

The Work of Women: Middle Class Domesticity in Eighteenth Century British Literature

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*This essay considers how British literature in the eighteenth century participated in creating a singularly domestic image of women. Addressing gender roles, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Mary Hays's *Emma Courtney*, and Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* form a literary progression with which to compare nonfiction historical sources. The critique suggests how the changing economic framework disenfranchised women as it enabled men to advance. It further identifies three aspects contributing to women's confinement to the home: first, growing authority over domestic staff; second, responsibility over children's education; and third, a supposed inability to engage with public, political thought. Furthermore, it recognizes how the domestic sphere simultaneously became a women's source of authority while preventing her from engaging with the world at large. Within these topics, the essay considers how a growing feminist voice in British fiction toward the end of*

the eighteenth century allowed female authors to push against the devaluation of women.

THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS of the nineteenth and early twentieth century are iconic: women parading with signs, demanding rights and opportunities, helping to birth the modern form of protest – women relegated to the domestic sphere, pushing to find a way to reach outside the home. But how did these women arrive here? Had the worlds of men and women always been so disparate? When did females shift from being their husbands' helpers in the shop and field to housebound homemakers fighting to push their way out into the world? The answer requires looking to the previous century.

Critic Jennie Batchelor references Katrina Honeyman to assert that although once "labour was predominantly 'perceived . . . in non-gendered terms,'" due to changing work opportunities, "by 1800 labour was viewed as a masculine preserve and 'dependence and domesticity' were widely understood as women's proper work."¹ During that period of non-gendered work described by Honeyman, work and the home were intimately connected; the family operated as a cohesive labor unit. As travel began to be more feasible and trade expanded to a new commerce, a middle class emerged. In this process, work and home separated: the new occupations carried the husband outside the home and left the wife in charge. As a result, the woman became a singularly domestic figure – not that she had no role in the home beforehand, but rather, that as her husband's work became more dissociated from his home and she became more fully responsible for the household, the woman became quintessentially connected to the notion of domesticity.

Her control over the domestic staff and direction of her children's education allowed her a source of power while confining her work strictly to the home.

Like all literature, the writing of this period acted and reacted in response to the societal changes of the time. In 1740, Samuel Richardson published *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, frequently regarded as the first modern English novel, shortly before the new middle class surfaced in conjunction with the Industrial Revolution. The novel focuses on Pamela, a teenage girl from a poor but respectable family, and her tumultuous relationship with her employer Mr. B., who belongs to the landed gentry. In this way Richardson's protagonists flank the social station of what would become the middle class. Moreover, *Pamela* explicitly aims "to set forth in the most exemplary Lights . . . the Social Duties, and that from low to high life," intending the book to embody the highest ideals for women of his day.² But those ideals were challenged rigorously in the years afterwards by nascent feminist theories, pivotally those put forth by Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Her ideas spurred fiction that challenged established norms as well. Mary Hays, one of Wollstonecraft's inner circle, materialized the tension surrounding the new middle-class woman within *The Memoirs of Emma Courtney* in 1796. As more women began to take up the power of the pen, Jane Austen, too, critically portrayed contemporary women in her early novel *Northanger Abbey*, written around 1803 and published posthumously in 1817. Heavily influenced by Samuel Richardson, Jane Austen's turn-of-the-century social commentary presents women whose role contrasts with that of Richardson's Pamela, from sixty years earlier. Through domestic novels like Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), Hays' *Emma Courtney* (1796), and Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (written 1803), fictional females participated in the social shift of gender roles in the latter half of the eighteenth century, imitating as well as invigorating the changes around them as the century progressed. While the fictional novel by no means forms a historical record, it reveals the emerging and established ideologies of the time that contribute to the public perception, and thereby the public action, regarding social issues. This essay argues that the domestic authority of middle-class women in eighteenth century British literature simultaneously affords them increased power in the home and reinforces the gender divide.

In the eighteenth century, the English considered domestic servants essential to any home that could afford to hire them; with the men away at work, middle-class women increasingly became directly responsible for managing household staff. Published around 1800, a book of advice entitled *Domestic Management* addressed to "young housekeepers" – referring to the middle class wives discussed here – explains in the introduction that while it is "the department of the master of the family to provide for [the household], it devolves to the mistress to make the provision allotted go as far as it can, and to direct the interior management of the whole."³ A well-managed staff seemed particularly crucial to the developing British middle class because servants legitimized the status of a newly wealthy family.⁴ Furthermore, a disrespectful or slow servant indicated that the employer did not have enough money to find a better replacement.⁵ To ensure that the staff credited the family name, a woman had to run the household judiciously. A carefully run home crucially helped to socially solidify the family's new economic status.

Throughout the novels discussed here, details show the master slipping into the background of the home as the wife becomes sole mistress of the staff. In *Emma Courtney*, Emma's aunt leaves the room when "the housekeeper enter[s], to consult her mistress on some domestic occasion."⁶ In *Northanger Abbey*, Eleanor Tilney regrets that

she cannot provide the visiting protagonist, Catherine Morland, with an accompanying servant when General Tilney rudely dismisses their guest, because she is “but a nominal mistress” in the Abbey, and her “real power is nothing,” implying that a true mistress would expect to have effectual authority over the affairs of the house.⁷ By the latter part of the eighteenth century, a mistress’s supremacy in her home seemed presupposed, but that status had not always been hers. Perhaps the clearest example of this evolving position within the novels appears in the sexual dynamics between masters and their maids.

“Over the course of the century, the separate sphere of women became reinforced even more strongly as women took charge of their children’s education.”

The first part of *Pamela* revolves around the sexual advances of Mr. B. on his titular maidservant. Despite having an employed housekeeper to oversee the many servants, a mark of higher than average wealth, he directly interacts with his staff on a regular basis. Because Mr. B. is intimately involved with the affairs of the household after his mother’s death, he soon expects to become intimately involved with Pamela. Her complete dependence on satisfying his whim makes her vulnerable to his advances, because he considers sex a service expected of her, and she has no one who might intervene. At one illuminating moment, she remarks that “all the gentlemen about are almost as bad as he,” and “it is grown more a wonder that the men are *resisted*, than that the women *comply*,” mentioning several specific pregnancies from such circumstances within the nearby community.⁸ The direct, regular interaction of the master with his staff facilitates such regular harassment. Despite Pamela’s implication that unconstrained sexual relationships between master and servant were an evil new and peculiar to the time, sexual exploitation of female servants had long been accepted as commonplace. Historian Miriam Slater notes that in the mid-1600’s, “a young female servant . . . was an acceptable target for erotic references and fair game for sexual encounters.”⁹ When one innkeeper’s daughter was offered a position for “lady’s service” in the house of an aristocratic widower, the girl’s mother retorted that she would prefer her daughter “should be a poor man’s wife than the best man’s whore.”¹⁰ Through *Pamela*, then, Richardson seems not to be remonstrating an emerging moral ill, but rather encouraging the shift away from considering sexual exploitation of servants an expected norm. Richardson challenges such treatment of servants by presenting Pamela’s resistance as virtuous and causing the reader to sympathize with her struggles, yet the book acknowledges how ordinary such demands were of masters at the time. Bridget Hill explains that in the eighteenth century, “it seemed very natural that masters – and their sons – should regard their servants as sexually available,” for servants became “morally, economically, financially,” and as a result, “even sexually, dependent on their masters.”¹¹ The only person who might prevent such an affair was the master’s wife, given that no one else seemed to take issue, but so long as she did not have authority to do so, the master proceeded unchecked.

Fifty years later, a similar situation in *Emma Courtney* meets with a drastically different response. When Emma discovers Mr. Montague’s affair with her servant Rachel, she tells her husband that if he “corrupt[s] the innocence of this girl, she is emphatically

ruined,” and “who can say where the evil may stop?”¹² The relationship is a scandal, even though Emma has no proof of exactly how far their involvement has progressed, not yet knowing of the girl’s pregnancy. Witnessing his affair, Emma has the confidence to challenge her husband. More than this, however, she has the practical authority to dismiss Rachel without question. Mr. Montague answers her chastisement by reminding her that she is “at liberty to discharge [her] servant, when [she might] please.”¹³ He explicitly considers Rachel to be Emma’s servant, not his. In his stiff, irate response, he acknowledges her legitimate authority over the maid. Dismissing the girl, Emma plays the role of the domestic employer admirably, “procur[ing] for Rachel a reputable place,” and “seriously, and affectionately, remonstrat[ing] with her on the consequences of her behavior.”¹⁴ Emma executes the responsibilities of an employer painstakingly, fulfilling the ideal of a kind and wise mentor. In managing her staff so closely – and the text gives us no reason to suppose such management is atypical in Emma – she invests thoroughly in establishing and maintaining the home. Though such a role realistically keeps her bound to the house, Hays writes her character as unmistakably successful in the power of her position. *Emma Courtney* thus reveals the shift in domestic authority: the master can no longer continue unchecked in his passions, for the wife rules the home. In her domain, his masculine power is understood to be limited.

Paradoxically, although the woman holds an employer’s decisive authority over the servant, she also requires a servant to maintain her respectability. Whereas a man might travel alone freely, a woman requires protection from a servant when a gentleman cannot accompany her. In *Northanger Abbey*, as mentioned earlier, Eleanor Tilney does not have the authority to override her father’s wishes and provide Emma with a servant for her travels. Responding to Catherine’s unpretentious expectation of a servant, Eleanor acknowledges that such a provision would merely be part of “common attentions” and “decent civility”; she feels mortified to explain that “no servant will be offered.”¹⁵ Austen’s characters universally acknowledge the service of a servant as a basic necessity for a young woman traveling. Although Catherine “met with nothing . . . to distress or frighten her,” the unexaggerated fact that Catherine “travelled all the way post by herself” is enough to cause “surprize” and “displeasure” among her friends.¹⁶ Along with the absence of a servant, a woman traveling by post rather than in some sort of private carriage seems shocking. The servant, however, would have ameliorated the impropriety of public travel. Representing the security of a well-established household, the domestic servant reinforces the woman’s inseparable association with the private sphere, even away from home. Rather than journey independently where she wishes, a woman travels with a servant to practically and symbolically uphold respectable domesticity.

Over the course of the century, the separate sphere of women became reinforced even more strongly as women took charge of their children’s education. In her study of motherhood in the literature of the time, Rebecca Davies argues that during “the eighteenth century, women were increasingly constructed as the ideal educators of children, due to a cultural belief that maternalism was innate in women combined with the notion that education was a key component of the maternal role.”¹⁷ Over the course of the eighteenth century, the ideals of raising children changed from a fairly detached parental duty to an intimately involved maternal duty.

In *Pamela*, written earlier in the century, motherhood is mentioned as one of Pamela’s future duties, but children seem a minor priority for her. After their marriage,

Mr. B. (her new husband) gives her a list of rules to follow, and ten of the forty-eight rules, or approximately one-fifth, relate to raising children.¹⁸ While this may represent a significant portion of her work, it is not nearly enough to define her role. The responsibilities of motherhood are merely a subset of her duties as his wife. Although she seems responsible to implement these commands, he still clearly expects to control the upbringing of his children, according to his wishes. As detailed by Rebecca Davies, throughout Pamela's marriage, Mr. B. does not want Pamela overly consumed with children, but rather "wants her to leave the nursery occupations to servants," due to the "contradictory models of maternal and marital duty."¹⁹ Thus, rearing children does not prove unique to her as a woman; it does not provide a distinct, separate domain for Pamela, and she remains primarily the subordinate helper of her husband. The same fatherly involvement appears earlier in Pamela's relationship with her own parents: she writes to both parents, and her father answers for himself as well as her mother, urging Pamela with "cautions" that she remain "on her guard."²⁰ She addresses herself equally to father and mother, and as a result, the primary relationship is that of parent and child rather than mother and child.

In contrast, by the end of the century, authoritative motherhood becomes the defining characteristic of a respectable woman. In *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, Emma's aunt asserts that "the education of [her] family" is "an important task," where she "desire[s] no interference."²¹ She overrules her husband here, clearly claiming education as her domain. Although she tells Emma that her husband may recommend Emma as a governess to some other household if he wishes, Emma's aunt does not consider deferring to him in the decision of her children's education. She establishes herself as distinctly separate from her husband, and in this case, above him.

By the same principles, in *Northanger Abbey*, Mrs. Morland observes her daughter Catherine's despondency after returning home from the Tilneys and decides to "fetch a book" that "will do [Catherine] good."²² Training her children morally and academically happens all in one. Mrs. Morland takes responsibility for her children's conduct, and much as she teaches her young children to read, so now she hopes to teach Catherine to be productive and cheerful. This has been her role from the first chapter, where we see her "teaching the little ones" and instructing her ten children in memorizing passages and learning French, while she oversees their full education.²³ Upon studying her character, the instructive mother figure is the only role in which we see Mrs. Morland. While both parents notice their daughter's downcast spirits upon returning from the Tilneys, only Mrs. Morland seeks to address the unusual behavior.²⁴ Critic Rebecca Davies comments on Catherine's education and her relationship with her mother, suggesting that Jane Austen presents the "maternal education and authority" as "imperfect," but still with the positive effects of an "exercise in judgment."²⁵

Notably, Davies also suggests that this difference arises in part from the gender of the author. She posits that "the authority gained by women writing within this discipline of maternal education" allowed them to "challenge the patriarchal domination of educational discourse."²⁶ The gender of the author may provide key insight into the differing presentations of the women in *Pamela*, written by a man, as opposed to *Emma Courtney* and *Northanger Abbey*, written by women, where the characters embrace motherhood and appear generally successful in their responsibility to educate their children. Under the social expectations of the time, the female authors portray their fictional women effectively executing the role that gives them most influence, whereas



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Richardson clearly idealizes Pamela as a docile and subservient housewife. Nevertheless, the proliferation of female authors writing by the end of the eighteenth century is itself part of this new societal shift. Thus, as female authors became more commonly accepted and respected, they used the new opportunities of writing to show the undercurrent of change surrounding the view of women. Through literature, they promoted women's power in motherhood to the public.

Female education thereby produced a cycle that rooted women in the home: a girl was educated by her mother while she was young so that she might then teach her own children as an adult. Commentator Karen O'Brien presents Eve Tavor Bennet's argument that "the achievement of Enlightenment feminism was a repositioning of the family, and of women within it, at the heart of the nation."²⁷ Rather than challenge the spreading ideal of motherhood, novels like *Northanger Abbey* and *Emma Courtney* embraced it, encouraging the notion that a well-educated woman benefited the nation by producing outstanding citizens. Nonetheless, socially permissible education for girls remained limited, separate from that of boys, and far less extensive.

Northanger Abbey captures the tension surrounding this gendered distinction through a conversation between Catherine and her friends, the Tilneys. When Henry Tilney begins to talk of "the state of the nation" with Catherine and Eleanor, a "general pause . . . succeeded his short disquisition," and "from politics, it was an easy step to silence."²⁸ The women prove ignorant of politics and cannot contribute to the conversation. The outside world – the larger workings of the nation – belongs to men, and women do not participate. Their appropriate domain lies in the domestic niceties of novels and drawing and leisure – the products of a rudimentary education. To the same purpose, Catherine reveals that she "cannot be interested in" the study of "real, solemn history."²⁹ Notably, Eleanor responds here that she is "fond of history," to which Catherine exclaims that "Mr. Allen and [her] father" and "two brothers" appreciate history as well.³⁰ Unmistakably, historical awareness seems more characteristic of men than women. While Austen challenges the notion that women cannot be interested in history through Eleanor's interest, she clearly presents this as an anomaly. Moreover, the caliber of Eleanor's academic mind is thrown into question when she remarks that she feels "very well contented to take the false with the true."³¹ Though she deviates from the norm by her interest, her approach seems neither rigorous nor critical. As with talk of politics, women are not active, serious participants in the world at large.



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Mary Wollstonecraft addresses this phenomenon as political oppression in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. She argues that women, "by virtue of their association with leisure," were "debarred from the forms of 'active citizen[ship]'" in the public realm.³² Austen's fictional conversation on politics hardly counts as a data-driven record of the power afforded to women legally, but it does call attention to the cultural exclusion of women to which feminist authors like Wollstonecraft objected. Through her

writing, Austen observes how societal norms built on stereotypes of the day leave women unable to rationally participate in the world at large in any capacity, thus molding fiction into social commentary.

Conversely, gentlemen are not so consigned to their spheres. Another of Austen's characters, John Thorpe, tells Catherine that he "never read[s] novels," which he claims are "all so full of nonsense and stuff," because he instead has "something else to do."³³ While the genuineness of his disgust with novels seems doubtful at best, his belittling response reflects a prevailing idea that novels are somehow inadequate to men's refined intellect. Men and women read separate books, and according to John Thorpe, women's books remain inherently inferior. During the conversation with Catherine and the Tilneys, however, Austen challenges this idea with her noble hero, Henry Tilney. When Catherine assumes that Henry must not read novels because "gentlemen read better books" that are "clever enough" for them, he contends that "gentleman or lady, who has not pleasure in a good novel, must be intolerably stupid."³⁴ Henry continues that men "read nearly as many as women," and carries the idea further by adding that he would "soon leave [Catherine] . . . far behind" him in knowledge of "particulars" about the novels.³⁵ Whereas in John Thorpe's view men inhabit a realm separate and above that of women, in Henry's view, men can transcend that realm. The likeable, well-educated Henry's endorsement of novels – stereotypical women's literature – validates their worth but simultaneously demonstrates his loftier, uninhibited access to and from a domain that women cannot leave.

Thus the expected cycle of maternal education continues, leaving women the dregs of education while the men advance to more stimulating intellectual advancement. A complex literary example of the limits of maternal education appears in Emma Courtney, who "endeavour[s] to form [her children's] young minds to every active virtue, to every generous sentiment," taking full charge of the education of both Augustus and Emma.³⁶ All her own education has prepared her for this, and she does not seem to feel it demeaning or beneath her to teach the children. Instead, she dedicates herself to it and strives to do the best work possible, taking it upon herself to inculcate character as well as intellect in her young ones. Nevertheless, once Augustus reaches his teen years, it becomes "necessary" for the boy and girl that their "educations should take a somewhat different direction," sending Augustus to a "neighbouring gentleman" that he might train for a trade.³⁷ The adopted son leaves home, while his sister remains. Both have received the same early preparation, thanks to their mother, but while the boy's education leads him out into the broader world of commerce, the girl's keeps her at home, where she would be destined to one day become mother and mistress of her own household. Consequently, though still less than men, literacy and education offered women far greater knowledge than ever before, but also resulted in binding women even more tightly to the home through the responsibility of educating their children.

In the end, Emma finds satisfaction fulfilling the role of mother and teacher. Before becoming a mother, however, Emma rebels against the role of the ideal domestic woman. Notably, she boldly declares her love to a man who has not expressed romantic interest;³⁸ later, she unsuccessfully seeks employment outside the home and refuses the simpler option of her friend Montague's marriage proposal until financial desperation drives her to accept.³⁹ In such actions, she flagrantly tramples on social conventions. She rejects the meek dependence expected of her, and fails to fulfill the private role expected of her. Nevertheless, her failure to conform may in itself, on closer examination, add testimony

to the strength of a system that cannot support a woman outside home's walls. Since Emma's mother died in childbirth, the girl's father and aunt guided her education.⁴⁰ Encouraging a drastically more intellectual academic track for Emma than most girls received, her father aims to cultivate her mind through "historical facts, and the science of the world," rather than the fanciful fiction in which she has absorbed herself under her aunt's care.⁴¹ Upon hearing of Emma's studies at a dinner party, one of her father's friends chides her because "knowledge and learning, are insufferably masculine in a woman" and "will spoil all her feminine graces."⁴² Analyzing her later letters, the philosophical arguments justifying her deviant behavior may be traced to this atypical early education. Arguably, her father's approach to education engenders Emma's brash spirit to repel the social expectations set for her, thus resulting in her trials and frustrations with society.

Furthermore, Emma's inability to obtain employment outside the home illuminates the practical economic boundaries constraining women to the private sphere. Although "active, industrious, willing to employ [her] faculties in any way," Emma found "no path open" to her as a middle-class woman but "the degradation of servitude," which she scorned.⁴³ Eventually, she gives into the persuasions of Mr. Montague and marries him, but she does so because that remains her only alternative to the degrading work of a domestic servant, subject to a master's every whim. Some time earlier, Emma had recoiled against the idea of a friend who would unsympathetically "call woman" to "*independence*" when "not nature, but the barbarous and accursed laws of society, have denied" it to her.⁴⁴ Women did not simply lack a will or ability to work, Emma asserts emphatically. Rather, as Emma's futile attempts demonstrate, social prejudice and expectations restrained them so that their only choice for financial stability was marriage, their only acceptable occupation motherhood. Historically, as is evident even in Emma's story, the issue was not so much that women could not obtain employment at all. Instead, as the middle class developed and men gained increasing economic opportunities, those same opportunities did not expand for women. Emma still has the option of working as a servant, but that seems degrading to her status as a gentlewoman. Previously, girls from country farms or small family trades in the laboring classes might have more readily gone to work as domestic servants, as in the case of *Pamela*. Nearing the close of the eighteenth century, however, Emma belongs to a class that has solidly risen to a higher station and deems such work beneath them. Socially, she lives in the middle class, but when her finances fail her, she cannot obtain middle-class employment as a female. As a result, Mary Wollstonecraft contends that while the "middle-class professional" of the 1790's "was characterized by industry and rigour," women experienced "increasing exclusion from the division of labour . . . by virtue of their association with leisure."⁴⁵ As the eighteenth-century middle class emerged, women rose socially without gaining the political and economic rights of their husbands and sons. This forms the basis for Emma's outcry, through which Hays objects to the limited opportunities that leave them relegated to the home.

Middle-class women in the eighteenth century were subject to paradoxical expectations, where the social reputation of the family depended on them, yet they were not permitted to venture freely out into society; where education seemed crucial, yet remained limited; where their role as mothers supposedly vitally benefitted the nation, yet they had no say or opinion in the nation's affairs. In the home, the women held power, conducting the affairs of the servants and directing the education of their

children. Outside those walls, however, the woman became entirely helpless, having no socially acceptable role to fulfill or training by which to engage in the public sphere. The lines delineating the feminine domain lay rigidly set, and while the men could oftentimes waft into the realm of women, the women had no such opportunity to engage in the world of men. Jennie Batchelor echoes Harriet Guest in arguing that female writers of the eighteenth century did not calmly support the idea of the domestic female, but rather rebelled against the common “rendering invisible [of] the very real labour daily expended in the tasks of domestic management.”⁴⁶ Despite maintaining characters realistic to the social constraints of their time, these women challenged the limited roles of women by strengthening the image of what women could effectually do in the home and retaliating against the unfairness of what they could not. For some authors like Samuel Richardson, particularly early in the century, passing along these roles seemed paramount to preserving social harmony. Other authors like Jane Austen subtly yet poignantly commented on the inefficacy of such a system; still others, like Mary Hays, overtly raged against the injustice of the gendered divide.

Nevertheless, as writers grappled with the social norms of the day, challenging and confirming them, the domain of women slowly continued to expand and progress. As Karen O’Brien notes, “eighteenth century writers increasingly came to believe that the status and educational level of women in a given society were important indicators of its degree of historical progress, and a number argued that the low educational level of women in their own times was itself an impediment to further social improvement.”⁴⁷ It should not be surprising that the group pushing most for education of women represented the women who had most tasted its fruits. Through the passing acknowledgement of female improvement by male authors like Richardson earlier in the century, recognizing Pamela’s ability to write despite her role as a submissive housewife, to the more vibrant challenge of authors like Austen and Hays, the writers showed the power women had gained and pressed their readers to grant them more.



NOTES

1. Jennie Batchelor, *Women’s Work: Labour, gender, authorship, 1750-1830* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 17.
2. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; Or, Virtue Rewarded*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1981), 3.
3. *Domestic Management, or the art of conducting a family: with instructions to servants in general. Addressed to young housekeepers*, (London, 1800[?]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale (CW3317672474)), 4.
4. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956), 2.
5. *Ibid.*, 27.
6. Mary Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000), 70.
7. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (Oxford: Oxford World’s Classics, 2003), 166.
8. Richardson, *Pamela*, 103.
9. Miriam Slater, *A History of the Family in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 72.
10. *Ibid.*, 73.
11. Bridget Hill, *English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 47.
12. Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, 209.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, 165-166.
16. *Ibid.*, 171, 176.
17. Rebecca Davies, *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain*, (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 5.
18. Richardson, *Pamela*, 467.
19. Davies, *Written Maternal Authority*, 29, 17.
20. Richardson, *Pamela*, 52.
21. Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, 69.
22. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, 178.
23. *Ibid.*, 6.
24. *Ibid.*, 174, 178.
25. Davies, *Written Maternal Authority*,

143.
 26. *Ibid.*, 5.
 27. Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 10.
 28. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, 81.
 29. *Ibid.*, 79.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Quoted in Batchelor, *Women's Work*, 110.
 33. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, 32.
 34. *Ibid.*, 77.
 35. *Ibid.*, 78.
36. Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, 218.
 37. *Ibid.*, 219.
 38. *Ibid.*, 110.
 39. *Ibid.*, 191, 196.
 40. *Ibid.*, 54.
 41. *Ibid.*, 55.
 42. *Ibid.*, 57.
 43. *Ibid.*, 191.
 44. *Ibid.*, 173.
 45. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Quoted in Batchelor, *Women's Work*, 110.
 46. Batchelor, *Women's Work*, 13.
 47. O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment*, 2.

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