapter two, kindness between kin permits us to see how contemporaries defined and enacted affections, as well as how the 'affectionate' family formed around these associated emotions.

Moreover, as chapter three demonstrates, kindness occupied a central position within women's social encounters. In practice, kindness had two important facets that enrich the associated fields of politeness and sensibility. This chapter uncovers how kindness crucially

worked on these codes of conduct to enable those who practiced kindness to move easily and confidently through society. At the same time, kindness encouraged genuine affection and signalled real belonging, unlike those movements that regulated or dictated behaviour, and which caused questions about authenticity to arise.

Second, this project contributes to women's history by establishing how kindness, as a diverse and complex concept taught through ideals in published works, influenced the shape of women's lived experiences. In female community making, inside and outside of the social world, kindness—as this project shows—is another concept that located various different women as using the same dialect to have a mutually intelligible conversation, and this facilitated a strengthening of their relationships. Further, this project reveals how the language and actions of kindness gave women space in their writings to assert a degree of agency in their own experiences. It also gave women the ability to rework expectations of femininity in such a way as to inhabit both conventionality and individualism comfortably. As chapter four demonstrates, Quaker women's diaries in particular show us how women wielded kindness in such a way that permitted them to be both conventional and divergent.

Third, this study builds on the scholarship of female education by expanding our understanding of emotions and their close ties with the creation of feminine identity. It does so by establishing kindness as an ideal that influenced women's lived experience. As the first chapter demonstrates, published literature about kindness shows how contemporary education regarding emotions was undertaken, as well as the close correlation of emotions with other significant factors. The types of kindness women used in creating their female-owned communities and a sense of agency resulted from their education about emotions, which therefore also guided this concept towards one that is based on contemporary societal anxieties, expectations, and gender roles.

As discussed in the Introduction, the foundation of kindness is as a femininised Christian virtue, and in seeking throughout to comprehend how women enacted this form of kindness, this project provides a path forward for future studies into male kindness. Simultaneously, within the study of feminine kindness there are, in each of the chapters, hints of further potential avenues of exploration. The second chapter's assertion of the importance of 'affections' in family life means that future work can explore the significance of 'affectionate' kindness within non-filial relationships and friendships. Thus, in re-examining the nexus of 'affections', emotions, and relationships, this chapter furthers our knowledge of how the instruments of 'affectionate' relationships, including kindness and other emotional practices, were shaped. In Chapter 3, the analysis of politeness and sensibility in the context

of kindness raises questions about emotional practices, including the role of kindness in ensuring the smooth practice of sociability between individuals. Furthermore, by establishing that kindness operated as another code situated between politeness and sensibility, a new avenue of exploration has been opened into the concept of sociability and the expectations that shaped social interactions.

Kindness was and remains one single word in the large corpus of English vocabulary. Yet, as shown in 'Through Women's Writing', eighteenth-century women attached to this word considerable a depth and range of meaning, and they understood kindness to occupy an important place in their daily lives. Thus, contemporaries understood the 'kind' woman, like Hannah Chapman Backhouse or Frances Burney D'Arblay, to be one who formulated her actions and verbal expressions around the regulating ideals of Christian kindness.

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