# Looking at the Localised: The Emotional Language of Women in England 1700-1830.

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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### **Abstract**

This thesis explores the ways in which twelve women expressed emotions in their personal correspondence and diaries over the period 1700 to 1830. The thesis applies a method which draws on approaches of social construction, historical pragmatics, micro-history, and the psychological model of emotions as ‘goal-related’. Using this method, the thesis reconstructs how emotion words attached to recurrent emotion themes were used and given meaning by each of the women in their immediate, micro, relational, contexts. The thesis demonstrates how staying at the level of the localised and a language analysis of individuals can advance knowledge about experiences and practices for women across the eighteenth century and for different sections of society.

The thesis shows how using this approach can enhance scholarship and knowledge on different areas of life and themes in women’s experiences in the period. The first chapter shows that emotions display how aristocratic women understood sociability and social aims between ambitious and more personal socialising. The second chapter displays how gentry women understood a shared language about emotions and the body, and how the contexts of relationships affected the usage of emotions at times of illness and pregnancy, communicating embodiment, and how responses to bodies impacted on everyday activities. The third chapter demonstrates how Quaker women applied emotions to highlight ‘good’ and ‘bad’ kinds of work connected to family and spirituality, using emotion to assess the boundaries of public and private, giving authority to women, and meaning to abstract spiritual practices such as Quietism by way of their own relationships. The last chapter in the thesis compares emotions terms used by all the women to argue studying the minutiae of ways in which common emotion terms were used in context demonstrates how the localised and diverse might have interacted with and influenced wider norms.

This thesis advances ways in which models of studying emotion can be applied. In doing so, this study shows what this kind of analysis of emotions can achieve alongside other histories of women’s lives in eighteenth-century England and how historians might approach analysing and comprehending wider norms of emotion and experiences in the period.

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**Abbreviations**

BA Bedfordshire and Luton Archives

DA Doncaster Archives

HALS Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies

NA Nottinghamshire Archives

PATB Plymouth Archive, The Box

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*I, the author, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University’s Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (*[*www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means*](http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means)*). This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university.*

# Introduction

# The Localised Meaning of Emotions: A Study of Individual Eighteenth-Century Women

‘Our letters are pretty frequent and not much in the laconic style they contain nothing but pages of inanity’.[[1]](#footnote-1) This was how Theresa Parker characterised the letters written by her to her aunt Catherine Robinson in 1796. What Theresa passed off as ‘inanity’, however, holds significance for historians by containing the emotional expressions she communicated to, and shared with, her aunt. Theresa conveyed what she cared about, what affected her, what she desired and what she did not, using chosen emotion words and phrases. This thesis examines emotional expressions in the diaries and letters written by eighteenth- century women. Their names, in the order they appear in this thesis, are Mary Cowper, Gertrude Savile, Theresa Parker, Anne Robinson, Mary Orlebar, Charlotte Orlebar, Harriet Orlebar and Martha Smith, with her epistolatory circle of Quaker women Friends (Mary Routh, Mary Hoyle, Ann Hawley, and Frances Hawley). This thesis examines the language these women used to convey their emotions and explores why they used this language and what this shows about their lives, relationships, activities, and experiences. This thesis contends that emotions in these contexts are highly localised, individual even, and therefore argues for the importance of detailed, focused, case studies to uncover how meanings of emotion expressions and choices of reported emotions were influenced by immediate, relational, contexts.

### **Why a localised study of women’s emotions?**

This thesis is a micro-history study of emotion history. In placing a premium on the localised, this thesis highlights the importance of a micro-history method within the history of emotions and historiography on women’s experiences.[[2]](#footnote-2) Historians of micro history have sought to answer large historical questions by focusing on small episodes, places, individuals, and groups. This historical approach can be criticised as prioritising the micro and over-emphasising the atypical. Its downside can, therefore, be appearing to add little general significance to grander narratives, other than complicating them. This thesis argues that micro history approaches do not just add complexity to a bigger narrative, but can reinforce the search for discursive meaning by analysing small-scale occurrences of history and reconstructing the intricacies of how historical meaning and experience is both built and considered.[[3]](#footnote-3) Emotions in immediate contexts, this thesis contends, are a fundamental way to ‘understand historical actors’ experiences and ‘how they saw themselves and their lives and which meanings they attributed to things that had happened to them’.[[4]](#footnote-4) Even if these are atypical perspectives, they have worth in allowing an interpretation of how circumstances and immediate situations might affect what can be understood about emotion meaning.

This thesis is conducted within the accepted knowledge that emotions are constructed socially and culturally. The interaction between people and wider structures of culture is central to the study of the history of emotions. Critically I aim to look at this interaction in localised settings and how emotion meaning was informed by such settings and the relationships found there. This thesis shows how important individuals, and the personal, localised, social aspects of emotional meaning are to understanding emotion meaning construction and emotional significance for people in the past. Peter and Carol Stearns, William Reddy, and Barbara Rosenwein established pioneering methods to account for the significance and meaning of emotions for large groups in societies. These range from broad emotional themes or ‘emotionologies’ ‘emotives’, ‘regime’ and ‘refuges’ of emotional discourses, to the inclusive and exclusive goals and values which indicated varied ‘emotional communities’.[[5]](#footnote-5) Benno Gammerl expands on these models and suggests a more flexible reading of emotion ‘styles’.[[6]](#footnote-6)Katie Barclay recently provided the term ‘emotional ethic’ to describe the ethical, spiritual, and moral framework of ‘caritas’, or love for one’s neighbour, which guided social behaviours and embodied practiced and felt norms of interaction in the early modern period.[[7]](#footnote-7) A focus on the wider cultural entrenching of particular emotional ‘styles’, ‘communities’ or ‘emotionologies’ is often a starting point for histories of emotion to chart the historically specific social and cultural structures of emotion in past societies, what emotions meant and how they were used.

However, in both gender and emotion history, there is a focus on examining the interaction between cultural construction and experience. As Susan Broomhall argues for the history of emotions, charting ‘ordering systems’ of emotion, in any historical period, connects to embedded social codes, ‘validation and training’ which ‘shaped the social and emotional practices and lived experiences of contemporary individuals’.[[8]](#footnote-8) These studies often concentrate on how these cultures and social constructions of emotion were played out, experienced, or negotiated by everyday people. For example, Barclay suggests that the language of love ‘strewn across the records’ is evidence of the way in which love was used as a central guiding principle in relationships and given particular meanings making it a ‘regime’ or ‘ethic’ informing and structuring power distribution in relationships.[[9]](#footnote-9) This form of study is also clear in Sally Holloway’s work on changing early modern patterns of courtship which compares the experiences of real couples to the marketed couples in print cultures within the context of standard rituals and how people understood the objects associated with love.[[10]](#footnote-10) Holloway demonstrates the ‘nexus of doings and sayings’ found in the language and objects used by people in emotional ‘cultural scripts’ during this period of their lives.[[11]](#footnote-11) Barclay, Holloway and Broomhall, amongst others, address gaps in broad surveys of emotion and look to how emotional ‘regimes’, ‘styles’ or ‘communities’ work, were recreated and negotiated in the everyday, challenging linearity, and looking more closely at concepts such as love and intimacy, patriarchy and power, or practices such as marriage, courtship or sociability. They show there is ‘no straightforward history’ of these experiences or systems.[[12]](#footnote-12) The aim of this thesis is to continue this work of exploring and contesting the relationship between cultural forms and experiences by looking closely at these interactions from the perspective of individuals in localised settings. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and David Olaffson argue that the approaches of micro history can allow historians to read the ‘in-between spaces’ between people’s perspectives and the institutions or wider culture that they inhabit.[[13]](#footnote-13) This thesis applies this perspective to perceive emotions written in ego-documents as one of these ‘in-between spaces’ bringing together both the complexity of individual lives, relationships and people’s intentions with connections to a broader milieu of society and culture, which is given meaning only by how it applies to people’s perspectives on their own immediate contexts.

Applying micro history to the history of emotions, this thesis points to what Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó call ‘deep historical analysis – factors that were absent from the actors’ own horizons of interpretation’ or the bigger patterns of collectivity and experience which constitute social history.[[14]](#footnote-14) This study begins and stays at the level of the individual and localised rather than beginning by charting wider patterns or structures of emotion culture. By remaining at the perspective of the individual and their lives in context I aim to deeply explore how the meaning, use and communication of emotion was produced in that context and regarding what mattered to them. This can then be drawn out into their localised perspective of wider significances in society and culture, but the emphasis remains on what impact the localised had on meaning making.Another crucial aspect of a micro history approach is the emphasis given to people’s agency and the situation they lived in, rather than seeing people as pawns or performers of wider patterns or forces of society and culture. In her work on the ideas and emotions of Methodists in the Enlightenment period, Phyllis Mack recognises that rather than make assumptions about the effect of repressive doctrines, recognising the agency of ordinary Methodists’ interpretations demonstrates how they themselves understood their ideas. Mack opens up new possibilities for understanding Methodism through what their emotions meant to Methodists themselves.[[15]](#footnote-15) This thesis considers how the emotional possibilities open to people were adapted, used and given meaning in everyday contexts, thus allowing for some autonomy within limited circumstantial choices. This thesis uses micro-history to examine the agency of individual women in choosing meanings from the social, cultural and relational contexts they perceived or which are apparent to be affecting them. In this thesis, reconstructing the agency in emotion is significant to the understanding of specific historical problems because it provides a way of thinking about *why* specific emotions might have been chosen and used in immediate contexts, not just *what* emotions were used.

This thesis also reinforces the central motivation of women’s history to retrieve and reveal the experiences of women from the past. The experiences of all people are important to study, but I chose to focus on women because of the historiographical implication their emotions were subject to restrictions and rigid gender norms in wider society and culture, more so than men. As Willemijn Ruberg describes in her overview of the scholarship of emotion and gender, studies on women move between exploring the social construction of gender, the agency of performativity in these constructions and how the disciplining of women’s emotions underpins social structures and ‘the enlightenment project’ of politeness, rationality and sensibility.[[16]](#footnote-16) In studies of eighteenth-century British women, ideas about the ideals and representation of women’s gendered emotional attributes have routinely guided the exploration of women’s experiences in society and culture. Ute Frevert uses the example of rage to show how this emotion was considered a male emotion because it was directed at ideas of honour and that women were expected to be passive and not show rage.[[17]](#footnote-17) Frevert argues this cultural state of affairs structured ‘how people perceive and judge that behaviour; they also bear an impact on how men and women feel and express their feelings’, arguing women principally negotiated ideas of emotional repression and passivity. [[18]](#footnote-18) Gwynne Kennedy’s study of anger in the early modern period argues that the ‘politics of emotion’ which governed early modern life meant women expressed themselves in regulated ways.[[19]](#footnote-19) Martha Tomhave Blauvelt likewise contends women in eighteenth-century America shaped themselves through ‘constructed feeling’ and negotiated social regulations of feeling from cultural ideals in their everyday lives.[[20]](#footnote-20) Divisions according to gendered characteristics have been seen to have an effect on social practices and experiences. Laura Gowing, looking specifically at the language found in litigation between men and women, shows by taking apart the cultural and subjective layers of a text, one can read the embedded meaning of words connected to gendered ideas. [[21]](#footnote-21) Gowing argues men and women had different understandings of sexual honour and women were perceived to behave differently to men, but also women used these understandings of behavioral differences to support their legal agency.[[22]](#footnote-22) Negative emotions, such as overt anger, in the conventions outlined for women in this historiography, is often presented as culturally inappropriate if women were to harness power over polite and domestic culture. Perceived feminine and genteel qualities of virtuous sensibility were likewise attached to polite and domestic ideologies.

Scholarship on women’s experiences in the eighteenth century frequently use case studies to explore prevalent gender constructions and question or complicate the extent of the divisions of gender across the strata of society by exploring the ways this affected women’s identities, practices and emotional outlook. For example, when looking at prescriptive cultural ideas as opposed to lived experiences, Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus argue prescriptive guidance should not be taken as descriptive of behaviour.[[23]](#footnote-23) Joan Scott advocates for understanding of how ideals are themselves constructed and how the experiences of individuals are ‘relationally constituted’ to these constructions, meaning that individual experiences can be made significant by being understood to be subjects constituted through these experiences and therefore historicising those experiences.[[24]](#footnote-24) Rosalind Carr, when writing about Scott's approach to understanding experiences, argues that gender should be seen as a key analytical category which underpins societal relationships and constructs 'the meaning of experience'.[[25]](#footnote-25) For Carr this translates as a study which shows that Scottish men and women performed historically specific gender tropes which limited women’s participation in bluestocking culture in Scotland.[[26]](#footnote-26) Gowing also explores this relationship between ‘prescription and practice’, arguing that only by looking at everything with a focus on gender can one explore and understand the variations and impact of social and political changes and how life was structured and experienced in history.[[27]](#footnote-27) Gowing contends, for example, that constructions of gendered morality shaped the language of sexual insults, the recourse women had to justice, and how women negotiated this system.[[28]](#footnote-28) Studies on women therefore often focus on how women negotiated prescriptions to express emotion and participate in social activities. These studies guide this research as they provide a historiographical backdrop to examine exchanges which can be analysed between social and cultural structures and the effect on women and their possibilities in practice. However, this study is not a study of gender or emotion norms or gendered experiences because it does not compare women’s to men’s experiences, or to gendered and emotional cultural ideologies. Instead, it takes a cue from this historiography to consider how studying emotion can be a way of understanding how women’s experiences were shaped and understood. Through emotion language this thesis analyses women’s own perspectives on their experiences as people in their everyday lives and studies their perceptions of wider social and cultural structures. I aim to do this with an analysis of individuals in case studies and with a focus on immediate relationships. I took the cue from such above historical studies to explore the interchanges between norms and lived experiences to examine how understanding of emotion and practices were shaped and understood at the level of individual women and what this meant for their lives and their own perspectives.

Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvande importantly advocate going beyond looking at women through the restrictions of wider culture to instead viewing these matters through the specificity of varied women’s experiences. They argue that by going beyond cultural, and our own, preconceptions, shows that women were not repressed but active participants across what might be considered public and private arenas.[[29]](#footnote-29) Similarly, Soile Ylivuori discusses, that in reclaiming women’s involvement in the culture of politeness, one should look at how women reacted to discursive norms and the many ways women could acceptably take part in polite culture and created their own ideals and customs, rather than one set of polite rules.[[30]](#footnote-30) I especially interact throughout the thesis with those studies which consider the varied experiences of women who belonged to different sections of society and stages of life. Lyndal Roper shows that texts, such as women’s criminal and religious confessions, contain layers which are not adequately read by just looking for patterns or scripts of ‘belief and symbols’ but contain individual subjectivities and emotions.[[31]](#footnote-31) For Roper, reconstructing this subjectivity shows how sexual difference in the Reformation was not just a cultural or linguistic practice but had a ‘physiological and psychological reality’.[[32]](#footnote-32) Fay Bound advocates that before one can look for the social and cultural meanings embedded in language and what it might tell about ‘experience and expression’ one must attend to the production of the language and its forms.[[33]](#footnote-33) These kinds of study provide the precedent for the direction of my research, in looking first to the production of language in context and regarding personal subjectivity.

In further challenging evaluations of emotional and experiential generalities this thesis explores specificity. Linda Pollock presents the idea that one must move away from looking at the wider patterns of repression in the emotional styles of the period and instead think about ‘situated experience’.[[34]](#footnote-34) Karen Harvey’s work on Mary Toft shows what Mary’s own words tell about her own experience of embodiment and emotions in reproduction. This focus demonstrates more about the power dynamics of women at such times rather than what Toft’s case suggests about the narrative of medical authority on reproduction.[[35]](#footnote-35) Harvey advocates that one should reconsider the language of individuals and how they framed themselves, within a familial context. Her work on language has shown how people understood their own embodiment, and how familial, religious and life cycle circumstances affected this, arguing that gender was not the primary framework which people referenced when discussing medical issues and that men and women discussed their bodies in similar, emotional ways.[[36]](#footnote-36) This study accompanies the above historiography concerned with how women’s emotions were represented or representative.

I investigate how women experienced and interacted social and cultural forms by exploring closely how women presented their understanding, practices, and experiences of emotion. I also demonstrate how understanding of emotion and structures of practice were embedded and given meaning in localised, relational circumstances. I explore how women themselves expressed emotion through language, how the contexts of their lives motivated these expressions, and what this suggests about their own ideas, their experiences, activities and aims. This thesis does comprehensive work to reconstruct individual emotional expressions and repertoires through the lens of women’s experiences. I argue that only by doing this can we fully understand what emotions meant to these women and by extension how we might understand emotion cultures and women’s experiences more generally. I examine the relationship between the localised and how social and cultural forms of emotion are made. I show how relationships in immediate settings are the point where wider culture is given meaning for individuals and the impact this has on wider norms. I demonstrate the importance of individual perspectives in accounting for how the public interacts with the personal. This thesis shows how the language of emotions helped people to make sense of their lives and experiences, using them to frame and often order their perceptions of their lived experiences and relationships in the retelling.

As Klein suggests, when there is a gap between theory and practice, especially regarding women’s experiences of social limitations due to gender ideology, one might need to re-interpret the assumed conventions through studies of space and language.[[37]](#footnote-37) The above studies by Bound, Klein et al, demonstrate just how important a focused attention on the social significance of emotions and women writing their own experiences is. This attention adds rich complexity to what we might understand about women’s lives. I approach the same goal, to further show how women’s own ideas, perspectives and relationships can be brought to bear on how the meanings of emotion were formed and embedded in eighteenth-century English society. The main difference between this work and other studies of women’s experiences and emotions is scale. This thesis begins with and *stays* at the personal level of the women by utilising ego-documents. I show how important individual understandings of emotion are to this endeavour, and the significance of exploring methodological approaches to reconstruct these understandings, which illustrate the ways individuals processed their circumstances and ideas about society through emotion. The approach I take with this thesis and the methodology which drives it, enables me to explore how circumstances immediately around people influenced how women themselves chose and used emotion language. I show what it meant to them and therefore how we can understand their own perspective on wider practices situated in relational circumstances. Instead of focusing on one theme or emotion, I look at a wide range of the emotions individual women expressed, focusing on what preoccupied them emotionally, to then analyze what these women's emotional vocabulary can display about life in the eighteenth century.

### **Sources: letters and diaries**

The use of case studies to explore how emotions were understood and utilised for individuals was an important starting point for this thesis because it informed how this study was produced. The emphasis on case studies and experiences places this thesis within the extensive historiography which examines ego-documents, especially letters and diaries, to produce case studies of women and emotions. This thesis adds to the scholarship which advocates that case studies are the best place to see the interconnections and intricacies between the localised and wider meanings. This thesis adds to this scholarship to show more clearly how those interconnections are created and embedded in localised contexts. This thesis utilises letters and diaries. The emphasis on the women’s own emotion words and immediate contexts and staying at the level of ego-documents has implications for the way I represent and use such sources. These kinds of sources reveal the perspectives of these women. These sources provide the sustained vocabulary of emotion words that each of them used, written directly within the localised contexts in which the women inhabited. To reconstruct a full range of emotion terms and their meanings, in context for each woman, I required diaries and letters spanning an extensive period, at least a year of a diary or several years of correspondence. I restricted myself to studying one year of writing and then to the areas of life which each woman emoted about most because I also had to narrow my study as the analysis needed to be highly comprehensive.

To choose the sources for this thesis, I surveyed the available manuscript sources written by women between the period 1700-1830. I listed sources from over 100 archives and repositories in England. From this I shortlisted those which offered extended writing over time. I also wanted to be able to survey women from across the social spectrum and from over the whole period. I identified women who ranged from the aristocratic to the middling sorts, with some connections to the poorer end of the social spectrum, with connections to different echelons, religious and political backgrounds in society between 1700 and 1830. This in turn offered a geographic spread from Yorkshire to the south coast. In selecting my sources, I also considered marital situations, religious backgrounds, and political affiliations of each woman with the intention of cultivating as varied a sample as possible with the available resources. The thesis contains married, unmarried and widowed women, Whigs and Tories, Non-conformists, and Anglicans. The people about whom these women were writing and with whom they were with, varied considerably from husbands and wives, children, stepchildren, other relatives, doctors, friends, religious groups, acquaintances, tenants, and neighbours. The sources chosen for this thesis (as they appear in the thesis) are:

* Mary Cowper’s diary of her first year at the Royal Court in 1714.
* The diary of Gertrude Savile covering the years 1720 and 1727 written from her family seat in Rufford, Nottinghamshire, and later from her house in London. These two years were chosen to compare Savile’s contexts both within her family home and later in her own house.
* The letters between aristocrats Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson over the year 1796, chosen as the year in which Theresa entered society properly. These letters were written primarily from Saltram House in Plymouth and Parliament Street in London.
* The diaries of Mary Orlebar from 1776 and 1810 and the concurrent diaries of Charlotte Orlebar and Harriet Orlebar from 1794 which were written in and around Hinwick House in Bedfordshire.
* The letters of a circle of Quakers based around Doncaster, primarily those of Martha Smith but also Mary Routh, Ann Hawley, Frances Hawley, and Mary Hoyle over the years 1792 to 1829.

Letter writing was learned and had recommended formats. Similarly, some of the diaries were designed to encourage structured recording, as seen with account books, limited pre-preprepared boxes for writing and containing instructive pieces. As such, these forms of writing are often read as containing cultural scripts and evidence of how people were using such scripts. As Katie Barclay suggests, ‘As a source, letters can offer invaluable insights into the lives of the writer and reader but should not be used uncritically […] Letter writing is a highly ritualised form of communication that has to be understood in the context of its historical period’.[[38]](#footnote-38) Barclay argues letters are cultural constructions, bound by historically specific writing and reading rules and ‘physical realities’ such as literacy, postage services and access to writing materials.[[39]](#footnote-39) For Fay Bound, constraints in the conventions of letters and diaries are what make the sentiments presented in letters evidence of patterns of ‘emotionology’ or social construction as well as about individual experiences or feelings.[[40]](#footnote-40) Lyndal Roper argues one can read writing both as cultural scripts and as subjective creations.[[41]](#footnote-41) As Michael Roper also contends, ‘cultural historians who say that discourses alone create subjectivities occupy the theoretical equivalent of a manic state. That is, they refuse the difficult understanding of behaviour, feeling and motives, in favour of a universe wholly constituted by linguistic codes’, undermining the agency allowed by context and creativity.[[42]](#footnote-42) This thesis is interested in the creativity and agency behind the construction of such documents. This thesis does not just see these letters and diaries as cultural scripts, like Bound, but instead places of intercession between subjectivity, circumstance, and cultural codes. My sources are the very ‘in-between spaces’ suggested by Magnússon and Olaffson in their consideration of manuscript sources, where the influences of cultural form, individual aims and lived experience converge.[[43]](#footnote-43) Following the approach I have adapted with respect to gender norms as a whole, I look at the immediate context in which the diaries and letters came to be written and how the ideas of the women themselves shaped these, often formulaic, documents or conventions around letters and journals .

Dror Wahrman argues that it was not until the 1780s that the modern form of autobiography was fully realised, and individuality, interiority and personality proliferated in the writing of diaries.[[44]](#footnote-44) Amanda Vickery suggests that before the late eighteenth century, formal and rigid conventions, such as spirituality, discipline, edification, public collaboration or self-examination structured and influenced autobiographical writing, formed by the strict hierarchies of society which allotted people into social categories.[[45]](#footnote-45) However, as she argues, the abundance of printed ‘pocket book’ diaries, for example, a type of ego-document examined in this thesis, are overlooked as important steps between formal autobiographical writing and the emergence of individualism and personality.[[46]](#footnote-46) Vickery’s survey of pocket books shows the myriad ways these diaries, with intended rules for writing, were actually used and customised according to personality and need.[[47]](#footnote-47) Vickery suggests that within the sameness of the pocket book, people responded and made judgements, not from a preoccupation with interiority but as part of the reflection and self-expression of being in the world within a structured and ordered identity. Vickery suggests there was comfort in a structured identity and that this might in fact be the place where comfortable personality was formed, rather than in unbridled individualism. I argue that all the forms of ego-document examined here present a bridge between form, individual need, and personality. Some might be more preoccupied with interiority than others, but all these acts of writing were about some form of self-expression within the perceptions of the world as these women saw it and how they thought it was ordered. They can therefore be examined for these personal judgements even within the regularity of form or strictures of space on the page.

I want to explore individuality within order. The letters and diaries in and of themselves make up part of what I discern as localised contexts imbricated in providing understanding and meaning to emotion. This thesis takes the position that because the media have limitations this means words were chosen more carefully within the selection available. Letters and diaries allowed for deliberation and a consequent re-assessment of people’s experiences and aims, factoring in the purpose of the communication. Whilst they both contain personal communications, letters and diaries are distinguished by different impulses for writing and being received by who was going to read them and what people wanted to share. Throughout, I consider who the writer was communicating to, including the imagined audiences of diaries even when they were meant to be secret. The way in which they were intended to be read and what was shared with whom is an important facet of the localised contexts that impacted on the meaning and use of emotions in such texts. As Susan Whyman argues, letters were not merely functional, but allowed for people to realise ‘psychological need[s] and cultural aspirations’ which had an impact on people and their families which can be traced in this medium.[[48]](#footnote-48) These motivations are considered throughout the present thesis.

Letters and diaries are where we find these individual women’s perspectives on their experiences, including their reflections on embodied emotions and how they connected mind and body using emotions, thereby bridging the gap between the reflective and the experienced: these are not simply reflections or performative disembodied texts. The ideas about presentation, dialogue, sharing, and relational connotations that permeate these documents are fundamental to the localised context that shaped emotion terms. Rather than look at how ‘politeness’ or ‘sensibility’ determined form and rhetoric, I reconstruct in detail the relationships that these words were expressed in and explore how personal feelings for people or individual ideas about the reception of their writing, or aims, embedded in writing, influenced emotion meaning for the women studied here. In doing so, I show how the personal might have added to the shape of what became acceptable norms of such written communication and what gave standard and fashionable forms of ‘polite’ writing its meaning for people in their everyday lives. The conventions which structured letters and diaries are therefore seen in this analysis as the sites where subjectivity is negotiated into communicable forms, and thus reveal the processes of choice within immediate contexts, as opposed to understanding subjectivity as subordinate to convention. Whether or not the related experience or feeling recorded in these sources truly happened is not the issue here: the choices of expressions is.

This period was an era of widespread illiteracy and social inequality and I was unable to find sources which came from women in the poorer classes of society which met the required criteria of extended writing. This means that other than considering some of the poorer relations in the Quaker families, this thesis does not include a huge section of society. The few manuscript resources which were produced by those whose voices are so often lost to history were not long or detailed enough for me to make the kind of consistent analysis of patterns in emotional language which I needed to undertake this study. The sample is also not as geographically representative as I initially aimed for and does not include examples from Scotland or Wales. This was due to prioritising as much social difference within the sample as possible, combined with the requirements for extensive writing. These implications of this study hold promise for further, future studies, which could include a broader range of people and explore how they in their own immediate contexts chose, shared, and understood their emotions.

### **Methodology**

The central focus of this thesis to explore localised contexts to understand how emotion was articulated in relation to women’s aims and experiences means the impetus for the study was not firstly about historiographical claims, or a central historiography which the work was situated in such as women’s history, the history of an emotion or an experience such as courtship or marriage. Rather the thesis is built upon on the methodological approaches to emotion history in general and how to do a history of emotion which focuses on the localised. The value of approaching the thesis by method primarily, was to create a study which would be able to provide and show the worth of a localised reconstruction of emotion meaning for individuals and then to examine the findings of the method in comparison to a wide-ranging field of historiography for all the varied themes and experiences it elucidated. In this way many historiographical frameworks regarding women’s and eighteenth-century lives, including on friendship, parenthood, marriage, medicine, religion, work, politeness, and sensibility are interacted with and concluded about through the chapters. In setting up the thesis in this way it shows how to go about exploring the localised in emotion history and suggests that doing so provides value to the history of emotions by providing a method to uncover and analyse the intricacies of setting, aims and relationships missed by a wider perspective. I explore how these contexts shape emotion meaning and give access to how emotions can tell so much about possible experiences and social structures, leading to the historiographical arguments of this thesis.

Despite some limitations, the sources chosen are vital to the methodological approach of this thesis. This thesis not only adds to the history of emotions and women’s experiences by examining what the localised brings to such an analysis but also adds to knowledge about the methods which can produce such a study. The sources enabled me to analyse an individual’s emotional vocabulary over time and see how often words attached to similar contexts appear, how relationships affected emotion use, and the sustained significance over time showing what each woman cared about. This also allowed me to examine how motivations and inferred practices developed or changed and how, over time, they were attached to contexts and relationships. This permitted me to see patterns in the emotional preoccupations and contexts for different people and to be able to reconstruct the meaning of those terms in the relational and lived context of which they were made. To undertake this study, I utilise features from different approaches to studying emotions from historical pragmatics, psychology (specifically cognitive theories of emotions) and social constructionist approaches. Some of these are modern ideas and methods of studying emotion. This includes ways of thinking about emotions and the mind which are very far removed from how eighteenth-century contemporaries thought about emotions and the mind and as such need to be treated with caution rather than thoughtlessly applied to historical mindsets. Nevertheless, I see these approaches as useful ways to think about emotions and what they do, applying such ideas and ways to analyse emotions to the words and expressions of the women studied here.

Interdisciplinarity is not in itself an unusual approach to the history of emotion. Historians Jan Plamper, Rob Boddice, William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani in their overviews of the methods available to historians of the history of emotions are strong advocates for interdisciplinarity.[[49]](#footnote-49) They suggest interdisciplinarity with psychology, linguistics and social constructionist methods enables them to analyse how and why historical specificities of emotion were learnt and communicated and given value in past societies and cultures. Primarily in this thesis I use methods that reconstruct emotion language meaning, examine emotions as a relational practice or choice and which use the idea of ‘goals’ or ‘aims’ in emotion in individuals and localised contexts.

Most histories of emotion begin with social construction theory. This theory is the idea that social and cultural constructions give emotions a distinct historical life. Social constructionists argue that emotions are constructed, understood, and valued, and therefore practiced differently in diverse cultures at various times. Historians can, therefore, examine how emotional practices differed in past cultures, and how those cultures affected the emotional judgements and evaluations made by individuals and groups. The work of Monique Scheer is often cited in recent histories of emotion, referencing her approach to emotions as embodied practices: physical reactions which are actually socialised habits and performative behaviours situated in particular historical and social contexts.[[50]](#footnote-50) Scheer suggests that historians adopt Bourdieu’s model of ‘Practice theory’.[[51]](#footnote-51) The interest for historians in this work is on the nexus between the personal and the collective and how individuals negotiated power structures of these emotion norms (or expected actions or responses) and how this demonstrates, as Barclay writes, ‘the fullness of social experience and how emotion, both ideal and experienced, shapes the everyday’.[[52]](#footnote-52)The emphasis in engaging with Scheer is most often to examine emotions as embodying cultural standards and see how choices of emotion response can be read as a performance of collective meaning in individual emotional expressions. For example, Dolores Martín-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel cite the example of saying ‘I love you’ as employing various expectations and perceptions from a cultural currency of love expressed by individuals in relationships. These expectations shape the experience of love.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Rather than beginning with such broader social and cultural forces and expected actions and responses, I instead take into account some of the insights of social construction theory to emphasise the importance of the localised. Part of the initial formulation of this thesis came from the suggestion that studying the microcosm of language and reconstructing the immediate contexts around a language transmission is where to begin studying the meaning of emotion for people in the way they use it. Social constructionists Arja Nurmi, Minna Nevala and Minna Palander-Collin argue for ‘bringing together the analysis of micro situated meaning making’ to bear on wider scale knowledge of those ‘macro-societal categories’ to reach ‘beyond traditional paradigms’.[[54]](#footnote-54) Scheer and another theorist Asifa Majid also outline that individuals and groups create their own malleable meaning of language from immediate contexts, adapting perceived social standards and cultural styles to suit their everyday practices and needs.[[55]](#footnote-55) Scheer suggests that emotional vocabularies, social relationships and the immediate situatedness of an emotion word, breaking down and reconstructing all these layers, is vitally important to understanding what emotion expressions meant, why they were used and how they were experienced. Crucially both Majid and Scheer emphasise that cultural contexts which might influence such choices are mediated firstly through the perspective of these immediate contexts, not placed upon them.[[56]](#footnote-56) I contend that therefore, it is most important to ‘translate’ emotions in their immediate context and explore the myriad different discourses and consequences of context which individuals adapt to their circumstances.[[57]](#footnote-57)

Martín-Moruno and Pichel also suggest that the focus should be on examining what emotions ‘do’ rather than what they are, looking at the ‘daily effects of feeling, doing and communicating emotion’ as a history from below, experienced by people. To look at emotions in this way also looks beyond gender differences to explore what created and maintains such differences.[[58]](#footnote-58) This thesis takes forward the suggestion of studying the ‘daily effects’ more closely, and it uses ideas from social construction practice theory to reconstruct the minutiae of symbols, gestures, and utterances and what was happening in relationships and immediate contexts to affect emotion words and phrases. Martín-Moruno and Pichel are also interested in looking at these experiences as a way of exploring how collective and cultural emotional norms are reproduced in embodied ways by people. Similarly, this thesis does not examine emotions as simply ‘performative’ expressions of culture but, in reconstructing these emotions, explores them as reflections and perceptions of relational experiences. These experiences were connected inextricably to the women’s lived circumstances, relationships, spaces, activities and needs.

This thesis raises questions about how emotions are/were reported as embodied in historical moments. Through the lens of ego-documents, this thesis explores how eighteenth-century women understood the connections between the mind, body and emotions as embodied and, in turn, what influenced this in everyday life and experience away from the writing on the page. Not all these questions are answered here; this thesis provides scope for future research on this point. Ways of exploring embodied emotions include the work of Katie Barclay on how emotions be read as a performance, in which particular actions and responses embedded power structures, social acceptance and regulated behaviour.[[59]](#footnote-59) Sasha Handley and Sally Holloway also, for example, explore how objects and different senses were connected to the physical manifestation of emotions and held expectations of specific emotional responses within cultural codes.[[60]](#footnote-60) Other work, for example by Lisa Wynne Smith, Séverine Pilloud and Micheline Louis-Courvoisier on the embodiment of emotions in the eighteenth century often focuses on how people understood and described the connections between the body and emotions to characterise medical conditions and understand the connections between interiority and the impact of exterior factors on people.[[61]](#footnote-61) Chapter Two, in particular, interacts with this work and explores how and why eighteenth-century people might intentionally consider emotions to be embodied or not, how the mind and body were understood to be linked and, importantly, the effect of family position and everyday activities on this. My approach allows for an in -depth consideration of how emotions might have been reflected upon as embodied or considered embodied by the women themselves and how localised circumstances affected this. I show how the understanding of feelings are grounded in physical situations, spaces, and relationships. My thesis shows there were different ways in which emotion was thought to affect people, behaviour, and responses and how these women understood emotions as dependent on circumstances and what they meant for them.

Given this grounding in social constructivist and allied theory, the first step inmy approach was to create a database of each of the letters and diaries. Using a database is recommended by Graham Williams, Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen as a method in the study of Historical Pragmatics, particularly ‘Pragmaphilology’. [[62]](#footnote-62) Pragmaphilology builds on the study of historical pragmatics by looking at patterns in the form and function of terms in historical vocabularies but goes further to describe the contextual elements of those forms, settings, relationships, and aims of the text. This study expands on this to examine what this suggests about those contexts in a historical study. I felt the best way to get to the core of the language in my sources, and to understand and reconstruct what was happening around the words, was to use a database to break the writings down to then chart and break down the lexicon of each woman.

Most of the historians of women’s and gender history which I have thus cited survey and evaluate bodies of letters or diaries amongst other sources, finding key words and phrases and reconstructing meaning. These surveys are obviously methodologically done and might include using technology to keep notes and comparisons. I wanted to explore just how useful breaking down and fully categorizing language could be in a study by utilizing a database as highly curated and considered system of organisation, classification and comparison. Using a database was important for this work as it built upon and went beyond traditional methods of arranging and analysing the language found in letters. The database is a vital tool and system of organisation that enables deeper analysis and reading of the sources by highlighting specific emotion words and relational contexts. The creation of the database allowed me to design the ways in which the information found in them could the categorized, compared and collected together for assessment against different criteria such as setting, relationship and past examples of words being used. The database allowed me to explore in an organized and comparative way the intricacies of intimacies that might have been missed if they were not inputted in the systematic way the database permitted.

Once the database was complete, I could build these lexicons back up by looking for patterns and contexts and drawing these out for analysis. Each piece of women’s writing, the diaries and letters, were all in their original manuscript form. Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper’s diary also had published, edited versions which I used also for comparison to original manuscripts and for the contextual footnotes contained within the published versions. From these original sources I created a digital resource, inputting every sentence of the writings into a separate database for each woman or group (if correspondence) and highlighting the emotion terms used by the women. The database was also an important tool for identifying emotion words, patterns and emotional subtlety attached to seemingly non-emotion terms which might have been missed by just close reading of the text.

Deciding on what constitutes an emotion word was the primary challenge of this thesis. There can be much debate about what we can consider an emotion and what words are connected to them, what could have historically been understood as an emotion or by other taxonomies, such as a ‘passion’. I decided the best approach was to analyse, through the systematic charting of words and phrases in the database, what words and phrases the women themselves seemed to be giving an emotional charge to and to take the terms that they were using as the emotion language to focus on. I firstly identified emotion terms by having a column in the database which noted all descriptive and adjective words and phrases. I could then highlight words and see in the database how often they were used and in what contexts, building up profiles of often used emotionally charged terms. I also had a column which noted setting and one which noted relationships cited. Using these I could see words which were used often in conjunction with certain settings and relationships, and which taken together gave specific emotional distinction to these settings and relationships. These were sometimes words which were not on their own emotional but when grouped within the phrase, setting and relationship had a distinctly emotional tone and implication. When I then drew these individual words back into the text as they were first written the identification of feeling within the phrases became clear. I then also used contemporary dictionaries and secondary reading to further identify and corroborate the historical context of the emotional meaning of terms, and then sift through again to think about the positive and negative outlook, tone and impetus behind each sentence. These terms were primarily adjectives connected to words like ‘wish’, ‘hope’, and ‘felt’. For example, Anne Robinson wrote she was ‘wishing very much to be at home’. [[63]](#footnote-63) I also highlighted words the writer directly referenced to their views or thoughts.[[64]](#footnote-64) I noted the context, people, and situations in each data input and created subject categories for searching and analysis by using key words such as ‘sociability’ and ‘family’ to connect to wider re-occurring contexts.

Having created a database for each source I could do several things:

* 1. Collate every example of particular words from the entirety of a source. This meant I could see the frequency of particular words used.
  2. See altogether the contexts and relationships which those words occurred in, allowing me to identify patterns in usage and context which attributed meaning.
  3. Cross reference terms and notes to see patterns in my own analysis.
  4. Chart changes in word usage and the contexts they occurred in or were connected to.
  5. Chart outcomes and potential actions and aims embedded in the terms by looking at the way the terms were used consistently and with what effect.
  6. Easily cross-compare across the whole group of women from one social background, for example all three aristocratic women, and look at how similar terms and contexts occurred in the databases for the other women across the social spectrum.

The most frequently occurring key terms and themes identified by the analysis of each database became the focus for each of the chapters.

When these words and phrases were identified I applied methods of analysing them in context using social constructionist and psychological approaches. Scheer advocates examining the variable of ‘naming’ of emotional expressions which are used by individuals and building up an impression of their emotional vocabulary and how it is being used.[[65]](#footnote-65) Therefore, I broke down the letters and diaries into sentences and words and isolated key emotion words and phrases, to look at how emotions were being ‘named’. Charting word and phrase use over the extended time covered by letters and diaries demonstrated recurrent vocabulary choices and ways in which they were being applied, therefore providing the key, recurring terms to narrow the focus of the analysis of each chapter. This built an idea not only of the learnt vocabulary of the individuals but how they shared that vocabulary and what descriptive ways they used words. The database analysis also allowed me to examine what consistent attitudes, topics and themes were attached to which words throughout the letters and diaries.

The next step for the thesis was to reconstruct the different contexts relating to a word or phrase in which it was situated. Asifa Majid outlines how to reconstruct the contextual setting of emotion terms. This thesis follows Majid’s methods, from reading what the referential description of the words was (what events and people they were about) to scrutinizing the underlying intentions implicit in the wording and looking at taxonomies of terms and connected synonyms related to the same situations.[[66]](#footnote-66) Reconstructing these contexts show what this identified emotional vocabulary meant and how it was used by each woman, and, more importantly, what they thought it should mean to those they were communicating to. This began with placing isolated words back into their wider lexicon within letters and diaries. The next process was to examine the setting of the word or phrase, what events it was part of, what situations it arose in and how often in the same circumstances. This was then reconstructed by charting different situations within the letters and diaries but also through some wider sources. This thesis considers what connotations key words and phrases carried both for the speaker and what/who they are speaking to or referring to. As Majid argues ‘expressive meaning conveys the speaker’s feeling or attitude towards the content of the message, while social implications indicate something about the speaker’s social role and stance’.[[67]](#footnote-67) The setting in terms of the identity of the individual women was a key part of reconstructing what significance the emotion had in terms of the woman’s self-perceived position and what this could reveal about their position in relation to other people. Some phrases and words were chosen because they imply connotative meaning, where emotion is not entailed but implied, such as the word ‘obligation’, examined in the last chapter, which is not in itself emotional, but can be used to denote emotions about being obliged.

One of the most vital aspects of analysis for each chapter, after breaking down the syntax and analysing usage and setting, was the reconstruction of the immediate relational circumstances and wider social connections and longer-term relationship contexts of the terms and the writer.[[68]](#footnote-68) Scheer emphasises the importance of reconstructing the social elements of emotion and always taking into account the relationships of the communicator and recipients of emotional expressions.[[69]](#footnote-69) Thereby, after isolating and charting commonalities in emotion words and phrases for individuals and groups, this study goes back to the wider background of the writing and reconstructs the relationships involved in the emotional expression. The thesis explores words associated with relationships in the actual emotional retelling. I also looked for terms which highlighted imagined or real exchanges between writer and reader. This tells much about the immediate meaning of the emotion for the communicator and what they might seek from a reader in terms of message and sharing emotion implications and values. Charting how often the same people or relational circumstances are connected to terms and phrases or topics of emotion demonstrates long term connections of different kinds of relational experiences with specific emotional meanings and themes. Broader positional and more tacit relationships are also accounted for and show how a term might have a particular meaning considering familial status and long-term familial dealings. I examine the impact of the contexts of the wider communities around a woman or their own perceptions of a wider social identity. Reconstructing these relational contexts was done using genealogical and secondary sources as well as the diaries and letters.

These relationships provide evidence about why a particular choice was made, what the vocabulary meant and how it relates to or might affect wider ‘styles’ of emotion significance. Importantly, using the sustained writing of these women, I was able to infer ideas about what an emotion was expected to do in these communications for the writer, though not directly for the recipient, thereby providing conclusions about practices and roles in relationships and the reasons why emotionally charged words might have been chosen regarding these practices. I also analysed how the women situated themselves in emotional exchanges in terms of power and position. This was explored regarding who they were communicating certain emotions or emotional themes to, how often, why and what they intended the emotion to be able to do/communicate.[[70]](#footnote-70) This was further examined by comparing how the same or similar emotion terms could be given very different meanings for different women dependent on social and relational circumstances. This thesis therefore has implications for how a whole range of relationships, including marriages, women’s friendships with each other or associations with dependents, informed their emotion meaning and perceptions of experience.

Penultimately, I explored what the objective in the choice of terms might suggest about what the emotion meant to the woman using it and for their perceived experiences. As Scheer encapsulates ‘methodologically, a history of emotions inspired by practice theory entails thinking harder about what people are doing, and to working out the specific situatedness of these doings’.[[71]](#footnote-71) This thesis applies aspects of ‘Practice Theory’ to think about how emotions contain implications for agency, action and practices influenced by the limitations of the lived context in which the person using the term is positioned and their own ideas on wider social and cultural directions. This thesis explores the idea in neuroscience that emotions are rational, cognitive, learnt choices which contain ‘goals’ in the responses and effects they provoke in relationships.[[72]](#footnote-72) This is similar to the way Reddy accounts for the ‘intent’ of emotions. [[73]](#footnote-73) The complex debates about the nature of cognitive appraisal provide thought-provoking approaches that historians can apply to understanding emotions in the past. Keith Oatley’s ‘two movement’ model of ‘communication and reflection’, or appraisal and reappraisal, suggests that conscious, strategic, evaluations take place in the brain, not only in the initial instance of a feeling but in secondary and tertiary re-appraisal of the emotional event.[[74]](#footnote-74) The diaries and letters that make up the sources of this thesis can be read as a re-assessment of an event, the ‘second movement’ where the significance and effect of an emotion is tested and chosen in correspondence with knowledge of lived contexts and social codes within the stylistic limitations of these media.[[75]](#footnote-75) Furthermore, seeing these diaries as re-appraisals accounts for the choices a person makes between different desires and emotions after an initial reaction, and in part dictated by the environment, relationships and social conventions. In this thesis I assess the impact and importance of contexts and what I term ‘aims’ implied in the use of emotion in this reappraisal, especially regarding relationships, and what action is implied by the usage and meaning of emotion terms. To consider such ‘aims’ is to get to the heart of where the personal meets and adapts the potentially shared and collective within their own life.

To read the choice, intention and implicit practices of emotions in the micro, this thesis combines Scheer’s ideas about reading emotions as indicating and modifying intentions and practices according to the learnt perceptions of situated relationships and contexts, with the psychological model of the ‘goal-relevant’ aspects of emotions.[[76]](#footnote-76) The goal relevance of an emotion relates to emotions being cognitive appraisals and choices employed to elicit particular goals in a relational situation.[[77]](#footnote-77) Oatley distinguishes between short term goals that are affected within the present moment and deeper goal significance, schemas and motivations for emotions that affect long term goals. [[78]](#footnote-78) This thesis likewise thinks about both short term and long-term effects and drives behind different emotion terms. Emotional drives create a network of goal connections and schemas over a lifetime, which can change over time, and which are created around a person’s relationships and informed by their cultural environment. For example, we can chart the emotions displayed in someone’s marriage as an emotional schema which combines certain goals such as comfort, affection, and economic surety. In the thesis, I use the reconstruction of the contexts around the individual women to consider what both short term and longer-term goals might be based on patterns in their language use and connected contexts. For example, longer term spiritual goals for the Quaker women are suggested in their affectionate language, whilst Theresa Parker’s emotions around where she can socialise with eligible men pertain to her longer-term goal of marriage. This study uses the terms ‘aims’ and ‘aim-related’ to discuss the combination of the contextual meaning of emotion for people and their social groups and how this affected what they implied emotions could do in terms of outcomes, practices and experiences. Aims can also be driven by emotions or changes in interactions over time. For example, Mary Orlebar’s aims whilst caring for her ill sister-in-law Elizabeth were partly motivated by her recorded emotional reaction to Elizabeth’s state and what she thought the right action should be, with an overall goal of getting Elizabeth well, so Mary could return to her own life. Studying aims in this way provides a way to view interactions and exchanges in relationships, power, and agency in relation to women’s purported needs, wants, expectations and requirements.

Looking at emotion terms through the lens of trying to discover ‘aims’ allows much greater insight into the possibilities of the perceived or desired experience of emotion or what the individual re-assessed to be the best aim-related response to their relational context, even as we are far removed from the initial emotional response. By looking at aims, I show how purported feelings were linked to an idea of embodied practices or consequences and were profoundly tied to the perceived social interactions of the individual. This idea poses exciting possibilities for understanding how historians might read emotions as consciously appraised, communicated and used productively by historical subjects. This also suggests ways of considering reflections on emotions as experiences in themselves. Lyndal Roper argues that studying language alone cannot account for why changes may have happened, that this decentres the subject, prioritising instead cultural discourse, ignoring embodied experiences, and propounding teleological narratives.[[79]](#footnote-79) By adding in the psychological model of goals or ‘aims’ to a reading of discourses, I can unite the meaning of words with individual subjectivities and account for agency in changes and differences to emotion meaning on a small scale. This also suggests how the meaning of emotion is bound to incorporate implicit ideas about practices, suggesting wider ideas about the expectation and usage of emotions within communities or wider cultures. This approach does not assume that eighteenth-century women thought about their emotions as being distinct, cognitive, and goal-related, but that the application of this twentieth-century idea as a form of analysis to their words provides a way to consider what they aimed for, how and why they chose emotion meanings and what these expressions might do in practice.

Once the situation, relationships and implicit aims of the emotion have been reconstructed to provide insight into what the emotion meant, the last step was to draw out the implications the meanings of emotions in context on knowledge of general social and cultural understandings and practices. This method is the primary pillar that the thesis is built around, providing a way to think about the value of the localised in the history of emotions more generally, how to go about such a study and providing the way in to scrutinize varied strands of historiography from the results. The themes for the chapters were chosen from the areas of life which the women emoted about the most or were most preoccupied with emotionally. By examining what these emotions meant in their context, connected to these areas of life, and using the analysis methods outlined above, I could draw conclusions about how these women understood wider ideas of practices and social culture. Doing this allowed me to consider how experience and practices were varied even within a specific context, such as aristocratic sociability or Quaker religious practices, which have been assigned homogenous social styles or norms. This also allowed me to present findings about how the localised and relational impact on how wider ideas about society and culture are interacted with, shaped and understood by these individuals.

### **Overview of the chapters**

The first three chapters of this thesis are structured according to socio-economic background; however, this thesis is not about studying social class. It was expedient to begin by grouping the individuals I examined in the chapters which corresponded with their ostensible social background. However, each person or group were each considered firstly as individuals in the analysis and the emphasis was on the localised contexts of their emotion terms, some which might correspond to ideas of social class or be impacted by such, but others which were not. Importantly, I could look at how the immediate society found in the writing shaped emotion meaning, which may or may not correspond to social class but more to the setting of each woman. The first three chapters are not themed by the impact of social class but by the contexts discussed most often and what each woman was most emotionally preoccupied with and what areas of life consistently had emotion terms connected to them. Chapter One examines the theme of sociability and those who came from an aristocratic background: Theresa Parker, Anne Robinson, Mary Cowper and Gertrude Savile. Chapter Two focuses on the theme of health and the body and discusses women from the same gentry family: Mary Orlebar, Charlotte Orlebar and Harriet Orlebar. Chapter Three concentrates on work, family and spirituality in the circle of a group of Quaker women primarily from around Doncaster: Martha Smith, Mary Routh, Ann Hawley, Frances Hawley and Mary Hoyle who ranged from the propertied to the somewhat impoverished. Some of the findings of these themes influence the knowledge of experiences within social classes or the influence of individual perspectives on status or religious groups as a result of this thesis, but also have broader implications for how relationships and aims in individuals interact with perceptions of social and cultural forms and show a deeper reading of those forms. Crucially, the motivation of the thesis allows for cross-comparison of how the localised shapes emotion meaning across experiential possibilities for women and apparent class boundaries. The thesis builds to breaking down superficial boundaries between the women and examining comparatively how localised contexts, relationships and aims influenced emotion meaning across the period and social classes. The last chapter brings all twelve women together to compare shared emotion meanings and demonstrates the extent to which immediate contexts and relationships affect emotion meaning and use across varied social backgrounds and the period.

Chapter One argues that sociability was a shared emotional mainstay and responsibility of aristocratic lives. I show how emotions about sociability formed the basis of each of the aristocratic women’s relational power structures, identity, and motivations. Historiography on the aristocracy almost unanimously proposes this social group was distinguished by distinct, standardised, and exclusionary social practices. Through my approach I show that within this homogeneity, these individual women in fact perceived different forms of sociability between work and pleasure, attaching different emotions to different kinds of socialising. As I outlined at the beginning of this introduction, this thesis is concerned with the ideals of women’s history to uncover and detail women’s experiences in the past and to use the method of examining and reconstructing the localised to make comparisons with varied strands of historiography on eighteenth-century lives, society and culture. The first chapter not only adds complexity to the history of aristocratic sociability but importantly, contributes to an under-explored historical understanding, advocated by Amanda Herbert and Naomi Tadmor, of the ways in which women could understand intimacy and friendship amongst their peers. The first chapter shows how these women conceptualised friendship as opposed to other forms of social relationships. The chapter displays how the prioritisation of socialising for gain over socialising for relaxed pleasure had a significant negative effect on the emotions of aristocratic women and their aims between social ambition and more relaxed intimacy. Moreover, little attention has been paid to the variety of experiences in the aristocracy for women in different ages and stages of life. This chapter displays the different social aims different women could have within the norms of these categories of sociability as characterised by emotions.

Chapter Twostudies terms connected by the Orlebar women to their health and the body. The chapter shows there was a shared language used to emotionally describe the body regardless of ailment or pregnancy. This corresponds to historiography which details the way that emotions were used a tool for describing illness and which were bound by shared social and cultural concepts to describe the body. However, by moving away from a historiography which often focuses on doctor and patient letters, the chapter also shows the impact of familial context and relationships on the use and understanding of the meaning of these terms. The chapter also interacts with histories of women’s positions and identities at times of illness and in their households by showing how emotions helped provide authority for these women in describing their bodies and gaining help. I add to the history of the body by displaying the importance of intimate bonds and personal aims in determining how bodies were thought about. I also demonstrate show how bodies impacted on everyday lives and relationships and how health needs to be considered as part of overall lives and relationships in this period.

Chapter Three demonstrates how emotions were used by Quaker women to define and structure their ideas about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ work, the labours of their family and friends and the work of the religious community. I move away from histories of Quaker industry which have focused on men, to explore women’s outlook on how work and religion were intertwined. This chapter interacts closely with work on Quaker women’s authority and the recent historiographical shift in studying Quaker women as radical and instead focusing on the domestic contexts of their religious outlook. I, in turn, show how relational and domestic contexts provided the framework for emotional judgements which determined how these women structured their attitudes and practices in work and both their local and spiritual community. I show how emotion terms provided structure and judgements on their relationships, implying implicit actions and practices based on emotionally framed agendas for their families, businesses, religious communities, and religious practices. Moreover, I enhance historiographical ideas about women’s authority and how radicalism was entrenched in domesticity. The emotional meanings of terms highlighted by the methodological approach make visible the space women made for their own authority over the emotional sanction of actions in the community. The chapter suggests that histories which have focused on Quietist principles about what constituted ‘the world’ have neglected to understand how the idea of these principles was negotiated primarily through emotional perspectives and emotional ties in relationships. The reconstruction of the intricacies and significance of their intimate ties show how these Quaker women decided on what they considered ‘the world’ and how to conceptualise a higher spiritual connection through emotions, most importantly mediated through affectionate relationships.

The last chapter takes a wider comparative examination on the impact of backgrounds or affiliations to emotion meaning. This chapter brings the centrality of this as primarily a methodological thesis full circle to show how wider cultural meanings are made and interacted with in the contexts and considerations of the micro. It examines emotion words or words attached to emotions which were shared or commonly used by all the women namely: ‘poor’, ‘comfortable’ and ‘obligation’. It uses these shared words as a medium for a comparative study of how each of the women used these words in contrast with readings of the same terms within wider cultural print sources and historiography on these words and themes. In doing so, this chapter looks more closely at the interplay and journey between particular words’ meanings and aims within localised contexts and how this affected and was affected by wider cultural discourses. This chapter underlines how in neglecting the micro we can overlook the complexity of knowledge and agency which needs to be introduced back into wider narratives on the eighteenth century. By comparing the women, this chapter makes conclusions about changes to emotion meaning over time and posits how these changes affect the understanding of the concepts which emotion terms are attached. This chapter also contains historiographical arguments about women’s experiences, showing how there were evidently themes which transcend social, religious and economic boundaries and which join these women across time and space in experiences of friendship, living situation, exchanges and understanding of possibility within a patriarchally charged system of ideas.

The last chapter’s section on ‘obligation’ concludes, though an important social tool early in the period, ‘obligation’ was a challenge to intimacy and enforced hierarchy. In comparison to studies of often male centric understandings and practices of obligation, I display how women pluralised the uses of term and applied it to other forms of social relationships, such as less formal contractual relationships between women and to reference their own self-interest. The section on ‘comfort’ disrupts the linear historiographical chronology between a growing plethora of comfortable items and the notion of ‘home’ as comfortable. I demonstrate that not only were older notions of spiritual comfort the most often use of the term, but that comfort was more often attached to relationships rather than objects throughout the period. Finally, the section on ‘poor’ shows how the term changed over time from something which was ‘bad’ to signifying sympathy. This section interrelates with the historiographical narratives on sympathy which often focus on a patriarchal concept of ‘benevolence’. I also show how sympathy needs more attention as a cultural tool in understanding social identity and position in this period. This section shows how this change towards sensibility and sympathy reinforced power relations between people, with ‘poor’ used as a term to mean ‘other’. Women used the term in the later diaries in ways which echoed patriarchal concepts of ‘benevolence’ and underpin their virtue while also affecting their power and position over others.

Overall, I show how crucial the localised is in creating the meaning for these emotions in wider understandings and why women might have chosen to use certain terms or emotion meanings. Emotion terms are only given cultural currency because they made sense to people in their immediate circumstances. I argue that translation of emotion meaning can only take place by reconstructing the contexts in which a term was used and how the setting of an individual led to cultural terms being chosen. By examining the subtlety and flexibility of linguistic reflection, one breaks free of the conventions or restrictions that perhaps wider culture had placed on feelings such as ‘good’/ ‘bad’, ‘male’, ‘female’, ‘rational’, and ‘irrational’ which could inform our view of an emotion word if considered first. Instead, this study looks at the subtleties, practices, and transformations that such a feeling goes through in different contexts, relationships, and communities and thus shows how perspectives on those contexts and bigger narratives are informed by this study. I demonstrate how the localised might change or adapt these meanings so that new meanings of shared terms are built in localised contexts.

This is not merely a study of literary performances. By reconstructing how the meaning and use of emotion words was affected by the contexts and relationships of an individual’s life and by exploring aims, agency in choices and implied actions or practices, I consider how these women engaged with their world. My findings reinforce many of the conclusions about well documented patterns of emotion culture in secondary literature but also further develop or even alter conclusions by exploring how individuals understood and used emotion terms in their immediate contexts and, importantly, look at how those contexts affect their meaning. Through the deeply detailed case studies of each chapter, the thesis draws conclusions about varieties of experiences and how this affects the ways historians might perceive the experiential possibilities for eighteenth-century women across different sections of society and circumstances.

# Chapter One

# ‘Dull’, ‘Duty’, ‘Delighted’, ‘Disappointed’ and ‘Despair’: The Characterisation and Experience of Sociability for Aristocratic Women c.1714-1796

At the end of the year 1796 Theresa Parker observed that ‘When one is obliged to sit by the fire all day long one feels the want of society very much.’[[80]](#footnote-80) She found being kept inside by poor winter weather, away from company, trying because society and social activities were at the centre of Theresa’s world. Sociability, as a theme, was an all-encompassing, consistent, and persistent feature of the written feelings of the aristocratic women in this chapter. Sociability for these women included navigating the social experiences of life at the Royal Court, and desiring to socialise in the most exclusive circles, being groomed for such sociability by one’s family for gain and the good of the social order, or feeling conflicted about who was best to socialise with. Of course, sociability was not limited to the aristocracy: all the other women in this thesis partook in social practices to which they attached feelings. However, what is important for the aristocratic women studied here, and why this chapter focuses on sociability, is because it was a particularly dominant concern for these aristocratic women. Sociability was a major feature in the lives of aristocratic women. It affected their lives profoundly in terms of structure and was a central focus for their expression of emotion.

The sources in this chapter are a mixture of a body of letters and two diaries. Aristocratic women were prolific writers of diaries and letters; their works also constitute the best-preserved and most plentiful sources of women’s writing in the period. The earliest diary is that of Mary Cowper, who acknowledges on the first page of her diary that she wrote it as a testimony of events and her own behaviour at the Royal Court from 1714 and this chapter looks mainly at her account of her first year at court. Mary’s phrases suggest she was aware that others might read it and she wanted to shape their judgements of her to control outside judgement upon her. Indeed, Mary’s diary was eventually published, but only over a century later in 1864 and heavily edited, after Mary herself destroyed portions of the diary. Lucy Worsley and Sally Holloway argue that ‘Court diaries cannot be read as ‘private’ records of a writer’s emotions, but were frequently created to chart political events. They were often written with a view to publication’.[[81]](#footnote-81) Holloway and Worsley see these diaries as tools which reinforced and regulated emotional self-fashioning, reflecting court culture, and containing the evidence of the performance of emotions at court.[[82]](#footnote-82) Mary’s own emotion rhetoric does suggest that she did consciously think about how she wanted to present activities and behaviours and the experiences of sociability at court. However, this chapter explores further the emotions that she retained in her manuscript, looking carefully at the context of why they were chosen and what they suggest about experiences of sociability for Mary at court. These emotions were not just a reflection of the cultural norms of court and an emotional tenor found there but show how Mary individually perceived and navigated the social culture of the court, and what this meant to her personally, showing how relationships worked for her in that space. This is especially significant to understand how tensions in duty, between family, monarchy and personal desires were weighed up by Mary and what the outcome of this tension was.

The second diary is that of Gertrude Savile. Savile’s diaries spanned the years 1721 to 1757. This chapter concentrates primarily on the period between 1721 and 1727 in Gertrude’s diary, looking at Gertrude’s experiences as a young woman in her family home at that time., The chapter also draws some comparisons made between Gertrude’s early writing and her later diaries as well as later events in her life. Gertrude’s diary, whilst also somewhat presented as a testimonial account, appears to have been written as more of a private project than Mary Cowper’s diary. Gertrude ostensibly needed the diary as an outlet: a form of control for herself, in a family where she felt she had none, perhaps as evidence to herself or to an imagined reader of the difficulties of her life. This endeavour bears an important comparison with Mary Cowper’s diary in how they both used the diary to present emotional aims, social practices and of their own ideas about behaviours regarding sociability. They both show how immediate relationships affected these ideas, in Gertrude’s case, her family and in Mary’s case both her family and relationships at court.

The last women studied by this chapter are Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson who lived at Saltram House in Plymouth. The chapter studies a year of correspondence, 1796, between these women and Catherine Robinson, Anne’s sister-in-law and Theresa’s aunt. The timeframes for the sources were chosen as points when Mary, Gertrude, and Theresa were at a similar life moment: in a burgeoning aristocratic social career as younger women, although each in very different circumstances. This contrasts with Anne who was older and evidently in a very different mind-set when it came to socialising, although it was still a central feature of her life. The letters Anne and Theresa shared and sent to Catherine were private, only meant to be seen between the three of them and sometimes only between Catherine and one of them and not the other. Mary and Gertrude wrote to themselves but with an awareness, conscious or subconscious, of attesting to themselves or to an imagined reader. Whereas Theresa and Anne were, of course, conscious of sharing in their epistolatory circle but perhaps not with any thought to the wider world: they shared in-jokes and opinions which they discussed as being private thoughts. However, there was also the possibility or even fear that letter may end up published. This again adds to the analysis of localised emotion meaning, either reported in diaries or shared within the letters, showing how these women demonstrated how they were affected by the social environments and relationships around them, as well as differences between how and to whom they reported their behaviour, thoughts and feelings about circumstances. Where Mary and Gertrude show how individual circumstances influenced the narrative they constructed about how they felt about their circumstances, Anne and Theresa show how in a localised group they shared feelings and showed discrepancies in action and feeling.



Fig.1.1 left: *School of Godfrey Kneller, Portrait of Mary Cowper, 1804.*

Fig.1.2 middle: *John Downman, The Honourable Anne Robinson (1742- after 1812), 1780.*

Fig.1.3 right: *Henry Edridge, Portrait of the Hon. Theresa Parker, later the Hon. Mrs. George Villiers, 1798.*

Anne Robinson, Theresa Parker, and Mary Cowper belonged firmly to what Hannah Greig characterises as ‘the beau monde’: a group of elites who moved between town and country estates according to the season.[[83]](#footnote-83) Aside from the land, manors, and peerage, which demarcated the aristocracy as a distinct group, these elites, and particularly elite women, have often been defined by their social and fashionable authority and practices. Aristocratic society in Britain was small. As Hannah Greig notes, ‘throughout the entirety of the 1700s, a mere 1,003 men held peerages’ although relatives, like the women of this chapter, did widen the group.[[84]](#footnote-84) Historians have often more flexibly defined this elite group by specifying shared societal conventions or political influence, using names such as ‘‘The quality’, the people of fashion, the cosmopolitan beau monde or the ton’ to group the aristocracy within a cohesively social, elite and leisured set.[[85]](#footnote-85) This social, political, and titled elite have been traditionally set apart or grouped by a seasonal, peripatetic lifestyle and shared conventions, most prominently selective sociable activities which were imbued with a significant undercurrent of political importance.

This chapter shows how these women understood and felt about what has been documented as a standardised eighteenth-century aristocratic social culture. Rachel Wilson suggests that elites were preoccupied with defining themselves as a cohesive group set apart from the rest of society and that the women in this unified group shared consistent social practices as ‘society queens’ and ‘political players’ who were at the heart of familial, social, and political life.[[86]](#footnote-86) Historians who study women in the aristocracy, like Elaine Chalus, seek to challenge prescriptive ideas about aristocratic women’s social behaviour, especially arguing for their participation and importance in using homogenous and expected practices of sociability to shape the political public sphere.[[87]](#footnote-87) Aristocratic women were undoubtedly central to the important and influential social practices of the aristocracy. However, there is a general view of aristocratic women’s social roles, summed up by Ingrid Tague, which displays ‘a shared range of activities and familiarity with a shared code of behaviour […] the term embodies the sense of moral as well as social superiority with which members of this elite viewed themselves’.[[88]](#footnote-88) Historians such as Katherine Glover have argued that it is a defined set of ‘heterosocial activities’ and practices which defined elite femininity and the experience of sociability for women.[[89]](#footnote-89) Exclusivity and predictable activity was at the heart of this appearance of class cohesion and power.

For Clarissa Campbell Orr, the aristocracy and Royal Family at court created a specific ‘court culture’ which was reflected in art, architecture, social behaviour and spaces, fashion, politics and morals which influenced or were set apart from the rest of society.[[90]](#footnote-90) Hannah Greig highlights that urban aristocrats were demarcated by ‘strategies of distinction’, defined by particular practices in order to maintain social divisions in metropolitan arenas.[[91]](#footnote-91) These ‘strategies’ took many forms in aristocratic society from obvious exclusive subscriptions and memberships to various clubs, to subtler ‘practices that defined it, and the roles, responsibilities and experiences of its most rarefied members’.[[92]](#footnote-92) Studies which explore aristocratic experiences through the lens of emotion underscore this sense of distinction from other sections of society and class homogeneity in aristocratic emotional and social behaviours. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley see an overarching, performed, ‘emotional community’ found in the physical and imagined spaces of the court which regulated the emotional tenor of the behaviour of the courtiers and the reading of the monarch’s emotional disposition as indicative of the country’s wellbeing.[[93]](#footnote-93) They posit that courtiers used emotional management and a collective suppressing emotional tenor in interactions at Court to retain a façade of stability for the public.[[94]](#footnote-94) Other historians have focused on the way in which the cohesion of aristocratic emotion ‘styles’ was fixated around retaining power through inclusion and exclusion. Susan Broomhall, in her examination of the feelings of the Atholl Family in Scotland, posits that wider political emotional ‘styles’ were transformed into cohesive dynastic emotional communities in aristocratic families, which reinforced conformity and shared goals by practicing inclusion based on acceptable emotions, social behaviour and obedience and exclusion of family members who did not follow this code.[[95]](#footnote-95)

Significantly, whilst the importance of sociability to the aristocracy has been previously well evidenced, their sociable practices have been generally presented as consistent and collective: an exclusive set which behaved according to established rules, who worked together or ostracised those who did not follow the norm. The consistent presentation of unified emotional behaviours is a well-documented part of the elite’s desire to retain their social, economic, political, and cultural power. However, this chapter provides greater knowledge on how these ‘norms’ of behaviour, sets of activities, ‘performances’, or ‘styles’ were experienced and regarded by individuals and understood according to the relational contexts in which they were found. The study of the women in this chapter shows that emotions which reinforced practices of inclusion and exclusion, whilst important, are only one facet of the structures at work in the emotional reconstruction of what sociability meant and how it was experienced by individuals within aristocratic arenas of sociability. This chapter argues that activities alone did not define elite women’s ideas about and experiences of sociability, but that emotions determined definitions of specific kinds of elite socialising.

Centrally this chapter contends that these women separated different forms of socialising by emotions and aims, characterising socialising for duty and as a form of work, intimacy in social spaces, friendship and pleasure or personal needs. By looking at sociability through the emotions attached to it by individual women, this chapter demonstrates not only how these women structured, learnt and practiced sociability or appraised social behaviours, but why they socialised in the ways they did, what it meant to them, and how this influenced their perspectives on experiences and relationships. Section one explores the idea of sociability as work or duty to further social ambition. Section two examines socialising with friends and intimates. Section three studies the options and aims outside of, but informed by, the understood forms that aristocratic sociability could take. These sections look at how each of these women defined their social practices by attaching different emotions and emotion meanings to these different, shared, understandings of forms of socialising and relationships. This chapter also looks more closely at how their feelings in relational contexts determined what these forms of sociability meant to these women and how they were experienced.

Studies, like that by Amanda Herbert, argues that elite women characterised their relationships in varied ways, including linguistically, with activities and gifts which they attached to different relationships but also stresses the shared and general nature of the way in which relationships were defined.[[96]](#footnote-96) Similarly, due to the understanding of the ‘widely accepted connections between personal friendship and public influence’, Ingrid Tague uses the term ‘friendship’ liberally to signify a range of different social relationships or ‘the personal connections of family, friendships and political alliances for aristocratic women’.[[97]](#footnote-97) Thus, friendship is often used as an all-encompassing term for idealised connections, patronage ties and private interactions. Irene Q. Brown suggests that aristocratic women were ‘bound together in a distinctive culture of friendship’ which focused on Christian values and enlightenment, or rational, morality that centred on family life but incorporated the affective ideals of domesticity into other relationships.[[98]](#footnote-98) Brown suggests this created interdependent relationships outside of the family in more public friendships that displayed homosocial ideals but created structures of support and benefit outside of marriage and family life.[[99]](#footnote-99) Brown also demonstrates that the adoption of such domestic friendship in aristocratic culture cultivated mutual obligation and stability between potential dynastic rivalries as well as providing comfort in relationships which may have been disrupted by sudden death.[[100]](#footnote-100) Studies of aristocratic women have also long emphasised the importance of the ties of friendship for this section of society, especially regarding cultivating and sustaining political power and social stability.

Important as these studies are to understanding the general, often idealised, culture and practices of friendship and aristocratic women’s friendships, they tend to focus on the wider culture and idealisations of friendship placed on the actions of women, rather than the way they were understood or experienced by the women themselves. As Naomi Tadmor suggests ‘what we still lack, however, are the detailed case studies which investigate ‘friendship’ relationships in all their aspects…It is important to examine not only ideas about friendship, but also interpersonal relationships between real men and women in the past’ to fully understand the role of friendship in people’s lives and in wider culture and society.[[101]](#footnote-101) The chapter expands on knowledge about what aristocratic friendships meant to women, demonstrating that different choices of emotion language were attached to different relationships, displaying how these aristocratic women understood their relationships with those around them. Each of these women characterised the difference between socialising for gain, intimacy within their localised cohorts and actual friendships. For them, friendship and intimacy had specific implications because of the kinds of dutiful or formal sociability they experienced in their wider social set. Significantly, this chapter shows that friendship held a particular emotional meaning and set of aims for more equal and pleasurable relationships as well as negative emotional consequences for being separated from those one loved. The differentiation between mercenary, ‘dull’ or ambitious social relationships, calculated intimacy and warm friendships helped some of these aristocratic women to differentiate between different kinds of relationships and power structures within a culture of sociability that was competitive, exclusive, and small and was meant to be practiced with particular aims for advancement in mind.

### **Being Educated in the ‘Dull’ ‘Duty’ of Sociability**

This first section is divided into subsections which examine how Mary Cowper, Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson distinguished by emotion sociability as a form of work or ‘duty’ for them for social gain, emphasised using emotion terms connected to words such as ‘duty’ and ‘dull’. I demonstrate how these emotions show how they experienced this kind of sociability. This was the primary form of sociability defined by and shared in the emotions of the women in this chapter. I assert that the emotions associated with sociability as work or ‘duty’ revolved around widely shared social aristocratic experiences of following social ambitions or socialising for gain, rather than for the sake of company. This was the principal way in which all the women conceptualised the importance of sociability, presented by them all as central to their lives and identities, as highlighted by their emotions. This included being in the most exclusive social gatherings, gaining access to the top elites and Royal Family, forging dynastic and political alliances, gaining influence or status in elite circles, and increasing or protecting wealth. Aristocratic position was a birthright but also something that these women all evidently felt could not be taken for granted; it had to be continually reinforced, worked at, and augmented. The contexts surrounding each of these women determined what they felt was at stake if they did not do this. For Mary Cowper, ‘duty’ in sociability was part of her work at the Royal Court and her effort to gain authority there but also to keep her place. For Theresa Parker, ‘dutiful’ and ‘dull’ sociability provided access to the social spaces and activities of the Royal Family from outside the Court and to influence in political circles. This was important for her marriage prospects and her aunt Anne Robinson helped to facilitate this as her guardian. The third subsection shows how Gertrude Savile, conversely, lamented her lack of access to these kinds of circles and lack of support, education or guidance in how to do so.

This section shows what the experience of this kind of socialising might have been and the variances in what ‘dull’ and ‘duty’ meant within this social norm. It moves past the shared view of an understanding of emotional repression, exclusivity and duty and unpicks the significance of education, managing emotional comportment, familial support, group aims, social stability and personal ambition which informed the emotions connected to this kind of socialising. Importantly, this section shows the contrast between the consensus to prioritise this form of socialising for the advantages it gave against the negative feelings such ‘dull’ or ‘dutiful’ sociability created. Most visible in aristocratic social culture, this ‘dull’ or ‘dutiful’ kind of sociability has been studied most often as the social behaviour of the elite in the period. This section affects the reading of ‘duty’ and ‘dull’ in a wider sense when considering the aristocracy. Importantly, the chapter shows how the desire to socialise in the most powerful circles did not result in pleasant feelings. This demonstrates that power and exclusivity were sought after but that they had negative emotional consequences in practice, especially regarding relationships and personal aims. I explore how family and dynastic aims were understood by individual women, showing how central families were to social success but also how personal aims and patronage relationships altered the power offered by sociability to women within their families.

* 1. Mary Cowper: ‘Duty’ in the Royal Court

Mary Cowper lived to be at the centre of power: within the royal court itself. Mary was twenty-eight when she came to court and played a significant political role as a Lady of the Bedchamber for Princess Caroline, and her husband Prince George (later George II). She wielded power over information which was passed between her husband Earl Cowper who was Lord Chancellor and other members of court, including notably, Baron Bernstorff, due to her ability to speak French.[[102]](#footnote-102) Cowper was a first-hand witness to parliamentary and Jacobite dissent and various scandals which shook the monarchy. She wielded formidable political influence through her intimacy with Princess Caroline and her proximity to political figures. Mary attempted to engage herself as fully as possible in elite fashionable society, taking part in social visits, balls, and excursions, and forging social and political alliances through the exclusive activities and spaces, to which her peerage and marriage gave her access.

The primary way in which Mary discussed the sociability of court was within a conceptualization of socialising as a form of work or formal responsibility. Mary entered service to Caroline, Princess of Wales as Mistress of the Bedchamber in late 1714 just after the accession of George I. Mary knew her official role at court was one of duty: of ‘service’ and ‘waiting’: ‘I went to Chapel, which concluded the Service of my Week’.[[103]](#footnote-103) Having a formal role at the centre of power came with caveats regarding her social duties. Waiting on the Princess, like any job, was regulated by hours, attendance, and the ability to serve the monarchy in intimate ways. There were particular services and jobs which Mary had to perform: ‘The Duchess of St. Albans put on the Princess’s Shift, according to Court Rules, when I was by, me being Groom of the Stole’.[[104]](#footnote-104) Mary had set times in which she had to perform her responsibilities at court and had to request time off and negotiate shift changes with others, writing that she ‘waited upon the Princess to ask her Leave to go into the Country for three or four Days. The Duchess of Shrewsbury and I had changed our Weeks, and she waited for me’.[[105]](#footnote-105) Mary’s job was one which was competitively sought after: she wrote strategic letters to win the post, triumphed over others when she was in it and jealously guarded it from the machinations of others.

Importantly, I contend that not only does Mary show that ‘duty’ was the primary way she understood socialising, but she displays the dissonance between her reported personal emotions and being part of the most sought after and rarefied social position in the aristocracy, being at court. Analyzing Mary’s emotions closely and in their localised context shows what the experiences there might have been and how ‘duty’ - central to the social life at court and her social responsibilities there - was trying for differing reasons. Ingrid Tague, suggests that for women at court, ‘duty’ was connected to ideas of maintaining the ‘correct’ deportment, linked to a wider understanding of emotional regulation, of a responsibility to have and rear children.[[106]](#footnote-106) Tague also suggests that social ‘duties’ included the requirement to participate in conspicuous consumption and to keep up appearances with gambling and dress, even if one expressed that personally these things were an anathema.[[107]](#footnote-107) For Susan Broomhall, the idea of ‘duty’ was invoked within the Atholl family to determine inclusion and exclusion in the family and dynastic socialities.[[108]](#footnote-108) Performing ‘duty’ for members of the Atholl family ensured they stayed within the dynastic fold, with the correct forms of those ‘duties’ and the lines between inclusion and exclusion determined by the male head of the family.[[109]](#footnote-109) Katie Barclay argues that for aristocratic women emotions were part of the cultural script which expressed their ‘duty’ to men, however the personal conceptualization of ‘duty’ in this framework could be adaptable and flexible according to circumstance. [[110]](#footnote-110) These accounts show what forms women’s duties took and the ‘duty’ to perform certain forms of social conduct to be at court or to reinforce social bonds or hierarchies. I contend Mary’s emotions demonstrate how dutiful scenarios put physical health in tension with a requirement to be always present and in attendance and presented moments where what Mary considered ‘duty’ and personal inclination were in conflict. In this Mary also shows how the idea of ‘duty’ itself was understood by her personally and emotionally.

Emotional comportment is a concept long associated with select, exclusionary and civil social behaviour in the period. Mary evidently understood and practiced emotionally restrained manners in her duties, which carried with them the requirement to take part in the ritualistic sociability of the court which took place in the drawing rooms, bedchambers, backstairs, outward rooms and at chapel. The drawing room was the place in which different members of the Royal Family and their attendants met and there were evidently formal social behaviours which took place there: ‘The Duchess of St Albans and I waited in the drawing room, as we had done every night, to kiss the King's hand upon our preferment…He had forgot he had seen the duchess of Albans before, so he saluted her’.[[111]](#footnote-111) When one did not know someone, saluting was the formal way of introduction, using rank and title. Such ceremony and protocol meant social situations were easily navigable, reinforced ceremony which kept order, and contained emotionally rewarding responses for all parties. After being accepted, more familiar, but still formal, social practices could take place: one could kiss the King’s hand and converse. Moreover, the rules that encircled the way one felt and demonstrated measured feeling also ensured emotional stability and the equilibrium of the Court in public view when those in the room did not know each other well but were there only by virtue of status.

Mary certainly suggested that she partook in presenting a repressed emotional outlook by exemplifying the ideals of duty for aristocratic women, writing about her desire to appear dutiful and to present herself to the Princess as never doing ‘Anything that was mean, dishonest, dishonourable’ and that the Princess ‘said she thought the principal Duty of a Woman was to take care of her Children’.[[112]](#footnote-112) Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley suggest that the impetus to conceal emotions, present ideal behaviours for advancement and repress feelings was necessary in the more public spaces of court to maintain stability in public and keep one’s place.[[113]](#footnote-113) The experience and consequence of emotional management is often the focus of studies on women’s experiences of sociability. Holloway and Worsley also indicate that more private spaces such as the backstairs and bedrooms at court could be spaces where distress and less placid emotions could be shown.[[114]](#footnote-114) Whilst Holloway and Worsley detail this in consideration of how the court created emotional cohesion in public, Mary also shows the effect this could have on emotional experiences and the idea of duty at court. I contend that the social ‘duty’ of Mary’s distinguished position came with heavy emotional and physical consequences. Events at Court were frequently stuffy and overcrowded and they often ran concurrently, resulting in Mary’s exhaustion. Mary described this fatigue in a series of events, ‘My Lord and I supped at the Duke of Shrewsbury's with my Lord and Lady Wharton and Madame Kielmansegge to wait upon the King. Staying out so late after the heat and fatigue of the Ball made me so ill that the next day I was forced to stay at home and take a purge, yet I ventured out on Monday to sup at my Lady Bristol's and wait upon the King.’; ‘In the Evening I went to the Drawing-room and thanked the King. The Room was excessive hot, and I got a great Cold coming out, for my Chairmen had left me’; ‘I was ill from standing so long upon my Feet, for which Reason I did undress me as soon as I came Home, and stayed within for two Days, to recover myself’.[[115]](#footnote-115) Evidently Mary’s health was badly affected by the rigors of courtly duty.

Mary also had to put aside her personal scruples about certain social staples in the court, such as gambling, for the sake of ‘duty’. ‘In the Evening I played at Basset as low as I could, which they rallied me for; but I told my Mistress I played out of Duty, not Inclination’.[[116]](#footnote-116) Whilst she could navigate gambling by controlling how much she bet, she could not avoid attending the Princess on her ‘waiting’ weeks even when ill: ‘Came into Waiting. I was ill when I came in and continued so the whole Week.’.[[117]](#footnote-117) I suggest that these negative emotional consequences, against Mary’s ‘inclination’ and physical exhaustion were the price Mary weighed up for being at Court. Mary presented a narrative about the repression of her own feelings and principles in return for power. Part of what Mary emotionally presented as her labour at the court was to put one’s own health and wellbeing to one side for the sake of ambition and the requirements of the court. Perhaps in the knowledge that others might read her diary, Mary presented this labour as a double-edged emotional sword; she was exhausted from the exertion but also upset that such exhaustion ‘forced’ her to stay away from court - the site of her ambitions - to recover.

I argue that Mary does not just show the effect of emotional repression and the negative consequences of ‘duty’ but also that the contexts of her dutiful relationships show how ‘duty’ itself could be understood and wielded by her to further her own aims and to choose which relationships in her life were most important. Mary displays an emotional conflict and discord that could arise between one’s own ideas of social ‘duty’ and one’s family’s idea of it. She demonstrates how these kinds of conflicts could occur in families who were ostensibly working together to achieve dynastic success within the norms of aristocratic socialising. Mary’s family quite clearly expected her to ‘labour’ as other ‘courtiers’ did, to force relationships with the powerful to benefit her family, with her Aunt ‘urging highly my Duty to do all I could for my Relations’.[[118]](#footnote-118) Mary had, conversely to her family’s wishes, decided upon a course of emotional comportment at court which provided a foil to the rapacious behaviour of others and in doing so distinguished her in the princess’s favour: ‘I took it for granted that she [the Princess] had so many importunities…and therefore I resolved not to add to the number of her tormentors’.[[119]](#footnote-119) Therefore, there was an emotional conflict between what Mary should prioritise: her duty to her family in pushing them forwards in society or her duty to her monarchs and therefore her own aims to further her own ambition. This conflict came to a head when Mary’s relatives decided that the advancements she had achieved for them were not good enough:

My Aunt Allanson came in the Evening to see me…I told her since my Relations were so hard to please, after I had taken all these Pains, they would get the next Place themselves, for this was so discouraging that I would meddle no more for Anybody. From hence high Words arose, and such as plainly showed me that after all I have done for my Family, I am thought but 'an unprofitable Servant. [[120]](#footnote-120)

Mary’s language shows plainly that her family considered Mary duty-bound to them as a ‘servant’ to their ambitions. However, her scorn of her aunt’s ‘high words’ indicates that Mary was comfortable enough to be in dispute with her family without fear. Mary understood that she wielded a formidable amount of dynastic power in her family as the negotiator of positions at court for her family. There was a conflict between how her family saw her as a tool for their ambition and how Mary set herself up in power in her family and to whom she felt she had ‘dutiful’ allegiance: the Princess. Mary’s ideas of ‘duty’ were therefore not solely bound within the precepts of the dynastic influence of her family and being included or excluded there, but she bound her own idea of ‘duty’ to where she felt the better profit for herself and her husband was, which was in the Princess’s favour. Mary’s idea of social ‘duty’ to the Princess disrupted family stability, dynastic power structures and proved to be a useful tool in furthering her personal social aims, eschewing a consideration for her wider family.

Moreover, whilst ‘duty’ might appear as straightforward, requiring a repression of feelings and entailing a labour which was harsh and unpleasant, I argue Mary’s emotions around ‘duty’ also suggest a tension between what Mary considered a duty and her own experiences, preferences, and the contexts for that tension. Mary writes about the display of ‘duty’ in her experience of socialising as a form of work at court as the primary way in which the social life at court was conceptualised and in the public way the emotional culture of court was seen. However, her emotions also add to knowledge of women’s experiences of duty at court and what it meant, including connotations of stamina, resolve and calculation in her aim and requirement to present herself as ‘dutiful’ to the point of physical pain. As Katie Barclay argues, ‘Competing constructions of duty opened up a space for negotiation of power within marriage’, in similar ways Mary’s personal ideas of duty allowed her to concentrate on her own social aims.[[121]](#footnote-121) Mary shows how aristocratic women, who were following ambitious social trajectories at court, could use their social power to avoid submissive ‘duty’ to family and instead cultivate an idea of being ‘dutiful’ to a patron like the Princess instead. The emotional experience of ‘duty’ was created, for Mary, by the physical practices of court. However, as further sections will go on to show, Mary’s emotions suggest that aristocratic women at court could understand a more complex tension between enacting ‘dutiful’ rituals, choosing ‘duty’ to family or a different kind of ‘dutiful’ and ‘honest’ relationship that Mary identified with her patron the Princess for better personal gain.

* 1. Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson: ‘Dull’ and ‘Duty’

Negative emotional experiences of seeking power in sociability and the experiences of sociability as work or a ‘duty’ were echoed in the much later letters of Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson in 1796. Both women also wrote about a primary experience of working at sociability as ‘dull’ or a ‘duty’. Theresa Parker’s father was John Parker, Lord Boringdon of Saltram House, who married Anne Robinson’s sister Theresa Robinson. After the death of Theresa Parker’s mother in 1775 and then her father in 1788, Anne Robinson (Theresa’s aunt) came to Saltram to look after the infant Theresa and be her companion. Theresa and her brother John affectionately nicknamed her Aunt Nanny.[[122]](#footnote-122) As well as Saltram house, the family owned a London townhouse on Parliament Street. As Hannah Greig argues, the exclusive nature of this group and their peripatetic lifestyle was deeply associated with politics and government, coinciding with the annual meeting of parliament and fundamentally built upon the principle of ‘successfully [combining] the securities of title and wealth’ which came from rural seats and localised governance with ‘urban based social and cultural authority’.[[123]](#footnote-123) The Parker and Robinson family were determined to maintain this kind of peripatetic lifestyle and proximity to power; going where the Royal Family were as often as possible. The familial and social circles of this family encompassed important aristocratic kin connections through their marriages to some of the greatest families of the age, including the Earls of Malmesbury and the Earls of Grantham who held various parliamentary and diplomatic posts. Their familial and social circles were populated by those with Whig affiliations and connections to the Pitt administration and within the top echelons of the army. They also enjoyed a large network of friends and acquaintances in London and in the country, which they moved between as part of their peripatetic lifestyle. The Parkers were also influential patrons of the arts, filling Saltram with paintings by artists like Reynolds, having a box at the opera and acting as patrons to famous singers such as the castrato Tenducci.

Being part of an exclusive circle, which publicly displayed itself in fashionable and political arenas was the norm for Theresa Parker as she entered her twenty-first year. She needed this circle to further marital objectives, forge courtly and political alliances and to set the fashionable pace. This entailed prioritising social engagements where this could happen. Although being part of the aristocratic ‘publick’ would seem to be the pinnacle of social ambition, in the letters of Parker and Robinson, a description of ennui pervades their thoughts and feelings on sociable activities connected to these kinds of events and social ambitions. People, places, events and prospective outings were characterised in twenty-four out of thirty-nine letters over the year 1796 as ‘dull’, ‘Not[…]very delightful’ or ‘not[…]very gay’.[[124]](#footnote-124) London was invariably described as empty of friends, ‘dull and empty’ or ‘a desert’.[[125]](#footnote-125) Various descriptions of feelings of emptiness or banality were used by Anne and Theresa to describe their expectations of upcoming events: ‘I expect to find London terribly dull’.[[126]](#footnote-126) However, this description did not seemingly spur any kind of action to change their social situation or to avoid any ‘dull’ outings. Remarkably, within the world of a glittering aristocratic set, the dullness and emptiness perceived by the women most often related to their view that there was no one to socialise with at the parties they continued to attend.

‘Dull’ was a word with multiple meanings in the eighteenth-century lexicon. In a dictionary first published in 1742, with new editions into the 1800’s, the word dull was described as pertaining to ‘stupid; doltish; blockish; unapprehensive; blunt; obtuse; unready; awkward; hebetated; melancholy; sluggish; gross; cloggy; vile; not exhilarating; not bright; drowsy; sleepy’.[[127]](#footnote-127) The reading of the term dull as having emotional connotations, of being awkward and un-exhilarating, corresponds to a similar understanding of the word in the Parker and Robinson letters, of ‘dull’ as annoyance at being removed from the amusements of society or having no one of a particular social circle to be sociable with. Theresa complained of Weymouth, when she and her aunt Anne visited in the summer of 1796, that ‘we shall not have much I suspect here in the way of company’.[[128]](#footnote-128) This statement was somewhat undermined by the fact that they wrote about social events no fewer than fifty-three times. Their year contained two seasons in London, a summer in the fashionable seaside resort of Weymouth and multiple stays at the houses of various friends. An expectation of ‘dullness’ or a dread of an event being dismal, having no one to socialise with or nothing to do was the norm for the women as they moved around the country.

However, on closer inspection, it becomes apparent that it was solely formal and socially important social events which were consistently attached to the term ‘dull’. These may have been the most numerous and important social occasions for Theresa and Anne but they were definitely the least exhilarating and were conceived of as hard work. When Theresa and Anne visited Weymouth in the summer of 1796, their visit deliberately coincided with the Royal Family’s and they were ‘honoured’ to be invited to courtly events. However, their emotional experience of the event was unpleasant: ‘we had the honor, I am not yet courtier enough to add the pleasure, of being asked to drink tea in the Queen's room, and a most precious dull performance it was… there was the additional disagreement of a cold wind blowing directly on our necks without the possibility of moving’.[[129]](#footnote-129) The honour and the prestige were bound in the exclusive nature of these invitations and the aim to use the social circles in these spaces to garner rewards. The actual feelings expressed when Theresa and Anne got into the most elite circles, such as the Royal Family’s, emphasised that they understood they were fulfilling a social ‘duty’ and ‘performing’ rather than sharing in pleasurable socialising. It was a ‘duty’ to want to socialise with the aristocracy and only a ‘courtier’ might over time get used to it and have some pleasure in it. This was the kind of sociability which Theresa sought and yet, just like Mary Cowper, she stressed there was an emotional difference between the desire to be included in the Royal party and the arduous experience of the formal sociability that such inclusion entailed. Theresa exclaimed about the dullness of such ceremonious excursions: they were a duty, rather than a pleasure, but they had to be endured even to the point of physical discomfort and emotional ‘disagrement’ or one would risk not being asked again.

‘Dull’ was also used to display the power of being able to find society tedious. Citing ‘dullness’ combined with the dismissal of large swathes of people, ‘The town is chuck full? But very very few people here’, appears to characterise the very sense of aristocratic exclusivity.[[130]](#footnote-130) Arguably, Theresa Parker, and Anne Robinson also found ‘dutiful’ socialising for advancement at court as arduous or ‘dull’ in 1796, partly because this form of sociability was supposed to be restricted and protected by similar ideas of emotional management which affected Mary Cowper. Each of their writings could be read solely as reflecting an engagement with an emotional ‘style’ or tenor attached to ‘duty’ or formal socialising within the aristocracy to maintain stability or exclusivity whilst socialising to work for a place amongst the courtiers. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley highlight that ‘Dull’ became a byword for spending time with the Hanoverian monarchs in the early Georgian period: a way of characterising the muted emotional tenor and formality of the court, necessary for stability as well as the emotional constraint which aristocrats were under when performing courtly duties and activities.[[131]](#footnote-131) The Parker and Robinsons evidently therefore participated in a wider shared understanding of using ‘dull’ as a popular way of characterising the formality of behaviour in formal, social circumstances, especially courtly settings which did not change over the Georgian period.

The experience of 'dullness’ cannot be merely put down to courtiers wishing to maintain the restrained tenor of the court but had a real impact on the experience of pleasure there. Over-formality and strained fortitude were part of the dull aspect of social events which were good for status but bad for comfort or entertainment. Exclamations of monotony and sarcasm disguised a deeper sense of dissatisfaction about what ‘duty’ meant at these events: ‘The amiable heir apparent is expected here today or tomorrow and there is a rumour of a ball at Gloucester House for his birthday on Friday, as you know if we are ax'd (asked) t'will be our duty to go’.[[132]](#footnote-132) Theresa made clear that it was at once an honour to be asked to these events but also an unavoidable ‘duty’ she could not decline. This ‘duty’ carried with it the lack of ease combined with social reserve which led to feelings of rigidity and tedium at every court event: ‘we had a fine dull party at the lodge [the royal lodge] you have no idea of anything so formal till you sit down to cards’; ‘we shall I believe go there again tonight for a little while, after the Gloucester Lodge Party is over… I fancy we shall not find it very gay’; ‘on Sunday we drank tea as usual that night in the Queen's room, I found it rather better than usual as I sat at P[Princess] Mary's table, wch [which] is the most lively Or rather the least dull’.[[133]](#footnote-133) The pinnacle of sociability came at the price of it being work rather than pleasure; but the lack of deep connection, lively entertainment or good conversation was felt deeply.

Unlike Mary, Theresa and Anne did not attain a formal position in the Royal Court but spent most of their time seeking to be adjacent to it for the prestige and promise it held for Theresa in particular. Mary at the beginning of the period could not be away from the court spaces that were hurting her. They all paid an emotional price to prioritise their social aims to be in proximity to power, and both show how emotions defined a particular sense of what ‘duty’ and this form of socializing meant for individual women involved. Significantly, the emotional characterisation of being in exclusive social circles had not changed much for them at the end of the period: exertion and negative feelings were still an important part of the ‘duty’ of being there. This evidently had an impact on relationships, with Mary Cowper contrasting her ideas of personal inclination in agreement with the Princess and Theresa and Anne displaying that there was a distinct limit on entertainment, intimacy, fun, and interaction in this particular social arena.

1.3. ‘Wretched Education’: Family, Socialisation and Emotion[[134]](#footnote-134)

Gertrude Savile, in her 1721 diary, lamented being excluded from conventional and productive sociability and explicitly underlined the importance of socialising in the ‘world’, the ‘beau monde’ or in ‘publick’ as an aristocrat’s main work and aim.[[135]](#footnote-135) Gertrude understood that this ‘publick’ was not out in the wide world but a space where the aristocracy could be ‘presented’, such as to the King at Court, and seen to be set apart from the rest of society. Katherine Glover pronounces aristocratic women had an automatic right to access the court at St James’s, and so exclusion was particularly unnatural and galling to Gertrude, who tried to understand why she was not allowed to go.[[136]](#footnote-136) Gertrude compared herself jealously with other members of her family who had been able to access the benefits of socialising in the exclusive ‘world’ of the rich and influential:

To my cousin particularly, tho' I know all her faults - but why should I call them faults? 'tis what I would wish to copy out. She is only completely fit for the world; (diametrically my opposite). She can do everything to please and make herself agreeable to all and gain the ends of obliging.[[137]](#footnote-137)

As Mary Cowper’s idea of dutiful, stable behaviour and Theresa and Anne’s characterisation of the ‘dull’ subdued court suggest, standardised manners combined with a little personality could be the way to catch the beneficial attention of one’s social peers and get ahead. This was what Gertrude Savile highlighted when she spoke of being made ‘fit’ for the world. Gertrude felt unsuited to behaving in the right, ‘fit’ ways. It is this standardised emotional tenor which was the most visible to these women in the exclusive social spaces they wanted to be in, defining a set of rituals and social performances which has characterised the wider view on the aristocracy’s social world. However, Mary Cowper, Theresa Parker, and Anne Robinson’s emotions detail a personal interaction with ‘dull’ ‘duty’ and how the muted stable presentation of feeling at court shows more than just a reflection of boring, formal behavioural rules.Personal feelings in localised settings show how the veneer of standard aristocratic socialities breakdown and how individuals experienced negative, tense, un-exhilarating, and conflicted feelings within these settings. Gertrude Savile, conversely, as an outsider to these revered social spaces and relationships with the top echelons of society, only saw the veneer and with it the simple idea of ‘fit’ emotional, pleasing, behaviour to fit in with cohesive social form which would allow access to exclusive social settings like court. However, even though she understood an idea of being ‘fit’, Gertrude was confused and perturbed by what that behaviour entailed and why she could not achieve it. This underscores the general ambiguity of what that comportment was to outsiders as well as sometimes those inside exclusive social spaces. Moreover, Gertrude displays how the contradictions between ideas of behaviour and personal feeling could deeply affect relationships. For Gertrude this was especially the case for her familial relationships.

Gertrude Savile was the youngest daughter of the Savile family from Nottingham and the youngest sibling of Sir George Savile, 7th Baronet of Thornhill, Rufford. She was a late child for her parents and her father died when she was very young, making her dependent on her brother. Gertrude struggled with feeling unwanted and overlooked by the rest of her family and unable to take part in the social identity she felt she was entitled to. Due to this, her familial relationships were turbulent, and she has been cited by both Alan Savile and Amanda Vickery as an example of an eighteenth-century woman who suffered from poor mental health.[[138]](#footnote-138) In later life Gertrude lived with her mother before finally gaining independence through a late inheritance.

The ability and desire to access and behave well in the arenas of ‘dull’ and ‘formal’ courtly sociability relied on a notion of familial initiation and encouragement. An education and introduction were family prerogatives, alongside an encouragement in developing aims which focused on socializing with the monarchy which would benefit the dynasty. This made families central to making sure that one was introduced to how to enter the most exclusive of places and strategically practice sociability for reward. Katie Barclay points to the family as the centre point, especially in the early part of the period, in aristocratic sociability for the furthering of patronage, and therefore social ambition, through family hospitality.[[139]](#footnote-139) Katherine Glover further emphasises that elite women’s education in their families was formulated with sociability in mind and that the learnt and shared behaviours of politeness were necessary for cohesive aristocratic sociability in urban spaces and activities such as visiting and conversing.[[140]](#footnote-140) These works detail an idealised elite contemporary preoccupation with familial sociability as the formative and crucial relationships and spaces where civic and economic responsibilities met natural, easy manners and comfortable pleasure.[[141]](#footnote-141) Studies on elite women such as those by Ingrid Tague and Katherine Glover, and studies on children’s experiences by Anthony Fletcher, suggest that attitudes towards maternal influence on children’s moral conduct and social use emphasised the notion that elite mothers should be social guides for their children.[[142]](#footnote-142) For the aristocracy, the home and the family have been long understood as the formative space where such conformity was instilled and encouraged, the standard and inclusive norm which enabled dynastic gain, and encapsulated practices and values to which people aspired, even when not part of a typical familial arrangement.[[143]](#footnote-143) Therefore, dynastic ties and communal values were central to the development of social aims.

However, the emotional experiences related by Gertrude Savile display the potential complexities of relationships which conflicted with someone who bought into the notion of an idealised dynastic social education and arrangements. Gertrude shows how very idealised expectations of sociability for aristocratic women came with disappointment and failure when socialising did not occur the way it was expected to or families were unsupportive. Gertrude suggested that her inability to access elite sociability was specifically due to her lack of education in the right emotional comportment from an early age. Gertrude expressively characterised the deficiency of her instruction as the ‘wretched education’ which she received: ‘O I could weep! …The wretched education I have had [is] plainly seen [erasures] in my unfitness for the most common occurance of life [socialising]; in my trembling faultering silences; in my choosing to sit alone rather than endure the agony of going into company’.[[144]](#footnote-144) She felt that she was too emotional, trembled too much and felt awkward. Gertrude blamed generational differences and her mother reneging on her motherly duty to promote Gertrude socially: ‘I was born when my Mother was an old woman (or very near what may be called so) before I grew up, and past the inclination to introduce me or put me forward in the world’.[[145]](#footnote-145) Gertrude considered social behaviours as learnt skills of emotional demeanor which should have been instilled in her by her family and utilised by them to promote their family in ambitious ways. Gertrude also blamed her brother for terrifying her into being unable to ‘perform’ socially: ‘there is no coming out of my brother's family ready cutt and dried a fine women’.[[146]](#footnote-146)

The virtues extolled in contemporary pieces to Mary and Gertrude at the beginning of the period like *The Universal Letter Writer* and *The rules of civility; or, the maxims of genteel behaviour* (1703)*,* highlighted the key disciplined behaviour needed to show off one’s genteel nature and to maintain social order and boundaries between different social classes.[[147]](#footnote-147) Antoine de Courtin’s *Rules of Civility* (1703), emphasised obedience and emotional repression using words such as ‘docility’, ‘prudence’ and ‘modestly’. [[148]](#footnote-148) These qualities were extolled in women in these early tracts in order to embed such learning as a real virtue rather than a false behaviour and ‘reap their advantage’ of sociability. These terms, especially ‘prudence’ or ‘prudish’ were echoed by Gertrude but, I argue, took on very specific emotional meanings in her familial context. The way Gertrude used this term displays potential generational differences and the variation in ways people could read and understand notions about behaviour in the above texts. Gertrude’s understanding of ‘prudence’ was, expressly, in conflict with her family’s understanding of the term. ‘Prudent’ to Gertrude meant not appearing overly emotional and being pleasing and quiet rather than anxious or angry. In her diary Gertrude argued often with her brother about the right way to emotionally appear, which ironically produced the intense anxiousness she felt: ‘Why did you occation that in me, and what unbreakable imprudent gay spirit was I born with that needed all those checks, those documents, those precepts against Levity, against coquettry? (and the least cheerfullness in me was reckoned so). Alas! I was not inclined to it’.[[149]](#footnote-149) Her family evidently thought differently about what was ‘prudent’ or in Gertrude’s case ‘imprudent’ behaviour, seeing any form of ‘levity’, ‘gay spirit’ or cheerfulness as a sign of imprudence or disobedience.

Family contexts were the arenas in which socialising was learnt and were evidently the marker against which individuals had to correlate their observed ideas about what behaviours would benefit sociability with reality. Gertrude derided the difference between the ‘prudent’ behaviour she had been taught in her oppressive familial context with the way in which she felt she ought to behave to become intimate with others: ‘you are too shy. It looks prudish and affected, nay it must really be so. The stiffness of ill-breeding. It looks as if you had never seen anything of the world. An easier and more unreserved behaviour is much more genteel, more agreeable, nay looks more innocent and may be so.’[[150]](#footnote-150) To Gertrude ‘ill-breeding’ was why she imagined her stiff, ‘prudish’ behaviour came across as rudeness to others. To her, ‘easier and more unreserved’ and therefore more naturally *seeming* behaviour was a better way to impress people. Gertrude expressly connected her feelings of oppression and being emotionally repressed in her family with being ‘beholden’ to her brother and being stopped from socialising and making a suitable marital match:

O unhappy condition the most wretched in human life! I could be *thankful* to You as a *benefactor* but not in *subjection* to you as a Brother […] I, who all my life have come Cowdly into a room like a Dog with his tail between his legs, unregarded […] Could I expect a File of Beaus would do me reverance down to the Ground or familarly grin and Tap me on the Shoulder and cray 'Gad, She's a fine Girl'? No! No!.[[151]](#footnote-151)

This power was what Gertrude sought: she thought her family were squandering her ability to put both herself and them forward in the world with their oppressive and conflicting notions about how prudent she should appear.

Gertrude’s emotions regarding family and sociability and the account of Mary Cowper’s complex relationship between duty to her family at the beginning of this section, also show how central families were to these women’s experiences of sociability and how they could negatively impact on that sociability.[[152]](#footnote-152) The way these women spoke about their emotions around duty and sociability depended on how sociability was sought after by their families and how supportive their families were. The emotional conflict that occurred in these families about sociability attests to the power it had over every part of these women’s lives and relationships: it could give power to women in their families, and it also deeply affected the way in which they felt about their families. Gertrude was paralysed from fear of conflict with her family but still protested that their lack of help in her sociability was, to her, the grossest form of familial neglect. There was a conflict in this family as to what constituted the right kinds of behaviour or social support. Gertrude evidently saw a connection between social power and the ability to have agency and liberty from her family, perhaps this was something her family also recognised and attempted to deny her. The fact that both Gertrude and Mary knew that there was power in socialising shows that it could be an expectation that women could achieve authority in socialising in this society, showing why social ‘duty’ - whilst emotionally arduous - was so sought after by aristocratic women, not only for their familial duty or even for the wider influence in the more public sphere for themselves, but for their own power within their families.

* 1. The emotional consequences of socialising as ‘dull’ ‘duty’

‘Dullness’, perhaps instilled by families, might have meant regulating emotional comportment to achieve power. However, the feelings communicated about such ‘dutiful’ and ‘dull’ sociability also attest to obscured, deeper, reflections and effects on other social interactions and relationships that sociability as a form of ‘duty’ or work denied to these women even as it dominated their social aims. The arduous and tedious feelings about such events did not stop Mary and Theresa from seeking them out. However, it is important to reconstruct the emotional effects of this sociability to fully understand what it meant to these women and why it was characterised in these emotional ways. Reconstructing this shows how formal and ambitious sociability, within the most prominent aristocratic social arenas, affected these women’s perceptions about the homogenous ways of socialising for work and social gain. What is clear is that negative feelings, such as dullness, fatigue, arduousness, anxiety and frustration were the most dominant feelings connected to this kind of sociability. These negative feelings separated socialising for gain, work, or ‘duty’ from other kinds of social behaviour. What also becomes especially plain is that, possibly because of the learnt and pressurised nature of this kind of socialising, much of this negative feeling involved what was considered ‘real’ social behaviour as opposed to ‘false’ civility and superficial ‘designing’ behaviour.

To Mary Cowper in 1714, louder presences at Court, ‘disputes’ and ‘designs’ became a foil for Mary’s own emotional discretion and ‘honesty’ in her own account. For Mary, there were two kinds of negative feelings which were integral to her experience of sociability as work at Court: the physical exhaustion and anxiety of ‘duty’ to her monarchs and the suspicion and malevolence she attached to the false civility of people at Court. She spoke of not being one the Princess’s ‘tormentors’ and of coming to court intending to not do anything that was ‘mean, dishonest, dishonourable’.[[153]](#footnote-153) This was a strategy which she continued to play to her advantage throughout her social career, in order to show up her competitors who were louder or more contentious: ‘‘This Dispute happening before the Princess, will hardly be a Step to making her [Lady Nottingham] Governess to the young Princess, which she had asked to be’, ‘with all her prate and noise, she was the most cunning, designing Woman alive’.[[154]](#footnote-154) Mary’s closest competitors for positions at Court, or who she perceived to be a threat were Lady Nottingham, Lady Shrewsbury and Madame Kielmansegge. These three all tried to push Mary, metaphorically and sometimes even physically, out of their way: ‘At last my Lady Northampton came pulling my Lady Nottingham by the hand which last took my place from me and I was forced to mount the pulpit stairs. I thought this rude, but did not think there had been any design in it, tho we had both been talked of for being Governess to the young Princesses and she it seems had really solicited for it and I believe apprehended I had done so too, notwithstanding I had never thought of it.’.[[155]](#footnote-155) Mary used the term ‘design’ to separate her idea of ‘false’, ‘rude’ and performed behaviour from ‘real’, ‘honest’ relationships and interactions. In highlighting the emotionally fraught court culture of ‘designs’, Mary also detailed the constant vigilance which came with an emotional toll as part of the labours of Court. The term was intended to highlight the way in which other women around Mary at court used the formalities, tasks, ceremonies, and muted emotional civility of the space to their own aims and advantage and to undermine her. This was perhaps a conscious decision, or ‘design’ of her own, on the part of Mary to realise her aim of provoking warm emotions towards herself from a reader, from the Princess, or in her own mind, and justify vilifying her enemies in her diary.

Mary’s feelings about such ‘designs’, I propose, show her understanding of the complexities of manoeuvring through the understood social behaviours and relationships at court. She expressly used the term to mean a malicious plot against someone or something, a conspiracy or merely factionalism at court. ‘Design’ directly indicated disingenuous or affected, unnatural, behaviour. This was evident in wider parlance, with works such as educational tracts seeking to negate ‘peevishness, pride or design’ in children’s conversation.[[156]](#footnote-156) Just as Theresa Parker expressly wrote she was not enough of a ‘courtier’ to enjoy the ‘dull’ duties of courtly spaces, Mary used ‘design’ to separate her professed ‘honest’ and natural social aspirations and behaviours from those of other courtiers who were performing. Mary highlighted the ‘designs’ of others to make visible her perception of the aims of others working at court and how her feelings were affected in the process. In doing so she presented herself as the opposite of the designing courtier, an innocent newcomer who was often wronged and who wished to protect her mistress from being so too against a group whose sociable bonds belied threatening purposes. However, in showing a disgust for designing behavior Mary shows how it was an integral part of the maneuvering at Court and how emotional responses to it were an integral part of her own maneuvering.

Gertrude Savile also debated the difference between what was ‘natural’ behaviour and what was performative in sociability. Gertrude shows how complex an aristocratic woman’s understanding of social behaviour could be. She thought that her ‘natural’ emotional charms, which she also thought necessary for elite socializing, had been quashed by her difficult familial circumstances. Whilst it enabled stability and civility, Gertrude reflected in 1721 on the ways in which emotional repression, or what she termed ‘prudish’ behaviour detailed above, might be less desirable than more natural emotional behaviours in social situations: ‘The qualifications I was born with, of mind and body, would have rendered me passable enough, and had they not every way been suppressed and strangled’.[[157]](#footnote-157) Gertrude characterised her ‘levity’ and natural demeanour as a better way of socialising while her family were strict about appearing ‘prudent’ and in that strictness made her incredibly anxious about socialising and was recognised by her as an unfashionable way to behave.[[158]](#footnote-158) Gertrude demonstrated her understanding of this difference expressly on a visit to her cousin’s home in Weeden. The visit was surprisingly pleasant to Gertrude, which she put down to an emphasis her cousin had for ‘fashionable’, more relaxed, socialising over civil socialising: ‘We sometimes played at cards, sometimes walked in the gardens; always left at our liberty and choise, which one that knows the fashionable world as well as my cousin [who] has conversed with the Polite, knows is a greater complisance than an officious, troublesome intruding civility’.[[159]](#footnote-159) Gertrude’s account indicated evidence of perceived differences and the emotional ramifications between how parents or patriarchal figures and their children understood conduct management and the differences between natural and civil behaviour.

In similar ways, Theresa Parker, at the end of the period in 1796, also communicated her dislike of forced emotional behaviour in formal circumstances. For Theresa, the characterisation of feeling ‘dull’ or the ‘dullness’ of events and that she was ‘not yet courtier enough to enjoy them’ was a way of pointing out that the performativity of the people at court felt unnatural. I argue that even by the end of the period these civil behaviours were entrenched, but for individuals from the beginning to the end of the period the repression of naturalness was an obstacle for making the right kinds of connections or being closer with the Royal Family. Theresa described one woman she met in the Queen’s drawing room, who tried to use civil performativity to overtly further social ambition as ‘quite ridiculous; she tries to scrape Acquaintance with everybody, invites herself to places; trys to be officiously useful… The King's great amusement is making fun of her and talking to her’.[[160]](#footnote-160) Theresa’s message in viewing and laughing at this woman also held a warning to not behave in a similar manner or risk being a novelty or worse discarded without gaining any of the social aims that could be reaped in these particular formal scenarios. Whilst this shows the dynamics of inclusivity and exclusivity at work, it also shows how those dynamics were not simply predicated on social ‘duty’, behavioural protocols or wealth but on something more: the ability to both behave in the right ways and also be subtle and natural whilst doing it. However, as ‘dull’ shows, Theresa and Anne’s own emotions bridled at the stilted aspects of the emotional management and false feeling they found in other people at the court. Theresa maintained a distance from the formalities to retain flexibility in her feelings; separating her own behaviour from the ‘performance’ of the ceremonies that took place in the Queen’s Rooms.

These sections have focused on the emotional experiences and relational contexts of the primary kind of sociability which was seen as work or ‘duty’ to get into exclusive social circles. For all these aristocratic women sociability was perceived as a kind of work for social/political attainment or within the ostensible ‘emotional community’ of the court or similarly exclusive and ambitious elite social spaces. This work or ‘duty’ had distinct behaviours associated with it which were learnt to succeed in these arenas. Each of these women understood these behaviours in their own way, applied them or did not according to their own needs and circumstances. Each of the women had differing but equally negative emotional responses to this form of sociability as well. Being unable to learn or practice this form of sociability could lead to feelings of exclusion and failure in one’s identity as a member of the elite, as evidenced by Gertrude Savile. The exclusivity upheld by shared social codes combined with the desire present in each of these women to partake in the top tiers of society, using learnt emotional comportment to benefit themselves confirms the notion of exclusive and specific aristocratic social culture defined by historiography on the subject. These women evidently understood and partook in this culture. However, whilst the historiography and these case studies confirm this culture, the general historiography on the subject has not fully explored what this culture meant emotionally to the women involved and how these feelings show how it was practiced and perceived in experience. The negative emotional consequences that these women portray when interacting with this culture of aristocratic sociability have been overlooked by a historiography that concentrates on the features of homogeneousness, stability, exclusivity, and the fashion of the socialising Beau Monde.

The muted and sometimes mocking tenor which accompanied ‘dull’ and ‘dutiful’ sociability, hides the more negative emotional consequences and experiences of participating in this primary form of aristocratic sociability. This form of sociability was, for each of these women, tedious, laboured, exhausting and sometimes confusing. It relied on learnt behaviours, but these behaviours could be judged harshly by the women involved. Families were of course central to the dynastic aims of such sociability but could prove to be an obstacle to achieving social aims or ignored in favour of other forms of social ‘duty’. Moreover, some of these women could garner power in their families by harnessing this kind of sociability. Each of the women observed here saw a keen difference between false and natural behaviour and used that difference to support their own social aims in comparison to other aristocrats around them. Furthermore, the negative emotions associated with this first kind of sociability highlight the other kinds of socialising characterised by different, often more pleasant feelings, outside of socialising as a form of ‘duty’. Other relationships were singled out by these women, for Mary Cowper her wish to protect the Princess from ‘designs’ suggests a different ‘dutiful’ relationship, for Theresa and Anne there were other relationships which were not ‘dull’, and Gertrude Savile had to find other ways to socialise outside of the most elite circles. The glittering but monotonous display of the aristocracy in public was only one part of the story of their social lives. This suggests that each of these women also understood other ways to socialise and perhaps had different feelings about what they considered more ‘naturally’ felt relationships.

### **‘Delighted’ and ‘Disappointed’: Separating Intimacy and Friendship**

This second section explores the other kinds of sociability and social relationships distinguished by emotion terms that contrast with ‘dull’ and ‘duty’ and by a yearning for friends when interacting with people as a form of ‘duty’ or work. These other relationships were often hidden behind the dominance and homogeneity of courtly sociability in aristocratic culture. Other emotion terms reveal that there were different ways to distinguish between the stiff civil behaviour of ‘dull’ sociability, the superficial intimacies necessary to retain civility, and advance more personal ambitions and the actual pleasure of real friendship. The last section demonstrated that each of these women, in varied ways, aligned naturalness with good social relationships, in contrast to formal or status-driven relationships defined by their unnatural performances. Most importantly, the feelings that surrounded the separation between ‘dull’ performance and ‘natural’ pleasantry establish that this concept was not just about defining an emotional tenor culturally around these women’s social sets but distinguishing between real and false or ‘designs’ in intimacies characterising friendships. Emotionally this defined what situations were pleasanter and more desired for emotional fulfilment and personal social aims rather than dynastic or ambitious fulfilment.

This section interacts with suggestions by Christine Roulston that female friendships in the aristocracy became tied to ideas of gender in wider culture.[[161]](#footnote-161) Roulston suggests that the private nature of ‘inseparable friendships’ as opposed to the public nature of political social relations underlined the separation of aristocratic French women from the public sphere to a private and domestic realm where friendship resided.[[162]](#footnote-162) Roulston looks at this from the wide cultural point of view of male political thinkers in Revolutionary France who wanted to separate women from public sociability.[[163]](#footnote-163) However, it seems apparent that the emotion terms used by aristocratic women of this chapter sought to separate public and private social interactions, dutiful and performative from pleasurable and personal. This was not at the expense of their public socialising but in contrast to it, perhaps to retain control over their social relationships and personal aims. They also evidently used the opposing emotional depictions of different social interactions to align naturalness with more private social settings.

This section also considers different forms of ‘intimacy’ and ‘friendship’ and what these meant to the women. Katie Barclay suggests that in using the term ‘friend’ elite people could either be speaking about members of their wider kin and family network based on ‘reciprocity’ which still operated within unbalanced social hierarchies. [[164]](#footnote-164) The idea of one’s kin network being identified as ‘friends’ was introduced by Naomi Tadmor as opposed to an idea of more ‘classical friendship’ where the power between social equals was ‘neutralised through intimacy’.[[165]](#footnote-165) In exploring the emotions of these women, this section looks closely at how power dynamics in friendship affected reported emotional experiences and at further complexities of what intimacy meant to aristocratic women. Forthese three women intimacies in the form of dutiful sociability or sociability as work were separated emotionally from other kinds of affectionate or enjoyable bonds and sociable circumstances. This second section explores the understandings of friendship and intimacy and divided priorities and examines the more diverse, personal, intimate connections which characterised how these women emotionally understood different social settings and relationships. This section will consider how intimacy which was necessary at court, competition and friendship were differentiated and characterised for aristocratic women. Friendship was defined by particularly pleasant emotions but also came with upsetting emotional consequences of having to neglect these relationships when more lucrative situations demanded.

* 1. ‘Friend! I know not what that is’: Superficial Intimacy as opposed to the ‘Delight’ of Friendship [[166]](#footnote-166)

The significant difference in emotions between intimacy and friendship for the women studied here were the structures of power which they attached to different relationships and how this affected feelings. Looking closely at the relationships which were found in sociability as work, especially at court, what is clear is that there were complex interactions, set up by the personal aims, social codes, and competition in those particular social arenas. At court, or in the most exclusive circles, forging relationships was key for everyone to benefit and to keep stability in aristocratic circles, but these were not easy or close relationships; forging artificial intimacies within social conventions, balancing personal desires, watchfulness and overall group stability were part of the careful powerplay for these aristocratic women when socialising at the top. The combination of emotion and power has been well documented by Katie Barclay who explores how wider conceptions of love were used to define communal marital practices, gendered authority, and power in aristocratic relationships over the period, most often reinforcing patriarchal dominance through softened means.[[167]](#footnote-167) These women demonstrate further that the idea of intimacy as reinforcing the status quo extended to other social relationships. Behaviours that seemed intimate or imitated intimacy in specifically ambition-related social scenarios, such as at Court, allowed for the veneer of civility to maintain social order but also for mercenary behaviours to be acceptable because they were hidden. Exploring these women’s emotions displays these more hidden interactions and social experiences of intimate interactions. It allowed for survival in these scenarios but also came with a host of uncomfortable and apprehensive emotions which characterised falsely intimate forms of sociability.

Mary Cowper’s complex relationship with the Duchess of Shrewsbury exemplifies this situation for social relationships of the aristocracy in formally constructed social situations and how key emotions were to navigate these situations. These conditions brought together people who were all acquainted and who closed ranks to outsiders, but also who were all social competitors. Mary paradoxically complimented the Duchess at the same time as acknowledging the history of their fraught relationship and professing negative judgements about the Duchess’s actions at Court and towards herself:

She had a great Memory, had read a good deal, and spoke three Languages to Perfection; but then, with all her prate and noise, she was the most cunning, designing Woman alive, obliging to People in Prosperity, and a great Party-woman, as I may say from Experience, for after a little Dispute at Sacheverel's Trial, and my Lord's laying down the Seals, she forbore visiting me, or Speaking to me when she met me anywhere, till the King's coming to the Crown.[[168]](#footnote-168)

The Duchess was a Lady of the Bedchamber and under the protection of the King who had commanded Princess Caroline to give her that position an ‘an Obligation to him’.[[169]](#footnote-169) Outside of Court Mary and the Duchess did not speak to each other - Mary clearly disliked the Duchess.

However, at Court, as the Duchess was a favourite of the King and Mary was a favourite of the Princess, they were forced to attempt to create some form of relationship to keep the peace and to hide their own ambitions. Mary used the word ‘shyly’ to characterise the way in which such intimacy was approached tentatively by both women but which they both knew they had to at least pretend to attempt.[[170]](#footnote-170) Mary exemplifies that this emotional management could also be a personal strategy to make sure that she was shown to the best and most peaceful advantage to the mind of those in power: ‘upon coming into the Bedchamber all old Quarrels are laid aside for the Ease and Quiet of our Mistress’.[[171]](#footnote-171) The intimacy of the spaces of court, the conflicting ‘interest’ of emotional bonds and aims in such a small group of people and the need to present a stable outlook made the relationships at court for Mary more complex than being divided neatly into enemies and friends.

The consciousness of the veneer of intimacy at court is most pointedly seen in the experiences of Mary who had to use knowledge of different forms of intimacy to survive at Court. Mary details that there were varied kinds of intimacy and sociable situations at court which were contrived in those ‘designs’ or plans which were solely for achieving aims under the guise of ‘duty’. These calculated strategies were expressly felt by Mary to exploit the small social situations, exchanges, and bonds of court which centred around undermining others, to ruin her own ‘credit’ with the Royal Family and take her place in the Princess’s entourage. These strategic forms of intimacy were superficially built into the labour of civilities, responsibilities, and exchanges which Mary understood the behaviour of the court was structured around:

I brought the Princess a book that Madame Kielmansegge had sent me to give her and after presenting it I understood by Mrs Howard that there was a mortal hatred between them and that the Princess thought her a wicked woman. She also told me that her sending it to me was a design to persuade the Princess that she was very well with me, in order to ruin my credit with her; 'for' added she 'if it had not been so, she would have sent it either by the Duchess of Bolton or Shrewsbury that are so well with her; but she never stuck a pin into her gown without a design.[[172]](#footnote-172)

Even people with whom one had a ‘mortal hatred’ were still present at court and the rituals of exchange bound them together in intimate civil practices or could make it appear that enemies had ‘credit’ with one another. Mary suggested that her own idea of intimacy with the Royal Family was to be instead built on terms of a ‘real’ or ‘honest’ familiarity.

To show this ‘real’ familiarity, I contend, Mary also used emotion terms to signify who she had deeper feelings for and to highlight the ‘friendships’ she had with specific and powerful allies. Exploiting the intimacies of dutiful sociability, such as the mistress and servant bond between Mary and the Princess, was part of the work of the court and the foundation for achieving positional success. However, it was also key to having some relationships at Court which were described as more pleasurable, in contrast to intimacy for mercenary purposes only. Being marked out as a ‘favourite’ was also reciprocated in the form of verbal and physical effusiveness shown to the Royal Family, especially the Princess: ‘I received a thousand Marks of my Mistress's Favour, as embracing me, kissing me, saying the kindest Things, and telling me that she [the Princess] was truly sorry my Week of Waiting was so near out. I am so charmed with her good Nature and good Qualities, that I shall never think I can do enough to please her.’[[173]](#footnote-173) Her intimate, friendly, relationship with the Princess was in the first instance one of the reasons for her employment and had been cultivated for some time. They first began an epistolary relationship years before Mary came to Court: ‘I must tell that for four years past I had kept a constant correspondence with the Princess [and] had received many and those the kindest letters from her’.[[174]](#footnote-174) Mary’s knowledge that Princess Caroline liked her and chose her personally when other ladies in waiting were ‘not her own choice’ meant that Mary was confident in the true affection of her mistress and therefore the power this gave her at Court.[[175]](#footnote-175) Her relationship with the Prince and Princess was one of the only relationships which Mary portrayed using the term ‘friendship’, suggesting a trust and deeper feeling in being beholden to them: ‘she [the Princess] did not doubt the Prince's willingness to express his friendship to me upon all occasions’. [[176]](#footnote-176) This relationship was one of the only ones described by uncomplicatedly pleasurable emotions related by Mary in her diary.

It is telling about Mary’s social aims that she only presented such pleasant feelings regarding those who held the most power, the Princess and Royal Family. She aligned the understood division between real and false familiarity with her own dynastic ambitions. Intimacy was therefore a vital part of Mary’s understanding of the power structures of aristocratic sociability which included the strategy of putting the personal to one side or braving negative emotional consequences. Mary, consequently, used her feelings in the individual relationships she moved between at Court to define the idea of real intimacy with those she needed to cultivate and to guard against the false intimacy of fabricated relationships. The ability to do this gave Mary some power over social scenarios at Court and suggests that being able to define, judge and manipulate these kinds of relationships was one of the essential ways in which power was achieved in aristocratic social circles. Holloway and Worsley argue that emotional management of courtiers, in minimising outbursts of feeling, helped to provide the stable emotional tenor needed for public scrutiny of the stability of those in power.[[177]](#footnote-177) The court was a workplace, social arena and living space, so emotional management was only one part of the experience there. The managed emotional tenor hid complex intimacies which could also be used to gain power. Mary did so by presenting herself as the most naïve, the quietest and most compliant. The emotional experience of work in the social arenas at court and her careful, emotionally managed, response to it led Mary to be the preferred companion of the Princess and therefore realise the aim of nearer proximity to power.

This suggests that for these members of the aristocracy there was a perceived difference in relationships hidden behind the homogeneity of their behaviour towards one another and what was presented outwardly. These differences could have real effects in actions towards people or aims. Mary’s different emotions towards the civil veneer of competitors, the falsely intimate and the real feelings she professed she had for those she cared about at Court (even for ambitious reasons) are significant for understanding the way in which social and power relationships at the Court could be organised and practiced for individuals. Naomi Tadmor highlights friendships could be understood by eighteenth-century people as ‘instrumental’ or useful, but suggests this was separate to ‘sentimental’ or emotional friendships, although usefulness and patronage could breed affection.[[178]](#footnote-178) Mary shows that for women at court the division between sociability as work and sociability for friendship came with complex divisions between understandings of intimacy and understandings of friendship. Intimacy could be forged with people for a variety of reasons, including with social enemies for gain and stability within courtly settings. Trying to create intimate relationships was based on trying to maintain the upper hand in rewarding relationships. This resulted in mixed emotions in such intimate settings where risk and being able to read people and their motivations behind superficial pleasantries were of paramount importance. Friendship, especially those with material and social benefits, however, was distinguished by Mary by less cautious mercenary undertones and more pleasant and positive emotional terms. The fact that all of Mary Cowper’s social relationships were in one space means that it is the subtle differences in her reported feelings towards individuals which make visible the differences between these intimate relationships. Some people could be ‘designing’ in intent but still respected and worked with.

For Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson, the fact that they moved between different kinds of social spaces, including the Court and their own home neighbourhood, meant that divisions between different forms of socialising were more overtly and discernibly divided both spatially and emotionally. Whilst using ‘dull’ to characterise social distinctions, it also demonstrated for Theresa and Anne a feeling of dissatisfaction when their personal friendship circle was absent: ‘last night we did not go to the ball as none of our set went’.[[179]](#footnote-179) The emotional behaviour of finding society ‘dull’ was therefore, firstly, connected to the self-knowledge of social status and privilege, sociability should be a pleasurable honour and a major facet in these women’s sense of self and position. ‘Dull’ was used by Anne and Theresa to demarcate what was good company from bad for reasons of social ambition and exclusivity and to figuratively elevate themselves above the banality of general leisurely events. However, the term was also used to underline the fact that there were ‘very few’ people with whom these women enjoyed spending time with at these events. ‘Dull’ defined who was pleasant company and whose company had to be endured. When there was no one whom the two Parker and Robinson women would wish to name in their letters available to socialise with in the crowds of people, they attested that they had ‘seen nobody’ and felt ‘dull’ accordingly.[[180]](#footnote-180)

‘Dull’ and ‘empty’ were used to show a difference between events with friends and events for social gain: importantly there were few times for the Parker and Robinson women where there was a combination of both pleasure at being with friends and the means for social advantage in a social activity. There was a sense of dread that accompanied the women’s exclamations about having a lack of their preferred people to socialise with and therefore the dull prospect of society. Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson display the most pointed difference between their feelings and emotional characterisations of the civilly stilted courtly relations and the natural ease of their friendships. In opposition to Mary, it was the Royal Family whom Theresa and Anne found the least intimacy with at the end of the period. As the first sections showed, events with the Royal Family were described as ‘dull’ ‘duty’, members of the Family were spoken of with respect, but also pity, and sometimes mocked with sarcasm. When discussing court or the Royal Family as a group, Theresa only used one complimentary term consistently, the term ‘amiable’: ‘The amiable heir apparent is expected here today or tomorrow’; ‘she [Theresa] has ventured to go to sea today attended by all the amiable Royal Family’.[[181]](#footnote-181) This term was rather weak and plain and when used in conjunction with the ‘heir apparent’, it was also sarcastic.

Conversely, the distinctions between the ‘amiable’ Royal Family and other ‘friends’ were made by the clearly different, and more effusive, emotional terms used by Theresa and Anne for nearer and dearer people. ‘Friends’ were described with a plethora of complimentary terms: ‘Delighted’, ‘pleasant’, ‘good humored’, ‘unaffected’, ‘good’, ‘dearest’, ‘happiness’, ‘affection’, ‘love’. Theresa and Anne only mentioned a handful of ‘friends’ by name over the year, differentiating them from other social groups or defining who the friends of others were: ‘The D of Leeds goes the 10th…of the rest of our friends the same day as the Royals’, ‘I sh'd be sorry to stay after tomorrow as all our friends will be gone’, ‘our good friend Mr Onslow’, ‘Capt. Sharrow of the Anglesea Militia a friend of the Duke Of Leeds’, ‘Capt King/one of our Kitley friends’.[[182]](#footnote-182) However, these clearer distinctions were predicated on the physical division between these kinds of relationships: they could not take place at the same time as when they socialised with the Royal Family and the necessary prioritisation of the ambitious forms of sociability had deep negatively emotional effects on other forms of relationship.

These two women made a clear distinction between their easy behaviour towards ‘friends’ and the civil propriety they were expected to uphold in more mixed circles, especially in courtly circles. Lawrence Klein describes politeness as: ‘a revolt against rigidity, solemnity, ceremoniousness, and formality’.[[183]](#footnote-183) With other acquaintances, such as their neighbours at Kitley, there was a much more easy, pleasurable and ‘natural’ attitude which Theresa compared to the formality of her other social events: ‘I think I never saw such a pleasant good humour'd family in my life as all the Lennox's I'm sure you would like Miss Lennox of all things she is pleasant and unaffected; we never sat down to dinner there fewer than 16, but it is never the least formal’.[[184]](#footnote-184) The disapprobation which Theresa held for formal events and behaviour was in stark contrast to the relaxed, and even giddy, behaviour she could exhibit here whilst still being able to be thought of as behaving politely: ‘tho' I was often troubled with the giggles I flatter myself I conducted myself with tolerable conformity’.[[185]](#footnote-185) There was absolutely no boredom to be felt at Kitley.

Importantly, I suggest these relationships were non-competitive for Theresa and Anne and allowed them to be the highest-ranking people in the room. Unlike for Mary, who attached warm feelings to useful patronage relationships with higher ranking people at court, Theresa and Anne were easier and more natural in visits to those to whom they were social superiors. Theresa wrote about her happiness in exercising their social power: ‘we pass'd Tuesday very pleasantly with the Lennox's […] the more I see them the more I like them’; ‘I favour'd Miss Westcott with a lift which she was much pleas'd and the whole parish much amus'd’.[[186]](#footnote-186) There was little tension in any of these interactions on their side and part of the pleasure was for Theresa and Anne to feel a social power without competition and for themselves to be the ones in the position to bestow social favour to those below them. This indicates that for elite women power dynamics could not only be neutralised by intimacy between social equals but that differences in hierarchy, without the pressures of obligations or ambition, could also defuse tensions in power relationships. This also displays a real participation in specific wider cultural ideas about innate politeness and easy ‘naturalness’ as the epitome of good social behaviour, something which the rigidity of formal socialising at court was not seen to allow. What is clear, in the accounts of Theresa, is that these social ideas were not just conventions of politeness which were applied to social practices but had applications in how these aristocratic women could use emotion terms to distinguish their feelings about relationships. These applications had potential outcomes in different relationships and display different emotional outlooks in different social settings.

Gertrude Savile also acknowledged different motivations for having relationships between people in her social strata even if she could not achieve these aims or connections: ‘I should not wonder at my not being received into their [the aristocracy’s] friendship and alliance and all that. It was neither in nature nor by art to be acquired in so little a time’.[[187]](#footnote-187) Gertrude showed that she acknowledged a difference between ‘friendship’ and ‘alliance’, and relationships that were ‘natural’ as opposed to those gained by ‘art’. She yearned for the coveted combination of an instrumental and sentimental friendship. When she compared her situation to her sister, Lady Cole, the support of friendship was paramount in Gertrude’s mind as the reason for the disparity of their situations: ‘She [Lady Cole] has carved out her own fortune; I have passively suffered mine, without the help of any friend. Friend! I know not what that is.’[[188]](#footnote-188) The emotional context of ‘friendship’ was of significant importance to what Gertrude perceived to be her aims. She consistently looked for relationships which might assist her, for a ‘friend’ who might support her, and despaired that she had never truly felt the kind of connection that she associated with friendship. Gertrude especially wished her family had held her in friendship as well as in a familial relationship: this held the most significant feelings of despair for her. Gertrude understood these relationships from ideals of how they should be practiced or structured. However, in practice these divisions were not so simple, and she perceived they were made harder by her personality and the gap between ideals and the experiences of relationships.

* 1. ‘Disappointment’: How Personal Desires and Social Aims Conflicted.

The emotional differentiation between different relationships, and the purposes for those relationships, also had other emotional ramifications. This was especially the case regarding having to decide which social interactions to prioritise, the pleasurable or the advantageous, when it seemed that it was rare to have both feelings present in the same social setting. The stark difference between pleasant ease and dull performance, meant that leaving or being separated from these more pleasurable relationships could be described in deeply painful ways. These emotions underscore the conflict between aiming to socialise for power and to socialise for pleasure. Theresa Parker displayed how affected her aunt Anne was when leaving Kitley:

the idea of seperation becoming too painful to my Aunt and Mrs Bastard, many entreaties were made to us to stay wch we accordingly did. When being again on the point of departure the solicitations of the irresistable Mrs Bastard again induc'd us to stay […] so vehement is the friendship between these two reconcil'd ladies that I don't believe we shd ever come away to make the parting less affecting, it was mutually agreed what we sh'd go there again some other time.[[189]](#footnote-189)

The emotional language, ‘painful’, ‘vehement’, ‘affecting’, used by Theresa and Anne when talking about leaving those they considered close friends also suggests a deeper sense of sadness and disappointment of missing out on the easy company of real friends and easy intimacy.

Ultimately, I propose there was sadness at being apart from those whom the women purported to truly value, which underscored the negative feeling that these aristocratic women felt in ‘dull’ and ‘dutiful’ sociability. For Theresa and Anne, the emptiness and nothingness expressed by the women regarding their formal socialising were exacerbated by the deeper upset of being parted from Catherine, their aunt and sister-in-law to whom the letters were written, who was only physically in their presence twice in the year. Anne and Theresa missed Catherine greatly and many of their expressed aims in their letters were to see her; ‘again I wish you was come back. I believe you only go out of town to make yourself missed? And wish'd for’.[[190]](#footnote-190) They wrote that if Catherine had been able to be with them then it would alleviate their unhappiness, ‘I hope …that you will fix the day of your arrival which is much to be desired…[it] is most anxiously expected by my dearest Mrs Robinson’.[[191]](#footnote-191) These exclamations may have been ways in which affection could be emphasised in their correspondence but the sentiments in comparison to those about other people highlight that they marked Catherine out as both a favourite and sorely missed. Similarly, a reply to Mary Cowper from the Duchess of Marlborough suggests that Mary’s letter had communicated feelings of sadness and homesickness for those she loved. The Duchess wrote: ‘I am very sorry for the account you give of your health, which I have always feared would not be mended at Court. I don’t wonder that you find it melancholy to be away from your Lord and children; or though the Princess is very easy and obliging, I think that anyone that has common sense or honesty must needs be very weary of everything one meets with in Court’.[[192]](#footnote-192) Evidently, attached to the demanding labour and accordant ill health in Mary’s social ‘duty’ at Court was also melancholy at being separated from her loved ones. It is telling that Mary did not explicitly outline this deeper homesickness in her diary which was intended to be read as a valorisation of her behaviour at court and love for the Princess and only confessed it to a friend as such sadness would undermine the portrayal of her ambition. These exchanges also emphasise that aristocratic women who wrote to each other understood and sympathised with the emotional ramifications of the structures and pressures of aristocratic social life. For all these women a large part of how they portrayed their pleasure and equilibrium was bound up in those they loved, yet their sadness at being disappointed in often not seeing each other or being separated shows that ‘dutiful’ and socially advantageous social priorities came first.

Moreover, for those who had more flexibility in the choices of space and socialising, different forms of intimacy could conflict harshly with personal feelings about with whom to be intimate and for what aims. For Theresa Parker, especially, there was a sense that she was missing out on something more important than her close friends when she was unable to socialise with them due to the duty of participating in ambitious sociability. At the heart of Theresa’s dread of missing out on the right kinds of sociability lay her most immediate and personal emotional aim. There was ‘great family pressure’ on young aristocrats, not only to marry but to marry well within their own social group.[[193]](#footnote-193) However, ironically, achieving dynastic aims of courtly sociability could mean that aims such as marriage were harder to achieve. Mainly women were invited to the Queen’s drawing room. Theresa’s sociable intentions were made especially obvious when she recounted going to balls and parties; ‘ask'd to a female party which we dreaded a good deal, and to be sure we were agreably surprised to have two aid de camps, two captains in the navy and officers of the South Devon’.[[194]](#footnote-194) For Theresa, attending social events at which men were present was her most urgent aim. When unmarried men were not present, such as in the Queen’s drawing room, she was more likely to find the outing dull or empty ‘I am afraid there will be rather a scarcity of Beaux as I hear the Queen has limited…Invitations to the people that go to the lodge, and they seldom ask either young or unmarried men’.[[195]](#footnote-195) She particularly noted her despondency when the men of her acquaintance left town as they took her best hopes of sociability with them, making her events with them more sporadic and therefore worth more to her. This dismay was poignantly connected to a sad sense of being left behind: ‘Lord Boringdon and all the party went away, and tho we set out but a few hours afterwards it was very melancholy indeed’.[[196]](#footnote-196) Theresa wished to be married but was conscious that she was looking for desirable partners within the limited constraints of a small pool of eligibility and infrequent meetings due to the prioritisation of socialising with already established aristocrats at Court and the top of society.

The warm feelings which distinguished ‘friendship’ as enjoyable, or deeply felt relationships, from the colder complexities of intimacy and sociability as a ‘duty’ might suggest that aristocratic emotional aims would tend towards friendship rather than ambition. However, the negative emotions and conflicts written about as part of the experiences of friendship attest to there being an aim-related dissonance between the different kinds of sociability available to aristocratic women and what they wanted to achieve socially. For Theresa and Mary this conflict was described as having been felt harshly, as they were separated from loved family members, made ill by the endeavour, or stopped from achieving other aims like marriage. Sociability as a duty consistently won out as the main form of their sociability as it corresponded to their greater aims of status. This conflict, however, had intense emotional repercussions for all the women studied here. The unquestionable prioritisation of dynastic ambitions and communal emotional culture affected personal aims, changed behaviour in different social environments and defined different forms and experiences of relationships for each of these women. Their individual experiences of sociability as work directly impacted on how and when other forms of sociability could take place and if they could. This had consequences for the satisfaction women felt in different social circumstances and how they prioritised their emotional connections.

However, whilst this was restrictive, the different characterisations that the women made about relationships outside of dutiful ones significantly develops the understanding of how aristocratic women conceptualised and experienced both intimacy in situations of ‘dutiful’ sociability and other friendships. The feelings and practices in these relationships were not solely defined by what these women hoped to achieve in these environments. Personal and emotionally fulfilling relationships were, in line with ambitions and, importantly, sometimes in conflict with them. Exploring their feelings about these relationships shows how varied aristocratic sociability and intimacy was and why it was divided up and understood according to emotion in its diverse social contexts because of the different priorities of aristocratic women’s lives. Significantly, in being unable to realise the perceived ‘normal’ social routes for either advancement or socialising for friendships, Gertrude’s determination to form any kind of attachment brings this chapter to its last section. This next section explores how outside of these norms, different social aims and practices could be sought after and achieved.

### **‘Relief’ and a ‘Quiet’ Life: Different Social Aims.**

This final section explores the emotions of women denied the social norms of aristocratic sociability outlined in the first section. Their feelings, aims and implicit actions show how they went about making different social experiences and practices for themselves. It further explores the discord between personal aims and perceived social norms. I show the experiences of being excluded or not participating in ambitious sociability or the various kinds of intimacy that it produced. This section argues that there were other, obscured, social aims and practices individual aristocratic women characterised by emotion terms, indicating the varied possibilities for women who did not fit the categories for the dominant forms of aristocratic sociability. This has significant consequences for the understanding of the social options available to aristocratic women.

Whilst Anne Robinson, Theresa Parker’s aunt and companion is present throughout the chapter, this section examines her experiences in more detail, alongside a further look at Gertrude Savile. For both these women norms of sociability as work, intimacy or friendship were either not accessible or dreaded. For Gertrude and Anne, there were daily familial and personal reasons (including conflicts in emotional aims and styles between individuals and social norms) for obstacles to aristocratic sociability or their personal aims, informed by their experiences on the peripheries of society. What is clear is that emotions show how both these women negotiated different objectives, had social experiences, and achieved goals outside of the expected social norms. This section explores how their individual circumstances created these everyday obstacles to sociability and the emotional experiences of not being able to access some of these norms, but also how they constructed their own emotional experiences, approaches, and aims due to perceived exclusions to sociability. There were obvious and significant consequences for using alternative emotional strategies to the ones employed by those with power, including exclusion and disownment. However, both women demonstrate the power of emotional understanding in shaping perspectives and possibilities for their lives, especially in terms of identity, and what the possibilities could be outside of socialising for advantage at court or for pleasure in company.

I argue that Anne had to negotiate her needs and social aims around the periphery of Theresa’s and that in doing so she had to focus on what was achievable to her in her localised environment in both her current status and changing future position. Whilst Theresa conjectured more frequently about how sorry she was to miss any social events she wished to partake in and networking she was missing out on, her aunt Anne’s wishes were much more domestic in scope. Although an elite, Anne was part of the ‘exploited…unmarried womenfolk’; used by their family as chaperones, nurses or companions but always trapped by inferiority and dependence, with very slender options for improving their lot.[[197]](#footnote-197) The unfixed status of both Anne and Theresa’s lives, in thrall to the obligations of going where sociability was to be found, disallowed Anne from undertaking or overseeing any form of household life at the family estate of Saltram as she wished: ‘I shall likewise be extremely sorry (as I always am) to leave this place, especially as I am very busy, or at least think so, in superintending a great work which is nothing more than the entire alteration of the library’.[[198]](#footnote-198) Anne much preferred being settled in one domestic and peaceful home for extended periods of time: ‘we shall stay here (Saltram) till the end of next month which I would much rather do, for I really dread going to Stanmer’.[[199]](#footnote-199) Anne wrote often about their home at Saltram that ‘I am never in a hurry to go from hence’.[[200]](#footnote-200) Although the emotions in Anne’s letters were similarly dominated by the theme of sociability, this was more due to the fact that her life centred around Theresa’s social life and her own feelings of dread about socialising. For Anne most of the dynamic aspects of aristocratic social life, which were so desired by Theresa as a means of achieving the security of her own marriage and household, were a source of constant dismay.

Anne demonstrates the emotional toll of the structures of aristocratic socialising on older, dependent women who did not want to partake or wished to stay home but were responsible for others. Even in social situations with real ‘friends’ such as their neighbours, being surrounded by younger people made Anne unhappy, as she wrote about one party: ‘I did all I could to get away and really had many things to do besides wishing very much to be at home but my niece instead of seconding me, was so pleas'd with her party, that she said I could have no business or reason for going away so I was obliged to stay, we had much too large and too young a party for me’.[[201]](#footnote-201) Even parties which were not expressly about social ambition, like with close friends and neighbours, such as the party above, were still an emotional chore for Anne. Anne, as chaperone, was obliged to go wherever Theresa went. Theresa evidently did not share in Anne’s particular emotional outlook or even truly understand it. She wrote about the same party that ‘I don't think my aunt did quite justice to the Kitley Party I thought it was delightful and was really/seriously/sorry to come away’.[[202]](#footnote-202) Although Anne tried all she could to get Theresa to leave, Theresa’s wishes and greater need to socialise for advancement deposed her own.

I argue that Anne shows what might be the experience of older aristocratic women as the imports of their social lives changed. As Theresa grew older, Anne was becoming less needed, harder to place and her position became uncertain. Her fixation on Saltram was perhaps because for a short while, before Theresa and Frederick were married, it was in her charge too, but this would be a transient responsibility and stability. Anne’s personal wishes were outside the scope of Theresa’s aristocratic social norms which are so dominant in the historiographical understanding of aristocratic life. Unlike Theresa, who was looking to the future and making new connections, Anne was often looking back at her past and to the comfort she could find in her present existence: ‘the greatest misfortune attending old age is seeing ones friends old and young go off before one, I will not repine, but be thankful for the blessings I have left’.[[203]](#footnote-203) Part of her dislike of social events was the memories which could be stimulated for her: ‘I went yesterday with Lady Onslow the round which I have not done thirteen years it really seemed quite new to me and was very beautyful, tho I must own from Old age or putting me in mind of other times, I did not enjoy it, and hope to be excus'd going’.[[204]](#footnote-204) Anne’s feelings of disappointment were, in this way, more regretful than Theresa’s. In Anne we can glimpse the experiences of an aristocratic woman who was deeply bound to others and had little recourse to achieving her own social aims. Anne’s diminishing role, and reduced lifestyle would be felt much more keenly in contrast to the strength of her family identity. To use the language of Jennie Dear, Anne was both a somebody and a nobody; her ‘market value’ was mutable but her aristocratic identity was fixed.[[205]](#footnote-205) As such, Anne inhabited the kind of memory life discussed by Susan Stabile, retreating into the places, and letter writing, that gave her comfort; where she could hold onto the vestiges of her life, her growing despondency making such reminiscences even more meaningful in their nostalgia.[[206]](#footnote-206)

However, because of this desire to be more retired, I contend that Anne also displays how emotion and emotional leverage could be used by women of varied ages to navigate and regain some control over the emotional conflicts of their experiences of sociability. One of the most common wishes voiced by Anne was her constant need to be at home and her desire that Theresa should be ‘quiet’ for her health as well. As Anne was obliged to go wherever Theresa went, she tried hard to keep Theresa at home and have some control over their social lives, using justifications about her health. The word ‘quiet’ held emotional connotations for good health and recuperation. The letters to Catherine Robinson were useful tools to make Catherine an ally in the process of advising Theresa to stay ‘quiet’. Anne would share her concerns, language and aims with Catherine and Catherine would echo this back to Theresa. Anne wrote to Catherine when they were in Weymouth; ‘I think Miss Parker is better for bathing, but I think it would have done her more good if she has been in a quieter place’.[[207]](#footnote-207) Catherine evidently repeated this advice to Theresa who wrote to Catherine shortly after ‘I like the thought of dipping excessively, you are too good to give me so much safe advice touching the quietness you wish me to observe there’.[[208]](#footnote-208) Anne could use her caring responsibilities over Theresa to try and shape her emotional social experiences and achieve some of her own aims, such as staying at home: ‘Miss Parker is not inclined to begin [to leave home], so I put off the evil day as long as I can’.[[209]](#footnote-209) By using terms like ‘quiet’ Anne could use the emotional weight of care and anxiety over Theresa to gain her own aim of staying home. Her identity as an aristocratic unmarried woman and chaperone was shaped by Theresa’s sociability and her emotions negatively impacted by this. However, she could also use that identity and emotions of concern and responsibility to reclaim her own needs and aims regarding social activities. Anne makes visible the unhappiness that peripheral aristocratic women could feel as they struggled to determine their identity, but she also shows how emotion could be used not only to reflect on these feelings but to actively shape the idea of control by using terms like ‘quiet’.

Anne’s constant aim to be ‘quiet’ and the constant labour to assert her own emotional needs corresponds somewhat to Gertrude Savile’s much earlier experiences of aristocratic sociability. Hannah Greig wrote about Gertrude that ‘cripplingly shy and deeply depressive, she [Savile] found the beau monde’s public profile and practised sociability impossible to manage’.[[210]](#footnote-210) Just like Anne, Gertrude did not fit easily into her aristocratic social world and had to find ways of shaping her emotional experiences that would allow her to manage her social experiences and relationships. However, it is important to look more carefully at Gertrude and consider how she did negotiate her social life and what other aims she might have found outside of the social norms that she failed at or was excluded from.

Whilst most avenues to sociability were denied Gertrude, her desire for a social life forced her to seek other ways of forming social relationships within the limitations of her aristocratic sphere. She consciously confided to her diary that she had secret emotional aims to gain happiness for herself and emotional liberty: ‘This paper (my only confidant), can witness for me that I have desires, and strong ones too’.[[211]](#footnote-211) At the beginning of her diary she was induced to make a trip to Bath without her mother or brother for the first time. This trip provided a taste of her ability to use her emotions to guide her own aims, to challenge the emotional ‘habit’ which had held her back at home and to shape her own emotional actions in a bid for ‘liberty’: ‘There is a charm in the word Liberty and being mistress of it.’[[212]](#footnote-212) Distance allowed for the unhappiness of her feelings at home to fade and the varied company at Bath provided possibilities of different emotional interactions than ‘dismal’ ones: ‘[I took] some little time to wear off the habit at first which I thought too strong ever to be worn off. I have been free from the Agony I endured always upon seeing any face but the dismal ones I was daily used to.’[[213]](#footnote-213) This new-found freedom marks a real change of tone in Gertrude’s diary and shows explicitly how, without the fear of castigation and with little to lose in terms of social power whilst still being affluent, she was enabled to choose her own social desires.

I demonstrate how Gertrude’s distance from those that would police her behaviour, and the freedoms of her diary, allowed her to imagine different social possibilities and emotional freedoms from restraint and explore the ideas of social convention she had learned regarding natural or unnatural behaviour. As her confidence grew at Bath Gertrude began to frame herself as ‘her own mistress’, choosing who to see: ‘because I was my own mistress, could choose my company or refuse them when I would.’[[214]](#footnote-214) Her social position meant that she could still access public social arenas such as balls and dinners, she was still affluent enough and her family name carried enough weight for her to enter Bath society and, as she discovered, forge her own emotional shaping of sociability away from the strictures of her mother: ‘One way I hope I have an advantage by being abroad: I shall be fitter to undertake anything by knowing what it is, and finding myself able to live from under my Mother's wing. I have learned to Pick for myself’.[[215]](#footnote-215) Most importantly, at Bath Gertrude tasted as much sexualised social freedom as she could within the limits of her social possibilities and understanding of what she could get away with. She justified that her flirtations could not bring her any socially lower than she already was and therefore that she was ‘making experiments where one's condition cannot be made worse’.[[216]](#footnote-216) She described three men with whom she entertained semi-serious flirtations, one of which, Stanhope, she quite seriously imagined eloping with.[[217]](#footnote-217)

Sex and sexual freedom can be understood as important social aims and a large part of the positive emotional interactions of aristocratic women within their social circles. Just as Theresa had lamented that formal socialising disallowed her to meet men, Gertrude understood that to be ‘fit’ for the world outside of her family would also allow her the chance to choose men she could socialise with. Gertrude reframed her ideas about ‘prudence’ and the behaviours which socialising entailed, moving from imagined ideas that echoed conduct literature to adapting an idea of good social skills based on who and what she felt was right at the time. She justified this adaptation by using the same language from ideas of ‘fit’ conduct to describe her flirting. In reminiscing about her interactions with these men in her diary, she used her most positive emotion terms:

I could go into company or to some diversion and be put into good humour again immediately. Thus far for my happyness negatively. I was also Positively Happy in One Grand Article - in what is a young woman's chief felicity - the gratification of vanity.[[218]](#footnote-218)

She suggested that she chose not to follow ‘imprudently’ on any flirtation with real action and framed this denial of her desire as an act of sacrifice to avoid scandal for her family: ‘I don't find myself much better for my late self denial nor my heroic (as I called it) sacrifice of Inclination to Prudence.’, ‘tho' I did nothing, nor was inclined to anything, that the strictest Governers in the World might not have approved on.’[[219]](#footnote-219) She again used the word ‘prudence’ to separate her own ideas of natural and happy socialising from the strict, chaste, repressiveness of the standards her mother and brother held her to. The word ‘happy’ was not used so extensively again in the whole year’s diary than it was when Gertrude related the excursion to Bath. The diary and the act of memorialising these interactions meant that they could be fantasised about, the possibilities of Stanhope safely conjectured about and treasured as a secret rebellion against her family. The diary therefore became a place where she could hold onto her emotional aim of being in a situation where she could be ‘positively happy in being entirely my own mistress and knowing my Will was my only Law’ without causing a real fracas with her family.[[220]](#footnote-220) Although it was a fantasy in the diary, the act of having that fantasy alone shows how different emotional and social aims could be dwelt upon and realised even within Gertrude’s quite prescriptive ideas of social culture and structures.

However, not all aspects of these aims remained as fantasy. I argue concentrating on personal needs and aims in diaries could allow the imaginative scope to try and enact some of these ideas in real life. When Gertrude was out of the sight and control of her family, she used emotion words which pertained to relief and indicated that she made social progress by forging these relationships and reflecting on her happiest emotions. However, this brief happiness only threw her social experiences at home into a sharper contrast:

I have been very happy, but now that 'tis at an end, is it better that it has been or not? Shall I be better able to endure the life I return to then if I had never known a better? [[...]] Long indeed I cannot bear my old way of living, but I could not have born it thus long without this recess; besides I have a small spark of distant hope kindled with my being here which will keep me from freezing’. tho' the cold comfort and damping mortifications in my Brother's house will I doubt [not] soon extinguish it, and then I must perish without some fresh relief.[[221]](#footnote-221)

Such was her deep feeling about the transformative power of sociability to her aristocratic life and ambition, that she focused on that to alter her existence. She used her understanding of emotion and its transformative power in different social settings to forge new and different emotional strength for herself, writing when back home: ‘Had no palpitations, tremblings, nor the least confusion upon any occasion, thanks to the Bath’.[[222]](#footnote-222) Whilst Gertrude did not manage to transform her fantasy of marriage or being introduced at court into a reality, it did show her that she could have emotional aims for sociability outside of what she was expected to have. Whilst she could not achieve sociability in rarefied circles or the support of ‘friends’, the fantasy and memory life of the diary allowed Gertrude to focus on what she did want: to be removed from her brother’s house and to have a modicum of freedom. Having tasted some social independence, Savile found the courage at last to ask to leave her brother’s house. Her brother acquiesced and she then lived with her mother, which was better if still fraught, until she gained an inheritance and finally found independence later in life.

Both Anne Robinson and Gertrude Savile used emotional language in direct reference to the sociability which they either did not want to be a part of or felt excluded from, but also sociability they enjoyed or could remember or imagine. Emotional reflection and using emotional language helped them to shape and define their own aims and acquire different kinds of power over social experiences in response to the obstacles created by the normative forms of aristocratic sociability. The personal and familial contexts of their lives had a deep emotional impact on how they understood their social identities and what they could achieve within the relationships around them. Having these aims meant that they were defined somewhat separately from the people around them, but such desires are useful to consider as they present the variety of responses available to eighteenth-century aristocratic women when excluded from sociability. Such responses should not be considered failures to take part in the dominant norms of society but explored as ways in which emotions about social situations shaped aims, such as being ‘quiet’ or being ‘happy’ in autonomy. These emotions point to these aims. Following these aims and holding onto or using emotions, such as care for Theresa for Anne or memories of ‘happyness’ for Gertrude, provided the impetus to seek avenues for actions which could achieve what both women wanted.

1. **Conclusion**

By looking at these women’s emotions in detail and context, this chapter has diversified the perspectives on how female aristocratic society and aristocratic social practices could work and could be experienced. This chapter has demonstrated that, at a localised level, the cohesive cultural front of aristocratic culture covers varied structures of activities and categories of social life, and how these were emotionally qualified, especially by power, exclusivity, ambition, intimacy, and friendship. These women across the period demonstrate a shared understanding of how the structures of aristocratic sociability were divided between socialising as a form of ‘duty’ or for ambition or power and socialising for pleasure with ‘friends’. The social interactions of these aristocratic women were central to their lives. Socialising as a ‘duty’ was dictated by their status, their family’s power, politics, stability, and more everyday practices including where they lived, what they did daily and who they could see and speak to. Emotion words and meanings, attached to different scenarios, helped to make sense of their practices, and navigate the divisions of their social world, as well as helping them to concentrate on their social and personal aims within their collective social community. Emotions show how the social institutions of the aristocracy, portrayed in wider culture and society, were conceived of by individuals and show the individual experiences of it, especially the negative feelings and physical strain of socialising.

Detailed examination of the words (dull, duty, wretched, despair, quiet, disappointed, delightful) these women used, in their reconstructed context, and meaning for each of these women has broken down the veneer of the more general codes of aristocratic behaviour in social encounters through which historians have so often viewed their sociability. Sociability was most dominantly viewed as a form of work to get to the top social echelons and reap the benefits of socialising with those with power. The creation and learning of a uniform style of sociability which was how one became included in these uppermost social circles and reaped the status rewards offered there, was evidently worked towards, and aimed for by each of the women. This kind of sociability, important as it was domestically, dynastically, economically, and politically dominated almost every aspect of these women’s lives, thoughts, and actions. However, the other terms and meanings that they also used showed that there were other kinds of sociability available and thought about by aristocratic women. The negative emotional consequences of working towards social ambitions or doing one’s duty to social superiors throws into relief the conflict between communal and individual aims and desires for closer friendships and intimacies or for personal wishes.

The pointed difference between emotional characterisations of the delight felt in friendships which were based on perceived authentic, natural, and unstilted interactions and the ‘dull performance’ of other relationships underlines how women in the aristocracy framed and navigated different social relationships and their aims of power and/or pleasure in having different kinds of relationships. The disappointment came when socialising for ambition was necessarily prioritised over socialising for pleasure. Power often came at the price of friendship. This reveals what the emotional effect of the shared social structures of the aristocracy could be. This chapter has demonstrated how intimacy and ‘friendship’ were defined emotionally by these women and how they fit these relationships into their lives. The chapter displayed how the notion of intimacy was complicated by proximity to competitors at court and the requirement to subdue conflicts and how social hierarchy and lack of competition was important to friendship. Lastly, the chapter has made visible the possibilities for understanding the aims imaginable outside of the norms of socialising for work in those exalted circles. Whether due to exclusion, status or time of life, such socialising was not open to all individuals or was not expected to be sought by them. In such cases, these other terms display facets of experience for aristocratic women who might otherwise be hidden by or considered an aberration from the ‘beau monde’. Terms like ‘quiet’ and more pointed terms about one choosing for oneself made clear aristocratic women’s options when choosing their own aims and social actions outside of the main routes of socialising. Using emotions to set themselves apart or to negotiate their own needs, these unmarried or older women still exercised a privilege of agency and means not open to other social groups. This chapter has shown how sociability held many kinds of power for aristocratic women, from social climbing to being able to ignore family wishes or focus on freedom. It also held deep emotional responses in having to choose who to socialise with, how to socialise and what aims and relationships to prioritise.

# Chapter Two

# ‘Still but very indifferent’: The Experiences of Miscarriage, Pregnancy, and Illness for Three Women of the Orlebar Family 1776-1810 and 1794

In June of 1794 Charlotte Orlebar was giving birth to her tenth child whilst her eighth child, her daughter Sydney, lay dying from an illness in the nursery above her. Due to the doctor’s orders that the disorder which affected Sydney was ‘infectious’, Charlotte was kept away from her sick daughter and only gained information about Sydney’s condition through the reports of Sydney’s nurses and the doctor. The recording of these reports demonstrate a timeline in which Charlotte’s hope for Sydney’s recovery turned quickly to surprise and then hopelessness because of the information which was passed to her: ‘I gather Sydney getting well had suffered badly’; ‘I was surprised to hear that Sydney was again all out in spots and very bad spitting of blood continually Mr Moore sent for who thinks it a very dangerous fever but little chance of the poor little sufferer's recovery’.[[223]](#footnote-223) To make this tragic event even more poignant was the fact that Charlotte was not allowed to say goodbye to her daughter. The unknown infection in the child’s body was judged so hazardous that Charlotte was kept apart from Sydney who only saw her one last time when she was already in her coffin through a window: ‘the maids and my nurse dressed her up prettily with flowers in her coffin and carried her… I had her set down before the window to take a last look’.[[224]](#footnote-224) Later in the still and quiet moments of the evening, Charlotte wrote that ‘thoughts will arise about poor dear Sydney towards night’: outside of the bustle of the large family, Charlotte was able to take time to grieve her dead child.[[225]](#footnote-225)

Events and concerns about health and bodies fill the diaries of the three Orlebar women studied in this chapter, Mary, Charlotte, and Harriet. This chapter explores the way these three women discussed their feelings about the experiences of health and their bodies in their immediate, familial, contexts. Mary was sister-in-law to Charlotte and aunt to Harriet. Charlotte was Harriet’s stepmother and second wife to Harriet’s father, and Mary’s brother, Richard Orlebar. Mary’s diary is the earliest and longest of the three, concentrating mainly on the year 1776, with entries up to 1810. Charlotte and Harriet’s diaries were written concurrently over the year 1794, Harriet’s is the shortest with an abrupt end, due to her death, in September 1794. During the period covered by the diaries, the extensive Orlebar family were the preeminent family in their neighbourhood of Hinwick, Bedfordshire. Whilst the family mainly lived at Hinwick House, Richard Orlebar’s three unmarried sisters, Mary (the first diarist), Elizabeth and Constantia, resided elsewhere in a house eight miles away called ‘The Cot’ in Ecton, Northampton. Nonetheless, the family regularly travelled between both houses. The family belonged to gentry society, and were part of a group of well-to-do families who had middling to large estates, and resided mainly in the countryside, in the small rural communities.

Fig. 2.2. *Steven Collis, ‘The Cot, High Street, Ecton, Northamptonshire’ (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)* *https://www.flickr.com/photos/stevencollis/25636875552/in/album-72157665717755041/ [accessed 10 September 2021]*

Fig.2.1*. Nick macneill, Hinwick House, 1 October 1998 (CC BY-SA 2.0) https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1513639 [accessed 10 september 2021]*



Richard Orlebar, Mary’s brother, barrister, and owner of Hinwick House, was first married to Elizabeth Cuthbert and after her death, to Charlotte Willing. In his first marriage, Richard and Elizabeth had six surviving children. Mary’s diary covers the period when Elizabeth, her first sister-in-law, was ill after having a miscarriage and eventually died from her ailments. Richard’s second wife, Charlotte, is the second diarist studied in this chapter. Charlotte gave birth to thirteen children; her diary deals with the pregnancy of her tenth child William Augustus as well as the deaths of her daughter Sydney and her step-daughter Harriet, during her 1794 diary. Harriet Constantia Orlebar, the third diarist, also writing in 1794, was Charlotte’s stepchild. Harriet was the child of Richard and his first wife Elizabeth, and was nine when Charlotte had the first of her half-siblings, John-Richard, and twenty-two by the birth of William Augustus. Detailing her life in Hinwick house and among a network of friends and relations, Harriet’s diary is nonetheless overshadowed by a chronic illness, and she died after a sudden, sharp decline in her health in autumn of 1794.

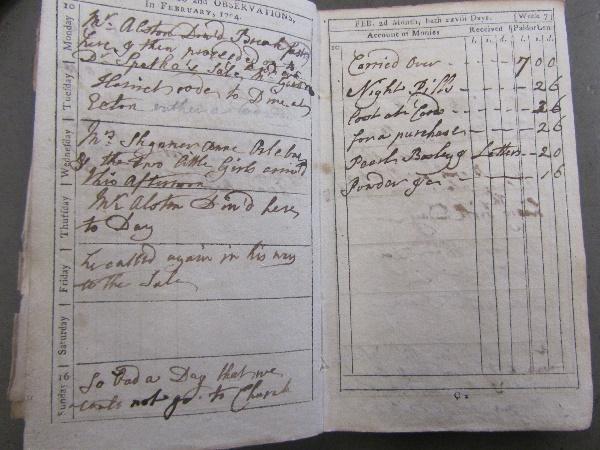
The Orlebars’ wide network spread across Bedford and Northamptonshire, and were mainly the family of other gentry and upper-middling sorts who were part of the professional class of doctors, lawyers, officers and clergymen. The eighteenth century has been characterised as the golden age for the gentry class, who became idealised as landowners that combined rank with good tenant relationships and politeness, depicted as such in novels such as *Pride and Prejudice*, as opposed to a louche aristocracy.[[226]](#footnote-226) Penelope Corfield suggests that the expansion of this professional class in the eighteenth century challenged the hegemonic power of the aristocracy, developing authority through professional knowledge rather than inherited wealth or political connections.[[227]](#footnote-227) Lawyers, like Richard, could cater to any rank of clientele. Corfield argues that they saw themselves as separate to the aristocracy as a ‘self-referential’ group with its own codes and attitudes to society.[[228]](#footnote-228) Although it was believed that anyone with the means to study could enter this professional class, men like Richard often still benefited from inherited wealth and status, albeit to a slightly lesser degree than the aristocracy. Richard Orlebar’s ancestors were squires and gentleman farmers, meaning that the Orlebar family were an established family who lived and worked closely within the communities of Hinwick and Poddington, uniting elitism and leisure with a much less peripatetic lifestyle and a closer relationship to their lower status neighbours and tenants than the ‘Beau-Monde’ of the aristocracy. Although Richard’s business interests as a barrister took him to London, the family mostly spent their time in Hinwick, Ecton, Podington, and across Bedfordshire. Their accounts charted the comings and goings of the locality, the events of the farming seasons and the faring of their neighbours.



Fig.2.4 *BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 1794.*

*A page showing the structure of the pocket book.*

Fig.2.3 *BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 1794.*

*The Frontispiece of Charlotte Orlebar’s Pocket Book Diary. The front and back were filled with poetry, excerpts and scenes from novels, mathematical instructions and other bits of useful information for a gentlewoman.*

Unlike the other diaries in this study, the Orlebar women wrote in manufactured ‘Pocket Books’.[[229]](#footnote-229) These journals were set out for them by the publisher, with small boxes for entries every day, pages for their accounts, suggestions to write in what the weather was doing, educational tracts, fashion engravings, and stories at both the beginning and end. The indicators in them point to polite ideals of housekeeping, edification and accomplishment, intended to shape the notes made by genteel women.[[230]](#footnote-230) As Jennie Batchelor argues, the popularity of ladies’ pocket books, which were distinguished from men’s pocket books by including women’s fashions and providing a guide for the ideal wife or daughter through embedding a moral and economic framework, also afforded women a form of financial control and power over their accounts.[[231]](#footnote-231) Moreover, despite the earnest instructions including about how to ‘properly’ use such books, the women did not always follow the organisational guidelines of these pocketbooks, writing over the lines of the boxes and ignoring prompts.[[232]](#footnote-232) As I detailed in the introduction, Amanda Vickery has shown that such pocket books provided comfortable and regulated ways to have self-expression.[[233]](#footnote-233) As Batchelor suggests, the freedom of these books was not just financial, ‘far from allowing the pocket book to fashion her character, its reader could fashion the pocket book to tailor it to her own concerns’.[[234]](#footnote-234) Moreover, the term ‘account’ referred not just to the financial but to the account of experience, of memory. Rebecca E. Connor argues pocket books idealised women as the managers of prudent accounts, domestic property and family stories but also helped them account their own subjectivity and experiences and therefore define the self.[[235]](#footnote-235) Connor suggests this form of writing laid the foundations of form in early novels of ‘personality’ where searches for property and family provided the structure for personal experiences and accounts.[[236]](#footnote-236) As much as could fit into the space the book provided.[[237]](#footnote-237)

The books therefore allowed women to account for their experiences and were in turn ‘remade’ by their subjectivity and preoccupations. For the Orlebar women, whilst they did record everyday events such as visiting, tea-drinking, neighbourhood affairs, church attendance, weather, and accounts, they also chose to use the boxes to detail their frequent emotional appraisals about their own and other people’s changes of physical state and general health, providing accounts which the pocket books did not overtly encourage. What is significant for the Orlebar women is that whilst some of the everyday occurrences of life, like visiting, occasionally had emotional terms like ‘delightful’ attached to them, the vast majority depicted of the pocket book were attached to health and the body. The pocket books became a neat tool to keep track of the health of themselves and those they cared about. The women used the books in ways which are common in the patient-doctor letters studied by Wayne Wild and Lisa Wynne Smith; observing and recording pains, symptoms and changes in the body in times of illness, pregnancy or accident to track or try and make sense of what was regularly happening to themselves and to the bodies of people around them.[[238]](#footnote-238) Rather than lengthy accounts that might be found in letters, the pocket books ensured the women honed in on what they wanted to record. The neat boxes and emphasis on ‘contemporaneity’, anticipation of events and memoranda contemplation built into the pocketbook design gave them the structure to do this.[[239]](#footnote-239) These observations give a detailed account of how health affected life and experiences for families like the Orlebars as they recorded it for themselves: those that could afford medical care and home comfort but were still as troubled by ailments, death and accident as all families could be.

Historians have explored how depictions of pain and illness in different historical moments and societies were shaped by those society’s cultural limitations and values. According to Jan Frans van Dijkhuisen and Karl Enenkel, pain cannot be adequately defined as a purely bodily event because ‘pain is a deeply cultural phenomenon’.[[240]](#footnote-240) Cultural influences, such as religious ideas, medical notions and social constructs provided the language through which the body was mediated. As Wayne Wild contends, even when medical theories did not influence a patient’s understanding of their illness or the treatment prescribed to them, the rhetoric they used was shaped by popular medical culture and other conventions such as popular novelistic forms.[[241]](#footnote-241) Shared concepts make ideas easier to communicate but also carry with them understandings about what is happening or can happen to the body in different historical contexts and perspectives.

Exploring the shared cultural conceptions in the rhetoric used to describe bodies is often the easiest way into understanding how people in the past perceived and might have experienced their bodies. Wayne Wild argues that ‘in crucial ways, the experience of being sick is a social construct shaped by rhetoric. Popular conceptions about illness conjoin with prevailing medical discourse to generate a common language – a rhetoric that shapes the patient’s experience as much as it describes it’.[[242]](#footnote-242) As Mary Fissell contends, ubiquitous ‘social facts’ of life, such as death and disease, which meant that occurrences such as losing family or disability were reacted to through cultural conventions on what family meant and whose responsibilities it was to care for the sick.[[243]](#footnote-243) Many of the studies on historical bodies focus on wider patterns in culture, representations of and language about the body. Ludmilla Jordanova explicates how the history of medicine and the body often focuses on how ideas about the body were influenced by cultural factors such as class, state, politics and patronage.[[244]](#footnote-244) Wild shows that doctor-patient letters over the eighteenth century reveal distinct trends that correspond with the rise of the sensibility and emphasised the role of personal subjectivity, experience and of narrative, over earlier ‘new science’ objective rhetoric, moving towards a more individualistic approach to medicine.[[245]](#footnote-245) Similarly Olivia Weisser contends that experiences of illness in the early modern period were culturally framed and conceptualised by people and that gender affected differences in how men and women communicated about their bodies.[[246]](#footnote-246) The language used commonly to describe these experiences in this chapter has often been analysed purely as social and cultural constructs. For example, Thomas Laqueur’s theories on changes to the way gender was perceived in the eighteenth century to uphold gender differences and patriarchal power hinges on images in medical textbooks.[[247]](#footnote-247) As Iris Clever and Willemijn Ruberg demonstrate, such reliance on the construction of theories often focuses on heteronormative or other dominant discourses and misses other perspectives as well as not exploring the experience of corporeality.[[248]](#footnote-248) These studies concentrate on the concepts attached to the language and how these changed over time regarding the body and the body’s role in reinforcing cultural structures and reflecting current medical theories.

This chapter expands on these studies by exploring the impact of immediate circumstances and relationships on the ways the Orlebar women communicated about their bodies in the eighteenth century. Clever and Ruberg suggest the approach of ‘praxiography’ to explore how body knowledge is produced by people.[[249]](#footnote-249) As Barbara Duden shows, women in eighteenth-century Germany understood bodies as always in ‘flux’ and always influenced by the environment they were in; therefore the language they and their doctors used to describe their bodies was very different to medical discourses of isolated bodily examination and gendered characterisations of ‘women’ and their bodies.[[250]](#footnote-250) In studying the emotions of these women and reconstructing the meaning of words attached to illness and pregnancy in immediate context, this chapter makes visible how common cultural concepts attached to the body and health were understood and used in these women’s lives, and how their contexts also affected these common concepts in the reported experiences of the body. This extends an understanding of what that language about the body meant to people in their view of health and medical help, but also in the wider contexts of their relationships, status and identity and aims.

Karen Harvey argues that the language that people used to describe their embodiment in eighteenth-century letters shows connections between physical sensations and emotions over the period, that this language was interchangeable between men’s and women’s bodies, and that the relationships, religion and moments in life cycles had more impact than gender on how experiences were recounted.[[251]](#footnote-251) This chapter similarly suggests that exploring individual perspectives, grounded in relational and lived contexts, shows not only how people understood emotions to describe embodiment, but how such emotions and other emotional outlooks at times of illness or pregnancy were influenced by the communication of sensory phenomena in personal, shared ways. This was embedded in what was happening around people at the time and their relationships. I show that people interacted with medicine and medical ideas, adapted conventional ideas to immediate need and applied shared ideas to a range of bodily experiences. These experiences were connected by the same relationships, shared ways to communicate with each-other and interchangeable ways to discuss and tackle disparate bodily experiences with the resources and knowledge at the women’s disposal. Emotions played an important role in guiding this knowledge, which was grounded in relational connections and observations. Moreover, I posit that examining emotions places health and bodies into an understanding of everyday activities more generally as well.

Alun Withey’s work on early modern Welsh medical practices in households and Hannah Newtons work on sick children and recovery in the early modern period have both shown the importance of domestic care and relationships in households in the history of medical care, and the impact of household contexts on the creation, use and propagation of medicinal knowledge and ideas about the body.[[252]](#footnote-252) This chapter expands on this work to examine how emotions produced in the immediate contexts of the Orlebar family shaped their understanding of what was happening to them and their actions and aims. This chapter argues that the context of familial structures and relationships, as well as wider social constructs, were a vital part of how the Orlebar women understood, used, and gave meaning to emotions about the body and therefore how these contexts changed the understood effect, if not the overall common meaning, of terms. This explores the concept of the ‘sick role’, a concept discussed by Roy Porter, Withey and Newton, and how emotions and relationships in this family helped to shape and determine the experiences of being a patient and a carer.[[253]](#footnote-253) This chapter also argues that such language about the body impacted on the understanding of the contexts in which it was used, and sheds light on how emotions about bodies and health reflected, affected, and shaped the dynamics of the family and everyday life.

The first section of this chapter examines the common words and descriptors shared between all the Orlebar women when discussing their bodies and their meaning when used in the context of what was happening to them. The section looks at how the women interacted with ideas about healing based on relationships and intimate observance. I show how some of these emotions were used interchangeably between pregnancy and illness, developing knowledge about how people made connections between bodies in different states. I display how hope was an important factor for all the women in envisaging recovery and explores how external factors and communal care affected the way their bodies and health were observed and understood. I look at how these factors affected the way these women discussed their health and the actions they took. The second section shows how emotions such as fear underline the influence that individuals had in communicating about their bodies to medical practitioners and each other, and how relationships between people and contexts of caring in families also affected this influence. This section underscores the significance of observation and fear in precipitating actions taken but also how intimate bonds and personal aims shaped how bodies were thought about. I explore how emotional responses to the body had an impact on every day aims, relationships and on experiences of spaces, separation and proximity to family. This context is an important factor in understanding how health needs to be considered as part of the wider part of lives and relationships in this period.

As Séverine Pilloud and Micheline Louis-Courvoisier argue, the words people chose in doctor and patient letters bring together communications on the interiority of the body with spirituality, experiences, circumstances and the guidelines of vocabulary and social interactions. The combination of these internal and external influences provides the shared discourse on experiences that people could use to communicate.[[254]](#footnote-254) These diaries, in contrast to most studies on the language of the body, are not direct communications to doctors but contain reports of how the women responded to medical care and how they conveyed and observed to themselves what was happening in and to their bodies. These diaries contain their subjective reconciling of their own understandings of medicine and the body, external circumstances, and shared vocabulary. Many of the words which the women used, and which I study, are commonplace and therefore unsurprising because they were shared parlance for describing embodied feelings and bodily states.[[255]](#footnote-255) These terms were not just adopted by people because they were established medical or cultural terms, but because they were endorsed by those using them as best conceptualising the way the body and mind felt. Part of choosing these terms as the best conceptualisation lies in the influence of immediate relationships and circumstances on how the body felt or was observed.

### **1. ‘Low’, ‘Sadly’, ‘Depressed’, ‘Alarmed’, ‘Hope’, and ‘Indifferent’: Context for Describing the Experiences of the Body**

One of Mary’s Orlebar’s reasons for visiting Hinwick for extended periods of time was to nurse members of the family, which she had to do often. In June 1776, Mary became the primary nurse for her sister-in-law Elizabeth after she suffered a miscarriage. Mary wrote, ‘received a sudden summons to Hinwick, my sister O being taken ill after a fall - which occasioned her miscarriage - I found her worse than usual on former occasions of the same kind’.[[256]](#footnote-256) Mary had nursed Elizabeth through other episodes of the same nature; however, the complications from this last miscarriage were bad and resulted in Elizabeth’s death. What followed Mary’s initial report was a year in which the miscarriage turned into a traumatic and lingering condition with symptoms of fatigue, faintness, shortness of breath and sleeplessness. Mary spent this year away from her own home and life, watching and nursing Elizabeth, and even travelling with her to Buxton to try and help her recover.

Mary Orlebar would survive all her brothers and sisters to be the last member of her generation of the Orlebars, and as such was a witness to almost all the illnesses and health episodes in the family. She was an observer and nurse to the pain of others, watching often as people she cared about declined. Mary voiced a feeling of hopelessness which attended health situations which she could not alleviate: on New Year’s Eve 1776 Mary lamented a ‘melancholy conclusion of the year to us, on account of the very hopeless situation of my poor sister Orlebar’. [[257]](#footnote-257) Thirty-four years later, in 1810, on another New Year’s Day, she wrote ‘This year comes in heavily with me, my dear last sister, Elizabeth being in a state of hopeless decline’.[[258]](#footnote-258) The repetition of ‘hopeless’ feelings show both a feeling of despair at the ailing health of loved ones and a helplessness in the face of illnesses which had no remedy. These illnesses were nameless, for although Mary knew the cause of Elizabeth’s illness, a miscarriage, why the suffering persisted and what was happening in Elizabeth’s body was a mystery which restricted both Mary and the doctor’s ability to stop the decline. The language of hopelessness and the mystery of the body were motifs repeated by both Harriet Orlebar in her long illness of a very different nature, and Charlotte, constrained not by illness, but by a successful pregnancy.

Disparate though their ailments were, the terms used to describe symptoms and what was happening to the bodies of all three women were shared, common ones. Karen Harvey identifies similar phrases in her survey of how eighteenth-century people discussed their embodiment, of fatigue, ‘breathlessness’, ‘low spirits’ which combined corporeal and emotional factors, ‘uneasiness’ and discomfort .[[259]](#footnote-259) This was language used to characterise and identify what was happening to the body, often by describing what was happening to it and external, observable factors such as faintness, breathlessness and lack of mobility, rather than trying to understand the mystery of what was happening inside it. The terms relied on ambiguity which could encompass a large variety of ailments and symptoms and were often distinctly emotional. Jan Purnis explains in her study of pre-cartesian understandings of the emotional import of the stomach: the mind and body were linked by eighteenth-century and early modern people in culture and socialisation in ways that became distinct in later periods.[[260]](#footnote-260) Ulinka Rublack displays that for early modern people, emotions were understood to be embodied and dispersed through the body and organs, like the heart, directly affecting health through emotional ‘flow’: changes in feeling were metaphorical and could have physical effects, such as the feelings of a trembling or sinking heart which were understood as medical issues. [[261]](#footnote-261)[[262]](#footnote-262) Lisa Wynne Smith, identifies society-wide common terms which overlapped mind and body, physical symptoms, and emotion in letters to doctors in the eighteenth century. ‘Uneasiness’, ‘oppression’ and pain was described in terms of ‘‘frights,’ ‘apprehensions,’ and heartsickness’.[[263]](#footnote-263) Other terms like ‘heavy disposition’, ‘heartsick’ or ‘violence’ were attached to humoral terms which attached different emotional states to humoral imbalances or specific illnesses such as colds which were part of the ‘cold and wet’ humoral category.[[264]](#footnote-264) Terms like ‘oppression’ could mean something purely physical, but also attested to the lowness of spirits which came with being incommoded and unable to go about life.

The Orlebar women’s use of similar words corresponds to these studies on earlier periods and the eighteenth century, in connecting bodily and emotional states and using emotions as indicators of ill health. They used emotionally charged language to describe what was happening to their bodies and the health of others around them and as a focus for their palliative efforts. The word ‘sad’ or ‘sadly’ was used often by the Orlebar women to account for both the acuteness of pain or discomfort but also the anguish that this caused: Charlotte spoke of a ‘sad pain again in my head all night’; Harriet lamented that ‘poor George in a sad hopeless state’; Mary reiterated several times that ‘mrs O sadly fatigued’; ‘found my sister very sadly’.[[265]](#footnote-265) The distress and its cause were combined in these terms, and the combination of emotional and bodily effects were both accounted for in the description of ailments. Charlotte Orlebar, when writing in the run up to the birth of her child, as she prepared for the birth, described a moment of respite during a week of uncomfortable and fearful nights that she ‘felt more at ease today in body and mind’.[[266]](#footnote-266) The emotions that one felt when feeling physical bodily changes or pain were tied by this language to what that pain was: emotions were part of that physical understanding and emotions were physical themselves. Whilst, Charlotte did separate ‘body’ and mind’, emotion was part of the embodiment of their physical feelings and the weathervane of the body.

One of the most oft-used phrases by Mary to describe Elizabeth’s state was the phrase ‘faint and low’.[[267]](#footnote-267) This was a specific state of being, alongside the other physical ailments she had; ‘Mrs O very faint and low but her breath better’ or ‘fluctuating better and worse at different times but always faint and low’.[[268]](#footnote-268) Mary, therefore, viewed sister’s constant mental and physical state as the underlying factor for all her other ailments, and also apart from them. ‘Faint’ described her physical state, whilst ‘low’ was a more ambiguous, emotional term, meaning both low in spirits and low in health. As Karen Harvey suggests, this combination of physical and emotional ‘lowness’ in spirit was connected to ideas about spirit more broadly, nerves, and the way physical and emotional flows ran through the body. In contemporary printed medical texts, there was a growing association between the words ‘low’ and ‘nervous’, which made a more general connection between the workings of the nervous system and nervousness or delicacy. As understood by contemporary medicine, low pulses and low spirits were a symptom of nervous and delicate constitutions and indicated that someone was prone to illness. Due to cultural, longstanding humoral and medical notions, women were often cited as the most susceptible to this disposition.[[269]](#footnote-269) As Harvey has illustrated, new notions and scientific discoveries were often amalgamated with older ideas and theories.[[270]](#footnote-270) This happened in erotic texts and popular culture but also in medicinal and scientific texts. Words such as ‘temperament’, ‘irritable’ and ‘delicate’ and ‘low’ were used interchangeably to signify both physical and mental characteristics, attached to medical theory and practice such as humoral remedies, rising notions of sensibility and combined with older notions about tempering the passions.[[271]](#footnote-271) John Ball’s 1770 work *The Female Physician* explicitly describes avoiding ‘all technical terms’ leading to the use of ambiguous and emotional descriptors such as ‘low’ to cover both ailments of the nervous system and the feelings which accompanied illness, which women could interpret according to their experience.[[272]](#footnote-272)

In the experience of Mary, the term ‘low’ has both an emotional and physical connotation of being low in mind, and spatially in body, nearer the ground, horizontal on a bed and low in spirits. This ‘low’-ness gave Mary cause for much concern.In September 1776 on the return journey from the healing springs in Buxton, Mary detailed different ways of being ‘low’, from fainting at the side of the road, being carried and being physically and mentally low: ‘we got to New Haven forced to stop and lie down on a bed made up on chairs…I was every hour under apprehension that Mrs O must be obliged to lie by on the road - her breath so very bad with frequent faintness […] Mrs. O carried to and from the coach rather worse than better[…] an apothecary gave my sister a draught that eased her and produced a tolerable night […] Mrs O very faint and low but her breath better’.[[273]](#footnote-273) ‘Low’ referred to being ‘faint’ but also not oneself, being laid low both physically and emotionally in character. ‘Lowness’ also indicated the fragility of one’s condition and the ‘apprehension’ felt according to that fragility. This observed ‘lowness’ caused apprehension and concern for Mary.

Lack of rest was another cause for apprehension. Sasha Handley demonstrates the importance of sleep as a ‘non-natural’ to early modern people, along with food and drink, air, motion and rest, excretion and retention and passions of the mind.[[274]](#footnote-274) Handley shows how careful management of sleep, along with these other factors, was deemed essential to good health and as a preventative method of keeping ‘naturals’ such as the bodily humours in check.[[275]](#footnote-275) Different social and cultural standards on moral and disciplined behaviour were also brought to bear on the management of non-naturals in different periods and societies in order to prevent disease. Sleep was essential to restore balance and also, as Handley shows, considered vital to the correct workings of the body, such as digestion; sleep loss therefore was of great concern.[[276]](#footnote-276) Hannah Newton, likewise, shows how important sleep was to the idea of convalescence after illness, as a guard against relapse, and to gain strength. Non-naturals like sleep were more external and visible signs of effects on the body and used to measure progression.[[277]](#footnote-277) Mary similarly saw sleep as a constant, steady, and easy way to measure health. She demonstrates the palpable effects lack of sleep evidently held for those who were sick and those who were caring for them. Sleep also determined the connection, interaction, such as touch or carrying, and actions between the carer and the sick, and carried emotional weight for the observer of the body. Charting sleep was important for the intimate spectator of the sick, during sickness, as a hope that they were moving towards recuperation. We do not have Elizabeth’s own account of her condition, but Mary often described her as dramatically exhausted, using emotional terms to underline the extremes of her illness being ‘sadly fatigued’ and ‘exceedingly faint’.[[278]](#footnote-278) Mary could chart what was going on in Elizabeth’s body through visible effects such as lack of sleep, measuring progression or regression. Such emotional and physical turbulence, feverish and breathless, without being able to rest, was one of her central causes for concern.

The use of ‘sadly’ was not only a testament to the sad state of Elizabeth’s health but Mary’s sadness in observing it. The way Mary recorded her own emotions as part of the way she could not only sympathise but understand and be alerted to Elizabeth’s body demonstrates why embodiment of emotion at such times needs to be understood. This aligns with Hannah Newton’s contention that times of illness need to be viewed through the observations and feelings of those who were caring for the sick and who shared ideas of embodiment.[[279]](#footnote-279) Monitoring this lack of rest was one of the only ways in which Mary could gauge the extent of the trauma: ‘[the doctor] directed two blisters to be laid on her legs she got no rest at all this night’; ‘my sister got very little sleep’; ‘my sister so bad that I sat up all night with her’.[[280]](#footnote-280) Lack of sleep heightened Mary’s fears for Elizabeth, for if she could not rest then there was something seriously wrong. However, when Elizabeth did sleep, Mary’s relief is evident: ‘an apothecary gave my sister a draught that eased her and produced a tolerable night’; ‘[the doctor] applied a blister to her stomach she had a good deal of rest this night’.[[281]](#footnote-281) This monitoring happened every day over September 1776, with Mary often connecting different remedies to moments of rest. However, what helped one evening did not the next: ‘blisters’ or deliberately blistering the skin to try and purge heat from the body and break a fever, when applied to the stomach one evening produced sleep, but on the legs the next night prevented sleep. Mary evidently felt that if she and the doctor could find which remedy would occasion rest then they could ease Elizabeth’s ailments. This trial-and-error approach demonstrates why such terms like ‘low’ and ‘sadly’ were important to Mary: they were not abstract medical terms but were deeply connected to the emotional turmoil produced by lack of sleep and therefore the obstacle which Mary saw as stopping Elizabeth getting well. These terms turned focus onto the practical ways of managing the ‘non-naturals’ such as sleep to guide medical intervention. Rest was something that Mary could actively encourage as an efficacious regimen as opposed to medical treatments. Being ‘low and faint’ might require medical intervention but this had to be monitored carefully in balance with how it affected sleep.

The attention to sleep and the emotional turbulence caused by lack of sleep was shared by Harriet and Charlotte, again attesting to the importance of rest as a common measure of health and also a preventative for illness. Harriet, similarly afflicted by a chronic illness, saw an inability to get rest, get up or to get on with the things she wanted to do as symptomatic of something deeply wrong; ‘Did not get up till after breakfast: Mr Millar called upon me and sent some more draughts of a different constitution’.[[282]](#footnote-282) The ‘bark’ medicine which Harriet was prescribed was designated to be taken ‘at night’ to achieve rest, and was most likely Peruvian Bark taken to alleviate fever, possibly alongside a form of opiate: ‘I took a draught at night’; ‘sent me a draught for night; recommended bark again’.[[283]](#footnote-283) Most of Harriet’s terrifying symptoms occurred in the night, disturbing both normal rest and peace of mind, with the dark of night perhaps adding to her alarm: ‘the numbness in my hand started in the night’.[[284]](#footnote-284) Charlotte was also markedly emotionally affected by lack of sleep due to the discomfort and pain as she reached the end of her pregnancy: ‘painful cramped useless night, only worse to expect Oh the joys’; ‘I had a miserable painful night’.[[285]](#footnote-285) Being unable to rest at night was an indication to Charlotte that the birth was about to commence and was therefore the catalyst for fear: ‘from passing a very bad night I thought it was probable that the event might happen (all in a fright)’.[[286]](#footnote-286) Charlotte found that achieving rest was a way of alleviating her fear and relied on the doctor to give her some form of opiate to provide rest in both body and mind: ‘I thought it advisable to send for Mr Moore this afternoon who quieted my fears and gave me a draught which procured me a comfortable night’.[[287]](#footnote-287)

The fact that regardless of cause or symptoms, pregnancy or illness, lack of sleep was seen as the primary reason for paying attention to the body or asking for help indicates the importance of sleep for eighteenth-century understandings of the body. Sleep could be monitored and used to characterise fears about the body. Sleep was a point of reference for these women for normality and something which was universal; it therefore became a consistent context for reading oneself and the effect it had on feelings. Moreover, sleep and ‘ease’ in mind were also consistently connected, with emotions used to underscore the alarm that lack of sleep gave and the reliance on doctors, who could prescribe opiates and therefore provide some peace of mind through rest if they were unable to do much else.

‘Indifferent’ was also a word that was echoed by all the women to describe the state of others or themselves in continuing ill health. Mary used the term eight times to describe how Elizabeth’s state did not improve.[[288]](#footnote-288) Charlotte and Harriet Orlebar also used the term to describe the ailments of others, for example Harriet wrote, ‘Mrs Cuthbert very indifferent all the morn’ and Charlotte observed that, ‘Richard went to Cambridge but indifferent in health’.[[289]](#footnote-289) Harriet also used it to describe her own state of decline: ‘I very indifferent, took some bark’.[[290]](#footnote-290) Indifferent was clearly a term used by all the women, flexibly, for almost every ailment. The term was used specially to account for illness which seemed not to be life threatening but where sufferer was not in normal health and therefore had cause for concern: ‘Dr Syme called to see my sister found her better though still very indifferent’.[[291]](#footnote-291) ‘Indifferent’ itself was not an emotional term: it attested to feeling consistently unwell if not desperately ill. However, the term corresponded to emotions which were caused by such prolonged indifference in health. How each of the women responded emotionally to feeling ‘indifferent’ was attended to and determined what measures were taken, for example taking bark or trying to get rest.

The frequency of bodily issues and changes experienced by these women meant that the term ‘indifferent’ was used often, the impression that full health was unusual and a cause for celebration for these women. It was described as a ‘happiness’ to see others thriving without complaint when one lived constantly with the spectre of illness.[[292]](#footnote-292) More often, however, were feelings which corresponded to concern at how ‘indifferent’ someone appeared or was ‘found’ to be when they had not been seen for a while. In later years Mary, after not seeing her sister Constantia’s decline as she had been away from home, reported that on her return she felt ‘much concerned to find my sister Constantia very indifferent’.[[293]](#footnote-293)Moreover, ‘indifferent’ could be used to highlight differences in mental and physical wellbeing by characterising a lack of ease and a lack of regularity in someone’s health: ‘Mrs O some days tolerably easy at others very indifferent’.[[294]](#footnote-294) Mary also highlighted how much a continued state of ‘indifference’ became normalised when she watched over Elizabeth every day, but which could be emotionally traumatic for others who did not, including Elizabeth’s husband who she noted was ‘sadly shocked at her altered appearance’.[[295]](#footnote-295) Such emotions also lay bare some of the relational effects of illness, where it cut across the normal relationships between husbands and wives and where Mary was instead Elizabeth’s constant companion. ‘Indifferent’ health halted normality, it concerned others and was an immutable and inscrutable obstacle for everyday proceedings. For Mary, feelings were also part of the illness, being ‘sadly’ were symptoms of feeling in ‘indifferent’ health, and were all part of the ailments which perpetuated the illness and halted the normal proceedings of life.

Across wider print culture ‘indifferent’ was also used as a flexible term. *Feeling* ‘indifferent’ was about dejection as part of illness as well as sadness at being removed from everyday pursuits and routine life or pleasure. The latter occurred often in novelistic forms of print: ‘I now felt reconciled to a weak sickly body […] I felt indifferent; yea reluctant to the pleasures and amusements of life and reconciled to the trials of it’.[[296]](#footnote-296)Noting ‘indifferent’ health was an indictator for optimism and pessimism regarding other’s wellbeing. When one was continually to be ‘found’ very ‘indifferent’ by others this indicated the emotional response to be felt regarding that person: a degree of anxiety and pessimism until the indifferent health passed. However, the inscrutability of ‘indifferent’ health also allowed for a degree of optimism. Mary studied Elizabeth for levels of ‘indifferent’ health to observe any signs of an upturn in her wellbeing. Mary continued to hope for Elizabeth’s ‘slow amendment’, reporting the days when she was ‘tolerably easy’ or when the doctor ‘found her better though still very indifferent’.[[297]](#footnote-297) Progression of Elizabeth’s illness was usually described by Mary using the term ‘better’: ‘no better’, ‘better but still very faint and low’, ‘better though still very indifferent’, ‘some little matter better’.[[298]](#footnote-298) ‘Better’ was a useful word for Mary, it contained feelings of hope and was vague enough to be adapted to any tiny change and every subtlety of ‘lowness’ which she observed Elizabeth felt. Moreover, the ambiguity about what was ‘better’ about Elizabeth meant that if she took another downturn, which was often, Mary could be confident that she had not been overly effusive about her own values and feelings of hope, focusing tentatively instead on her ‘slow amendment’.[[299]](#footnote-299)

Equally, Charlotte’s sad reflections that the opinions of doctors on Sydney and later Harriet ‘gave no hopes’ or that her ‘hopes [were] crushed again’ suggest that at the outset of illness she was more optimistic than pessimistic about what may occur.[[300]](#footnote-300) This can be seen when the children, including Harriet, became ill with a form of pox which she and Charlotte hoped was smallpox of a ‘favourable’ or milder sort: ‘hope Dr Mingay and Mr Moore will not at last be found to be mistaken in their decision; the small pox prove to be only the chickenpox’; ‘should be very glad to have my children so fortunate as to catch it, being I hope of a favourable sort […] spots appeared on Frances's face this morn…which made me hope I might be so fortunate to have my children have the small pox’.[[301]](#footnote-301) This is suggestive about people’s expectations in times of illness, suggesting that even with a plethora of diseases and deaths and armed with a medical vocabulary like ‘indifferent’ and ‘low’ which accounted for the enduring ambiguity of illness, such ambiguity may have produced hope of recovery and possibly even immunity, rather than fear. This is important, considering how much historiography attends to the anxiety of illness in households. Amanda Vickery, for example, presents the anxiety which gentry families felt when children were sick, especially arguing that ‘panic’, ‘anguish’ and ‘frantic’ feelings were the experience of parents, especially mothers who took the brunt of the nursing.[[302]](#footnote-302) Such feelings were no doubt overwhelming for parents but even in the examples which Vickery uses there is a seed of optimism throughout, with parents’ attesting that they ‘hope now the fruit [smallpox] season is over’ and looking for ‘gradually recover[y]’ in the children.[[303]](#footnote-303) Hannah Newton, in her study of recovery from illness in the early modern and early eighteenth century suggests that scholarship on the experience and emotions of illness tend towards looking at the negative, painful and pessimistic facets of this area of life.[[304]](#footnote-304) Conversely, Newton also suggests that positive emotions display that recovery was thought to be possible in these periods and has been an overlooked part of the experience of the body. Whereas Newton examines the emotions of relief and family bonds after illness, attending to hope during illness shows how important this emotion was in contemplating the experience and observation of the body in eighteenth-century families during sickness, as well as after it.

The Orlebar women suggest that hopefulness in the face of ‘indifferent’ health was a key dimension of how people dealt with the mystery of illnesses: they could as well get better as get worse. Moreover, whilst this language of hope was often religious in nature (Mary Orlebar ‘rejoiced’ when she thought Elizabeth was getting better), it was useful to frame feelings and share them communally using religious language as it also reaffirmed faith.[[305]](#footnote-305) Religious prayer was mixed with affectionate hopefulness for family members. Optimism was a really important tool in trying to come to terms with what was happening to one’s own or other’s bodies. Such hope might well have been founded on flawed medical ideas or observation from other cases in the family. What is most significant is that without means for a cure, or without knowing what was happening inside one’s body, hope was really one of the only efficacious means of tackling illness.

The idea of deliverance in pregnancy and birth is well documented by Amanda Vickery in her studies of eighteenth-century gentlewomen. Vickery notes that the experience of pregnancy differed from woman to woman, but documents the fear and anxiety which were attendant in the run up to births and how ‘genteel mothers expressed their profound relief and thankfulness for God’s great mercies’.[[306]](#footnote-306) As Patricia Crawford writes, the ‘subjective attitudes and physical perceptions’ of pregnancy, menstruation, miscarriage and motherhood engendered communal ‘symbolic meanings’ in public discourse attached to these facets of life in different historical periods and societies.[[307]](#footnote-307) These general ideas often portray such events, and the practices corresponding with them, as set apart from everyday life and practices. Important social rituals and systems documented by Patricia Crawford and Adrian Wilson for the early modern period, such as women directing their practical needs for the birth, staying in bed afterwards and the practical, communal, support of other women who played collective roles in the event are all found in Charlotte’s telling of the events of the birth of her child in the late eighteenth century.[[308]](#footnote-308) These were unsurprisingly times of life which had required practicalities and long established systems in place, as well as newer phenomena in the eighteenth century, such as the medicalised man-midwife which Wilson suggests disrupted the traditional rituals of childbirth, to manage childbirth.[[309]](#footnote-309) Charlotte had doctors and also local women and nurses attend her. Moreover, as Lisa Foreman Cody suggests, the importance placed on childbirth and pregnancy was also connected to the symbolic power of this time of life in the cultural ideas of society and morality, in community identity, the changes to medical ideas and man-midwifery and the prescriptions of gender.[[310]](#footnote-310) However, as Linda Pollock writes, ‘we may have overestimated the importance of these bonds’ and that the regularities of life, burden of responsibilities placed on women and the policing of women by other women are also important factors in studying pregnancy and childbirth.[[311]](#footnote-311) Emotions during this time, therefore, also need further scrutiny.

Studies of pregnancy capitalise on the way in which ambiguity was a central facet of the experience of childbirth, looking at how the unborn child was not seen, and characterised as a ‘little stranger’ or hidden. Examining language use, Joanne Begiato argues that women used terms which stopped them imagining their child to cope with the changes in their body, highlighting their apprehension, and preparing themselves and their families for the transitional journey of pregnancy and birth.[[312]](#footnote-312) Charlotte shows similarly how fear gave way to relief after birth. Pregnancy and birth are highlighted by historians as important moments in women’s life cycles in the period, with particular emotions attached such as fear due to the dangers of pregnancy and childbirth, relief and grief and trauma if the pregnancy went awry.[[313]](#footnote-313) As Karen Harvey shows, Mary Toft used well-known and understood emotional tropes attached to pregnancy to describe what was happening to her, such as fear, ‘uneasiness’ and real pain.[[314]](#footnote-314) Begiato sets out some important ideas about the emotional labour and use of language to share feelings, create bonds, and conceptualise experience, however, she only looks at pregnancy.[[315]](#footnote-315) Importantly, studying Charlotte’s emotions, such as hope and relief, alongside Harriet’s and Mary’s suggests that pregnancy and birth should also be examined in the wider context of the everyday lives of women and the communication of the experience of bodies, rather than set apart.

Charlotte’s pregnancy was also discussed like other physical trials, using the same language and with similar emotions attached as well. This included hope as well as using the same descriptions of feelings found in the physical ailments of Elizabeth and Harriet. This shows that there was a consistency to the way bodies were described and that connections were drawn across physical symptoms between bodies in diverse states and, therefore, how to help them. These connections fixated on how emotions were similar in different physical trials. Emotions like ‘hope’ and feelings that came with ‘indifference’ correlated across different physical trials and were used to draw them together rather than to distinguish pregnancy apart from other kinds of condition. Importantly, Charlotte in comparison to her family, demonstrates that not only should we attend to the important emotional values in the months of pregnancy, and what these tell us about bodily understanding at that particular moment in life during the period, but also to the implications of the transposable and connected values these women applied to their understanding of their bodies. Karen Harvey’s survey of the way in which men and women used emotion to describe their bodies demonstrates that men and women discussed their embodiment in identical ways and that other lifecycle factors were more prescient than gender in lay conceptions of the experiences of bodies.[[316]](#footnote-316) I argue that these women also used emotions in descriptions of their bodies in interchangeable ways across their different physical experiences of illness and pregnancy. ‘Illness’ was not the category into which these women drew the connections between their bodies but, instead, they shared a broader category of being ‘indifferent’ or not quite right, which encompassed pregnancy and illness. This broader category of being out of sorts used emotions to describe the similar experiences they were each having. This included the discomfort and sickness of pregnancy with the ‘low’ and faint nature of Elizabeth’s miscarriage or Harriet’s general ailments. This shared account of bodily feelings and experiences affected ‘illnesses’ and ‘pregnancy’ by also guiding analogous kinds of care and medical attention for different physical trials. Forms of care and response were also predicated on these women’s familial position and the observable circumstances of each symptom.

Hannah Newton draws some similar conclusions in her study of recovery, suggesting that conceptualisations of getting better and kinds of care overlapped in pregnancy and illness, especially regarding getting back to ‘normal’ life and in the vagueness of pregnancy indicators.[[317]](#footnote-317) Talking about her body in ways that highlighted ambiguity allowed Charlotte to be detached from what happening to her, but also brought this bodily change within communally understood ideas about the obscurities of the body which included, but was by no means limited to, pregnancy. Although the women evidently did not think pregnancy was the same as illness, some of the physical ramifications of pregnancy and ways to address them were shared, as well as a general conception of feeling out of sorts or uncomfortable which transcended specific disorders.

The interpretation of these shared terms by the women and the way they were used were embedded in everyday contexts and were directly understood through those contexts. For example, although ‘indifferent’ was a common term, it was given meaning only by the relational and observational interactions of these women. Karen Harvey suggests that families collaborated to create interpretations and even their own lexicons of health based on different contexts and influences from relational, sensory, spiritual and medical discourses.[[318]](#footnote-318) Although Harvey charts exchanges in letters to see this collaboration, the Orlebar diaries also show a shared effort to use similar terms but also how the application of terms depended on familial interaction. To understand if someone was ‘indifferent’ then one had to be in close, observational, proximity and have a collaborative understanding of what the parameters of indifference were in this family. Much like Mary accounted for Elizabeth being ‘low’, Harriet also used the shared value of being dispirited as being ill. However, the relational context she found herself when sick had effects on how she described her own state. She poignantly described the circumstances which surrounded one visit to the doctor: ‘I very melancholy to part with my sister [and] Grieved at the intelligence my Father sent me of Mr and Mrs Shipton having lost their eldest daughter (a fine girl of seventeen years old) of the jaundice, only one left - I called at Mr Millars in a depressed state he sent me a draught for night’.[[319]](#footnote-319) Harriet saw herself as depressed due to her feelings of grief and because of the weakened state of her own body, showing that these two feelings were interchangeable but also that they could be caused or influenced by outside sources and contexts in her immediate surroundings.

On another occasion Harriet attributed her friend Mrs Millar’s own ‘affliction’ to the death of a child: ‘sad affliction for his affected parents and sister I called on Mrs M: this afternoon; overwhelmed with melancholy reflections… feels the loss of her little boy so much that change of air and scene was advised her’.[[320]](#footnote-320) The notion that social ties and outside contexts could provoke illness in sympathy or as a reaction to grief is something which Olivia Weisser argues for in her examination of grief, gender and emotion in early modern patient narratives.[[321]](#footnote-321) This is also underlined by Barbara Duden who suggests that for eighteenth-century German women the ambiguities of illness and the way in which societies were structured meant illnesses were often accounted for by outside stimuli, social factors and relations: the context of the illness was the focus of the causation.[[322]](#footnote-322) This extends to the contexts in which all the women here accounted for ‘sad’ pain: the pain took a toll on both mind and body and affected health. Viewing the pain of those one loved or external factors, were understood as part of the context and cause for pain and illness. Therefore, physical sensations, emotions and relationships came together to provide the whole meaning of the term used. These contexts cannot be extricated from what these women meant when they used such terms to describe their experiences.

There were shared words and feeling – ‘low’, ‘sadly’, ‘indifferent’ and ‘hope’ which characterised experiences of health and the body for all these women. Understanding what these words meant in context has shown more fully what they might have meant more widely. The emotional tenor of eighteenth-century illness was encompassed surprisingly by hope and optimism. These emotional readings of the body drew embodied experiences across dissimilar physical trials together in comparable ways, providing a shared framework for how they could communicate about their bodies. Medical intervention varied little between these trials. Context is also key to understanding why certain terms were attached to health events. What was happening relationally around the women affected their perceptions of their health: being close to family meant that carers could have influence and agency over observation, deaths and grief could add to ‘low’-ness or ‘depressed’ spirits, and fear, hope and alarm were connected to the emotional attachments of the family. It was being personally in body or in the nearness of those suffering that guided how emotions conceptualised the experience of the body. Contexts, especially relational ones, are therefore vital for understanding how emotion was used to characterise the body and health.

### **‘We were greatly alarmed about her’: Authority, relationships and the impact of the body and health on everyday lives [[323]](#footnote-323)**

Attending to emotions might have been one of the best ways these women had to understand their bodies, but emotions also provided challenges to health and wellbeing. External contexts were accounted for and internal happenings monitored by visible emotions and effects and this built the way these women could communicate about their bodies. Emotions were used as evidence about what was happening. Fear was, unsurprisingly, a consistent emotion for all three of these women because of the emotionally fraught situations and limited ability to discuss the invisible happenings inside the body. Unknown illness caused fear, but defined illness which might not be able to be treated caused fear too. As Lisa Wynne Smith writes, ‘when an illness lacked other interpretation, fear and anxiety - already an important element of pain descriptions - became its primary context’.[[324]](#footnote-324) In the run up to Harriet’s death, she more frequently talked of fear and of not feeling right, feeling the cold made her ‘quite frightened’ and a thunderstorm ‘terrified’ her.[[325]](#footnote-325) Nevertheless, the amount of fear felt could also support activity in trying to gain help; fear was not empowering but it could initiate seeking assistance. Fear supported the fact that something was wrong. Lisa Wynne Smith emphasises that fear was part of the process of trying to understand what was wrong when things were unclear or could not be properly interpreted: ‘emotions were indivisible from corporeal sensations, with patients' fear framing their physical experiences’.[[326]](#footnote-326) The fear itself gave rise to symptoms, such as being unable to sleep, which became part of the illness, and feelings of unease, ‘frights’, ‘apprehensions’ were ways of describing physical symptoms as well.[[327]](#footnote-327) The emotions used by these women to express what was happening to them or other bodies and their fear was a way to get other people’s concern and help.

Mary voiced her fears using the terms ‘alarm’, ‘fear’ and ‘apprehension’, they added weight to how she felt and judged her about her sister-in-law’s state: ‘I fear my sister O gets rather worse’; ‘I was every hour under apprehension’; ‘my sister no better and we were greatly alarmed about her’.[[328]](#footnote-328) Mary used this alarm to increase her vigilance, call for a doctor or to try a new remedy on Elizabeth, ‘my sister so bad that I sat up all night with her, and sent for Dr Syme at two o clock in the morning’.[[329]](#footnote-329) Therefore fear, though stressful and demoralising, compelled Mary to try and gain back some control in what seemed to be becoming a hopeless situation which had started out so optimistically. Whilst hope might have been the initial emotion people felt when afflicted by illness and there was an ongoing optimism for an upturn until the last moment, fear was also part of what prompted action at these times.

Relationships of support were called upon because of fear. The build-up to the birth of Charlotte’s child, over the month of May 1794, was a time which was fraught with terror for her. Charlotte spoke of how the bad nights had her ‘all in a fright’ and that she was ‘waiting in terror’ at each false alarm that the birth had begun.[[330]](#footnote-330) This was Charlotte’s tenth full term pregnancy and so not only was she afraid of what she knew was coming, she also knew that every pregnancy was fraught with danger. Her predecessor Elizabeth, having died from pregnancy related causes, might have also been in Charlotte’s mind. Charlotte was therefore attentive to every change in her state in the run up to the birth and could call upon help, as necessary. Her step-daughter Harriet also attested to how the whole family was attentive to Charlotte’s daily account of her state as they also waited for the birth: ‘The chaise went to Ecton this morn to fetch my Aunt Orlebar here, nurse Morris accompanied her - Mrs O so indifferent on Tuesday; she sent for Mr Moore, who called in the eve but said he did not think her confinement likely to take place this week’.[[331]](#footnote-331) Fear also affected the feelings which Charlotte had about her support system: ‘my sister Orlebar and the nurse arrived glad and yet terrified to see them’.[[332]](#footnote-332) Charlotte’s fears were enough that she could call upon the subordinates she had nearby, her sister-in-law Mary whose role was always to support Richard’s wife, and a nurse. However, whilst Charlotte could exercise that right and was glad of the help, their presence also added to her terror as their arrival signified that her appraisal of her body was justified, and the birth was imminent.

I contend that the importance of external and relational contexts in the meaning and interpretation of shared terms meant that the women considered themselves to be an authority about their own and others’ bodies. In keeping with medical practice at the time, the doctors also relied on the women’s descriptions of their bodies in diagnosis and decisions about treatment. Karen Harvey suggests that the doctors who believed Mary Toft’s account of her rabbit births did so because of the weight given to her own feelings and the absence of medical understanding or proof.[[333]](#footnote-333) Similarly, in Olivia Weisser’s case studies, her subjects strategically used humoral language to describe the body according to their immediate need in their contexts.[[334]](#footnote-334) Mary was able to use readings of Elizabeth’s temperament in conjunction with her observable bodily changes to determine the extent of the danger she was in, and believed that paying attention to mental and embodied states, such as ‘low-ness’ and things being ‘sadly’ out of order, was indicative of what was happening in the body. Her task was to observe what was happening to her sister-in-law in order to elicit the right kinds of help. Anxiety determined whether the family should be in a state of anxiety or ‘alarm’ as Mary wrote: ‘my sister no better and we were greatly alarmed about her’.[[335]](#footnote-335) Proximity and the nearness of relationships, therefore, gave weight to the judgments of those feeling the ailments and those closest to them observing them.

Hannah Newton suggests that people in the early modern period wielded considerable authority over medical practitioners.[[336]](#footnote-336) Olivia Weisser similarly argues that through letters, the process of diagnosis was a collaborative process between doctors and patients.[[337]](#footnote-337) I argue similarly that for the Orlebar women, medical authority could be negotiated due to the overlapping and analogous way the mysteries of the body were understood by everyone and where emotion was understood as the best evidence. Roy Porter, Alun Withey and Weisser all document patients cultivating a ‘sick-role’ or a way of performing illness and communicating it in order to guide medical help and community care using culturally cultivated communications, for example, Weisser suggests there were gendered ways in which people communicated illness.[[338]](#footnote-338) Whilst accounts of the ‘sick role’ often focus on the social and cultural influences at work, the Orlebars highlight the importance of localised and relational contexts on the way care was sought and given, and the roles played by the sick, the community and carers.

The daily aspects of attending on the sick were vital for day-to-day care, observation and help which doctors only sporadically assisted with or witnessed. The pocket books were a tool for the women to keep track of their observations. Formally, the doctors had lots of agency in prescribing care, but in fact had to rely on these women for the descriptions of symptoms, and for their custom. The influence of her constant observance of Elizabeth led Mary to also pay close attention to the way in which Elizabeth reacted to any curatives prescribed by doctors. If prescribed remedies proved to not work well, she could feed that vital information back to the doctors and between them, they could try something new. I argue that Mary’s interpretation of her sister’s health shows that individuals did not draw on one medical understanding alone and carers like Mary played an important role in determining the therapeutic decisions from doctors. Mary’s aim was to aid Elizabeth and to return to ‘normal’, to allay her own anxiety and Elizabeth’s suffering, and her emotional reaction to Elizabeth’s body helped determine her course of action in aiding her from the options open to her. As Wayne Wild argues, doctors’ prescriptions did not widely vary from patient to patient or between ailments, but the descriptions of their patients helped to determine courses of action and also a need to cater to requests in order to keep lucrative patient relationships.[[339]](#footnote-339) Mary’s interpretations and actions were based upon what Alun Withey identifies as a ‘lay referral network’, drawing upon observation, monitoring, doctors, and her own knowledge in the lived context of Elizabeth’s life.[[340]](#footnote-340)

As Hannah Newton suggests, the practical way families were involved in caregiving in times of bodily need are well documented, but the emotional and sensory experiences of patients and caregivers in this process needs more attention.[[341]](#footnote-341) I argue that the feelings and monitoring of the Orlebar women as patients and in their families played a vital role in the interventions made during illness and the way medical help was negotiated. Several doctors were called by Mary over the year for curatives and restoratives: Dr Syme, Dr Kerr, Dr Bullock and Dr Percy. The doctors prescribed medicines which adhered to a humoral theory of medicine: emetics to induce vomiting, blood-letting and creating blisters on the skin to draw out toxins. ‘Dr Symm [Syme]’, for example, ‘ordered her two tea spoonfulls of Huxhams essence of antimony, which cleared her stomach of an amazing quantity of bile and he gives great hopes her recovery’.[[342]](#footnote-342) Mary, however, often seemed dubious of the efficacy of these curatives as her monitoring of Elizabeth expressed more alarm than hope when such curatives were taken. Mary considered the worst thing was for Elizabeth to be was ‘sadly fatigued’ as this occasioned her fainting and lowness, and yet the doctors sometimes caused this: ‘Mrs O gasping for breath and almost fainting this whole day - Dr Syme ordered bleeding with leeches she passed the night again without sleep’; ‘the Dr came and ordered an emetic which Mrs O took, it operated as to occasion a very sleepless night’.[[343]](#footnote-343) There was a conflict between what Mary considered to be the connection between Elizabeth’s low feelings, sleeplessness and the trouble with her body and the doctor’s understanding of the mind and body connection. The tension came from Mary’s constant observation as opposed to the doctor’s sporadic intervention and reliance on prescribed methods. The lived contextual monitoring of sleep, Mary’s hopefulness, and the connection made between rest and being restored to health were sometimes seen by her to conflict with the medicines and doctors who appeared to prevent rest or challenge hope.

All three women requested practical treatments from the doctors, yet each also tied as much of their emotional suffering to these treatments as to their illness. The physical effects of cures had emotional effects which were also described in shared ways between all three. This attests to perhaps a lack of variation in medical intervention which led to similar results but also to the shared way these women had of communicating about how medicine was working on the body. Most often terms such as ‘dreadful’ were used to discuss how emotionally and physically fraught curatives were. These were often emetics or blisters which were painful and uncomfortable, as Harriet attested to when she had a ‘very uncomfortable day - puis medicine un par Trop: ma requites’. [[344]](#footnote-344) In this instance, Harriet, in requesting and taking too much medicine, showed how her influence over her own body and desperation for an end to her illness led her to contradict her doctor’s advice causing her more discomfort.

To the doctors, ‘lowness’ was indicative of a body in need of a corporeal combatant, consequently advocating for ‘blisters [to] give relief in low nervous fevers’ but these caused more sleep deprivation recorded by Mary or the uncomfortable laying low of Harriet.[[345]](#footnote-345) Mary also had to deal with the emotional ramifications of ‘alarm’ or premature ‘rejoicing’ due to the doctors' constant shifting between advising that Elizabeth was ‘far from safe’ or that they ‘apprehend[s] no danger’.[[346]](#footnote-346) There was a degree of confusion when the treatments failed: ‘My sister's blister draws well yet she is so bad that she cannot sit up half an hour without almost fainting’.[[347]](#footnote-347) Mary had influence in monitoring and contextualising Elizabeth’s needs: to mediate between the patient and carer, doctor, and primary caregiver. This is evident in who Mary called for if she perceived danger, at the beginning of the year this was Dr Kerr who did not give Mary much hope and warned her ‘situation [was] far from safe’. The subsequent view of Dr Syme two days later was that he ‘gave great hopes for her recovery’ and Elizabeth’s upturn after his ministrations led to Mary rejoicing in June. The difference between Dr Kerr’s pessimism and Dr Syme’s optimism, saw the latter take over care of Elizabeth for the rest of the year. The emotions attendant on illness and the careful management of hope and disappointment could therefore also be integral to the doctor/patient relationships, perhaps even more so than effective treatment. Dr Syme was no more successful than Dr Kerr, but he suited Mary’s emotional need for hope more successfully and in her sickroom authority she chose hope over pessimism, again underlining the importance of that emotion in combating illness for carers. Emotions were key, not only to reinforce communications about what was happening to the body, connected to knowledge of what context the body was in at the time, but also to influence the way in which the body could be cared for. This might not have always been successful, or resulted in good care, but was a vital way in which these women understood the possibilities available to them at these times and perceived the experiences of health and being cared for or caring.

The last aspect of emotions I want to briefly explore is the way in which emotional responses to health and the body affected daily life as a whole, not only as part of episodes of illness or pregnancy. The continual reports of ill health in the diaries of the women show that periods where everyone was well, were rare for this family. These situations should therefore be understood as part of daily life, not an aberration from it, just as their health and emotions about their bodies cannot be extricated from the contexts they were embedded in. Caring roles were an important facet of familial and community life for this gentry family. In her work on sick children, Hannah Newton demonstrates that both men and women undertook caring roles, as mothers and fathers in household administered care at times of children’s illness, helped by a communal effort from extended family, neighbours, and schools.[[348]](#footnote-348) This suggests that the regularity of illness meant that being able to provide care was a normal and expected facet of almost everyone’s life at some point and as Newton explicates, could be an expensive and emotionally arduous undertaking.[[349]](#footnote-349) Newton also shows that times of illness were not meant to always be isolating times, as visits to those who were sick and sociability as part of convalescence were an important part of the activities of the community.[[350]](#footnote-350) Emotions played a role in how these women reconciled or felt about their bodies in the contexts of everyday living. Exploring in detail the emotions during times of sickness, pregnancy and care giving, especially considering aims, shows further what the consequences of embodied experienced and bodies in need were in everyday lives.

Mary Orlebar understood herself to be duty bound to serve the needs of her brother and sister-in-law. She was obliged to answer the ‘summons’ to Hinwick, however sudden and disruptive to her usual life, yet this summons elevated her in a time of need to a position of supreme responsibility in the family. For Mary, her role at Hinwick and within the family affected how dependent and depended upon she was, how she reported on the bodies of those around her and how other people’s bodies impacted on her own life and activities. Whilst Mary gained influence in the sickroom, strengthening the bond and time spent between her and Elizabeth, there is no doubt that the summons to care for Elizabeth did come at the price of Mary’s agency and freedom. Illness took Mary away from her home in Ecton and two sisters. The prolonged trauma of Elizabeth’s illness throws into relief the way in which both households were run, their everyday activities and what was affected by health. For both Mary and Elizabeth, getting better was tied to getting back to more simple familial dynamics and into the active action of each woman’s household. The difference in Mary’s emotional lexicon used to describe her life in Ecton before Elizabeth’s miscarriage and her life in Hinwick poignantly shows her personal aims and what Elizabeth’s illness took from her. Prior to her removal to Hinwick, Mary’s diary was full of positive observations on her own leisured life, with a focus on social activities. Her gentrified status and easy means, combined with living with her two sisters meant that even though she was a spinster she enjoyed ‘Company’, ‘friends’, ‘good neighbour[s]’, ‘amuse[ments]’ and even trips to the theatre and opera. It is telling that Mary only used the term ‘agreeably amused’ in the first part of her journal, before her time nursing Elizabeth at Hinwick.[[351]](#footnote-351) The plethora of positive emotions in Mary’s own home were replaced at Hinwick with constant anxiety over Elizabeth. However, the regularity with which Mary was called to Hinwick suggests that these two facets of her life were a normal occurrence for her.

Mary and Elizabeth display how caring relationships could have possibly structured everyday life in such gentry households by being the focus for what activities and social calls were too arduous or not. As Hannah Newton explicates, sociability was an important part of convalescence but could be a taxing part of the experience of recovery. As demonstrated in this chapter, sociability needed to be decided upon carefully by the authority of either the sick or those caring for them.[[352]](#footnote-352) Social activities became the context in which Mary could read Elizabeth’s body and decide what was good for her or not. Hannah Newton’s work on recovery argues that the resuming of everyday tasks and sociability was a key factor in providing evidence of recovery.[[353]](#footnote-353)The emotional tenor of these activities acted as the warning about how they would harm Elizabeth. Mary observed that when ‘Mrs O ventured to go to the afternoon services at church’ she was ‘greatly fatigued’, and that to try and go was a ‘venture’, a serious undertaking which ended in hurting her.[[354]](#footnote-354) Mary was also troubled by Elizabeth’s efforts to participate in forms of sociability: ‘Mrs O had a card party to entertain my brother and bore the company herself better than I expected she could have done being extremely ill in the morning’.[[355]](#footnote-355) Mary related that Elizabeth’s attempts at entertaining resulted in her: ‘exert[ing] her spirits so much as to make her quite low afterwards’.[[356]](#footnote-356) Again she used ‘low’ and ‘spirits’ to judge how these external factors, such as being too lively in social settings, affected Elizabeth’s health. Mary had to turn down offers to socialise on both their parts, she felt keenly that Elizabeth and her should not be separated, attesting to her idea of responsibility for Elizabeth at the cost of her own social life: ‘invited to drink tea with Mrs. Nesbitts party but my sister too ill to do so… Mr and Mrs Ashby, Mrs Green with Mr. and Mrs Maynard called on us but my sister too ill for us to enjoy their company’.[[357]](#footnote-357) Mary’s use of ‘us’ shows how she ranked her own enjoyment with her sister-in-law’s: they were as one being in the sick room. Elizabeth perhaps wished to get back to everyday social activities as evidence that she was getting better. Ill health and the anxiety of observing Elizabeth shaped how such social activities were undertaken, even with other members of the household.

Prolonged illness, like Mary’s, dictated the arrangements of ordinary socialising and activity and became part of the normal life of the household. Charlotte also shows how being confined by pregnancy frustrated her. When her husband was away during this time, she wrote that she, ‘had a poor stupid letter from Mr O saying that he thought it right to be at the appointment of Sheriffs…[and] could not return till [Tuesday]’; ‘Mr Orlebar went with his two sons G and R as far as Aspley tomorrow to proceed to London I much hurt to part with them and equally so to be prevented going to London myself’.[[358]](#footnote-358) These reactions only happened during her pregnancy. Whilst at home illness might direct activities, life went on outside the household, which could be dispiriting. Charlotte’s annoyance at her husband, whilst he carried on as normal, shows, as Joanne Bailey argues, that pregnancy could add tension to the dynamic between wives and husbands.[[359]](#footnote-359) This also makes visible the various kinds of separation and motivations for being apart within such a family and how different events and the body affected the experiences of those normal separations. The Orlebar children, throughout all this time, carried on moving in and out of the house, going to school or, like Harriet, being shipped off to visit various friends and relatives.[[360]](#footnote-360) After spending Christmas at home, Harriet spent from March of 1794 visiting a variety of friends and relations. Harriet first went to Northampton, possibly to her grandparents, where she developed a form of pox, which she had brought from the family home, her siblings also coming out in spots at the same time at Hinwick. She then went onto Ecton to stay with her aunts, before briefly returning to Hinwick again for three weeks in May before packing again and travelling to Aveley where she stayed until her death. Harriet’s position was complex, she was forging a character, much like her aunt’s, outside of her family home and had more agency in socialising than other members of the family. She was however also a dependent, beholden to the hospitality of others and to a somewhat nomadic life. This evidently affected how Harriet connected her circumstances to her ailing health, writing how she was ‘melancholy’ to be parted from her sister. In a state of being ‘depressed’, she went to the doctor.[[361]](#footnote-361) She connected her depression with the illness she experienced.

Harriet was much more reliant emotionally and physically on trusting the doctor’s pronouncements because she was away from home. As her illness became more precarious, she became increasingly reliant on the Doctor’s prescriptions and their readings of her emotions, keeping a record of the doctor’s thoughts about her: ‘[Mr Millar] thought it unnecessary to send me any more bark’; ‘Mr Millar thought me better’.[[362]](#footnote-362) Harriet takes us outside of the household as a centre for caregiving for members of the gentry family; for her there was no fixed sickroom and various different upstairs to retire to in other people’s homes. Her normal activities included managing her illness whilst travelling and relying on doctors, like Mr Millar, who were in her social circle in Aveley where she was staying. She also frequently visited with Mr Millar’s family. Exchanges of visiting and drinking tea meant that Harriet could also be constantly supported and observed by the doctor and therefore minimise her own anxieties on her health: ‘I called on Mrs Millar this morn again with Mrs C in the afternoon; met Mr and Miss Pope there; Mr Millar thought me better’.[[363]](#footnote-363) Harriet applied a tactical ‘sick ‘role’’ in order to achieve the reassurance she needed from regular sociability in getting the doctor to assess her in an informal social setting and for free.[[364]](#footnote-364) These situations also display how everyday social interactions provided a different context outside of appointments for doctors to read their patient’s bodies. Both the sociability and separation that were connected to what was happening in the body were an important part of the context in the psychological and spatial experience of illness for gentry families and these things also affected how these women felt about their bodies, the help they could get and these times of ill health.

Most significant is the effect which movement (going to get cures, having to get up and go to the doctor, being away from home or being restricted to it) had on how these women conceived of their comfort and their aims, whether they desired to get back to being able to socialise or just to get home. When Harriet died, being away from home impacted on how her family found out about her decline and death. Charlotte wrote of it paradoxically as an ‘expected shock’.[[365]](#footnote-365) The news which filtered back to Hinwick from Aveley whilst Harriet was ill was discussed in similar ways to how Charlotte recorded her feelings about Sydney’s condition, detailed at the beginning of this chapter, when she was reliant on the reports of others about her health. This evidences how the experience of separation affected both Harriet and her family in times of ill health; they were not afforded the intimacy of close observation that the familial power structure between Mary and Elizabeth created, which produced gentle ebbs and flows in hope with words like ‘better’ or ‘indifferent’. Instead, the family went through a rapid and intense succession of different hopes and sadness with each letter. Illness exacerbated the everyday separations between parents and children in the Orlebar household. When Sydney died the common understanding of infectious disease led to Charlotte being forced to separate herself from her child. This distance between them also affected Charlotte’s managing of her other children. Charlotte could not let her son John, home from school, come into the house or touch him: ‘met my dear John on the pavement (my first walk) saw him first at the window he was rejoiced to see me though he thought it hard to be stopped coming into the house’. [[366]](#footnote-366) They all felt that being separated at these times was ‘hard’. These occurrences were part of the day-to-day ways in which ill health impacted on households and were factors which people had to manage their lives around. Their emotions show the consequences of this on these women and their relationships and how they could communicate about their health and the experiences of their bodies.

### **Conclusion**

These women used a group of emotion words which incorporated meanings that helped people to anchor their knowledge and characterisation of what was happening to them and others. Words such as ‘low’, ‘faint’, ‘sadly’, ‘depressed’ and ‘indifferent’, with their emotional connotations, shaped how the body was experienced and responded to. Importantly, some of these terms were interchangeable between ailments and pregnancy. Pregnancy therefore can be seen as part of the wider way people thought about bodies as a whole in every day contexts, using a lexicon in which they could all share experiences and which gave them a degree of influence in discussing their bodies and asking for support. The emotions that they articulated might in themselves be unsurprising and have been detailed in historiography on early modern and eighteenth-century ideas of the body. However, this chapter has demonstrated the importance of recognizing the influence of immediate contexts on what these words meant to these women in relation to their experiences. These contexts were crucial factors in why certain terms were chosen, how someone was observed as ‘indifferent’ over time and how being ‘low’ or ‘sadly’ was affected by their situation. I have shown how important these emotions in context were in communicating about the body, and for those caring for the sick, to try and make sense of what was happening and what help to provide. Emotions such as hope and fear were important guides for how people were faring, optimism was an important combatant for ill health and fear helped precipitate action. This chapter has also shown, how emotional responses show the way health and the body were part of and impacted on everyday life in this gentry family, spatially and socially. The experiences around the body at these times show how the household around a sick person was organised, with the deep caring relationships which determined activities and structured sociability. Moreover, separations in the family were impacted by illness and death and these factors of life were part of the normal running and experiences of the household.

# Chapter Three

# ‘Working together for good’: Work, Authority and Quietism in the Letters Between a Group of Quaker Women[[367]](#footnote-367)

Martha Smith, Mary Routh, Ann Hawley, Frances Hawley, and Mary Hoyle, whose letters are studied for this chapter, were united by blood, marriage and by the Doncaster Quaker community. The Quakers in Doncaster had a meeting house in the area since 1652 and were deeply intertwined in business and trade in the town.[[368]](#footnote-368) This chapter sees these Quakers as a definite ‘community’ because they themselves considered themselves this way, through familial and economic ties but also predominantly spiritual bonds which centred around the idea of their community. Whilst all the other chapters have looked at how emotions worked in relationships and individual’s own perceptions of the wider society they belonged to, the concept of community is central in this chapter to each of these individual women and the emotions studied here. For a similar approach to how I consider the ties that unified this ‘community’ see also Naomi Pullin’s assessment that, whilst the idea of community can be contentious, ‘the imagined bonds shared between Quaker believers scattered throughout the Atlantic world created the communicative, economic, and organisational frameworks necessary to bring a fragmented and culturally diverse group of believers together through a shared spiritual experience.’[[369]](#footnote-369) Throughout this chapter Friends with a capital letter is used, as they did, when distinguishing members of their religious community. When it is uncapitalised I also refer to other friendships and relationships that the women had within the wider group of Friends and as well as outside it.

Each of the women studied in this chapter came from middling-sort families, but many had been born in the lower end of the economic spectrum and had relatives who lived in varying degrees of poverty and hardship. Martha Smith was the most prolific writer of this group and, therefore, the woman who this chapter concentrates on most. She was related to the Ecroyd family who hailed from Edgend in Lancashire. Her parents were Henry and Mary Ecroyd, and she was a cousin of the Clarke family mentioned above.[[370]](#footnote-370) Martha’s own account of her spiritual journey was closely connected to family tragedy. She attested that she had been lively in her youth and had been censured by the Quaker community, but the early death of her beloved father awakened her to ‘the importance of spiritual values’.[[371]](#footnote-371) She noted often that her family had risen from abject poverty. She married William Smith, a grocer, in 1789 and had four children. Martha was also the most publicly active of all the women regarding spirituality: after only a year of marriage she embarked on an itinerant life to further the work of the ministry, addressing many Quaker meetings throughout her religious career. Martha also remained close to the Ecroyd family, often giving news to Susannah Hawley of her brothers who had journeyed to live in America and of the remaining Ecroyds, Henry, John, and Mary, who returned from America to Edgend. There is a gap in her letters between 1813 and 1829 following a severe illness in 1814. However, by 1825 she resumed going to her local quarterly meetings and then her travelling ministry, before her death in 1832.

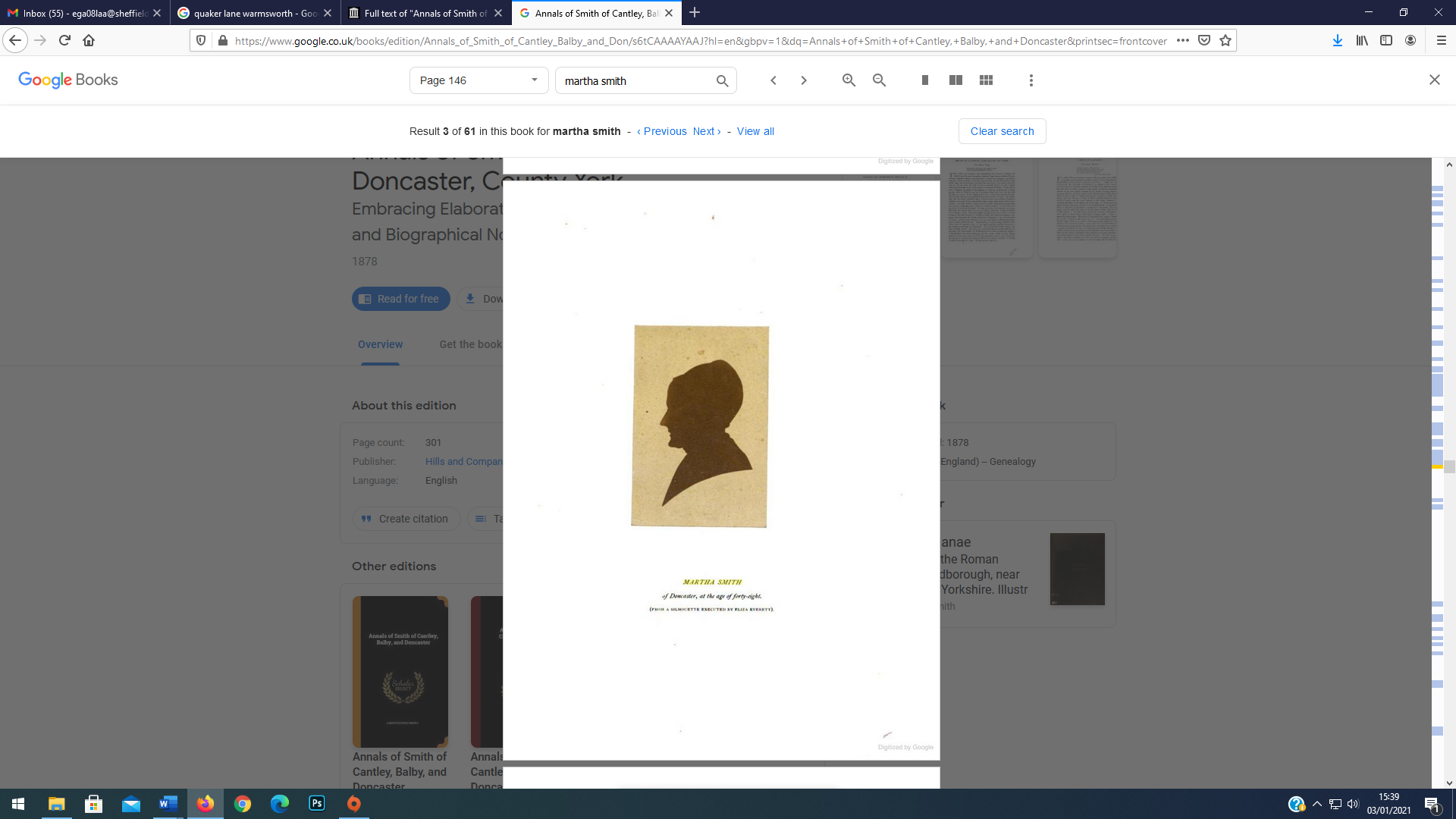


Fig.3.1 *Eliza Everett, ‘Silhouette of Martha Smith of Doncaster at the age of forty-eight in 1811’ in Henry Ecroyd Smith, Annals of Smith of Cantley, Balby and Doncaster, County York; Embracing Elaborate Pedigrees of the Connected Families and Biographical Notices of their more Eminent Members (1878).*

Mary Hoyle, the writer with the second greatest number of surviving letters, came from Manchester. She had a daughter named Alice and a grandson named Thomas who married a woman named Jane Binns, despite family disapproval. Mary Hoyle had close connections and correspondence with the Hawley Family and with Martha Smith. Her daughter Lucy Hoyle stayed with Martha and visited Susannah throughout the years covered by the letters. Mary Routh, writer of the third most letters, was related by marriage to the Ecroyd family. She was married to Robert Routh. Her son Robert married Martha Smith’s niece Mary Ecroyd in 1787. Mary also had a son named Samuel and a daughter named Sarah. The family lived in York and were also active at the Lancashire Meeting. Other important family and Friends mentioned in the letters include the Camm Family who moved to York to open a school in 1805. Mrs Camm was Martha Smith’s sister-in-law. There was also the Marriott family who were also cousins to Martha Smith and came from Edgend. Mrs Marriott journeyed to America after her conversion to Quakerism and Henry Marriott, her son, was disowned by his father during the letters for his own conversion and left shortly after to join her. William Marriott, another member of the family, joined John and Henry Ecroyd in business by jointly leasing a cotton mill. Another important family member mentioned often in the letters was Tabitha Ecroyd, Susannah Hawley’s sister and Martha Smith’s cousin, who lived for a time at Oakham with the Hawleys before her marriage to Joshua Stansfield in 1812 at the age of 48. Whilst the women all knew and discussed each other, almost all the letters in the bundle studied for this chapter were sent to Susannah Hawley. There are no surviving letters from Susannah herself, but she was a central figure in the correspondence of the women in this chapter.[[372]](#footnote-372)

Martha Smith became a well-known figure in the northern Quaker community due to her itinerant preaching. After her death some of her letters were published to exemplify her spiritual instructions. As such she might be considered a key player who helped shape the eighteenth-century Quaker movement. However, as the editor of the published letters writes, many of her letters were ‘almost exclusively made up of directions about domestic concerns’, which the editor summarily edited out.[[373]](#footnote-373) Therefore, even when far from home, Martha was deeply embedded in small domestic concerns and rooted in the unified bonds at home between these women. As such, what the editors of her letters considered private and un-instructive was intrinsic to Martha’s concerns and sense of community. So, whilst Martha is the central figure in this chapter’s study, the other women all played a key role in shaping the community in a variety of physical, economic, and spiritual ways as a group, developing their own corners of the Quaker world through business, marriages, schools, support, and as such are the context through which Martha’s and the other writings should be explored. This is not a study of women who were key players in Quaker society, although Martha was prominent. Rather, Martha, writing within the epistolary milieu of this group, provides a case study of these Quaker women’s lives through emotion, which illuminates important aspects of these Quaker women’s experiences and their own perspectives on these experiences, especially regarding their understanding of spirituality in the everyday.

There is a long historiographical tradition of exploring biographical accounts of Quaker women and studying the vital role women played in shaping the movement, especially in the early part of its development.[[374]](#footnote-374) These accounts follow the tradition of the Quaker women themselves, who frequently produced autobiographical accounts of their spiritual lives or had others do so after their death. [[375]](#footnote-375) This extensive historiography demonstrates that Quaker women played a central role in shaping the public and private structures of trans-Atlantic Quaker communities and Quaker practices. It has been established that the Quaker movement was in many ways revolutionary for early modern and eighteenth-century women.[[376]](#footnote-376) As Catie Gill, Michele Tartar and Naomi Pullin attest, this historiography has given Quaker women distinctive religious and gendered identities.[[377]](#footnote-377) However, Gill and Tartar argue that gendered freedom for women in the Quaker movement declined over the period, and that the movement was another part of gendered eighteenth-century social culture: providing its own versions of exclusions, policing and silencing for women within the wider social and cultural milieu of trans-Atlantic societies in the eighteenth century.[[378]](#footnote-378) Christine Trevett also argues that women’s roles in the movement became more disciplined, less public and radical, and more ‘appropriate for their gender’ over the period.[[379]](#footnote-379) Trevett suggests that women’s religious and social preoccupations were increasingly confined to those concerning domestic matters and decisions over prospective marriages, rather than public prophesising, when public meetings of the Friends were formally segregated by gender in 1666.[[380]](#footnote-380) Men and women’s meetings would not merge again until 1908. In this narrative, women who were itinerant preachers over the second half of the period are often presented as exceptional.[[381]](#footnote-381)

However, Naomi Pullin challenges the idea that women’s radicalism and importance in the movement deteriorated or was the province of a few exceptional female Quakers. Significantly, Pullin suggests that rather than focus on formal, print sources like the autobiographies which adhere to narratives of women’s waning radicalism, studying personal letters shows how women adapted their authority to changing social contexts. [[382]](#footnote-382) Her study shows how women had continuing power both in public ministry and in non-itinerant ‘ordinary’ lives, how they sustained the development of the movement and maintained distinct identities during the eighteenth century[[383]](#footnote-383) Pullin proposes that women used personal relationships and domestic matters to underpin public Quaker values and therefore, radically and distinctively, wielded great power over the structures and practices of their community, such as marriage, which is ‘overlooked in the historiography’.[[384]](#footnote-384) This chapter, like Pullin, argues that Martha’s emotional outlook and the distinct power of Quaker spiritually-imbued domestic lives need to be explored together and informed one another. The findings of this chapter support Pullin’s conclusions and build upon them to show significantly how emotions helped these Quaker women structure their world view and were used to reinforce their radical, authoritative, domestic, and spiritual identity. This chapter, importantly, shows how Quaker women used emotional language to conceive of their ideas of work, authority, and a distinct religious identity.

This work reinforces our existing understanding of Quaker women’s lives by showing how women used emotions to structure their ideas of community cohesion, activities, and spiritual practices. The chapter displays how emotions were used to connect the private with their public actions to justify them. Moreover, this chapter not only reinforces existing understanding of Quaker women’s lives and how they tied their spirituality to each of the contexts of their lives but provides advanced understanding of how emotions were used to bring different facets of personal and private together in the perceptions of individual women. My approach in this chapter shows how important emotions were in connection to localised contexts and to give meaning to spiritual practice which adjusts the way in which larger patterns of Quaker communal norms, in particular the practices of Quietism, might be understood. The women’s use of emotion language shows how these norms were practiced in the letters by individuals and given form by being connected to emotional judgements, affectionate relationships and immediate relational contexts.

Economic and work concerns were most often at the centre of the emotions expressed by the women of this chapter. Quaker participation in industrialisation and commerce over the period has been well documented.[[385]](#footnote-385) There is a decided emphasis that Quaker business practices were built on a cultivated (and sometimes disputed) idea of honesty, trust, and diligence and that their success is attributed to the industrious networks they built and maintained.[[386]](#footnote-386) It is evident the Quakers in eighteenth-century Doncaster were very successful in many forms of business and active in the industrial hub of Yorkshire, perhaps due to their reputation but also the tightknit, supportive community found in Doncaster. They appear as a community which was spiritually inward-looking for outward success.[[387]](#footnote-387) Women are often neglected in accounts of the economic successes of industrial and banking Quaker men in these accounts, or given a supporting role or outright ignored.

The emotions which these women shared were very often focused on business ventures within the family and those undertaken by their circle of Friends. That the domestic and personal were central to economic success and to labouring life in the period has been well documented by Deborah M. Valenze, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett.[[388]](#footnote-388) This chapter builds upon arguments that the family and household was the site where public and private was bridged and which ‘connected the market with the domestic’.[[389]](#footnote-389) Whilst the centrality of the family and domestic to working practices in the period is well established, this chapter shows how these Quaker women made family and community support the most important factor in business in order to be able to have business within the wider world. The chapter argues that the deployment of emotions in making assessments and forging connections in business for these women displays how emotions were a key factor in these Quaker women’s business transactions and importantly in how they considered ‘good’ business specifically in the Quaker community. Personal success was for communal benefit and success was predicated on support and taking on the ‘right’ kinds of work in the ‘best’ places. The first section argues that emotional judgements affected how work was embedded within the contexts of personal family dynamics and an idea of the wider community. These women saw themselves as affecting how business could be undertaken by members of the community and what support was offered by families and the Quaker community, making work and industry indivisible from family and community structures, and embedding these women’s ideas of religious essentials in their daily lives.

By looking at localised contexts and relationships this chapter shows not just that the family and community were important to business practices but how different emotions and emotionally influenced judgements, such as affection, sympathy, criticism, and regret, created a structure for industrious practices in the wider world. The complexities of personal lives and common occurrences, such as feelings for family who moved away to North America, influenced a shared rhetoric about feelings about work and individual judgements about what kinds of work should be undertaken, where, and with whom. This chapter does not focus on whether the women and their families were successful in commerce, but is interested in how women like Martha framed success and work from a Quaker-focused spiritual and domestic point of view. However, the consequences of negatively judging other people’s endeavours or being removed from community support evidently made for bad and unsuccessful business, this might have been in part due to a lack of support from the wider community because of such judgements. As the first section shows, however, emotions tied to relationships and ideas of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ work did shape judgements and potential actions about what kinds of work would be supported by the community and more likely to be successful or fail. This section, therefore, contributes to the recent scholarship which explores how emotion in household relationships influenced business practices in the eighteenth century, showing that for these individuals, emotions and household connections underpinned working practices. The first section reconstructs how those emotions did so and how intrinsic personal circumstances were to determining how ideas about ‘good’ or ‘bad’ work or ‘cares’ were built.

The first section also shows how this focus on emotions enhances knowledge about how Martha conceived of women’s authority and ideas of public and private boundaries in working and domestic practices. Pullin argues that women were understood to be guides in the best education of children and over communities, using their domestic identity as a sacrifice and anchor to support the ‘greater cause’ of public ministry and infuse it with domestic significance. [[390]](#footnote-390) I show how they conceived of their own influence using emotion and their important work in the ‘cares’ in the community, of which familial care was most important but which included public, industrious, 'cares’ also. I also show how judgements on people shaped their perceptions of inclusion and exclusion in the community, especially of men. This not only reinforces the idea of the importance of women’s authority in the community in different facets of Quaker practice such as marriage or education, highlighted by Pullin, but shows how women used emotions to build an impression of their own authority and looks more closely at how personal contexts influenced women’s own conceptions of their authority.[[391]](#footnote-391)

The second section of this chapter looks even more closely at how public and private boundaries were distinguished by the use of emotion in personal contexts in common spiritual practices. This section argues that emotions within relationships helped these Quaker women understand and practice spiritual principles, especially those that were meant to be about looking inwards and being removed from the world. It also shows how communal and formulaic spiritual language, used universally by the Quakers, was adapted to the specificities of these individual women and their relationships, in the context of their community. Katie Barclay, in her work on ‘Caritas’ shows how the idea of an emotional ethic, created along religious principles, was practiced and embodied by people, of all status in everyday acts and embedded in communities across early modern European societies. Barclay shows how through the logic of caritas, people envisioned their relationships, and their affection for one another as an embodied form of spiritual virtue and in moral frameworks which set the cultural tone for entire societies.[[392]](#footnote-392) These frameworks made individual passions vital to the practices of faith in the everyday and gave guidelines to individuals about how to control and transform emotions into the correct form through individual embodied actions in relationships and external acts on the body by authorities.[[393]](#footnote-393) Barclay also argues that the practices of caritas were only given meaning as part of a collective localised community, embedded in the networks people lived in, enforced and reproduced as a group even if individuals did not always feel the same.[[394]](#footnote-394) These Quaker women similarly used scriptural language and common religious ethical frameworks to reinforce their own ideas of spiritual communal cohesion and perspective in their everyday lives and writing. They used old fashioned language and their ideas about good and bad practices through embedding their idea of inward-looking and introverted spirituality to guide community principles. However, this chapter examines not only what language they used but, taking the cue from Barclay, looks further into how individuals combined scriptural language with emotion and, importantly, personal context.

This second section establishes how emotional language which connected familial and domestic concerns to public work blurred the distinctions between public and private for women in the community in distinct spiritual ways for the Quakers.[[395]](#footnote-395) As suggested by Trevett, Skidmore, Tartar and Mack, the eighteenth century is often presented as a contrast to the radical seventeenth-century roots of the Quaker movement: as a time in which Quietism took hold and apocalyptic fervour was exchanged for patient waiting.[[396]](#footnote-396) This bred the idea of ‘Quietism’, being quiet and outside of the world: a focus inward on inner spirituality which made the retirement of the private and domestic central to Quaker spirituality. This chapter not only shows how emotions helped women attach the domestic to public life, blurring those boundaries, but also shows how emotional language, in conjunction with common spiritual language and concepts, helped individual women to define the boundaries of public and private in their own lives.

Phyllis Mack asserts that one of the vital ways in which gendered constraints were negotiated by the Quakers was for women to see themselves not as fully earthly but as vessels that allowed for God to speak through them as 'disembodied spirits ‘in the light’’, not as women.[[397]](#footnote-397) This chapter shows how emotion helped women reconcile themselves both as present, publicly authoritative, figures in their communities and as spiritual beings who transcended the worldly, using personal, private, connections. The emotions which this chapter explores show that individual conceptions of Quietism were perhaps not as inward or insular as is suggested by this characterisation and that individuals instead personally decided which outward-looking relational ties were worldly and which were instead indicative of unseen spiritual bonds between people.Quietism has not been hitherto interrogated in terms of individuated, everyday practice or meaning. As Rufus. M Jones wrote, Quietism was not a system of religious inertia or reticence but an active pursuit to remove oneself from the world to find the ‘light’. [[398]](#footnote-398) Quietism was not inaction but about ‘the right way to initiate action,' with passivity and emptying oneself as steps towards the right spiritual action.[[399]](#footnote-399) The second section demonstrates how emotion provided a way for these women to follow aims about potential spiritual action between people and the best ways to find and encourage that spiritual action as part of Quietist principles to continually develop connections to God. Therefore, deeply personal contexts and outward looking relationships in fact gave shape to the abstract concept of Quietism for these women, giving them a way to feel Quietist principles and practice them in their lives. In this way, the emotions studied show how these Quakers organised their world and experienced their spirituality through their emotions connected to individual experience.

### **‘More than ‘the increase of Corn, Wine or Oil’’: Women’s Authority, Community, and Emotional Judgements on Work[[400]](#footnote-400)**

The families of the women studied for this chapter were primarily involved in forms of agricultural and commercial labour, including farming, mercantile and shop work. The women themselves, as part of family enterprises, imported, produced, and sold consumable goods. They also opened their homes as boarding houses and schools, taking in members of the community and their children. The women not only wrote about labour but were active and central contributors to the family enterprises. They set themselves up as administrators, appointers and advisors in both domestic and public business concerns and used the letters to work together as a family. For example, Martha Smith wrote to exchange advice on bureaucratic procedures as part of her correspondence with Susannah, as a proxy for her husband and her cousin, knowing that the information would be shared: ‘W. S desires cousin Tabby may know that he finds the canal mortgages are subject to a duty of 10 per ct even when the income falls short of fifty pounds per annum but he intends to see further into it and I will try to obtain an exemption, by procuring a certificate from the commissioners’.[[401]](#footnote-401) This was also a practice among the younger members of the family, like Mary Hoyle, who worked as deputies for their parents in supporting each other’s industriousness and sharing knowledge for commercial production and sale in the grocer business: ‘Mother wishes you to send honey sufficient to make 8-10 gallons of mead, and will be obliged to aunt for her recipe to make it’.[[402]](#footnote-402) Big and small businesses were all shared and discussed, advice sought, and instructions provided. Martha Smith spoke of her commercial ‘business’ and her social ‘business’ at meetings: ‘I had spent (as business required my attention) about 2 weeks [at a meeting]’; ‘our young women would be glad to serve you. They are very industrious but have not as much business as would be desirable’.[[403]](#footnote-403) The use of ‘business’ here is important: ‘business’ across the examples cited in Naomi Pullin’s studies of Quaker women, was used to describe both formal economic endeavours and the transactions of their religious meetings, making both kinds of ‘business’ inextricable from the other linguistically.[[404]](#footnote-404) Martha used the word ‘business’ to describe her activities when she was busy at Quaker meetings and in work that made money. She also used the term ‘labour’ when talking specifically about her ministry, calling her work in itinerant ministry ‘arduous labour’ when she was travelling in Ireland: ‘having this day, finished our arduous labour at this place’.[[405]](#footnote-405) Martha connected different kinds of ‘business’, labour and employment, and evidently thought all her kinds of ‘labour’ or work were hard, formal and important.

The roles and responsibilities which these women undertook were not unusual. As Alexandra Shepard argues, early-modern women were active in partnership with men and given responsibilities over money management in households.[[406]](#footnote-406) Whilst economic historians have long argued that that the family was vital, especially to the early eighteenth-century economy, Robin Holt and Andrew Popp make the critical point that the family has been considered only according to its ‘structural attributes’. [[407]](#footnote-407) Holt and Popp argue the emotional ties and significance of the family, ‘the resonance of those structures’, has been ignored and they focus on the ‘emotionologies’ which affected business practices. [[408]](#footnote-408) Hannah Barker, likewise, argues charting emotions like love in family businesses moves the history of the family in business away from an idea of being motivated purely as a ‘knot’ of individual self-interests negotiating resources.[[409]](#footnote-409) These Quaker women were mostly comfortably well off, they could afford leisure, yet they evidently saw their own industriousness as equally important to any other form of work. In many accounts there is much about the individuated experiences of such labour or how women themselves valued their own and others’ work. In Barker’s account female business owners were of central importance to urban economies and did not necessarily follow a pattern that greater success meant greater domestication for women.[[410]](#footnote-410) These Quaker women’s writing about their work supports this view. Martha felt her work was a distinct, serious, and formal undertaking. The women clearly valued their roles and advice in these matters highly and worked together as a family and wider community in these letters to support each other. Moreover, the Quakers often had extra pressures of disownment from wider family support, itinerant life and even imprisonment which made it imperative for women to manage on their own if necessary.[[411]](#footnote-411)

Moreover, as Pullin demonstrates, there was a distinct tension for Quakers between being successful in work and being integrated in wider society.[[412]](#footnote-412) Therefore, I argue that emotions were a key part of the judgements that were necessary to make about work to capably work within the world and maintain religious sanctity. Martha aired strong feelings about business and trade and was not reticent about sharing her emotions with Susannah Hawley, often in the form of judgements about each other’s ventures, especially of the men they both knew, writing about one Friend: ‘he has had more honey falls than us all put together and I tried to persuade him to give up business, as I don't think he is the best calculated for it’.[[413]](#footnote-413) Interwoven in these emotions were conclusions about the capabilities of members of the family, the affective ties between the families and their spiritual concerns. Martha used many terms to describe employment, using ‘cares’, ‘business’, ‘work’, ‘labour’, ‘livelyhood’ and ‘concern’ interchangeably to describe commercial, familial, and spiritual forms of labour she and others undertook. This section will focus on Martha’s, and, to a lesser extent, the other women’s, use of emotion words, especially those which were sympathetic to the commercial failures of others, such as ‘toil’, ‘low’, ‘wish’ and ‘cares’, ‘best’ and ‘trying’, connected to these forms of work to show which emotions characterised the judgements which were at work on different forms and labour and the contexts for these judgements. This will demonstrate how for Martha, and those she shared her sentiments with, family and community were aligned with the idea of ‘good’ work or praise and positive emotions, and personal instances of family turning away from support were cited as forms of ‘bad’ work deserving of concern, criticism, and sympathy. ‘Good’ work was linked to community and good practices of spirituality whilst ‘bad’ work took people away from those things.

These elements can be found in Martha’s opinions especially about her male family members, the Marriotts and the Ecroyds, and their possession of a cotton mill from 1789 until 1807. When her cousins bought the mill, Martha lamented that ‘My cousin William Marriott and John [Ecroyd] have taken the mill which I am very sorry for, as they must be quite confined. I wonder they should ever think of such a thing’.[[414]](#footnote-414) Martha’s concerns about this episode centred on how it would ‘confine’ her relatives from flexibility in other kinds of work and keep them away from their family and community. She worried about the foolishness of the endeavour and cited her feeling sorry for them to highlight her criticism of the enterprise. Martha invited Susannah, the recipient of the letters to join her in criticizing the initiative together. Martha was evidently right to do so. John and Henry Ecroyd were the sons of Martha’s brother, who she had in earlier years blamed for taking his children far away from the supportive reach of the family, to the ‘back woods’ of America, where he could not earn a living: ‘My poor brother James lives in a most remote part and has now 3 children Henry, Mary and John Howerth Ecroyd. But I believe in these back woods it is only a bare livelyhood’.[[415]](#footnote-415) Martha connected separation from family and connections with pecuniary failure in her sympathy for her ‘poor’ brother, a sympathy which was continued with James’s sons. She acknowledged similar feelings towards other families who moved away from the support and security of the community, such as the Camm family who she wrote: ‘seem gone away from friends and are in a poor situation as to the best things I fear’. [[416]](#footnote-416) Martha’s fear was that one could not attain the ‘best things’ spiritually or economically outside of their circle of Friends. By sharing these fears in the letters, Martha was inviting the other women, like Susannah to share in an idea of what the ‘best’ things were: their community and support. This removal and separation from the support and guidance of the family and Quaker community informed Martha’s concerns about the brothers taking on the mill. She felt that such a risky endeavour might not just be a financial failure but would also ‘confine’ them from returning back to the fold.

Work was a constant topic of conversation for Martha, signifying how involved and invested she was in it. This was not a casual reporting of what people were doing but a deep analysis of how it would affect the lives of the families of these women and by extension the community. The sharing of emotional judgements on such ventures helped define what the right and wrong ways to go about them were and for what reasons. Martha shared opinions with Susannah about what work would have suited the Ecroyds better, ‘I quite agree with thee in wondering our dear Cousin H[Henry]. Ecroyd does not incline to give up the mill, I do believe it will never do him any good. I wished much he would have taken the shop at the chappel rather, though it would have been a smaller concern, it would have freed him from the toil and perplexity, which attends his present situation’.[[417]](#footnote-417) Martha wished that Henry had taken work which would have meant less ‘toil and perplexity’ for him, less taxing, less ambitious, and within their religious community. She subtly suggested that materialism was to blame for taking on such a large endeavour rather than a more manageable ‘smaller concern’. The judgement about the sise of the ‘concern’ in question is notable- it suggests that Martha considered the sise of the venture part of the boundary between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ kinds of work. Smaller works, connected to the church, were safe, secure, and less worldly or avaricious. In other reflections on work, Martha emphasised that communal considerations should underpin and support any form of commercial labour. She suggested to other financially struggling Friends in York that if they would instead ‘work together for good’ she would ‘rejoice’.[[418]](#footnote-418) This ‘working together’ was exemplified by the supportive, as Mary Hoyle termed ‘obliged’, structures the women had set up between them in their mercantile business endeavours. This term also reflected the idea of striving together towards good spiritual values. Family and community were inextricable from ‘good’ work in the emotional judgements that Martha made about these business activities.

Moreover, the judgements which defined ‘good’ and ‘bad’ kinds of labour initiative were, I contend, also shaped by the emotional ramifications of such work. Martha detailed her compassionate response to the negative emotional and economic impact of this saga, which left Henry Ecroyd at an impasse and brought him ‘low’ regarding his prospects: ‘I know not what our dear friend Hy [Henry] will do, if he could meet with a farm he would like it the best, he was here a little while since and was very low but much lighter since the mill was about being given up’.[[419]](#footnote-419) The emotional way in which work was discussed, the sympathy but criticism of ‘toil’ and the consequences of being ‘low’ or ‘lighter’ were shaped by how work affected familial and community ties, how it affected how Martha felt about those undertaking work and then financial gain, in that order. Martha wondered at the faulty judgement of the Ecroyds and predicted dire consequences for taking on too much work or going it alone outside of their community.

Martha’s use of ‘toil and perplexity’ to describe her judgement of how her brother was being affected by the mill events is an important phrase to understand how the women might have considered work overall. In using ‘concern’ to discuss the poor business venture of the mill Martha amalgamated the fact it was a business ‘concern’ with how it took up all their thoughts and time and her own concern for them.[[420]](#footnote-420) Attending to Martha’s assessments of work shows not only the value she placed on work but the values she applied to family and community, her shared appraisals of family connections with others and how she brought strands of work, family, and religion together in practice. Martha used the term ‘toil’ only to indicate the worst consequence of an unwise decision, of being trapped by a situation, she used ‘low’, and ‘perplexed’ (to indicate being distressed rather than bewildered) to describe the consequence of work or situations which were undertaken purely for economic gain, without being connected to family, community, or spirituality. Martha characterised life as labour and strife, emphasising labour should be towards a spiritual reward. ‘Toil’ indicated work which was characterised as purely laborious, without any of the rewarding aspects of demanding and varied work, such as family success or spiritual promotion.

Martha spoke of ‘toil’ again when referring to another family connection, the Camms, who had decided to move to York, to ‘take the superintendence of the school’ there.[[421]](#footnote-421) This was a poor decision as the family did not have steady income and could not afford to live well, as Martha wrote two years after they moved:

my dear sister Camm seemed much overdone at the L meets indeed it is as I always expected it would be a place of great number and toil- the terms are advanced to 23 guineas otherwise they gave us notice to leave, as brother is off too sowing a turn to wish to be out of hock. Although his family has been supported- from what appeared at the committee held last et [easter] they seem to have had nearly enough of York but this must be kept within yourselves - it never was a plan that appeared likely to answer and was far too hastily entered into.[[422]](#footnote-422)

York was described as a place of ‘toil’: of being too busy and expensive with no foreseeable benefit for the family or connection to the community. In these accounts Martha emphasised her own good judgement and foresight at predicting the failure of the Ecroyd’s mill and the Camm’s school in expecting the worst of York. She also emphasised however, that the York Friends community were supporting the Camms and that it was to be kept a secret between herself and Susannah that they were in trouble. This suggests that rather than intervene, Martha would just observe the failure and judge it as a trial the Camms had to go through. In a selection of contemporary dictionaries ‘toil’ was defined as ‘labour’ connected to suffering (often connected to the punishment of the pain of giving birth), to indicate dire circumstances, unfulfilling or strenuous tasks or to challenge the moral merits of an undertaking.[[423]](#footnote-423) Importantly, in Samuel Whyte’s conduct guide of 1788 ‘toil’ was used to distinguish between the artful ‘treasures of human and divine knowledge’ of accomplished women who could talk, read, work, produce crafts, play music and manage domestic affairs from women who were confined to menial or tedious tasks only such as needlework: ‘it was never made a task or a toil to them, nor did they waste their hours in those nice and tedious works, which cost our female ancestors’.[[424]](#footnote-424) In biblical symbolism ‘toil’ described cursed, meaningless and unrelenting work. The idea of ‘toil’ being unfulfilling rather than productive ‘labour’ was placed by Martha onto the circumstances of her relations and friends, exemplifying how she considered the ways one should undertake any form of commercial labour and for what rewards: smaller undertakings had more chance of success and only within and with the support of family and the Society of Friends. If one felt ‘toil’ then it meant one was suffering without God’s rewards. ‘Toil’ was grounds for pity but also censure because of the perceived reasons one was ‘toiling’ rather than being engaged in productive labour. Martha’s ability to share judgement and her knowing predictions of commercial failure point to the importance she placed on her own judgements and predictions.

In contrast, work that was conceived of as beneficial for a particularly devout family was described as creating both spiritual and familial rewards. This I argue shows that the idea of ‘good’ work was not merely equated to financial security or even less intensive work but that it was work that Martha saw people enter into carefully, on a manageable scale and inward looking with their own community in mind, emotionally ratified with positive judgements and reinforcement. Financial or material success was considered a more likely consequence or bonus from meaningful work which centred on secure settings such as the family and the creation of more useful generations of Quakers. Martha summed up the emotions which came from the right forms of labour, one which looked for more ‘durable’ and ‘glorious’ rewards in a wholly spiritual community, than the purely material, and the satisfaction it awarded, in a letter to Susannah, explaining:

I often feel an interest in the welfare of thee and thine and desire that a succession of spiritual worshippers and ornaments of our favoured society may abound at Oakham when those who have kept them places may be removed from works to a glorious reward, I believe my dear cousin through the various dispensations of an unerring father, thee and I were made early to see the phallacy of all earthly enjoyments and to crave durable riches and righteousness and I believe we hunt after it for our children for more ‘than the increase of corn wine or oil’.[[425]](#footnote-425)

Emotion words deployed by the women when the family and wider community did ‘work together for good’ included ‘rejoice’, ‘mercifully favoured’ and ‘glad’.[[426]](#footnote-426) Martha suggested that when work went successfully, it was because God had favoured it, writing to Mary Clarke that she was doing well in Ireland in 1829 and saying ‘I have been just as well as if I had been at home, I quite believe and have been mercifully favoured to finish the work ascribed’.[[427]](#footnote-427) ‘Glad’ was a term which was used often to describe relief and joy and always used to discuss either family coming together or seeing the efficacious support of the community in action. This included when people either turned away from bad business ventures, could reconnect with each other, had news of good marriages or new Quaker members, or were delivered from strife of some kind. Martha used it to describe to Susannah how happy she was that the cotton mill plan was given up, writing ‘dear Cousin A Marriott she says Cousin Hy has quite concluded to give up the cotton mill, which I am glad to find’.[[428]](#footnote-428) The term was used at least 28 times over the letters, by Martha Smith, Mary Hoyle, and Frances Hawley. Frances, for example, used it to describe her joy at being reunited with family ‘I shall be very glad to see thee at home next summer to walk with me down to the close’.[[429]](#footnote-429) Martha described her joy and satisfaction, using ‘glad’, when Quakers remained in the community through marriage: ‘Sarah seems pleased with her friends at Manchester and I am glad has married in society’.[[430]](#footnote-430) Mary Hoyle used it to ask for her mind to be relieved of anxiety about family and to ask her cousin, Mary Hawley, for advice on medicine, sharing and supporting each other: ‘I would be very glad to hear that thy aunt Ann was better, she wished to know what [medicine] was recommended to Alice’.[[431]](#footnote-431) This gladness was the antithesis of ‘toil’, it indicated the success and meaningful interactions of the community.

Other terms ‘best’ and ‘kind’ were also linked to the good or pleasant community sharing and support which were considered by Martha as needed for economic success. Mary Routh used this term, for example, when asking advice from Susannah Hawley about where to get material from for pocket handkerchiefs: ‘I am at a loss to know where is the best place to get printed pocket handkerchiefs. These I have from Edinburgh comes in so high and is land carriage so far that if my dear cousin would just drop me a line and inform me where you have yours from as also your gingham and muslins. I should take it very kind’. [[432]](#footnote-432) Martha judged that her brother should be pitied because he was away from the ‘best’ things which she judged to be a supportive community. This and Mary Routh’s asking other women’s advice about what was ‘best’ and being grateful to one another for guidance, suggests that these women saw themselves and their communal circle as those with the knowledge of what was ‘best’. Affective ties were figured by Martha as central to this endeavour: ‘it often seems to me when I look at my Father's and 2 Uncle's families as if we were designed to help one another in times of trial during our stay on Earth and believe we do feel a very near sympathy one with another’.[[433]](#footnote-433) These communal ideas were propagated in their emotional language, by seeing them tied together by their ‘cares’ and ‘sympathy’ and by their dearest wishes to help and support their community or judge those who did not.

Economic gain was a symbol of a successful community blessed by God, but the emotions used when discussing work show that economic success was not more important than the connectivity and care supported by women and maintained by them that allowed for such success. The most pointed difference in emotional terms was used to judge the close-knit industriousness of families at home compared to those who went out to work in America or York. This suggests an important difference between how these Quaker women viewed work for economic gain (which should be done at home) to visiting far off places to work as preachers, but with the intent on returning home. It was those family members who remained living in faraway places when they did not need to who were ‘toiling’ rather than at ‘work together for good’. Sometimes necessity dictated a removal from family or community to America, especially in cases of disapproval between newly made Quakers and their non-Quaker family. This happened to Friends and acquaintances of the cousins, as Mary Routh wrote in sympathy: ‘I doubt not thou would hear that poor Henry Marriott was disowned some time ago, it would be no matter of surprise to me if they were to go into America now’.[[434]](#footnote-434) On the one hand America was a place that called to their mission and could provide the freedom which was denied to many of their members in England; an opportunity Mary Routh saw for Henry Marriott. However, Mary Routh also suggests that going to America was a last resort, one only undertaken when there was no community support to be found in England and a cause for sympathy. America was a place which could swallow up family members, removing them from the close spiritual and economic connections set up between the rest of the family, scarcely to be heard from again and preventing them from the ‘good’ work that came from being enmeshed in a community. Martha Smith’s brothers went to America and the lack of communication and the distance between them was a source of frustration for her which she aired to Susannah: ‘Robert Sutcliffe is returned and has not brought us one line from our brothers which is very trying, Brother Rd sent us a few silk handkerchiefs and not a line from himself’; ‘we hear nothing from our brothers in America which is very grevious to us’.[[435]](#footnote-435) Martha’s choice of the term ‘trying’ indicated her irritation at not hearing from her brothers and her consciousness of this being a feeling that she had to manage. The feeling tested her emotions and was painful to her in losing them. Only necessity made America acceptable. Considering the importance placed on trans-Atlantic Quakerism for the success of the movement, this is an important understanding into the ways in which work was structured in this Quaker society, with an emphasis on local community before mission.

Judgements about the correct kinds of work were also important in terms of spiritual authority. These women were not only discussing these matters of work and differentiating between good and bad work, or positive praise and sympathy for others, because they were invested in it or it affected them. They were also claiming to be themselves an authority on that work even when the men around them evidently did not listen, only to be brought ‘low’. This is an important finding, because traditional historiography on Quaker women suggests that women declined in public ‘work’ and instead were confined to authority over domestic matters. However, Martha shows that instead an idea of ‘business’ was compressed by her with all the labours which women undertook into a body of overall ‘cares’ which overlapped in every context in their everyday lives, between economic work, family, domesticity, and religious community. Rather than be separated, the deep emotional, affective, and spiritual meanings of the domestic were made integral to public works and leadership. When her cousin Tabitha was to be married, Martha Smith wrote to Susannah who was housing Tabitha that: ‘I hope she will be very careful now she leaves your comfortable dwelling […] I even do not wish her to change her situation for a husband. She is spared many cares which unavoidably fall to the lot of the head of a family’.[[436]](#footnote-436) For Martha these cares were all encompassing and covered familial and domestic duty as well as the burdens of economic and spiritual stability and success. The concept of the labour of ‘cares’ was interwoven with ideas about spiritual caring, which was what drew together and made meaningful every form of labour that women undertook. Pullin argues that Quaker female elders, called ‘Mothers of Israel’, were considered to ‘nurse’ the spirituality of the whole community, public and private.[[437]](#footnote-437) Martha, in suggesting that Tabitha would become ‘the head of a family’, in a similar way, emphasised that women were the head of all the different kinds of ‘care’ which encompassed work, children, community guidance and spirituality. Therefore, through ‘care’ these women could direct others to the best practices of life and work combined.

In uniting women’s own ‘cares’ with those of God for their people, Martha set up a direct link between her conceptualisation of the authority of herself and the women like Tabitha around her, over the labours of the community and God’s authority in giving them strength and prosperity. Martha, for example, shared with Susannah how she saw her religious life as a journey from ‘works to rewards’ in heaven, leaving behind children who would ‘breath the same language’ or in other words have the same aims and ethics passed to them.[[438]](#footnote-438) The letters themselves were a way to share this vision and to encourage others in it. God was conceptualised as the ultimate carer and guide for success in their duties and endeavours ‘as a tender father careing and strengthening for the duty of the day, so that on looking back well may I say ‘good is thy will and thy council is excellent’’.[[439]](#footnote-439) God’s care was constantly connected to prosperity, in both keeping them within the spiritual community and granting them fruitful lives.

This sentiment was also found in reflections regarding the care taken in rearing children who would successfully follow the spiritual path. If they were taught appropriately, they would therefore have both economic and religious success:

thy dear Mary paid us a very acceptable visit… the stability of her deportment plainly evinced to me that she had been preserved beyond many and I apprehend her mind is under a precious visitation, which felt like marrow to my bones, as I believed it would be to her tender parents whose watchful care over their offspring in this day of grevious liberty will I hope be crowned with success. [[440]](#footnote-440)

Martha wrote that her own father guided her on a path from material desires to communal and spiritual ones, saying that he ‘kept’ them as children ‘from many things we longed for’ and in doing so she was ‘blessed’.[[441]](#footnote-441) Martha suggested that she also felt the need to create and preserve successful Quaker children as a physical renewal in her bones, vital to her own bodily preservation and the health of the family. This imagery reflected the bodily manifestation of the spirit which was a hallmark of Quakerism and connected successive generations as part of the same body, whilst also signalling Martha’s personal lineage, relationships and aims for the family. The emotional aspect of these aims was the overall desire to keep the community unified and to encourage subjective experiences of faith which filled Martha with hope for the future. These aims and judgements are what guided the idea of suitable communal practices in both domestic and working practices.

This physical connection between the renewal of the body, such as ‘marrow’ in Martha’s bones, and care underlined Martha’s conception of her power as the guardian of the family. A successful member of the flock was the reward for the ‘care’ taken in inviting other children as boarders and having them placed ‘well’ within the society. The reward for this would be a supportive member of the society as well as a spiritual return. For example, she wrote about one young boy named John who was visiting with Susannah that, ‘I am quite pleased to hear so good an account of […] John he will requite you for the care and attention you have so kindly payed him’.[[442]](#footnote-442) Edwina Newman explores the familial networks of Quakers and their practices of endogamy, charting the ‘configuration’ of their particular family values, arguing these values privileged a spiritual nurturing of one another and extended out into the wider community.[[443]](#footnote-443) This reading of family also complements the ways in which spirituality underpinned the way in which Martha understood the importance of work and her identity in all its forms. She saw the women’s relational, domestic, and spiritual connections as being the correct focus for any meaningful work outside in industry or schooling, for their ‘cares’, to keep a balance on material gain. Therefore, all work was anchored by the deeply personal ‘care’ taken of the members of the family, based on what occurred from the moment of birth, which informed the correct, ‘pleasing’, path for relational, industrious, domestic, and spiritual and public work.

I argue that this idea of ‘care’ and desire to keep the community spiritually strong and together both physically and spiritually, influenced emotionally-made judgements about members of the community and their inclusion or fears about their potential exclusion. The pressing knowledge of the group’s minority status within society lent further feelings of resolve in Martha to make sure members of the group were uniform in their support of each other in all forms of work and spirituality. Not only did Martha judge the working practices of adult Quakers but Martha also made judgements about the ‘stamp’, or character, of each member: ‘although strength does not consist in numbers yet those of the right stamp are doubtless helpful unto another’.[[444]](#footnote-444) Judgements about children are also found in the other women’s writing. Taking in other people’s children, to teach them, communally share spiritual guidance and help other parents with childcare, was a common practice amongst the Quakers. In doing so, I argue that these Quaker women could judge early on who they thought would benefit the community or not and provide generational monitoring and management outside of direct family lines. Again writing to Susannah, Mary Routh complained about the child of Sally Waterhouse who she was looking after, writing: ‘she [the daughter] is going to Sheffield tomorrow and it really feels a great relief to me, she is quite too much of the gentlewoman to be pleasant to any of us’.[[445]](#footnote-445) Clearly the aims of trying to create a successful future generation of Quakers could be a burden and it could be a relief to relinquish the duty. Children could be judged for having the wrong ‘deportment’, in this case being accused of acting overly superior. The convergence of labour, households and relationships allowed for no distinctions to be made between different forms of labour, domestic and public, only between right and wrong attitudes and decisions regarding labour. It was imperative for the success of this small community that the right ‘stamp’ or attitude prevailed. Bad labour was that which was not directed by the right relational, emotional and spiritual compass; the difference between ‘cares’ and ‘toils’. Conversely those women who Martha saw as undertaking labour in the right ways, even if they were overwrought, were marked by praise: ‘cousin Hoyle she has a busy family but gets through it wonderfully’, she wrote, adding in comparison with the Camms that ‘my dear sister Camm seemed much overdone’.[[446]](#footnote-446) Emotions of sympathy, concern, and judgement were used to underscore the moral outlook on any form of labour. It was these emotions which were used to characterise the boundaries between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ kinds of work, who was judged or who deserved concern, rather than any differences between the activities of work or home. This was partly dictated by the emotional aims which the women read into the impetus to do the work.

Significantly, the most exacting judgements, reprimands and disappointments were reserved for male failings, because men were considered by these women to not have the same recourse to an overlapping body of ‘cares’ and to be in greater danger of being of the wrong ‘stamp’. Martha judged new male members of the community with caution, writing about one new family: ‘John Heppenstall and his sister Sarah are both admitted into membership, she looked very agreeable and I believe he is worthy [of] a place among us if he keeps his integrity’.[[447]](#footnote-447) This concern with ‘integrity’ connected to rash decisions or public work which were tainted by the ‘grievous liberty’ or selfishness which Martha feared the wider world and its ‘politics’ provoked: ‘Brother Rd does not talk of returning but wants us all to remove to America he has not yet done with politicks - I should be glad that day was come’.[[448]](#footnote-448) Martha’s personal relationships with men were held in tension with her concern for excessive worldliness or materialism.

Martha appraised male children of members and new male members who applied to join the community in her letters to other women. She did so with this caution of male frailty and persuasive worldly immorality in mind. However, these judgements were also based on individual conclusions made about known acquaintances rather than only influenced by a generalised fear of male weakness. Martha noted about some new members to Susannah that, ‘The 2 daughters are hopeful, but the son is far too like his father’.[[449]](#footnote-449) The most common ‘hope’ was that the men around them would serve to be ‘useful’ or ‘helpful’ to the women who were the most diligent in serving their spiritual, and by default economical, cause: ‘I hope Cousin J Ecroyd is helpful to thee’. [[450]](#footnote-450) Martha suggested her own marriage and work had been successful because of her ‘dear husband being my very efficient companion’: he was efficient because he supported *her* cares, works and labours.[[451]](#footnote-451) Similar judgements were made when members of the community wished to be married. Mary Routh commented often on the couples who presented themselves for marriage at the meetings, communicating to Susannah her approvals but also her reservations on how they seemed:

dear Nancy Wilson she also paid us a pleasant visit she is really a nice young woman and very suitable for a farmer's wife I much approve of the young man's choice but think they are very deliberate about their matters Nancy does not seem to take a pattern of a couple who were courting at Doncaster when she was here (visiting).[[452]](#footnote-452)

Moreover, Mary Routh also had displeased and critical appraisals for fathers who stood in the way of marriages, such as John Dillworth who ‘set his face’ against the marriage of his daughter Lydia to William Jepson. Mary stressed that her sympathy lay with Lydia and that she believed women should be able to make such decisions, writing to Susannah about Lydia: ‘poor thing I pity her - it has been a trying thing to her […] She is old enough to judge for herself in the matter’.[[453]](#footnote-453) Mary also emphasised the role which the community could play to put pressure on such fathers because such tensions played out publicly in the community, writing: ‘I think it is a pity he should carry it so far […] and I think it looks oddly in the world's eye’.[[454]](#footnote-454) The way emotions frame the way Martha and Mary wrote about men in this community shows how women could view power structures in their community and households and used emotions such as hope, sympathy and doubt to navigate these structures of inclusion and exclusion based on usefulness, authority, and integrity. This suggests Martha saw women’s interests as the central focus in that community and as arbiters of the communal and civic over men and without them.

Men were treated with caution with the understanding that they had more opportunity to be worldly which meant that men could easily be led off course. The gratitude felt towards women who would turn children, especially male children, into ‘useful’ members of the society and society at large was palpable between the women in the letters. Martha wrote to Susannah saying, ‘I was very glad you took John it was a great relief to his father’s mind and very kind to take him so young but I hope he will soon grow to be useful’.[[455]](#footnote-455) Moreover, however pessimistic their judgements on men might seem, Martha also signalled she felt distress that some men had be brought low to halt their waywardness. After visiting a sick Friend Martha wrote ‘I have had some close work with Cousin William…his situation is sorrowful. Sometimes I think sickness might bring him back again though he has gone so astray’.[[456]](#footnote-456) This desperate wish belies the very personal distress Martha felt for a wayward relation, not only was he moving away from the community but also herself, and she felt a crisis such as sickness would give him an opportunity for a renewal of both faith and Friendship. Personal relationships were underscored by a communal need to draw men constantly back from being outside of the community, ruination, and worldliness. The emotions in the accounts of these women show how Martha thought it was important to police the boundaries of ruinous public life and determine what good work meant out in the world, work which was sanctioned by usefulness to the community. The women were the ones who would bring people back from the brink of that divide but who also felt keenly for those who might leave and therefore be out of their sphere of care.

Though it has been well documented that different religious communities in the period set their own rules about the boundaries of public and private, and that the importance of the domestic and familial in industry is clear, this section has explored how these Quaker women set their own rules for work and the boundaries of public and private, good, and bad, through emotion. The threads of family, spirituality and work were indivisibly bound together for these women.[[457]](#footnote-457) The body of ‘cares’ which directed the actions of these women’s lives not only overlapped between public and private but made the ‘cares’ of the household and community of fundamental importance to anything that happened outside in the world. These emotional boundaries defined their aims in their households and work and their roles, and identities in their communities. From emotional judgements on the ethics of good and bad kinds of economic gain, which used the domestic to blur the boundaries of work inside and outside the home, to teaching the next generation and setting women up as guides for the community, the emotional and personal was the central structure for how these Quaker women operated. This was a shared way to structure their relationships, businesses, and religious community but this common concept wove the deeply personal into how to understand and live in the world. Martha Smith and the other women used their understanding of their relationships and knowledge of the personalities of the men and children around them to influence their judgements about work and educational endeavours and maintain their idea of women’s authority. Personal feelings of loss and disappointment in family or community members who moved to America or outside of the support of the Friends affected how they responded collectively and defined the ethics of the ‘best’ kind of work which was altogether in the community. The personal bonds which these women set up between them and which used their families as an anchor for public work, were therefore, what Martha saw as the pinnacle of good working practice and structured what women made happen in the community and out of it. As the next section will show these personal connections were taken by these Quaker women specifically as evidence of their connection to a wider idea of spirituality as well.

### **‘That union and communion which the world knows not of’: The Emotional Connections of Relationships and Quietism within the ‘World’[[458]](#footnote-458)**

Unsurprisingly, scriptural references were part of Quaker common discourse and framed the way they spoke to one another. The Quaker women in this chapter talked about their spirituality in emotional ways which were not shared by the other women’s writings in this thesis. Most of the mentions of God or scripture using emotion by the other women in this thesis were used as either religious colloquialism, such as ‘thank God’ or ‘God knows’ or to give thanks or express either fear or relief in various circumstances. Examples of this include the Orlebar women’s expressions of thankfulness at illness passing or repetition of comforting platitudes about deliverance in death or Gertrude Savile’s wish for deliverance from her household.[[459]](#footnote-459) The Orlebar women also recorded their diligent church attendance as a part of their weekly familial activities. This, and the use of religious language in education, can be seen as part of the Protestant religious milieu which was embedded in most eighteenth-century people’s domestic lives and transcended denominational boundaries in the everyday, as described by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie.[[460]](#footnote-460) There is an evident connection between religious and emotional ‘spirit’, where emotion is often a vehicle to describe religious thoughts, being moved by the spirit, and part of the milieu of religious practice in the everyday. However, this section argues that emotions were not just the way in which spirituality was described by these Quaker women, in which tropes were evidently shared across denominations, but the way the language was used was understood as representative of specific kinds of spirituality connected to their religious practice: emotions were evidence of specific Quietist spiritual practices at work.

Emotions are expectedly and evidently an important way in which spiritual principles are experienced by people and a vital avenue to embed faith into people’s lives. It is important to attend to the different ways in which emotions and faith came together and characterised interpretations of faith for different religious groups in England from the early modern period into the eighteenth century. Alec Ryrie and Hannah Newton attest that some of the lived ways in which emotion and faith intertwined in the everyday, such as thankfulness for deliverance and faith in hope during illness, private prayer and contemplation. [[461]](#footnote-461) Hopes for rest from travail and heavenly reward, repentance, desire and joy were shared across confessional groups in the period and make undistinguishable the boundaries between different denominations, conformists or non-conformists.[[462]](#footnote-462) Katie Barclay shows the importance of religious principles and emotion in relationships in how the religious principle of caritas shaped relational interactions and ideas of love and charity.[[463]](#footnote-463) The Quakers evidently shared some points of similarity with other Christian groups in these ways, using language and education as a vehicle for embedding religious principles and sharing many of the above emotional religious tropes in their everyday lives. However, whilst occurrences like illness or death, prayer and education were shared across all the women studied here, more attention needs to be taken about how the language of emotion was a method of embedding interpretations of specific religious principles and spiritual ideas into the everyday lives of members of different denominations.

As Phyllis Mack asserts for Methodists in the period, studying emotions shows variances to abstract ideas and stereotypical views of Methodists as repressed and being without agency, who did not partake in cultural discourses of sensibility.[[464]](#footnote-464) Mack instead argues that Methodists actively engaged with and questioned their spiritual lives, they expressed happiness, subjectivity and freedom through self-discipline rather than repression.[[465]](#footnote-465) The Quakers were also undoubtedly set apart by eschewing formal creeds and church structures and by focusing much more intently on the community as an ‘organism’ of spirituality rather than individuality. They wished for themselves to be apart from the rest of the world and were persecuted accordingly. The emphasis on their shared language reflects their focus on simplicity and inward, subjective, faith rather than outward religious practices.[[466]](#footnote-466) As Michael Plugh writes, for Quakers ‘the centre is everywhere’ and the constant requirement to be one with God was what unified them and was meant to be at the heart of all they did.[[467]](#footnote-467) It is important, then, to consider how emotions helped embed different religious practices into daily lives and communities and reinforced religious identities across the social spectrum in the period. It is also vital, like Mack, to explore how emotions show how people experienced their spirituality and the various ways this could be expressed, to understand how religious principles worked in the everyday. This is especially prescient for Quakers who, unlike other religious groups, sought to move away from collective ritual, to instead be collectively quiet, to retrieve a connection to God without the barriers of any visual or physical senses but leaving room for personal interpretations of contemplation whilst maintaining a consensus and a coherent community at the heart of the movement. This section argues that commonalities of experiences in relationships, such as being apart, combined with acknowledging bonds of affection between people, were used to demonstrate Quietism at work for these women. I argue that by using relationships to characterise their spirituality at work, these women justified their feeling relationships in the world, in ways which other denominations did not have to do.

Much has been written on the formulaic and antiquated way in which eighteenth-century Quakers wrote and spoke. Hailing one another using ‘thou’ or using terms like ‘knoweth’ or overtly biblical rhetoric sets these letters apart from the way in which other women wrote in the correspondence analysed in this thesis, even when other letters or diaries referenced biblical metaphors or religious tropes. Many reasons have been suggested for this distinctiveness of Quaker prose, including how early Quakers used ‘plain speech’ to set themselves apart and underscore piety in the everyday, and how this kind of speech could be radical in its egalitarianism and avoidance of submissive pronouns.Moreover, this language was unifying, giving all the community of Friends a common dialect to use and a rhetoric that was built on inspiring others in spiritual formation and prophesizing. [[468]](#footnote-468) Sheila Wright, Carme Font Paz and Michele Lise Tarter argue that in comparisons of men’s and women’s rhetoric, the biblical language and shared language gave women access to a linguistic framework and social support to create their authoritative voice.[[469]](#footnote-469) All of these suggestions indicate a group consensus in language and practice. A formulaic expression of spirituality was lived everyday through words and used to linguistically enclose and support the community.

However, in understanding the principles of this language use, there also needs to be an exploration of how individual Quakers used such language and what it meant to them: how they applied and understood the principles of this communal expression. In particular, the emotional context and use of such formulaic, biblical rhetoric shows how the personal and relational were central to how these women understood religious practices and principles in their own lives, especially regarding an understanding of Quietism. There is a consensus, described by Judith Jennings and Edwina Newman, that there was a shift in Quakerism from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century from a focus on ‘endtime to meantime’, or a change from apocalyptic eagerness to patient waiting for the end of the world. [[470]](#footnote-470) This resulted in a rise in Quietist practices and ‘uniformity in discipline’ which renewed the focus on spiritual retirement from the wider world, into marriage and domesticity.[[471]](#footnote-471) Robynne Rogers Healey contends that during this period radicalism and enthusiasm were replaced by waiting for the spirit and in turn introspection and restraint was lauded, suggesting ‘Quakers abjured anything sensory or worldly as leading to divine revelation’.[[472]](#footnote-472) Ben Pink Dandelion has described this period as ‘a third period of Quaker Theology’ and argues this theology insisted on a significant division between the physical and spiritual; the natural, including the physical self, could be corrupted and that therefore one must look only to the soul and the mystical for deliverance.[[473]](#footnote-473) These observations have led to extensive accounts of widespread Quaker practices in the period: silences at meetings, uniformity of introspective culture and plain dressing which further set the community apart as a subculture. Studies of these widespread practices have concluded that the eighteenth century represents a passive era of Quakerism or conversely an inward enthusiasm which required ‘ceaseless practice’ to achieve ‘self-discipline and a regulated environment’.[[474]](#footnote-474) Moreover, this response to wider society is seen to have defined how the Quakers viewed ‘the world’ and aimed to separate themselves from it. Not speaking and using letters as a medium for the spirit was part of this endeavour. Quietism is often looked at in terms of anxiety about mixing with the wider world and enforced separation due to the distrust and persecution they faced in wider society which meant they enclosed their communities.[[475]](#footnote-475) Dandelion suggests that Quietist Quakers mistrusted their own selves, their emotions and motives and delayed all physical desires, including marriage, cautiously looking for signs of divine intervention, keenly aware and fearful that they had to diligently wait on the natural plane.[[476]](#footnote-476) However, these important accounts have rested mainly on theological readings of Quaker printed texts and often upon the prevalent exhortations about outward conduct and codes of behaviour found throughout these texts.[[477]](#footnote-477)

Douglas A. Kline argues that Quakers were faced with a challenge between doctrinal unity and incorporating individual experiences of faith, because they did not adhere to formal creeds or religious hierarchies that established religious meaning.[[478]](#footnote-478) Kline suggests that the shared language use and tropes such as journey metaphors, allowed for ongoing subjective explorations which embedded faith into Quaker lives and created a shared sense of belief whilst allowing for subjective interpretations.[[479]](#footnote-479) Edwina Newman argues that when considering the familial relationships of Quakers one must consider their understanding of ‘the additional layer of the Quaker community between the individual family and wider society’ and that ‘religious affiliation’ should be considered alongside and inextricable from domesticity and hereditary ties.[[480]](#footnote-480) Whilst knowledge of a Quaker homogeneity in terms of association with a wider group has been established, what has been underexplored is the impact of the idea of spiritual bonds to a larger community of Quakers on everyday relationships and experiences for these women.[[481]](#footnote-481) As this section argues, it is those everyday relationships which influenced an idea of unseen bonds to a larger spiritual body, reflected in the language the women used.

Previous historiography about Quaker women and their affective ties has often focused on the social structures and networks in which Quaker women participated. Pullin’s work on Quaker women’s relationships is the most recent to underscore how Quaker women sought friendships with each other as a defining facet of their experiences as Quakers.[[482]](#footnote-482) Spiritual commonality was the foundation for friendships and Quaker women had different kinds of social activities in friendships to the norms of visiting and social exchange among other women due to restrictions and anxieties about frivolity which meant they put a greater focus on conversation and letter writing.[[483]](#footnote-483) These friendships based on shared faith were a means of support, solidarity and inspiration, of a chosen family and cohesion in their social circles.[[484]](#footnote-484) Rather than charting these networks and their impact on wider political or social structures and radicalism, this section seeks to explore how these Quaker women themselves felt about their relationships and what the emotions they used to demonstrate the experiences of practical Quaker life and participation within wider understandings of Quakerism.

Most importantly, this section argues that personal feelings about relationships informed these individuals’ understandings of generalised Quaker spiritual concepts, explicitly Quietism. Central to the influence which relationships had on the conception of spiritual ideas was the importance of separation and unity in the relationships of these Quaker women. Separation was a central experience of these women’s personal and familial relationships and is echoed across all the chapters in this thesis. Almost all the women studied here were affected by being separated from family and friends in some way, influencing their emotional outlook on their relationships. Although letters I study exist only because of separations, the letters show how prolonged and normal separations were, and the diaries I have looked at reflect that being separated from family and friends was a norm as well. For these Quaker women, the feelings and emotion terms they used when separated from family and community were also shaped by wider religious ideas, especially Quietism. This took the sadness of being separated from both circles of Friends and more personal friends and used it to inform an understanding that deep feeling for family and Friends was representative of a higher spiritual bond between people outside of the physical world. Significantly, separation as a shared aspect of relationships across the Quaker community was used as one of the structures which broader principles of Quietism could be built around. Moreover, highly personal connections fed the notion of spiritual closeness between people. This is something which has been underexplored in examinations of the general structures and practices of contemporary Quaker culture.

Social dispersal and travel were a cornerstone of physical spiritual social engagement within this Quaker community. Members of Martha’s family and religious community travelled as far as America and itinerant preaching was a foundation of the movement. Martha herself took a long trip to Ireland to visit and speak at meetings there.More habitually members of each strand of the Clarke, Hoyle, Hawley, Routh, and Smith families structured their year around travelling to different religious meetings. Meetings were the site of Quaker sociability and the fundamental physical link between Quakers, their families, and the wider community of Friends. They are often the focus of studies which examine the public role of the communal Quaker network.[[485]](#footnote-485) The women often went with members of their family and there encountered old and new members of the fold, caught up with the news of their acquaintances, advised on marital and commercial transactions, publicly addressed the meeting, kept silent together, and reconnected spiritually with the wider Quaker organisation.

Travelling to meetings and having a family spread across the country and sending children to school and board with others, meant that physically the women and their relations were separated often and for lengthy periods. Ann Hawley’s letter to her niece Mary Hawley who was away at school highlights how much Mary was out of the loop of her immediate familial circle: ‘Perhaps thou may not have heard that thy mother and I was at our monthly meeting at Leicester in 6 months’, she wrote.[[486]](#footnote-486) Frances Hawley, Mary’s much younger sibling also wrote to her sister when she herself was away at school, of her joy at looking forward to returning home: ‘It wants sixteen weeks to coming home, not to return to school again, and I look forward to it with the greatest pleasure imaginable. Home sweet source of all our pleasures/ Home resounds in joyous measures/ Happy happy happy home’.[[487]](#footnote-487) Clearly home was the source of joy for these girls, who saw being reunited as ‘happiness’ regardless of how useful the situation in which they were placed in away from home was. The possibility of returning to their original families and communities, whilst making new ties with other families, was the thread that connected them with their home whilst they were away.

What is clear through the letters is that this distribution of the family across Britain, whilst fundamental to support and maintain the movement and its extensive goals, could also provoke negative emotions. Travelling and separation constantly affected these women’s social and familial relationships. Houses without family in could be ‘gloomy’ and hopes about seeing friends and relations were often dashed. Martha noted with disappointed that she would not see a Friend, ‘C:H intended being last 6th day at Sheffield I should have been much pleased to see her at Doncaster but I suppose that is out of the question at present’, and when her family were away she wrote, ‘really Edgend now appears so gloomy one way or other the better part of our house being quite uninhabited’. [[488]](#footnote-488) Mary Routh noted to Susannah that she desired to visit Susannah’s house stating: ‘their habitation and that of my beloved cousin Hawley's are the two I should most wish to visit - at some time I live in hope I may accomplish my desire’.[[489]](#footnote-489) These exchanges about wishful thinking and disappointment served to keep connections between the women alive through expressed desires whilst underlining the unlikelihood of meeting up. This was very different to the disappointment felt about those who went out of reach to America and did not correspond with Martha, having the ability to be near each other and to continue to have engagement through letters was vital. Even when they were near each other, circumstances often conspired against visits: Martha reported to Susanna, ‘being within so short a distance and not being able to see my endeared cousins, I had quite set my heart on it and therefore feel the more disappointed’.[[490]](#footnote-490) Terms like ‘desire’ and ‘disappointed’, ‘hope’ and ‘heart’ emphasised that these wishes were the personal desires of the women, which were only wishes because they were all too often beholden to more pressing concerns and aims. All the women discussed in this thesis were affected by separations in some form and the emotional ramifications of wishes and disappointment are all strikingly similar, suggesting that there was a unifying culture of sadness in separation which characterised many women’s lives in this period. The impetus and consequence of these separations were, however, different for different women: Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson felt disappointment in missing out on true friends because they prioritised social ambition, for these Quaker women their spiritual requirements and the needs of the wider community and its needs came first.[[491]](#footnote-491) The point is not that these Quakers talked about separation a lot, which is unsurprising, but that they talked about it in remarkable ways which underscored their spirituality.

The way these Quaker women used religious language in these letters when discussing the emotional ramifications of such separations reveals the ways in which these relationships explicitly informed their conception of Quietism. Naomi Pullin suggests that because of the often great divide between Quakers, letters provided the best way for friendships to take form and thrive, using shared, rousing, prophetic language to inspire each other and giving women a space to imagine intimacy and friendship.[[492]](#footnote-492) The letters also provided a safe space outside of physical social activities which might have provided anxiety as to whether having fun with friends fit Quietist principles of removing oneself from the worldly.[[493]](#footnote-493) Katherine Damiano argues that in repression or surrender to struggles, Quakers found comfort and guidance and helped others with their own doubts.[[494]](#footnote-494) Whilst this is perhaps overly simplistic, Damiano highlights the need to consider how Quakers themselves felt about the mediation of their feelings and a call to passivity. The way that Martha used her emotions to understand a spiritual element to being separated from her loved ones shows how Quaker women responded to ideas about Quietism and how they shaped them in their own lives.

Naomi Pullin suggests that in their anxiety to make sure that friendships fit within Quietist principles, Quaker women based their friendships on having mutual faith and the idea of sharing souls.[[495]](#footnote-495) In this way they could align the bonds of friendship with the intangible and sacred connection Quietist practices were supposed to create with God and communal paths to salvation.[[496]](#footnote-496) Letters could become part of that practice in the imagination of Quaker women.[[497]](#footnote-497) The findings presented in this chapter uphold this and show that the concept of Quietism could be used to actively find ways to make connections with those they loved across time and space, in the world, and justify sensory feelings for each other as special and different to other outside worldly interactions. Moreover, that this was not only about imagining friendships as spiritual but using the strong emotions felt for others as a symbol of personal Quietism in action. These women’s emotions suggest that rather than anxiety being the main emotion which provided the boundary between them and the world, public and private, these women drew that boundary according to how they felt about each other. I argue that affection for their family and community over the rest of the world drew the line between themselves and the wider world. The emotions felt for loved ones were not mistrusted or disciplined but justified as a form of spirituality which contrasted with the rest of the world.

For Martha, her spirituality and Quietist practices were unquestionably informed by her feelings towards others and under the pressure of the context of being often separated, she wrote to Susannah that, ‘I should love frequently to visit, did not so many miles separate us, however, I may say, I often visit you sweetly in spirit and I trust we feel that precious unity, which will never have an end’.[[498]](#footnote-498) Martha’s conceptualisation of her spirit shows how she presented her personal desires to see her cousin as evidence of their metaphysical unity and spiritual connection over distances. In another letter Martha shared the same concept with Susannah. Their affectionate connection was characterised by lack of physical interaction it was therefore sanctioned and evidence of spirituality at work, as Martha wrote:

Thy letter my beloved cousin was truly grateful to hear of the welfare of thee and thine always gives me satisfaction and though we have little outward intercourse yet that at seasons is felt which needs not the medium of words, and under this precious feeling my mind salutes thee, believing we are both desirous to be journeying forward, towards the land of rest and peace, and if obedient to divine requirings, shall I do believe be joined together never more to separate, soothing and refreshing hope. to my weary spirit this evening.[[499]](#footnote-499)

Martha often described her spirituality as a ‘precious feeling’ or spiritual ‘visitation’ which was connected intimately to the affection and intangible connection between her and Susannah. Moreover, this spiritual feeling was shaped by an acknowledgement that Martha’s ‘precious’ feelings for Susannah were felt at any distance and needed no words or outward demonstration, other than the letters, and would be rewarded with them being together forever in the afterlife.

‘The world’ was an abstract concept which Martha Smith returned to a few times over the course of her correspondence with Susanna Hawley. Martha used the term to separate her private feelings, especially regarding her home and family from other contexts and activities, using the saying that the feelings she felt for Susannah were ones which ‘the world knoweth not of’. The phrase used the signifiers of standard Quaker rhetoric used to separate Quakers from the wider world in acknowledging that those outside of the fold were not understanding, and that the Quakers operated on a spiritual rather than worldly path. However, Martha united this Quietist principle with her own personal feelings of affection which were kept only to herself and select others, away from the rest of the ‘World’. When she returned home from ministering abroad, Martha described her personal feelings about the private, perhaps inner, peace she found at home, away from the rest of the world, and in the satisfaction of having discharged her public spiritual duty: ‘I may now proceed to say that after a travel of upward of 2000 miles by sea and land I reached my much longed for home last 2nd day with heartfelt satisfaction and the enjoyment of that peace which the world knoweth not of’’.[[500]](#footnote-500) Most importantly, Martha used this phrase to separate her feelings and heart away from ‘the world’, suggesting her feelings transcended space and were directed specifically and spiritually at her family. In this way, her personal spirituality was not the boundary between herself and the world, but her family and her feelings for them were the sign of where the boundary lay.

Affection and love, as Katie Barclay argues, was a very common way to show religious principles in action and in fact to discipline relationships.[[501]](#footnote-501) Affectionate and religious language, such as highlighting the communion of souls or perfection of love, joined together the spiritual, legal and hierarchical aspects of love, and could be used to indicate that relationships were the right kinds of love according to spiritual principles across denominations.[[502]](#footnote-502) However, it is important to consider what love then meant particularly for these Quakers. Martha’s affection became the guiding principle for Quietism in action, citing her strong affection as evidence of Godly visitation because a loving God had to come before everything and therefore to make her love for her relatives part of that love was to make this affection part of the evidence of the spirit. She reinforced spiritual unity and affection over distance and time, to comfort her over that distance and to justify that distance as well, as a fundamentally important part of her spiritual life and introspection. It is striking that her conceptualisation of being joined with Susannah’s soul over geographical distance was markedly different to the frustration she mentioned when discussing her relatives in America. This was due to a reciprocal, consistent, exchange of letters between Martha and Susannah and the idea that they were both kindred spirits, aligned in spiritual principles and on the same path whilst the relatives in America had strayed from it into the world. She spoke often of feelings ‘the world knoweth not of’ regarding her affection for Susannah and the ability to share it in their letters, ‘we have but little outward communication, but I often visit thee my beloved cousin, in that love which I hope will survive the grave, thou feels often near my best life and it is precious to feel that union and communion which the world knows not of’.[[503]](#footnote-503) This performative declaration of spirituality and love for Susannah signalled Martha’s expressed belief that their emotions for each other transcended their separated, imperfect, earthly, bodies. Importantly, seeing such love was a form of ‘communion’ with their spirit, which the Quakers believed was the ‘inner light’ or source of God within people which moved within them. These women needed to justify their love not only to be spiritually correct, but to be able to express affection in the first place, in the ‘world’, in ways which other denominations did not have to do. Where other ideas of Christian love were, as Barclay shows, policed by being public, this Quaker love was centred around private and personal connection. The importance of love to these Quaker women made this emotion central to their personal idea of Quietism.

Martha’s feelings towards her family were informed by notions of the spiritual purity and the preciousness of familial unity, which separated them from the rest of the world. Her use of the word ‘hope’ is important, in that it indicated insecurity: she did not know for sure that they would be joined after death and the word ‘hope’ was used to urge the family to remain steadfast in their spiritual accord, in this intervening time, which would secure their reward of togetherness in the afterlife. This was a bittersweet sentiment, as it emphasised a wait for death or apocalypse to be the constant companions that Martha wished to be. This hope was also tinged with the anxiety that any spiritual decay would not allow for reward, this fear was not merely anxiety for herself but also for her family which added extra pressure to making sure she and they lived their lives according to spiritual direction. Her idea of a ‘best life’ indicated the separation between the life she lived every day and her spiritual life: her ‘best life’ was the one which was inner, private, in her imagined spiritual and emotional union with her family, in her writing and meditation on affection for them. Mary Routh expressed similar sentiments about unspoken, Quietist, feelings when she thought about her Uncle Richard and niece Lucy in a remembrance which she described as unspoken but forever cherished: ‘the remembrance of the intercourse we had with him and our beloved Lucy may well be sweetly cherished by us and long will be remembered I hope many ways tho perhaps not often expressed in words’.[[504]](#footnote-504) Familial love expressed in letters, not spoken words, was a tool which Martha and Mary used not only to maintain relationships but also to preserve religious continuity and set them apart from the worldly.

The anxiety about the preservation of religious permanence through affection was clear when Martha discussed passing on emotional and spiritual stability to the next generation: ‘I should love our tender lambs to love one another as well as their parents do, Oh! It is both good and pleasant, how do I feel it flow even while writing- it is an intercourse that the world knoweth not of’.[[505]](#footnote-505) Martha and Mary saw the act of not having to speak which would break the silence of the world, but letting the emotion flow from the pen, as testament to the continued flow of Quakerism. Almost all faith expressions in the period relied on reinforcing bonds between people, such as marital and household relationships, to centre religion in everyday lives. However, these Quakers are distinct in conceptualising relational bonds as the actual embodiment of their spirituality and the thing which set them apart in the world. This allowed these women to condone open expression, connecting a communal biblical language which separated the Quakers from the rest of the world to their personal feelings in their lived contexts. This could only be realised in the close bonds which this group of women created in their personal lives. An idea of a secret, sacred, and enduring love for others was the boundary between physical worldly affection and spiritual communion between these Quakers. Moreover, categorising personal emotions as something uniquely spiritual also sanctioned personal feelings as spiritual rather than worldly. This gave permission to these women to see those one loved or to focus on those one cared about over others. Therefore, the boundaries of the community were decided by affection. A potentially dangerous, worldly, feeling like affection, which could be bound to physical people and therefore cloud metaphysical purity or inner spirituality, was sanctioned by being portrayed as evidence of that spirituality for other Quakers who one could feel strongly for in the world.

Edwina Newman and Judith Jenning’s survey of the historiographical perspectives on British Quaker women highlights that while the rise of Quietism over the eighteenth century has been well documented, how women responded particularly to the concept of Quietism has not been scrutinised. [[506]](#footnote-506) This section has shown not only how women could respond to the idea of Quietism and practice it, but that emotions connected to affectionate relationships were a way of conceptualising and practicing this form of withdrawn spirituality. The emotions that the women expressed in their letters demonstrate how individuals felt about Quietism. Emotions guided how to practice Quietism, negotiated what was correctly sensory and helped women conceive the boundary between the ‘worldly’ and what constituted the ‘world’ in their everyday lives. Rather than base that boundary on anxiety about interacting with the wider world, this chapter has shown that this boundary was based on positive emotions such as love and affection and was more outward looking at relationships over space and time than it is characterised by other historians. Emotions therefore were distinctly spiritual for these women and deeply connected to personal, micro, contexts, and interacted with much bigger ideas of strengthened communal faith and of understanding where they stood, with those they loved, in relation to a public world.

### **Conclusion**

From feelings about who was taking on what kinds of work, the usefulness of Friends to how affection went beyond the physical world: emotions in relationships helped these Quaker women organise their world, understand the difference between public and private and decide what was spiritual practice. The strictures of Quaker life and the need to be separate from the ‘world’ might have meant that Quakers felt anxiety in partaking in public business or that personal relationships could be too affectionate and worldly. However, studying the emotion terms used by these Quaker women has shown how they used the personal contexts of their lives and emotional judgements to justify building public businesses and maintain deep attachments to each other. The judgements made between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ work or ‘toil’ and ‘working together for good’ display how emotions connected the importance of community and family in the domestic with the notion of good public business practices. Economic success was not the impetus for business, instead the emotional focus was on strengthening the community and using prosperity as evidence of the strength of family and spirituality. These women used their feelings attached to personal, domestic, relationships and the community to inform what could be ‘good’ public actions and in doing so upheld their own authority as best placed guardians over all the ‘cares’ of home, community, and labour. This authority over a body of ‘cares’ which overlapped public and private and notions of themselves as ‘heads of the family’, gave some of these women ways into public ministry. They claimed that they had authority of judgement over men in their community who were deemed too spiritually frail and ambitious for the world and who needed supervision and guidance to be ‘useful’. They also used emotions to define the boundaries of the private and public, through their relationships to one another.

Importantly, emotions show how these women used personal contexts to shape the Quaker community’s own rules about the distinctions between public and private. This is not unique to Quaker communities but by examining the emotions of the women this chapter has shown the specific ways these women emotionally conceived of what was public and private. This in turn informed specifically Quaker ideas about the world and religious practice, especially regarding what Quietist practices could be in everyday life and how they were attached to personal feelings for people. Analyzing the emotion used in these Quaker women’s rhetoric about spiritual life shows how this was achieved through imagining personal relationships as divine connections. Personal contexts and emotions were also tested by the separations and the demands of religious life. By making the personal and emotional spiritual, Quakerism and Quietism allowed for the emotions between people to become the heart of their ideas of personal religious expression. Quietism was used and had meaning in the everyday lives of these women to help them reflect on certain tensions in their relationships and to define what abstract religious principles meant in practice. Emotions, therefore, give a distinctive way into understanding Quaker practices and how they were deeply connected to these women’s immediate micro contexts.

# Chapter Four

# Common Words, Shared Meanings? Bridging the Small Scale and the Grand Narrative for Emotion Words and their Connotations

The previous chapters have focused on individual women, grouped by their social or religious background. This chapter brings the women together. This chapter will compare and contrast the way the women used and understood the emotional terms they shared. This chapter compares the women’s personal use of shared emotion terms in their immediate contexts with some wider cultural readings of the same terms. In doing so, this chapter moves outwards from the micro focus but, importantly, shows how a sustained study of discrete terms can add to bigger ideas about eighteenth-century society and culture. The method of this thesis enabled the detailed analysis and reconstruction of emotion meaning in localised contexts in the previous chapters. This method and that previous analysis makes the detailed comparison of language and context across all the women possible in this chapter. This chapter exemplifies the possibilities of using the method of this thesis and concentrating on potential wider readings of emotion conventions in the period and over time by focusing on the localised meaning of terms. This comparative analysis addresses some wider meanings of emotions in the culture of the period and explores how and why aspects of wider culture might have played out in lived contexts and experiences of emotions.

This chapter focuses on three examples. Each section of this chapter examines an emotion term that all the women used. Importantly, the women used different media - letters and diaries - with different impetuses and ideas of reception to express these terms and therefore it is significant that they used the same language and important to compare how they did so. These terms are ‘obligation’, ‘comfort’ and ‘poor’. I examine how the women used these terms, analysing similarities or differences in their emotional meaning. I also outline the generally accepted consensus about the meanings of the terms in wider culture. Each term was attached to emotional concepts in wider culture. ‘Obligation’, for example, was attached to feelings about social and material exchanges and power structures in society; ‘comfort’ was connected to feelings about religion, material goods, and relational ties; ‘poor’, used as an adjective rather than a noun, appraised negative situations and was connected to sympathy. I compare the women’s own usage and understanding of these terms in the context of the apparent consensus of meanings found widespread in wider culture. I examine connections between this wider usage and how the women’s use varied, comparing what individual adaptations of the terms in context might add to an understanding of these terms and the bigger social and cultural ideas they contained. In exploring how each of the women understood and used these expressions, this chapter will bolster historians’ understandings of the ways that these terms were used and understood across eighteenth-century society and what this might have meant for experiences.

In doing this, the chapter advances the study of the reciprocal nature of the articulation and development of emotion language between individuals in their immediate contexts and wider culture, through focusing on the localised. This chapter underscores the importance of emotion terms as expressions which hold personal meanings to women in their contexts as well as cultural significance.[[507]](#footnote-507) I will demonstrate aspects of the interaction between the small scale and wider perspective and, specifically, how the smaller scale can affect historians’ understanding of the wider meaning and use of such terms and concepts. By focusing on the level of the women and choosing the words they used often and shared, rather than choosing an emotion model first and looking at how it was applied, I can show what wider modes of emotion were recurrent across these women, why they were being used and in what context. This will show how this use impacts the understanding of those wider models of emotion in culture and society over time. This does not just show more complexity in understanding emotion meaning in the period, but demonstrates how a localised study can reveal greater things about those broader models of emotion in the period. By using a method which explores relational and aim-related influences on emotion meaning, which is a different starting point to other analyses of emotion norms in the period, I can also consider how the terms were connected to how these women thought about their relationships, their own positions and what they wanted to achieve. This also holds some inferences for thinking about the connections between individuals and their emotions, how wider emotion norms were presented in relational ways or used to reflect ideas of embodied feelings such as comfort and discomfort.

The women studied in this thesis shared some characteristics: their perceived gender; being propertied in some way, from smaller households to estates; and, apart from the Quakers, following Anglican religious standards. These connections are considered throughout as to how they might have affected shared experiences and meaning where there are strong similarities in how words were being used. The women’s language also often reflects influence from some cultural trends documented in the period, such as polite culture and the culture of sensibility. The culture of ‘politeness’, especially when discussing socialising or ways of behaving in social settings, is considered carefully in this chapter. ‘Politeness’ is a well-examined mode of behaviour in the eighteenth century. The general overview proposed by Lawrence Klein is that polite modes of behaviour grew out of ideas of civility as a way of demonstrating innate gentility which showed interiority rather than the motions of good manners.[[508]](#footnote-508) Due to the emphasis on inner gentility, ‘politeness’ could be used widely and was adopted by the middling sorts as a way of illustrating their gentility whilst not always being able to afford the material trappings of such. As Klein argues, the concept of ‘politeness’ was attached to social practices and material consumption.[[509]](#footnote-509) There were gendered notions about the best polite behaviour and Klein contends: ‘Politeness was important in the definition of women because of their association with form, taste, and conversation’, and it also ‘defined a new kind of gentleman as men were expected increasingly to submit to the social disciplines of politeness’.[[510]](#footnote-510) Connections to ideas about polite behaviour or standards correspond to aspects of each of the terms and how they have been interpreted. For example, there are understandings of polite exchanges of obligation including both objects and favour, and polite ideals for comfort in the household and polite modes of sympathy. Where the women’s usage corresponds to these interpretations of the polite connotations of these terms, I consider how emotion and cultural tropes like politeness impacted the contexts and experiences of the women. I examine why the polite uses of words might have been deployed according to the emotion aims of each of the women and how this affects our understanding of how politeness as a concept was utilised and understood by these women, not just a mode of social practice or writing. For example, the chapter examines how polite usage of ‘poor’, as a civil way to express sympathy, allowed the women to embed the connection between sympathy and ideas of status and superiority into the contexts of their relationships with others.

Another cultural discourse examined across the chapter is the growing language of ‘sensibility’. The rise of the culture of sensibility has been shown in changes to modes of expression, especially emotional expression such as ‘sentimentality’, often connected to religious vernacular and in the rhetoric of novels. This culture encapsulated ideals of sensibility for characters in novels and imbued the idea of the body as the vehicle to express gentility, sensibility and innate politeness.[[511]](#footnote-511) As G. J. Barker Benfield documents over the period there was a development of a rhetoric and culture of ‘sensibility’ that moved from just denoting the experience of the senses to describing a consciousness of spiritual and moral values that was intrinsically connected to ideas of gentility, refined personality, class, taste and gender (and excesses of sensibility being associated with domesticity and femininity).[[512]](#footnote-512) This sentimental mode of expression was intertwined in many ways with the culture of politeness and can be read as performative and in-built into the education of the middling and upper classes.[[513]](#footnote-513) E. Deidre Pribram argues that the cult of sensibility should be classified as a ‘structure of feeling’ in the period which upheld the importance of an individual’s interiority and consciousness as central to the enlightenment ideal of rational ‘self-awareness and self-determination’. [[514]](#footnote-514) This chapter takes a more critical view of these emotional and cultural scripts of ‘politeness’ and ‘sensibility’ in the period, moving from analysis of them through prescriptive literature, philosophy, novels, consumption and behavioral social practices to examining what drives currents of change in the everyday in these modes of emotional understanding in the period.

I demonstrate that ‘sensibility’ and ‘politeness’ were not monolithic and that studying them from the vantage point of wider culture misses crucial aspects of how and why people engaged with such ideas, practices and themes. Emotions play a significant role in the conceptualisation of these wider narratives and I explore more thoroughly how and why that is. I show how they were used and adapted in everyday contexts and understanding in relationships. Analysing the contextualised and adapted language of sensibility used by the women shows how it was employed to distinguish aspects of relationships for the women such as affection, favour, and obligation. I argue that exploring emotion meaning and aims can re-evaluate tropes such as ‘politeness’ and the language of sensibility and show how they were used in connection to relationships and experiences, not only as a cultural form of identity performance or learned mode of expression. Using my method which explores aims and meanings embedded in relationships and immediate circumstances, I conclude that expressions of sensibility and politeness, which were shared and repeated by these women, were adapted to have a role in understanding social position, how to feel about those around you and the spaces one inhabited and how to use expressions to realise relational aims. I also demonstrate changes and continuities in meanings and understandings of such wider emotional cultures and themes through how the women use them and engage with them over time.

The first section argues that the emotions which marked the contractual meaning of ‘obligation’ changed over time from emotions which corresponded to a hierarchical understanding of obligations to a softened usage which was used across a variety of relationships. This maps to studies of politeness and sensibility, but I show how women also used different meanings of the term which are traditionally associated with men and masculine practices of obligation and how the term became useful in a variety of relationships. The second section shows how ‘comfort’ was more attached to people and spirituality than to material goods and material comfort in spaces like the household. The section demonstrates that there was continuity in the meaning of the term ‘comfort’ despite apparent changes to consumer and domestic culture, complicating the straightforward notion of ‘polite’ culture and showing that changing modes of relationship documented in the period are not straightforward. The last section shows how ‘poor’ was not just a polite term, but that the polite usage of the term to denote sympathy also helped the women define differences between themselves and others around them and entrench hierarchy. I show how over time ‘polite’ usage of sympathy connected to feminine sensibility does proliferate in the women’s writing. However, I also show that reconstructing relationships which these terms were used to describe shows how older and harsher connotations of sympathy were an important part of embedding power and hierarchy in relationships. Across the women these patterns of usage were also affected by differences in social position and circumstance which further adds to how the terms can be understood and how they were used across a variety of backgrounds. These sections therefore not only enhance what is known about common emotion tropes and modes but how different circumstances also affected this usage.

These women were also marked by their differences. Each chapter has separated the women by rank, from aristocratic to lower-middling sorts. Moreover, as individuals, and in their social group contexts, there are notable differences in age, position in the family and prospects which are explored in reconstructing the meanings of these three terms. The different relationships and intent embedded in the mode of writing, letter or diary, and notions of how it would be received are considered throughout as part of the context of the emotion meaning. I have also considered the personalities of the women and their individuated relational contexts, for example Gertrude Savile’s thoughts on her own personality or Theresa Parker’s proclivity to sarcasm, and thought about their impact on variations in emotion use and meaning. I demonstrate throughout this thesis that personality should not be left out of analysis of eighteenth-century lived experiences because accounting for it adds to the overall understandings of emotion concepts and how they could be used. For example, in the case of Theresa Parker, her sarcasm shows the ways the Royal Family could be mocked or separated from feelings about closer relationships. Quirks of humour and moments where personal need conflicted with what could be identified as a perceived standard of emotional behaviour or aim have been noted throughout the thesis, for example, where perceived ideas about Quietism interacted with personal desires to be closer to friends. As the previous chapters have shown, specificities in when such language was used, and in what contexts, allows for a reading of emotion meaning both specific to the individual’s circumstances and in the context of perceptions of the broader parts of society and culture to which the women saw themselves connected.

These differences had an impact on how all these words were used and understood. For example, ‘obligation’ and ‘sympathy’ are shown to have markedly different bearing depending on familial position and define how the women felt about hierarchy, sympathy, and their own position regarding those around them. Negative feelings, for example, were created by a sense of obligation in relationships. Scheer argues that in the act of naming emotions or mobilising emotions from wider culture, expressed in immediate contexts, conflicts or deviances can in fact point to shifts in emotion meaning that should be attended to.[[515]](#footnote-515) In previous chapters these differences helped to point towards the individual emotion aims of the women in conjunction or conflict with those immediately around them or the social strata to which they identified. In this chapter they show differences in how immediate contexts might re-define or add to the meaning of widespread shared emotion. Overall, this chapter reinforces the argument of the thesis that staying at the localised level of the women can provide ways to understand terms which are evidently connected to wider cultural and social conventions, show how they might have been used and understood in experience and add back into knowledge of what the wider meaning of the terms might have been.

### **From ‘Obligation’ to Feeling ‘Obliged’: Duty, Social Exchanges, and Affection**

‘Obligation’ is an important social, civic, and economic concept in early modern and eighteenth-century studies. Early-modern studies demonstrate how the notion of ‘obligation’ encompassed the idea of how people allied their self-interest with the social responsibilities which people were supposed to have towards one another, and the state. These were reciprocal practices of exchanges of goods, services, patronage and favour.[[516]](#footnote-516) Studies on ‘obligation’, such as by Linda Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar, place the concept firmly within narratives of the ‘patronage system’ of marketplace economics, social power structures and particularly male-dominated concepts of trade and reputation.[[517]](#footnote-517) The traditional account, first proposed by Max Weber, is that this mode of exchange diminished over the eighteenth century and was overtaken by individualist concepts of success which worked in favour of growing capitalist business practices.[[518]](#footnote-518) However, studies of early modern and eighteenth-century commerce, especially the work by Craig Muldrew, argues that whilst profit and success were part of the motivation in business, just as, or more, important was reputation and standing within the community: business looked inward to social relationships as well as outward at economic success.[[519]](#footnote-519) Keith Wrightson also sees the household as nexus where a ‘set of overlapping intersecting networks of association’ existed which encompassed a variety of formal and informal, economic and social obligations.[[520]](#footnote-520) In these networks, individualism and economic success was upheld through often hidden support and exchanges of obligation in households and communities. This stresses the continued importance of the concept of obligation over the eighteenth century to understand moral, social, and economic ideas in both business and community networks and the need to recognise how growing capitalism combined with social relations in both social and commercial ideas. This sustained importance is emphasised by the continued use of the term by all the women in this thesis over the period.

In wider culture, the concept of ‘obligation’ was supposed to bind people together in a meaningful sense through the notional power to create bonds between people through both material and personal ties. The impetus to have an obligation to obey ‘natural’ moral codes was used to emphasise a status quo or hierarchy which was maintained by the idea of social, economic, or emotional obligations or duties.[[521]](#footnote-521) These duties required people to understand what was expected of them within obligation practices, which dictated what the result of those practices should be for all parties according to position. Obligations or the exchange of tangible and intangible goods and services were built by, and created, emotional bonds and were expected to produce varied positive emotions. In print, discussions of obligation often cited emotions such as satisfaction, affection, pride, accomplishment and confidence in the successful establishment and maintenance of power structures and reputations of credit.[[522]](#footnote-522) Conversely, there is evidence that being bound to obligations without a choice could create negative emotions such as dissatisfaction, discomfort and adverse or angry feelings towards subservience.[[523]](#footnote-523) ‘Obligation’ itself was therefore used as an emotional term; people could feel ‘obliged’ with both positive and negative implications placed on the word. Whilst the wider philosophical, commercial, and patriarchal facets of ‘obligation’ have been well studied, the way in which the concept affected varied social relationships and emotional responses in these relationships, and how these affected women have not often been the focus.

Most work on women and ‘obligation’ considers material changes to gift-giving culture as economic priorities shifted from paternalistic benevolence to the labour market, allowing for women to give new meanings to gift giving and donations outside of ‘enacting paternalistic philosophies’.[[524]](#footnote-524) Otherwise women are often mentioned as the giving party in the culture of ‘obligation’, at the mercy of it in marriage or supporting of it for patriarchal needs. [[525]](#footnote-525) From the standpoint of narrative and conduct literature in print culture, especially in the early part of the period, in relationships between the sexes, ‘obligation’ was supposed to underpin mutually beneficial, if unbalanced, relationships. The patriarchal applications of ‘obligation’ were obviously meant to benefit men first and foremost over women, but this was not a blunt tool which only affected relations between men and women. ‘Obligation’ varied according to intersections of social status, age, and relationship. Marriage and marital relations, were often used, for example in Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela*, as models of how ‘obligation’ was supposed to work to benefit husband and wife, with a wife submitting and being dutiful in return for affection.[[526]](#footnote-526) There were particularly gendered consequences to this earlier framing of ‘obligation’, especially regarding reputation, duty and money and ideas of who owed what to whom. Victoria Kahn in her work on passions and obligation suggests that the concept of contracts was not rationally founded but based upon the principles of passions and the allocation of duties which were attendant upon love. [[527]](#footnote-527) These passions constituted ‘a set of antinomies involving coercion and consent;’ and ‘in some seventeenth-century theories of contract, the passions have an important role in responding to and making sense of these antinomies’.[[528]](#footnote-528) Kahn focuses on how these wider contractual treatises affected the way in which ideas of emotional duty, especially in marriage and households, were shaped by the social and political ideas of expectation in contracts of coercion and consent.[[529]](#footnote-529)

Firstly, writing at the beginning of the period, aristocrats Gertrude Savile (c.1721-27) and Mary Cowper (c.1714) demonstrate a straightforward understanding of the term pertaining to subordination, dependence, and their political and economic inequality to the men around them. Gertrude Savile was unmarried and living with her brother whilst Mary Cowper was married to Lord Cowper but living at court in the household of the Prince and Princess. Their difference in marital status, however, did not change their strikingly similar understandings of the contractual and dependent ‘obligations’ to the men around them. This affected how they positioned themselves in their rhetoric, describing themselves as the subservient parties in exchanges of obligation. As Vickery attests: ‘Resignation to servitude [in social and domestic hierarchies] could be testing’.[[530]](#footnote-530) Gertrude Savile was vocal in her reflections about the disparity of duty, money, and power in the obligations she had to her brother. Savile reflected in her diary that her sisterly relationship with her brother was thwarted by obligation and that ‘obligation’ to her meant solely being a prisoner to dependence: ‘You are my benefactor am I therefore your *slave*? Why the distance? Why the austerity? Why am I not treated with and allowed the freedom of a sister? Because I am obliged to You? Because I am dependant?.’[[531]](#footnote-531) Although Savile was writing to herself, her imagined conversation with her brother suggests that she perhaps wanted him to read it and understand or that she was framing herself as the victim of the inequalities of ‘obligation’ to an imagined reader, underscoring that inequality.

Mary Cowper, less passionately, similarly emphasised to her imagined diary reader the coercive nature of requirement, duty and obligation in the hierarchical set up of the court and which came at the price of women’s own wishes. Cowper wrote about how the positions at the court were subject to the politics of obligation: ‘the Duchess of Shrewsbury being named a Lady of the Bedchamber […] She solicited the King for it, who had asked the Princess three Times to do it, and since had told her it would be an Obligation to him. The Princess said to me afterwards that the Duchess of Shrewsbury was not her own choice’.[[532]](#footnote-532) Mary also disclosed ways in which the Princess was obliged to the Prince’s desires, sometimes using this idea of her duty to him as a way to get out of hiring courtiers who were too presumptuous, writing that ‘Lady Bristol had spoken to the Princess to be Mistress of her Robes, and that she answered her that she did not design to have any, but that if she was obliged to take one, the Prince had made her promise it would be Mrs. Coke’.[[533]](#footnote-533) The term ‘obligation’ or ‘obliged’ was almost solely used to characterise irrefutable demands made of Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper, and the women around them, by their male relations. This suggested an idea of duty to these men. The way these women felt about these ‘obligations’ reflected moments which made their lack of agency clear. The coercive nature of these duties was obscured for Mary Cowper by the civil, affectionate, way men asked for these things as an ‘obligation’ to them.

In these earlier diaries the explicit terms of dependence and duty in return for security, weighted towards male needs, standing and wealth had consequences for the emotional experience of ‘obligation’ in their relationships with men. Gertrude particularly seemed to consider that the obligation of economic dependence she had towards her brother was an obstacle to respect and openness between the siblings, in being treated as a ‘slave’ rather than a sister. She connected her understanding of her own failings of personality and social success to her brother’s tyrannical requirements which caused her original timidity at home. Gertrude’s personality and personal context was therefore deeply shaped by how she understood what obligation meant for her. ‘Obligation’ was an anathema to Gertrude: ‘Tis far better to work honestly for my bread than thus to have every mouthful reproach me; than thus to be obliged to a Brother […] God has indeed made a distinction in fortune. He has a vast estate and I have nothing’.[[534]](#footnote-534) Economic inequality and the ramifications of the aristocratic social culture she inhabited trapped her in obligation, in ways which she strikingly (perhaps idealistically) felt did not apply to women who could work lower down the social scale. This aversion to being obligated extended outside the family as well and affected other relationships which were tainted by the idea of a duty Gertrude had towards others from her ineffective position: ‘Indeed I don't love to be under great obligation to anybody, therefore 'tis very bitter to me to be so dependant as I am’.[[535]](#footnote-535) Even when she ostensibly held power over her own household, the legacy of her experiences meant that she felt bitter towards any kind of relationship in which she had some kind of duty or debt towards another. Significantly, as a single woman later in life she felt that this included being indebted to servants, such as her manservant James, on whom she depended: ‘I am undone. James vexes me in little things, and thinking I am obliged to keep him makes me more uneasy with him’.[[536]](#footnote-536) To Gertrude, any kind of obligation was a sign of her own weakness and lack of independence, causing emotional rifts, especially in all her household relationships.

Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper were in very different situations regarding their personal power and dependency. However, for both Gertrude and Mary, the application of obligation in any form was something of which they both were pointedly critical. Gertrude did not write about how she thought a brother should act towards a sister, but evidently had ideas about the ways they should not act, and tyrannically using obligation was at the heart of this. Cowper had the ability to be politically active, if informally, and did not characterise her relationships with the King, Prince, other lords at court and her own husband as oppressive as Savile did her own. However, in both their circumstances, their position was under a myriad of obligations to male demands or to the demands of patrons like the Princess and their agency and dependency were bound to those obligations. This was extreme in Gertrude’s case as she railed against conforming to the norms of obligation, whilst Cowper, saying that the obligation was ‘not her own choice’ reflected that the Princess reluctantly acquiesced to demands made of her. There were evidently defined strictures placed on understandings of ‘obligation’ and a special importance that understandings and practices of ‘obligation’ had in upholding power structures in favour of these aristocratic men. As Waddell puts it: ‘Differences in social duty were sharpest in the realm of governance where, at least theoretically, one had an obligation simply to rule or obey’.[[537]](#footnote-537) Cowper and Savile display how this simplistic binary carried over into the duties to which aristocratic women were expected to adhere or implement to keep the status quo and how this affected their own feelings about self-interest. Rather than encouraging mutually binding and therefore affectionate bonds, as expected in social philosophy written for men about their marriages, obligation had the opposite effect on these women.

Changes to the use of the term in the later women’s writings show that these contractual relationships and hierarchical applications, which undermined women’s own wants and aims, later became less distinct and were not the only way obligation could be understood. In the later writings of aristocrats Theresa Parker, Anne Robinson, the gentry Orlebars and the middling sort Quaker women, the term ‘obliged’ was more frequently applied to a variety of social bonds. Moreover, it held differing meanings for those bonds. Alexandra Shephard and Tim Stretton argue that there was continuity in the social principles and practices of ‘mutuality and obligation’ in the period but that the social boundaries of such exchanges were being reset and expanded.[[538]](#footnote-538) The evidence in emotions from the later women’s writing shows that even as obligation became separated from its roots in economic exchange and dependence, the social aspects of the term were, in fact, reformed, strengthened and most importantly adapted to a range of social uses.

In the women’s writings in the latter half of the period there is a much more softened, tacit, and commonplace usage of the term. Similarly to the negative feelings generated in the earlier understanding of the word, all the women in the later letters and diaries spoke of feeling ‘obliged’ or compelled to do things they did not wish, but in a greater range of situations. The implicit connotations of inequity or the burden of obligation which attended on the aristocratic understanding of the term in these exchanges were able to affect a larger variety of relationships or contexts. What is also clear is that the formal use of the word ‘obligation’, which had clear directives in terms of expected practices and social contracts, had been overtaken in usage by a different word with the same linguistic root, the polite term ‘obliged’. ‘Obliged’ was a useful catch-all phrase characterising an expansive and general array of disagreeable things which could not be avoided and affected a much larger assortment of situations and relationships, including trivial frustrations. For example, anything which caused Charlotte Orlebar any kind of extra exertion was characterised as making her ‘obliged’, this included weather: ‘we all went to church in the chaise and being a very wet day we were obliged to walk up the church’.[[539]](#footnote-539) There were vestiges of the emotional meanings of coercion that stayed connected to the term and were adapted into these pluralised uses across the social spectrum regarding anything the women were forced to do against their inclination, out of necessity or a general sense of duty.

Much of the negative emotion for Mary Cowper and Gertrude Savile stemmed from a feeling that ‘obligation’ was something immutable and expected in their hierarchical relationships with aristocratic men, to be painfully resigned to. The term ‘obliged’, in this later usage, could instead be used to complain when any situation contravened these women’s own aims. Theresa Parker, for example, subverted the strictures of ‘dull’ socialising into a mockery at the annoyances of the obligations of socialising she could not avoid or would not choose for herself: ‘My aunt is gone to the musick, I was in a desperate fright yesterday, as I thought I shd be oblig'd to go, but thank my stars I escap'd’.[[540]](#footnote-540) Already covered in Chapter One, Theresa was obliged to undertake socialising with the Royal Family for the sake of ambition, specifically highlighting that when speaking to the Prince Regent it was ‘quite provoking for one hater to be obliged to like anything he says or does’.[[541]](#footnote-541) Moreover, the strictures which were placed on her own behaviour, such as needing a chaperone when driving her whiskey, meant that Theresa was often ‘obliged’ to forgo pleasurable activities: ‘I cd [could] not get a whiskey companion and was obliged to make use of my ten toes’.[[542]](#footnote-542) Using humour allowed Theresa some agency in these situations and provided pliancy in how these obligations could be managed. Theresa’s obligations in these social situations were less straightforward than the dictatorial commands and dependency of Mary Cowper and Gertrude Savile. Yet there was a similar impetus to behave in certain ways to remain within exclusive social circles, Theresa was also an aristocrat and evidently understood rules of engagement in courtly circles. Theresa and Gertrude both evidently keenly felt that they had their own sense of entitlement to their own needs, the key difference is that Theresa felt she could act on these needs, that being ‘obliged’ was an annoyance rather than a command and therefore, there was much less anguish visible in Theresa’s iteration of the term. Rather than this frustration being solely about being obliged to hierarchical demands, this was a frustration that centred on Theresa’s own aims and needs and appeared as general annoyance about situations. This suggests that there was a change in the rigidity of the aristocratic understanding of the term over time, which allowed for women’s self-interest to take space in the understanding of what ‘obligation’ entailed.

Moreover, while in the earlier iterations of the word it was mainly connected to irrefutable demands made by people in a hierarchy, in the later form of the word for women of all social status, it was external, circumstantial, forces which were understood to be behind the obligation, such as obstacles to travel. For the Orlebar women from the 1780s to the 1810s, unsurprisingly illness presented the most common way which produced situations they were ‘obliged’ to manage, or which affected their ability to do what they wished. For example, Charlotte Orlebar spoke of how her son William was ‘obliged to go home’ with a sore throat.[[543]](#footnote-543) Mary Orlebar encapsulated her feelings of helplessness and duty towards her ailing sister-in-law using the term ‘obliged’ to describe everything the illness compelled them to do or everything they had to do despite the illness, making it worse. Whilst on the road to Buxton to take the waters Mary wrote she was ‘every hour under apprehension that Mrs O must be obliged to lie by on the road - her breath so very bad with frequent faintness’.[[544]](#footnote-544) In these situations Mary’s duty to her sister meant that she had to partake in the discomfort and fear that attended the situation at every turn. This restricted Mary’s pleasure and aims, she ‘had not an opportunity of seeing the Cathedral, the next morning, as I had intended; as my sister Orlebar was not well enough to leave the Inn, till we were obliged to resume our journey’.[[545]](#footnote-545) However, it was the illness itself which was cited as the compelling factor rather than Elizabeth, Mary’s sister-in-law. It was illness which compelled them both to remain in the sick room or to continue with a journey that had become grueling for both.

‘Obliged’ was more flexibly applied to a variety of situations and external circumstantial factors in the second half of the period and across social backgrounds. In using the word, Theresa, the Orlebar family and Martha Smith could, and did, have more opportunity to display and pursue their own self-interest by using the term to define what it was they desired which had been momentarily halted by such obstacles. This meant that the different circumstances of each of their lives and the differing aims of each of the women could all be highlighted by what was proving an obstacle to them. Anne Robinson, for example, used the word to bemoan about not being able to leave a party and go home, ‘[Theresa] said I could have no business or reason for going away so I was obliged to stay, we had much too large and too young a party for me’.[[546]](#footnote-546) Martha Smith used the term to also complain that she had to change her method of travel: ‘it has been unsuccessful. I am obliged to go in the Rockingham coach’.[[547]](#footnote-547) Charlotte Orlebar wanted to be able to move around easily when pregnant, Anne Robinson wanted to stay home and to have power over Saltram, Theresa wanted to avoid tedious social activities but could not and Mary wished for her sister to regain her health and to be able to return to leisure activities. Martha wanted to carry on travelling to preach. Each of these iterations of ‘obliged’ held different emotional frustrations for each of the women regarding what they were denied. The term applied a cultural concept of being beholden or bound to do something which was out of their control, but their personal contexts supplied what that was and how it affected them emotionally.

Thirdly, the variation and multiplicity of these uses of ‘obliged’, rather than the rigid, overarching, social duties encapsulated in the earlier and aristocratic use of ‘obligation’, was much more connected to specificities in situations, activities, and relationships. This allows for more analysis of specificity because the word was so flexibly used. This also accounts for other, more positive, emotional responses to ‘obligations’ rather than its original oppressive connotations. The women in the later diaries and letters, between 1780 and 1830, also connected the favour-based connotations of the word to social trends such as politeness. ‘Obliged’ situations and activities could encompass some of the generally accepted strictures on ‘polite’ social activities and polite interactions.[[548]](#footnote-548) However, these polite strictures were usefully vague, meaning that each of the women adapted the term to apply to their own ideas of what constituted beneficial and polite activities according to their situations and experiences. If it somewhat corresponded to an idea of polite exchange, then the women themselves could say what it was in those activities which was ‘obliging’ to them. Therefore, for Charlotte Orlebar favours extended to her children were characterised as ‘so obliging’ as they furthered her children’s social networks, showed her social circle’s care for their family and alleviated some of the pressures of childcare.[[549]](#footnote-549) Mary Orlebar talked often of how ‘obliging’ people were in receiving her, demonstrating pleasure in not only a polite but a pleasurable reception whilst she travelled with her ill sister-in-law.[[550]](#footnote-550) When Anne Robinson and Theresa Parker received letters and advice from Catherine Robinson they said they were ‘much obliged’ and when Theresa received compliments from men, she wrote to Catherine that she found it ‘obliging’ as it massaged her ego and was part of her desire to be noticed by her male acquaintance, (‘I am much obliged to Frederick for all the pretty things he said of me’).[[551]](#footnote-551) Finally, when Martha was helped with childcare by Susannah Hawley she pledged to her that she would ‘return the obligation’.[[552]](#footnote-552) All these different ‘polite’ social exchanges show how the concept of obligation was adapted to each of these women’s positions and aims across the social spectrum. This also demonstrates how the concept of ‘politeness’ was adapted in each of their everyday lives and interactions and was understood as a positive emotional sentiment.

Moreover, this pluralised usage also expanded the ways in which residual connotations of self-interest and favour, inherent in ‘obligation’ and exchanges of debt and duty, could be applied to multiple situations in the everyday using ‘obliged’. Rather than fully lose connotations of exchange found in the earlier and courtly usage, Margot C. Finn argues that credit relations were transformed over the period and that more pleasant, varied, and female driven exchanges were ‘radiating throughout locality in wider circuits of family, friendship and obligation’ as the period went on.[[553]](#footnote-553) These women were clearly partaking in the ‘radiating’ out of the idea of what constituted social and credit relations and its attachment to more pleasurable and polite activities and affectionate relationships. In earlier, aristocratic, iterations there were clear and expected outcomes regarding material, political and social benefits for men. In comparison, the women in the later diaries and letters used the term to discuss a variety of different kinds of favour or good turns which had a much more flexible range of possible outcomes. The women used it to characterise exchanges whilst socialising or to indicate how someone else’s behaviour made them feel pleased or satisfied. The application of the term in these later iterations to feelings of positivity and gratitude shows how ‘obligation’ structured exchanges and activities in a variety of relationships across the social spectrum, especially friendships.

The positive way in which ‘obligation’ could help guide relationships is reflected in the way Harriet Orlebar used the term often as an adjective to describe the deeply grateful and warm feelings she had for her friends when she visited them: ‘I called on the obliging Mrs Whalleys’.[[554]](#footnote-554) Even more important to Harriet was when she was singled out for visits from others or was included in activities: ‘Mrs Arden obligingly came to see me this morn’; ‘Mrs James going to Dartford to fetch her daughter home and obligingly asked me to be of the party’.[[555]](#footnote-555) Harriet’s gratitude any time she received such social attention was palpable and displayed how she conceptualised herself; she saw herself as inconsequential and such outings as a real treat. It was a boost to her identity as a dependent member of the Orlebar family that she could be singled out in such a way. For another single, dependent, woman, Anne Robinson, being ‘much obliged’ to her sister Catherine for advice was not merely indicative of her polite gratitude. Anne’s default response to Catherine’s letters was that she was ‘much obliged’: ‘I am much obliged to you for your hint about Miss Goman’; ‘I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 16th’, ‘I am much obliged to you for enquiring after my maid’; ’I am much obliged to you for your account of your chimneys’.[[556]](#footnote-556) Other than being constantly humble, therefore reaffirming Catherine’s superior position in the family, this exchange of advice and gratitude was incredibly important as a way of strengthening the nurturing and matriarchal structure of the Saltram household. Anne was ‘obliged’ to Catherine because her advice helped Anne retain some control in Saltram and provided Anne with support whilst she was solely in charge. The word ‘obliged’ signalled how Anne could rely on Catherine to lend her any advice or support. Gowing, Hunter and Rubin demonstrate how women in the period connected the concept of ‘friendship’ to faith, business, philosophy and family and adapted male concepts of friendship to their own understandings of sociability.[[557]](#footnote-557) In answering their challenge to scholars to reassess and emphasise female friendships in the early modern period, Herbert underscores the importance of gift-giving and the adaptation of traditionally masculine forms of these practices by women.[[558]](#footnote-558) The term ‘obliged’ or ‘obligation’ is another example where women adapted something which began as a hierarchical form of the structures of control and subjugation and applied it in much more positive ways to the practices of friendship.

The way in which being ‘obliged’ signalled exchanges of goodwill, strength and support was also an important part of the larger community of Quakers. Whilst none of them were single-handedly trying to run a household, they used the unofficial network of favours and affection to support one another to make all as successful as possible. Martha Smith, like Anne Robinson, styled herself an ‘affectionate and much obliged cousin’ or ‘sincere and obliged cousin’ in all her letters.[[559]](#footnote-559) Similarly to Harriet Orlebar, they marked affection and favour by invitations to visit: ‘My sister Lucy is much obliged by thy kind invitation to Oakham’.[[560]](#footnote-560) They shared material goods, not only as favours but in order to help the business acumen of others: ‘Mother wishes you to send honey sufficient to make 8-10 gallons of mead and will be obliged to aunt for her recipe to make it’.[[561]](#footnote-561) Gratitude to each-other was a way for the Quaker family and their friends to show their dutifulness to each other without coercion: ‘glad shall I be to return the obligation whenever it is in my power’, ‘[she] is very desirous I should write and tell you all with her dear love, how much she feels obliged by the many kindnesses she received’.[[562]](#footnote-562) In Chapter Three I demonstrated how personal ties underpinned the way the Quakers operated in the world and supported their community. Kindnesses ranged from sending letters to making visits, looking after each other’s children, and sending real material support. This network of favours was designed to breed affection and religious consistency and underpinned every single activity that they undertook.In these later diaries and letters the adaptation of the term ‘obliged’ to varied contexts and multiple ways to feel ‘obliged’ to networks of relationships, especially friendships, also changed the way in which the parameters of gratitude, duty and exchange were drawn across the different contexts of each of the women.

The term could, therefore, be used positively and to shape significant bonds and motivations between friends under the guise of ‘trifling’ and ‘polite’ social and household activities and exchanges. By adding in ‘obliged’ to the more obvious idioms of esteem and pleasure in friendship, this section draws together another important way in which women co-opted traditionally hierarchical ideals of relational structure. They used concepts based on economic, dutiful or credit exchanges to articulate their own relationships in positive ways. Hierarchy was still important as these exchanges continued to hold social structures in place by using the older concepts of patronage, credit, and favour. However, instead of mimicking top-down or unequal obligatory relationships the benefits of these exchanges were less formal, submissive or about who had clout and instead were more purposefully focused on affection without compulsion. By losing the strictures and formality in how ‘obligation’ could be conceived, rather than diluting the significance or meaning of social and credit relations, it expanded those relations and dropped some of the more coercive consequences of them for the women. As well as a way of characterising feelings of dissatisfaction at inexorability in different scenarios, the term ‘obliged’ became something that could be used in a seemingly small or ‘trifling’ way to quite meaningfully demonstrate bonds of friendship and kindness which brought people together. This ironically meant that, although less formal and enforced, these exchanges were used by them much more readily and frequently to create their own structures of duty and credit with each other.

These exchanges, usually based on varied kinds of favours, strengthened social bonds and maintained affection between those of the same social background rather than reinforced hierarchy. ‘Obligation’ was sometimes even seen as a signal to begin a more open friendship, as a symbol of the duty and loyalty people wished to have with one another. The ways in which women maintained their friendships, using larger conceptual tropes such as ‘obligation’, have been overlooked or obscured because they seemed commonplace, small, and insignificant or ‘trifling’. The women submitted to each other to mutually gain gratitude, goodwill, and support. Krausman Ben-Amos, in her studies of late medieval gift-giving, demonstrates that rather than the practice dying off, the practices of charitable giving were instead transformed into varied forms of informal help. In this way informal ways of gaining support were diversified and invigorated.[[563]](#footnote-563) I contend that something similar happened to the concept of ‘obligation’, and that there was a long-standing continuity in these forms of relational support which were incorporated over the period into polite norms. Rather than interpreting the use of ‘obliged’ as only a polite term to use when speaking about polite exchanges, this analysis shows that it had significant consequences for the ways in which women could build structures of support and gratification in their relationships.

This section has shown how at the beginning of the period, women dependent on men, such as Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper, firmly placed themselves with the burden of dutiful and hierarchical obligation which placed the desires of the men they were dependent on before their own. Although Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper provide a narrower selection of sources than the women in the later part of the period in this thesis, it is striking that they evidently understood the same connotations of hierarchical obligation, even as different as they were in personality and position. However, more research may be warranted into how women in the earlier part of the period understood the rigidities of obligation. Even in their very differing circumstances, dependence, which was a common experience and expected situation for women in the period, defined exchanges of ‘obligation’. In the later writings of the women this initial burden of duty within strict relational structures became informally used to characterise anything that was a negative, compulsory, situation, or activity, retaining the connotations of duty but also bringing them into more varied ideas about social interactions and activities. This also allowed for these women to use the negative implications of obligation to focus on their own self-interest and aims. Over time, polite uses of ‘obliged’ overtook formal uses of ‘obligation’. Finally, this usage was applied in various ways by each of the women studied in this thesis to what they viewed as polite situations which merited the use of ‘obliged’. These varied experiences of what and who warranted being ‘obliged’ were connected by a shared understanding that to be ‘obliged’ could strengthen bonds of affection and friendship. Ironically, this was what was intended in the early usage of ‘obligation’ where submissive wives were supposed to be rewarded with affection, but which instead led to obstacles to greater intimacy in the experiences of Gertrude Savile and Mary Cowper. This later, polite, and friendship-focused usage of the term ‘obliged’ used and subverted the vestiges of duty and dependence which the term still held, adapting them into mutually beneficial and pleasurable forms. Exploring the emotional experiences and meanings of ‘obligation’ puts ‘obliged’ women and the micro-specificities of their friendships and polite interactions at the heart of significant ways in which eighteenth-century contemporaries could conceptualise and negotiate their relationships across the period.

### **‘Comfortable’: Contentment in People Rather Than a Comfort in Things**

The term ‘comfort’ has played a large role in narratives about changes in early modern and eighteenth-century material culture. ‘Comfort’ is an especially key term in histories on the material world of the growing middling-sorts in the period, used when discussing ideals and identities in the period, growing commerce and consumerism, technological advances, global trade, the material culture of ‘home’ and debates on luxury and taste.[[564]](#footnote-564) There has been a concerted effort to show that there was a changing perception of comfort over time. The general narrative is that early uses of ‘comfort’ signified status, however over the period the idea of comfort was embedded in a middling-sort idealisation of ‘home’ as improvements in living conditions and the ability to buy into a world of material goods expanded. John Styles and Amanda Vickery, for example, argue that changing patterns of consumption and higher standards of living meant that more people had access to changing leisure practices in the household and trends such as tea-drinking. This combined with greater consideration of how goods reflected the person and the gendering of material goods in the home demonstrated a growing desire for ‘comfort and decency’ attached to concepts of politeness, gentility and femininity.[[565]](#footnote-565) As Marie-Odile Bernez demonstrates, the word ‘comfort’ became integral to changing the relationship people had with luxury, moving it from being morally corrupting to being able to encompass a whole range of traditionally ‘luxurious’ objects into the category of being ‘comforts’ necessary for domestic wellbeing, markers of gentility and good for the English economy.[[566]](#footnote-566)

The emotional features of comfort have also been presented as a product of people’s changing relationship with material goods and ability to access them. Christine Adams wrote that the ‘warm emotional life’ of the families she studied in her work on bourgeois French families in the eighteenth century ‘was enhanced by a secure standard of living and domestic comfort’.[[567]](#footnote-567) Without such standards, Adams suggests that the strong emotional bonds which were a hallmark of the emotionality of the ideal bourgeois household would be less possible. Moreover, she highlights that the comforts of family and material wealth were particularly middle-class concepts: they did not strive for upward mobility through material goods but to feather the nest and strengthen the familial life they already had.[[568]](#footnote-568) Studies by Bernez and John Crowley also display a linearity in the connections between objects as signifiers of status and civil values. They demonstrate that there were patterns in making growing commercialization a moral thing, using positive emotions, such as happiness which were connected to comfort. [[569]](#footnote-569) Over time ‘happiness’ in home comforts was considered integral or demanded as part of ‘civil’ society.[[570]](#footnote-570) To prove that the material comfort of the home and private spaces became paramount in eighteenth-century notions of public emotional principles and nationwide contentment, Crowley quotes Robert Southey: ‘*home* is the one, by which an Englishman means his house[…]the other word is comfort; it means all the enjoyments and the privileges of home[…]in their social intercourse and their modes of life they have enjoyments we never dream of’.[[571]](#footnote-571) Comfort in things became attached to positive emotional reflections on those things and the right to happiness in a civil society.

The positive emotional connotations and changing importance of ‘comfort’ from the spiritual to the secular and material in these narratives are presented by Crowley as being part of a linear progression resulting directly from people’s changing relationship to material goods in their surroundings.[[572]](#footnote-572) Conversely, Bernez argues part of the reason the term ‘comfort’ replaced the negatively loaded word ‘luxury’ when describing items was because ‘comfort’ retained its original signification of ‘mental solace and reassurance’ which allowed for material goods to be imbued with morally acceptable, positive connotations.[[573]](#footnote-573) This suggests, in contrast to the above ideas by Adams and Crowley, that as well as changes to consumerism, ideas of civil domestic culture, and social status over the period in regarding how the emotional imports of comfort were understood, historians should also be paying attention to how continuities in emotion meaning affected the resonances of ‘comfort’. This section pays attention to these potential continuities in emotion meaning over the period, especially spirituality and ideas of ‘comfort’ coming from a person’s mentality and relationships rather than from material goods. The section argues that, first and foremost, ‘comfort’ had spiritual and relational meanings for the women studied by this thesis, including in the later part of the period when material consumption had risen exponentially. This section agrees with Bernez that older connotations not only remained in ideas of ‘comfort’ but also reinforces that they are vital to understand how people felt about ‘comfort’ in the contexts of their lives.

This section suggests that material comfort was only a small part of a wider understanding of what constituted comfort and by extension, contentment, by eighteenth-century people. Significantly, works by Hannah Barker and John Tosh which have explored in detail the emotional outlook of individuals suggest that ‘comfort’ had important relational resonances, especially in marital relationships.[[574]](#footnote-574) This section upholds the findings of Jon Stobart and Cristina Prytz that in everyday communications between people, physical imperatives about ‘comfort’ often rested on health or wellbeing.[[575]](#footnote-575) Non-material connotations of ‘comfort’ found in emotional relationships with others, mainly the family, dominated conversations about ‘comfort’.[[576]](#footnote-576) This also connects closely to Tadmor’s argument that people defined their family, household, and kin according to who brought comfort and assistance to them.[[577]](#footnote-577) This section corresponds to these findings and expands them further, exploring what ‘comfort’ meant emotionally on a micro-level for these women in comparison with each other.

This section shows that the emotional connotations of ‘comfort’ were consistently couched in longstanding linguistic concepts based on mental, spiritual, and relational significance, which did not change because of changing attitudes and access to physical goods. This section demonstrates how these women each understood ‘comfort’ as a key concept in their own ideas of relational networks inside and outside of the home and as developed in their localised contexts. The conclusion to this section shows that material comforts were set at nought, even in the wealthiest households, if social emotional bonds were not comfortable. These findings suggest that material comfort was not the main way the word ‘comfort’ was understood or how ‘comfort’ was sought either at the beginning or end of the period and that the concept extended in situations outside of the home.[[578]](#footnote-578) The section argues that the way in which the women studied by this thesis felt about comfort suggests the need to look more closely at what impetuses and emotions might have been experienced when women considered their relationships and consumed material goods in the transformative material culture of the period. In scrutinising how each of these women used the meanings of comfort, this section demonstrates how the emotions attached to ‘comfort’ and relationships were used to strengthen communities, to read and judge people and to benefit one’s position.

Firstly, it is significant to note that accounts of comfort attached to material things were transient and the least common form of comfort in all the women’s writing. It was the women of the aristocracy and the gentry, Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson, Gertrude Savile and the Orlebars, who ostensibly had the most comfortable homes and objects. The ample luxury of their homes and carriages, and the ability to take this comfort for granted, might account for the fact that discussions of material comfort were only sporadic in these women’s accounts. This kind of comfort was not something that they had to dwell on by virtue of their privilege. Discussions of material comfort were limited to occasions where either they were already uncomfortable in body, or a material item failed to provide the comfort they expected. More often the shortcomings of material technology or innovation provided occasions for material items to affect comfort negatively. Carriages, whilst kitted out like tiny parlours or bedrooms with lots of soft furnishings, were still cramped and affected by the jolting of bad roads and motion sickness. No one wanted to socialise or go out of their way to see anyone whilst in such discomfort, even the most luxurious carriage, as Theresa Parker put it: ‘there is no chance of our meeting on the road [...] tho it may not sound civil […] I had rather not see you at all, than see you in such an uncomfortable way[[579]](#footnote-579) However, in this and all the other accounts studied here, there was an underlying suggestion that the use of ‘comfortable’ and the source of comfort, even when discussing material or physical conditions and the home, was less about material things and more to do with the way in which they were interacted. The material was ‘comfortable’ because of how it affected mental wellbeing and, most importantly, how the interaction with the object or space was shaped by the relationships which surrounded it. Theresa and Anne did not want to see their beloved aunt and sister-in-law, Catherine Robinson, feeling ill and uncomfortable on the road.

According to Tadmor, people ‘constructed unspecific but effective notions that individuals have webs of kinship ties: that they are not alone in the world and are attached to others who might give comfort, aid or trouble’ and that people who specifically brought comfort were ‘named as friends’.[[580]](#footnote-580) More significant than material comforts were the differences in relational contexts which affected how the feeling of contentment was accessed or conceptualised, including material satisfaction, using the term ‘comfort’. The relational import of ‘comfort’ is a clear connotation of the term throughout the period and in all the women’s writings. At the beginning of the period, Mary Cowper acknowledged that creating comfort was part of the exchanges of support in one’s relationships at court and that the creation of relational comfort might benefit oneself within the aristocracy. For Mary, the benefits of relational comfort and therefore, loyalty, had very high stakes regarding her position at court and the stability of the aristocracy and the monarchy. Her use of ‘comfort’ reflected a moment of relief following several high-level controversies beginning in 1716 and lasting until 1720. Over this period parliamentary and aristocratic factional schisms, combined with the popularity of his son, drove King George I to confine the Prince and the Princess to their house. The Prince then created a rival court at Leicester House.Belonging to the Prince’s court left Mary, and her husband, in a precarious position. Lord Cowper even lost his post as Lord Chancellor because of the King’s suspicion that he sided with the Prince. Reconciliation between the King and the Prince was the only way for Mary and her husband to return to being secure. Comfort in relationships at court was not merely derived from alliances or support but had huge repercussions for state matters and personal safety. In this instance the debt of the civil list, the ability for the Prince and Princess to see their own children and the very fabric of centralised government was at stake. The reconciliation between the Prince and the King in 1720 was recorded by Mary as a moment of tension-breaking joy, ‘nothing but kissing and laughing’ in which Mary wished the Prince ‘joy and comfort in all he had been doing’.[[581]](#footnote-581) The Prince himself spoke to his own ‘comfort’ in making sure his friends were back in favour also, as Mary relates him saying: ‘I have the Comfort of having done well ; for if in this Time I had given up my Friends, by G - ! it had broke my Heart, and before this Time I had died ; but now I can bring my Friends in with Honour’.[[582]](#footnote-582) Mary encapsulated that renewed comfort in the relationship between the King and the Prince was comfort to the rest of the courtiers, who would no longer be at odds with either of them. For Mary Cowper, the benefits of relational comfort were not only about the stability of the monarchy and mutual support between friends and patrons at Court but had far reaching effects for the business of Court and her aims of success there.

Attaching ‘comfort’’ to social relationships, benefit and stability was evidently important for the upper sorts throughout the period. For Theresa Parker, the young aristocratic woman at the other end of the century in 1796, comfort was similarly, if more subtly, attached to control over her social aims and reliant on social activities and other people. Therefore, she found most comfort when she was able to do social activities that she wished to do over having to perform the other ‘dull’ but unavoidable social obligations prescribed by her position. When threatened with trips for her health she wrote that ‘I comfort myself however with thinking that a considerable portion of gaiety will be unavoidable’.[[583]](#footnote-583) When she had to go to a ball where there might have been chances to meet people she also wrote ‘we went to the ball where I comforted myself with dancing four Dances’.[[584]](#footnote-584) Charlotte Orlebar, in 1794, also attached comfort to the emotional quality of company rather than the quantity, which increased her comfort at home and allowed her to enjoy socialising whilst being confined there: ‘another fine day Mr Cooper called, we appeared much reduced in numbers but very comfortable’.[[585]](#footnote-585) In both these cases the benefits of socialising allowed for comfort in what might else have been unsatisfying situations.The differences in the meaning of ‘comfort’ amongst the women resulted from the varied situation, social position and lived experience that they each thought constituted a comforting relationship. They shared the idea that their contentment was reliant on whatever form of relational comfort they understood. This extended outside the home and consistently centred on how ‘comfort’ was reliant on other people and on their own reading of others. There were aims centred on how such comforts could benefit them.

Coming to my third point, the conceptualisation of relationships based on ‘comfort’ underpinned a continuous and shared meaning of what ‘comfort’ generally could mean emotionally to eighteenth-century women in the everyday and what they individually assessed as necessary to contentment. Other than sociability giving comfort by reinforcing aims and stable social relationships, ‘comfort’ was also attached to the deep bonds and caring relationships in families and communities. Relationships were the main source of comfort and by extension contentment for the Quaker women. When Martha Smith discussed a ‘comfortable dwelling’, it was comfortable because of the religious, collective, and material success of the people found there. Martha warned her cousin Tabitha to be ‘careful’ when leaving the relational strength of such a ‘comfortable’ household.[[586]](#footnote-586) Martha Smith used ‘comfortable’ often to describe the feeling of satisfaction she felt in seeing her relations and friends, particularly children, well and thriving: ‘it's comfortable to see their strength increase so fast’**.**[[587]](#footnote-587)It was a feeling which she particularly associated with peace of mind about those she cared about ‘as it will at all times be comfortable to hear of thy welfare with that of thy whole family’.[[588]](#footnote-588)Their comfort could also be disturbed by not seeing each-other. Martha Smith wrote whilst she was returning from an itinerant meeting: ‘My endeared cousins, I write to inform you that we do not feel quite comfortable without returning by Oakham’.[[589]](#footnote-589) Each of these kinds of ease made the person themselves comfortable by providing comfort to those that observed these circumstances and added to the community they were trying to build. Martha explicitly equated her own comfort with times when she was with those she loved: ‘My dear sister Susy is returned home I need not tell thee how pleas'd we were to see her as her company to me is truly comfortable’.[[590]](#footnote-590) Importantly, she also used ‘comfort’ to describe the satisfaction of seeing someone in the community looking well or ‘comfortable’ themselves: ‘I hope Cousin J Ecroyd is helpful to thee, I saw her brother Joshua at Ackworth a short time since he looks very comfortable as does James Ecroyd’.[[591]](#footnote-591) This usage combined their understanding of the relational significance of comfort with the wellbeing of the situation of others both physically and potentially materially, which made them in turn feel contented and read ‘comfort’ into other people’s expression and demeanour. This was a ‘comfort’ which expanded outside of the boundaries of homes into the wider community, supporting the whole community to feel good and secure.

Furthermore, connecting comfort to familial or other close relationships also had spiritual implications, especially for Martha Smith in her Quaker community. Crowley suggests that emotional and spiritual sources of the word ‘comfort’ gave way to connotations which were more reliant on materiality and changed the emotional meanings of discomfort from being without spiritual fortitude to being physically uncomfortable.[[592]](#footnote-592) This brings comfort into the secularisation debates on the eighteenth century, suggesting that such an adjustment in the sources of comfort, from the mental to the material, supported by growing consumerism and emphasis on a comfort in things, is evidence of a shift from comfort in religious belief and transformed the ways in which spiritual comfort could be found in everyday lives.[[593]](#footnote-593) Jeremy Gregory has argued against the notion of secularisation, suggesting that historians should focus less on how people interacted with religious institutions and instead on how lay religion continued to flourish in different ways.[[594]](#footnote-594) The way in which several of the women intertwined spirituality with relational comfort suggests that relationships were part of the way spirituality was borne out in the everyday but also that spiritual dimensions of comfort were constant throughout the period.

Wider cultural uses of the term ‘comfort’ throughout the period display it was used as a universal word for psychological and spiritually constructed amelioration which allayed distress or was used to characterise any kind of mental, spiritual, physical, and material wellbeing. [[595]](#footnote-595) The spiritual and psychological aspects of comfort were reiterated in every religious denomination, although the understanding of how to access and apply religious comfort could alter slightly according to denomination.[[596]](#footnote-596) In 1810, Mary Orlebar made special connections between religious rituals and comfort at the moment of her sister’s death: ‘my dear sister wished to receive the sacrament – but Mr Whalley having the measles could not come out to administer it …she received that comfort today from Mr Williams’.[[597]](#footnote-597) Comfort was directly bound up in her religious norms, receiving communion on her sister’s death bed was, expectedly, a way for her sister to be included and comforted by faith and community and to be comforted by her beliefs in the communion. Such comfort obviously helped to perpetuate those norms and keep them relevant within everyday lives and ready to be called upon equally from the beginning to the end of the period.

However, it is important to look closely at how religious habits which enmeshed themselves with the concept of comfort could take on a varied life and meaning when called upon in everyday life and situations of deep feeling. The spiritual connotations of ‘comfort’ are important when we consider the emotional power of the concept with the women drawing on what they had available to them to comfort themselves. This centred around the ability to draw on mental or relational sources of comfort in everyday life rather than material ones. The Quaker Martha Smith, unsurprisingly, used the spiritual connotations of comfort first and foremost in her usage of the term. For the Quakers materiality and worldliness were to be avoided, to allow for the devotional contemplation of Quietist principles in their daily lives. Martha wrote that spiritual form of ‘comfort’ was for the Quakers the contentment they felt when ‘matters’ in their lives were ‘arranged’ with ‘great regularity and beauty’: when their lives and endeavours reflected and were produced by the spiritual regularity of their community.[[598]](#footnote-598) Therefore, they felt ‘comfortable’ when schools and businesses were running well according to their standards of spiritual, modest and successful orderliness. Martha wrote about a Friend’s child at school that ‘Ann Alexander seems very comfortable at school and I hope Matters are so arranged that great regularity and beauty will be found in that school’.[[599]](#footnote-599) When one of the community hoped to open a shop, Martha Smith emphasised that more comfort could be gained from making sure that a business, like a school, combined the greater benefits of spreading ‘regularity and beauty’ with income: ‘Grace Bellarby and E Armstrong are likely to have six boarders…and which with day schoolers I hope will be a comfortable competancy’.[[600]](#footnote-600) In these situations, spiritual comfort was interwoven with everyday concerns and material matters and were evidenced by whether relationships were ‘comfortable’ or not. This was most pronounced for the Quakers who actively sought to introduce spiritual and relational comfort to negate the worldly consequences of materiality, having small but comfortable means, and justify running businesses and being in the world. The idea was that if they were ‘comfortable’ in the world then surely, they were on the right path.

Moreover, the term was not only a way to describe contentment in the wellbeing and relationships with others but could be used to judge the personality of other people and their fit within the Quaker community. Therefore, comfort was not only indicative of positive relationships but a way to appraise potentially negative ones as well. Other women in the Quaker group used the word to judge people that they did not know well: if other people appeared ‘comfortable’ this alleviated their concerns about outsiders and gave them hope for those people within their community. This was explicitly not at all a comment on how materially ‘comfortable’ these people were, but what good nature or comfort they would bring emotionally to the community. Mary Routh used it this way when discussing a possible marriage between two young members of the community that she observed at a meet, suggesting that despite some misgivings a potential wife for one of the members ‘seems very loving and comfortable however and I believe it will lend to both their advantage’.[[601]](#footnote-601) Her judgement centred on the affection and competence which the young woman in question appeared to bring to the match and her good health, which would make for a partnership which would make both parties ‘comfortable’. The whole community was invested in making sure such ‘comfortable’ matches took place by endorsing people at their Meets. Later when the marriage had not happened, Martha Smith lamented that ‘I fear our Timothy, does not suceed he looks flat…I wish he could get a good wife, I think he would make one comfortable’.[[602]](#footnote-602) Her use of the word in the general context of the Quaker group’s usage held the double meaning not only of the material security which Timothy could bring to a marriage, but the ease of good companionship and affection. They were all invested in making sure that comfort was at the heart of every relationship, not just marriage and, therefore, of the community. This suggests that discerning ‘comfort’ was part of Quaker women’s shared authority and reinforcing increasing emotional ‘comfort’ in each other was one of their guiding principles for the community. Most poignantly was the fact that happiness, contentment, and the ability to feel ‘comfortable’ was reliant on being with those one cared about.

Relational comfort was also interwoven into aspects of everyday life for the other women but was overall reserved for particular people or moments when they needed to rely on others or to strengthen themselves with comfort drawn from their own attitude and sense of resilience. ‘Comfort’ was indicative of deep emotional ties between people and studying the word gives access to the workings of relationships within families, the intricacies of the bonds between people and how this was the centre of how people understood contentment and support over any other means of comfort. For other women studied here, comfort was more restricted to the immediately familial rather than a wider community of ‘comfortable’ people that the Quaker’s characterised. Harriet and Charlotte Orlebar employed very similar rhetoric to the Quakers when commenting on how the ‘comfortable’ aspect of someone they loved made them content in return. They both used the term when they discussed Charlotte’s father Mr Willing, writing that he: ‘speaks in comfortable terms of himself’ and ‘appears now as comfortable as he was when here in the autumn’.[[603]](#footnote-603) For Charlotte, just as for the Quaker women, the term ‘comfortable’ did not only signify her father being unperturbed by ill-health but that those words made her feel easy about his health. Harriet, who visited Mr and Mrs Willing, judged for herself the appearance of his wellbeing, and comforted herself with the comparison to his earlier demeanour which had not worsened.This source of comfort was also connected to the idea of drawing on the immaterial assets given to you in life, namely the emotional bonds with people around you as well as belief and gratitude in the continuance of those relationships, to find comfort. For Harriet and Charlotte, this was perhaps easier to read in already established relationships, whereas for the Quaker women, they looked for a ‘comfortable’ demeanour in those they did not know well to help judge newcomers.

Familial comfort was indicative of the deep affectionate ties between family members and of the responsibilities and supportive actions of different family members. ‘Comfort’ therefore was also measured most often by the interpersonal relationships found within a family or set of friends and was cited in moments of need and serious circumstance. Mary Orlebar’s feelings of relational comfort were reserved for the direst moments of illness and death, especially during the decline of her two sisters Elizabeth and Constantia. At these times she acknowledged the comforting influence which having another person present brought. In this situation the hierarchical structures of the family, of having a younger sibling, child or niece assisting subordinately, were interwoven with the supportive nature of those relationships. To this end Mary consistently used the word ‘assistance’ with the word ‘comfort’ when discussing how her younger relations supported her: ‘our dear niece Anne Orlebar was during the whole melancholy time a great comfort and assistance to my remaining sisters and self’.[[604]](#footnote-604) Anne Orlebar’s actions were from then on constantly described in terms of her practical and emotional care of her aunts: ‘My dear Niece Anne came from London this evening to comfort and assist me in my afflicting situation - very early this morning my excellent sister was released from her suffering state’.[[605]](#footnote-605) This comfort was predicated on a hierarchical, supportive, bond between Mary and Anne. Anne came to comfort Mary as an assistant and subordinate. Mary spoke of ‘her’ own afflicting state, of how Anne supported her; she spoke of ‘me’ rather than ‘us’.

In these relationships there was acknowledgment not only of the emotional bonds between people which brought comfort, but their role and responsibilities within and for the family and how this produced resilience. The comforts of the familial structure were called on at these times and the emotional response to calamitous situations was predicated on these relationships. Anne Orlebar who was in a similar position to Harriet, her sister, being unmarried and part of a family of 20 children, found that her usefulness in being a comfort to her aunt also always gave her a comfortable home in Ecton at the Cot with her spinster aunts. Anne Robinson similarly acknowledged that the affectionate bonds between friends were vital for both practical and emotional comfort at such times of ill health. When their friend Lady Sheffield was ill Theresa reported that her aunt wanted to visit her and that ‘our only reason for going there could be to be of the smallest use or comfort to them, so my aunt has written to Lady P: to beg she will tell her fairly and honestly what she likes- if we can be of the smallest use or comfort to them’.[[606]](#footnote-606) To be the comforter meant taking on the role of supportive assistant.In doing so one displayed loyalty, worth and friendship which might later benefit the consoler in a strengthened relationship with the consoled.

Finally, the importance of relational comfort and how it was the main way in which comfort was conceptualised by women in this period is starkly apparent at the times when it was taken away. When Harriet Orlebar’s sibling Sydney passed away, she wrote that ‘my comfort was destroyed by a letter Mrs C received this morn from Mrs Orlebar informing me of the death [of her sister Sydney]’.[[607]](#footnote-607) In this instance comfort could not be achieved in the face of such a calamity. The emotional currency of the concept of relational comfort and its attachment to deeply emotional relationships meant that for less relationally fortunate women or for those in terrible situations, when comfort was denied, achieving contentment was deemed impossible. This was pointedly the case for Gertrude Savile. Her familial relationships were continuously described in terms of the lack of comfort that they brought her: ‘Home no comfortable place, less and less so’; ‘tho' the cold comfort and damping mortifications in my Brother's house will I doubt [not] soon extinguish it [her confidence], and then I must perish without some fresh relief’.[[608]](#footnote-608) When Gertrude felt that she had been able to make more agreeable relationships this heightened her awareness that her home was not the place for her to achieve what she wanted or get what she specifically needed out of relationships. She compared places based on this lack of relational contentment: ‘I used to be unhappy in London and preferred the country to it, tho I was never very happy there… now I own I have a much greater aversion to it; my task is quite altered. I have lost all relish that I ever had for country comforts’.[[609]](#footnote-609) Although Gertrude’s harsh family life impacted on her terribly, she still understood that relational comfort should be a norm. Expectations of relational comfort served to provide a mirror to her own relationships and find them wanting. Gertrude had no comfort despite her wealth, material ‘country comforts’, and ostensible social position. Gertrude shows that even in the most comfortable home which afforded the privileges of luxury and privacy, without the relational comfort to back them up these privileges were held at nought.

In conclusion, the idea that contentment was reliant on inner ‘comfortableness’ which could be visibly read by other people and the categorisation of friends and family under the banner of being ‘comforting’ held a lot of traction. Returning to the examples which Crowley cites as evidence of the changing relationship between material possessions and the notion of physical comfort and happiness, I illustrate different emphases in the way they can be read considering the enduring importance of relational aspects of comfort. Southey suggested that comfort ‘means all the enjoyments and the privileges of home…in their social intercourse and their modes of life they have enjoyments we never dream of’.[[610]](#footnote-610) When Southey wrote about these conceptualities of comfort, he implicitly indicated he was discussing relationships as being the foundation for the civilities of the nation, which are complemented by transformations to material possessions. Material goods could enhance the ability to have ‘social intercourse’ and help remove obstacles in daily duties, but the duties and the intercourse itself, the relational elements, were the fundamental aspect necessary for comfort to even be considered. The growing reliance on private spaces dictating notions of public importance and civil entitlement was predicated on relationships first and foremost. As Stobart and Prytz elucidate, ‘Jane Austen may have written about the comfort and elegance of a cottage, but she most often used comfort to refer to emotions and expectations rather than physical attributes’.[[611]](#footnote-611) The connotations of the social aspects of ‘comfort’ were not mainly tied to how material possession were considered or how the ‘home’ was felt about.

I have shown how ‘comfort’ and contentment extended across a range of social interactions. Moreover, comfort could centre on the emotional aims and benefits for each woman in her personal relational contexts, from communal authority on creating a ‘comfortable’ society, to only feeling comfort when able to see family and friends, to social and political power bringing comfort or a lack of comfort which pointed out what was lacking in relationships. Understanding this emotional reading of ‘comfort’ allows this section to demonstrate more fully the role of emotion in the social, cultural, and material complexities of ‘comfort’ in experiential use and meaning by eighteenth-century women. It was used by them to draw together both their relational and material circumstances in being ‘comfortable’. However, this section also shows how little material ‘comfort’ figured in how ‘comfort’ itself was conceived of being achieved. The findings of this section suggest that meanings pertaining to emotional comfort could cross class boundaries and were not inherent to one social sort’s conception of ‘comfort’ such as the middling sort. As the section argues, relationships and inner aims were how these women conceptualised their efforts to achieve contentment over the period, in ways which stretched beyond the idealised comfort of ‘home’ out into other relationships and across communities. ‘Comfort’ could have an impact on community characterisation, social position, and security in all relationships. This has consequences for the reading of ‘comfort’ more widely, including studies on material comfort and suggests that ‘comfort’ in relationships provided the most profound, shared way in which overall contentment was conceived by each of the women.

### **‘Poor’: Sympathy, Sensibility, and Supporting the Status Quo**

‘Poor’ was a term used by the end of the period to express sympathy for others. In times of strife or illness, placing the adjective ‘poor’ before someone’s name, such as ‘poor M. Sheffield’, denoted one’s sorrow and compassion about whatever bad situation that person was in.[[612]](#footnote-612) This usage corresponded to polite forms of discourse which this section sets out in late eighteenth-century conduct literature: ‘poor’ was the genteel and standard term used to describe someone who was in a situation that was expected to arouse sympathy. The women in this thesis used ‘poor’ and its connotations of benevolence and latterly ‘polite’ sympathy to denote a virtuous and sensibility-filled identity. This affected these women’s power and position in their everyday settings. Studying the personal adaptations of this usage show the varied uses of sympathy across society in everyday contexts and how those uses might inform studies of wider, cultural meanings of ‘benevolence’, sympathy, and the use of ‘poor’ by historians. The section argues that using ‘poor’ was a way of politely distinguishing differences in situation. In doing so they could ‘other’ their peers and reinforced power structures in their relationships and ideas about society. This culturally reinforced language of sympathy was reiterated in both public and private contexts: in the women’s immediate relationships and in the wider conceptualisation of different social bonds which centred on the concept of sympathy and benevolence.

Historiography on the language and use of ‘benevolence’, which includes the use of the word ‘poor’, often concentrates on the patriarchal use and benefits of sympathy.[[613]](#footnote-613) Whilst there have been efforts to explore the idiosyncrasies and challenge the rigidities of this model, especially regarding sexuality, women’s experiences of it have been continually tied to the male perspective of benevolent patriarchy and how it affected women.[[614]](#footnote-614) For example Kowaleski-Wallace and Barclay both show how affection and benevolence were used to reinforce hierarchies between fathers and daughters, husbands and wives, affecting how women understood their own identities and power within this positionality and inside the domestic space.[[615]](#footnote-615) Bailey also writes about how ‘the trope of benevolence which colonised many pages of print culture[…]was a further way by which social relationships were imagined through parenting’ and that this trope legitimised patriarchal power and ideas of reciprocal duty from children to deserve benevolence.[[616]](#footnote-616) Whilst women’s experiences at the hands of the culture of patriarchal sympathy and benevolence have been well-explored,this section presents how in their use of language like ‘poor’, the older cultural, religious, and patriarchal concepts of ‘benevolence’ as well as the gendered, polite concepts of compassion and sensibility were also used by women themselves.

Firstly, I contend that Mary Cowper and Gertrude Savile’s limited uses of the term in the early part of the period compared to the much more prolific use of it by the women in later years suggests that sympathy as a concept expressed using ‘poor’ was less developed earlier in the period and that it mainly described negative feelings or ‘bad’ circumstances. Both women only used the word two or three times, and both used it more often to mean something ‘bad’ or which affected them negatively emotionally, especially regarding deficient economic conditions, appearances, deportment or if one was ill. This corresponds to early seventeenth-century conduct literature, such as Wetenhall Wilke’s work advising young women. In Wilke’s work, ‘poor’ was also used as descriptive word for anything ‘bad’, used here to denote ‘useless’ tasks: ‘by ordering and dividing your time, no part of it will lie heavy upon your hands; you will never be hurried into poor contrivances to kill a dull half day, such as idle visits, imprudent amusements, ridiculous diversions’.[[617]](#footnote-617) Cowper wrote, for example, that her sister-in-law disparaged the appointment she got for her brother by saying it was terrible at a ‘poor 300/. Per annum’.[[618]](#footnote-618) Cowper also used it censoriously to highlight the differences between the ‘true’ aristocracy and the social climber Lady Humphreys at the coronation of King George I in 1714 saying ‘My poor Lady Humphreys made a sad figure in her black velvet and did make a most violent bawling to her page to hold up her train’.[[619]](#footnote-619) Lady Humphreys was the wife of Lord Humphreys who was an ironmonger turned Lord Mayor of London and who was given a baronet as part of the coronation. In this statement Cowper used ‘poor’ to mock Lady Humphreys’ state and to emphasise their differences in station, appearance, and deportment. Cowper used ‘poor’ here as a way of underlining her own superiority. Gertrude Savile made more obvious sympathetic uses of the word ‘poor’, calling herself a ‘poor mortified depressed soul’ and ‘a poor inexperienced thing’.[[620]](#footnote-620) These uses expressed her self-pity and were used to indicate that she was ‘bad’ or ‘deficient’ in some way which caused her sad situation. The sarcastic or negative use of ‘poor’ predates its use as a general signifier of sympathy later in the century but contains overtones of condescension and degradation which were still present in the later usage of the term as an expression of sympathy for others.

‘Poor’ developed in the women’s writing from a term that denoted situations or feelings which were generally bad to a word which indicated sympathetic feelings. The connotations of negative circumstances remained in the term and were used to indicate what or who women in particular should have sympathy. As the period progressed, sympathy or ‘benevolence’ using the descriptor ‘poor’ was exhorted in women by writers of conduct literature as a mark of Christian charity, politeness, and idealised femininity. Wetenhall Wilkes, early in the period, emphasised generous compassion in women towards the ‘poor’ and ‘needy’: ‘Compassion (which is another name for charity) seems to be a natural ornament to your sex, whose soft breasts are made and disposed to entertain Tenderness and Pity, that Solomon introduc’d it as a necessary Ingredient in the character of a virtuous woman. *She stretcheth forth her hands to the poor*, (says that champion of wisdom) *and reacheth her Bread to the Needy*’.[[621]](#footnote-621) Even though Wilkes was discussing the economically poor, the use of two different synonyms ‘poor’ and ‘needy’ illuminate an expansiveness to the idea of what constituted being ‘poor’ and an ambiguity to the situations which required ‘Tenderness and Pity’, with caveats such as ‘needy’ required for sympathy. Hester Chapone, amongst other later conduct writers in the 1770’s, defined this expansiveness further to include compassionate behaviour within the ideals of politeness. Chapone wrote that the ideals of Christianity, good household economy and politeness should be combined in the ideal woman:

whilst you labour to enrich your mind with the essential virtues of Christianity – with piety, benevolence, meekness, humility, integrity, and purity – and to make yourself useful in domestic management, I would not have my dear child neglect to pursue those graces and acquirements which may set her virtue in the most advantageous light… politeness of behaviour and the attainment of such branches of knowledge…as are proper to your sex, capacity and station , will prove valuable to yourself through life.[[622]](#footnote-622)

In these texts the actual ‘poor’ were defined as the most deserving of women’s charity. However, Chapone also pointedly determined that tenderness should also expand the idea of ‘poor’ to those in any kind of need: ‘think yourself as much bound to assist, by your patience and gentleness, those who are so unhappy as to be under the dominion of evil passions, as you are to impart a share of your riches to the poor and miserable’.[[623]](#footnote-623)

By the end of the period ‘poor’ and by extension variations on ‘benevolence’ and sympathy had evolved in conduct literature as a way of characterising anyone deserving of sensibility. Therefore, this term and concept was a cornerstone of notions of politeness and sensibility in wider print culture. John Gregory’s conduct book in 1799 illustrates how the connection between sympathy, benevolence and ‘sensibility’ expanded from being about charitable acts towards those less well-off, to being about proper sensibility in all relationships:

Do not confine your charity to giving money. You may have many opportunities of shewing a tender and compassionate spirit where your money is not wanted. – there is a false and unnatural refinement in sensibility, which makes some people shun the sight of every object in distress. Never indulge this, especially where your friends or acquaintances are concerned.[[624]](#footnote-624)

This evolution over the middle part of the period turned ‘poor’ from an older descriptive term about physical economic circumstances into a term which suggested an emotional response to a wider set of unfortunate circumstances based on one’s performance of sensibility by the 1790s.

The development of the word ‘poor’ and its attachment to feelings of sympathy was reflected ideas around sensibility, gender and civility. The later diaries and letters of all the women reflect this evolution to the more positive, emotional, and sensibility-influenced significance of the term. The abundance of usage of the word ‘poor’ indicates that the more sympathetic, expansive, and polite meaning, suggested by Chapone and Gregory amongst others, had permeated into wider linguistic use. The Orlebar women, Theresa Parker, Anne Robinson, and the Quaker women all littered their letters and diaries with the term, as an adjective before the names of people they felt for: ‘poor sally’, ‘poor Hannah’ or ‘Poor Lady Carmathan’.[[625]](#footnote-625) This liberal use of the adjective ‘poor’ before people’s names or to describe situations denoted a general way of expressing feeling for those involved in a sad situation and these women’s own sensibility. This demonstrates that this term had become a standard, polite, or recognised way to express sympathy. The way in which many of the later women studied here used the term suggests that they understood the connotation that to express pity within standard formats was an indication of their polite and generous gentility.

Richard Allestree wrote in his work *The Ladies Calling* that ‘the female sex, which being of a softer mold (sic), is more pliant and yielding to the impressions of pity…so remarkable is this tenderness, that God, when he would most magnify his own compassion, illustrates it by that of women, as the highest human instance’.[[626]](#footnote-626) This was an enduring idea, another writer wrote in 1745 that ‘Pity, Compassion and Benevolence, with all the class of the tender and refined Passions, seem to be the peculiar property of the Fair’ and of the polite.[[627]](#footnote-627) Writers about women used the application of ‘pity’ in connection to the adjective ‘poor’ to prove the gentility and softness of women in contrast to the examples of prudent ‘benevolence’ of feeling expressed by men. In male conduct literature ‘benevolence’ was the term used rather than ‘pity’. Tracts exhorted men to use compassion to promote their own largesse, as an indicator of their gentility and own good fortune and to inspire productivity and stability in all they interacted with.[[628]](#footnote-628) ‘Pity’, conversely, was sometimes referred to as a weakness in print aimed at men, often linked with ‘censure’, especially in earlier print culture which set out the emotional duties of men in society as an extension of the notions of order in oeconomical tracts. [[629]](#footnote-629) Whilst such tracts referred to universal good nature, there was an underlying suggestion that for men personal gain and good judgement centred upon discerning who were the ‘poor’ who merited benevolence and who, therefore, should engender their good nature. Women, on the other hand, were exhorted to feel ‘pity’ for all as a way of displaying an all-encompassing compassion even for the meanest creature. Conduct manuals positioned genteel women in a subordinate but authoritative role as the mediators of universal compassion and as the worthy receivers of benevolence from the men in their lives rather than presenting compassion as useful for women’s economic gain or stability. In satires of sensibility, ire was directed more often at women for being overly sensitive and therefore histrionic or narcissistic in their application of sympathy.[[630]](#footnote-630) Men were, in contrast, cautioned against being so overly sympathetic and therefore losing the connotations of productivity and benefit which good ‘benevolence’ for the deserving ‘poor’ contained. These early writers, such as Allestree, used the words ‘benevolence’ and ‘pity’ to express how different genders should express sympathy properly, attaching targeted and self-serving benevolence to men and universal pity to women. However, these writers used the word ‘poor’ in both versions of sympathy, attaching liberal and indiscriminate usage of the word to women’s universal ‘pity’ and pointed, discerning usage to men who were supposed to identify those ‘poor’ who were deserving of benevolence.

The Orlebar and Quaker women show how these gendered and polite cultural norms of ‘sensibility’ and sympathy were expressed in everyday relationships by demonstrating the kinds of generally polite, unrestrained, and undiscerning compassion supposedly typified by women. The Orlebar women were the most prolific at using ‘poor’ to show their genteel sympathy for others. Their children, loved ones, servants and animals all merited ‘poor’ when being discussed: ‘poor little fellow’; ‘poor woman’; ‘poor dear patient child’; ‘poor weak animal’; ‘poor Hannah’; ‘poor Page’; ‘poor Frances’; ‘poor Sydney’; ‘poor babe’; ‘my poor sister’.[[631]](#footnote-631) The Quaker women were similarly prolific in demonstrating concern not only for their nearest and dearest but for their wider community: ‘poor old John Birkett’; ‘poor R.Waterhouse’; ‘Poor Sally’; ‘poor thing’; ‘Poor cousins’; ‘my poor brother James’; ‘poor William Crotches’.[[632]](#footnote-632) Both sets of women used the term to indicate widespread concern for almost everyone around them. In doing so they were sympathetic about a range of different scenarios, expressing benevolent concern for illness, accidents, vulnerability, poverty, death, bad investments, work, living conditions, sick animals, and disputes among other things. In doing so they demonstrated compassion for those around them. In using ‘poor’ in this way each of these women demonstrated standards of feminine virtue and worth to their communities in all their trials and tribulations and supported an image of themselves as centres of sympathetic virtue in those communities, to themselves and to fellow correspondents.

The overarching polite and sensibility-motivated ways in which sympathy for others was expressed by the term ‘poor’ leads to the third way in which the women could and did use the term. I argue that these polite uses of ‘poor’ obscure the significant implications about how such sympathetic emotions could be used and understood to maintain social structures, demean other people and reinforce status. These polite language tropes used by the women did have direct connections to late-seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century expressions of sympathy which were used partly as a linguistic vehicle to help reconceptualise the emotional bonds in patriarchal households.[[633]](#footnote-633) Richard Bradley’s translation of Xenophon’s *The Science of Good Husbandry* claims ‘those stewards, who have discretion and generosity enough, to gain the good will of the men they employ, such will always find their work well done’.[[634]](#footnote-634) David Hume wrote that there could be no disinterested benevolence, yet this in itself is a virtue as it heightened the possibility of sympathy; a benevolent patriarch consolidated ‘the ties of love’ with ‘beneficence and friendship’, furthermore ‘his domestics and dependants have in him a sure resource’; ‘from him the hungry receive food, the naked clothing, the ignorant and slothful skill and industry’.[[635]](#footnote-635) These tracts exhorted investing in emotional bonds in order to provide an impetus for subordinates to work at their best and to maintain social order.

On the surface, the way these women used the term supports the status and gendered connotations of how people were supposed to use sympathy. It is therefore unsurprising that these gendered applications of sympathy in oeconomy in wider print culture, and the effect patriarchal applications of it had on the characteristics or standing of women in households, have been often most focused upon by historians as the basis for understanding how sympathy affected social structures.[[636]](#footnote-636) However, examining further how the women of this thesis understood and applied the word ‘poor’ to denote more pointed pity suggests that women could and did adopt the more masculine connotations of the use of the word ‘poor’ to their own contexts. Particularly, the connotations of ‘benevolence’ which defined polite male identities in relation to ‘poor’ others were also adopted by these women in how they understood their own sympathy and the idea of merit in who was worthy of sympathy. Therefore, they used the word ‘poor’ to define status, as ‘benevolence’ did, and demarcate interpretations of social organisation based on their individual and groups contexts.

For the more aristocratic women in the later part of the period, the idea of merit was evident in their expressions of sympathy. For Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson in the 1790’s, sympathy was limited to those of the same social distinction and therefore excluded those from the lower sorts who were not given the same sympathetic notice as people from the same social standing. Theresa and Anne, in comparison to the Orlebar and Quaker women, saved their use of ‘poor’ and concern for those immediately in their circle of notice; ‘Poor Lady Camarthan’; ‘Poor Lady Sheffield’; ‘Poor Duchess of Richmond’; ‘Poor Harry’.[[637]](#footnote-637) They swapped information with Catherine Robinson about how people in their circle were faring, especially regarding health, and used ‘poor’ as a way of emphasising their feeling about such situations: ‘I have no hopes not even of poor Lady Sheffield's being able to last long’; ‘Poor M. Sheff Is I fear very weak and unwell but they say she is better’; ‘How shocking this second attack is upon the poor thing’.[[638]](#footnote-638)Theresa also used sympathy as a tool to learn from those of the same social standing, to compare situations and to present oneself at an advantage. Theresa’s aims were set upon marriage, therefore she used sympathy to judge other marriages: ‘Poor Lady Carmarthen looks desperate melancholy; I don’t believe that match goes on prosperously’.[[639]](#footnote-639) In contrast, the social circles of the Orlebar and Quaker women were much more varied in terms of economic background and therefore they had more people in their vicinity with whom they sympathised. In contrast, the aristocratic women did not feel the same need to express their sympathy about a wider community or about the everyday issues which affected neighbouring communities such as bad harvests, investments, poverty or living conditions. Sympathy for illness was, however, universal, as was sympathy for those whose marriages or courtships did not prosper as regardless of social status these circumstances affected all the women and those they cared about, but poverty, the welfare of their servants or the work and living conditions of others did not. Theresa and Anne did highlight meeting with servants and other subordinate members of society but did not speak about these people in the same ways as the Orlebar and Quaker women did.

Outside of the aristocracy, exploring who was pitying whom in each of these women’s accounts shows the role sympathy played in lived experience in shaping women’s social structures and identities as well as how they used culturally male uses of sympathetic power. This was especially true for the Quakers, who used sympathy to chart the changes to their community and to present implicit suggestions about what had produced those changes, such as death but also bad business ventures and family disownments. There were many reasons to pity members of the community: ‘I doubt not thou would hear that poor Henry Marriott was disowned some time ago’; ‘poor William Crotches wife was removed about 3 months before him’; ‘my husband sister Camm and I were at our Meets at Sheffield last week there are many invalids, poor R and H Tricket among the rest,’.[[640]](#footnote-640) Failed courtship was also a cause for pity, ‘poor Timothy is quite turned of [off]’.[[641]](#footnote-641) To be sympathetic was a way of commiserating with the struggles of the community and characterising communal feeling for the misfortunes of the world in which they all travailed. Considering others was a way of demonstrating benevolent spirit, which was a key part of Christian values and a way for the Quaker women to access spirituality of feeling about the community outside of the material world. Martha Smith consciously thought about the misfortunes of others as often as possible: ‘poor thing how I do feel for him every day almost’.[[642]](#footnote-642) Describing members of the Quaker community as generally sympathetically ‘poor’ was a way of highlighting piety in the way Martha visualised the community at large and envisaging the obstacles which the community faced. This enabled these Quaker women to treat every cause for sympathy, and therefore member of the community, equally in their compassion. It also separated the Quakers as a ‘poor’ community apart from the rest of the ‘world’.

The Quaker women also used the older connotations of ‘poor’, meaning ‘bad’, combined with the idea of benevolent sympathy to promote productivity and judge whether work in their community was ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Across their writing endeavours could be ‘bad’ in a direct sense and also ‘poor’ in a way which merited sympathy because they failed, did not help the community or was undertaken outside of the support of the community: ‘as to our poor Cousin Payne, I am ready to say, that both families seem gone away from friends and are in a poor situation as to the best things I fear, we see very little of them’.[[643]](#footnote-643) Practicality in the face of many issues was combined with sympathy for all who were close to Quaker women, but who were not as successful as they were: ‘Poor Sally [Waterhouse] sold most of her best goods at our sale the other week as she finds it necessary to live upon a frugal plan having 6 children[…] how much superior our situations in life are to poor S W's what a favour to have companions whose examples will stand to help forward in the road to true peace’.[[644]](#footnote-644) In using ‘poor’ in these ways these Quaker women used the sensibility-loaded connotations of sympathy to set themselves up as kindly but authoritative figures in their epistolary community. They observed the travails of others, sympathised with them but ultimately judged them and used them as a caution to others and guide for the right ways to go about both work and courtship. These Quaker women adopted the patriarchal ideas of benevolence producing productivity and wisdom to set themselves up as the authority over these activities. The Quakers also mainly used such sympathy in reference to members of their own community and not outside of it, demarcating that most of their empathy lay within their own community.

Women could not only use ‘poor’ to define who they sympathised with but in doing so reinforce their own social or familial status in comparison to others. The Orlebar women used the term in ways restricted more to familial and household concern, with self-serving and status-loaded connotations. Charlotte Orlebar almost exclusively used the sympathetic version of ‘poor’ towards her own younger children and her servants rather than her stepchildren, her husband, or her parents. Charlotte was also the only member of the family who claimed sympathy towards animals. The expansive nature of Charlotte’s compassion was, however, not just about inclusive displays of virtue but indicative of her position in the family. For her youngest children Charlotte oversaw their wet-nursing, weaning, nursery, health, and wellbeing. She sympathised with the vulnerability of her youngest children and their early struggles with being sent to wet-nurses and then being weaned: ‘I have given orders for the poor dear [her second youngest child Fanny] to be weaned by degrees’.[[645]](#footnote-645) When her children were ill, Charlotte used ‘poor’ combined with ‘little’ to emphasise her own feelings as a parent, her identity as a mother, and to emphasise their infancy and helplessness compared to herself. Her daughter Sydney was a ‘poor little sufferer’ and ‘poor little patient sufferer’.[[646]](#footnote-646) Charlotte used ‘poor’ to acknowledge the unhappiness of her children and sympathise with them as a concerned parent.

Charlotte’s sympathetic jurisdiction extended to her governance of the household servants as well. However, this sympathy for servants was reserved only for times of ill-health. Her servant Hannah when ill with ‘fits’ was ‘poor Hannah’ and a labourer who died was ‘poor Page’.[[647]](#footnote-647) Charlotte Orlebar used sympathy about ill-health to mark her compassionate condescension to her servants, to show her good relationship with them and to encourage them to respond positively to her intentions. She used sympathy to assert her benevolence and, through it, her authority over those she had governance over in the household and wider neighbourhood. This corresponds very closely to the idea of ‘benevolence’ in conduct literature about the best ways to maintain good and productive hierarchy in patriarchal households. Charlotte’s agenda to apply benevolent sympathy which benefited her position as well as her relationship with servants, rather than unadulterated pity, was pronounced. When discussing ‘poor Hannah’, Hannah, who was sick, came second to Charlotte’s own requirements: ‘today I went to Ecton accompanied by Frederick and poor Hannah followed in a cart’.[[648]](#footnote-648) Hannah was sympathised with, but that sympathy was not followed by any real action to leave her behind to recuperate: she still had to follow her mistress to Ecton. Similarly, for the children, sympathy at being sent away did not change the fact that they were still sent from home.

Harriet Orlebar, in contrast, more often found herself on the other side of such benevolence and sympathy rather than harnessing the character benefits of benevolence. Harriet was portrayed as ‘poor Harriet’ by her friends and relations. Unlike Charlotte, Harriet looked further down the familial social hierarchy to feel some of the benefits of displaying benevolence and sensibility. Therefore, to Harriet it was the babies in the family who she looked after and the generally poor in her neighbourhood who she directly displayed benevolence for: ‘‘poor little Harriet very unwell’; ‘I called at Mr Millar's this morn - the poor little invalid George Club; quite sociable with me’; ‘gave a poor woman who thinks herself bewitched [underlined] 1s’.[[649]](#footnote-649) This sense of general charity set Harriet up as a benevolent woman in her parish, echoing the endeavours of polite gentlemen and women to be remembered as such after death, which Harriet eventually was by her step-mother: ‘a sad loss to all her friends and much loved by them and all the poor people to whom she was very good’.[[650]](#footnote-650) Similarly, Mary Orlebar characterised her desperately ill sister-in-law Elizabeth as ‘poor’ to underscore her sympathy with her but also to emphasise Mary’s dependable and benevolent role over observing Elizabeth who was incapacitated: ‘My poor sister O[rlebar] continues very bad’; ‘still airings every-day as before but my poor sister does not seem the better for them’; ‘My poor sister Orlebar I fear gets worse having a high fever added to her other ills’; ‘the very hopeless situation of my poor sister Orlebar’; ‘my poor sister’s increased weakness of body’.[[651]](#footnote-651)

While sympathy, therefore, was not always a tool that reinforced a straightforward household or neighbourhood hierarchy, the connotations of benevolence could be used to further social aims and improve relations and social position with peers. Sympathy allowed for judgement which in turn allowed for benevolent authority. This brings me to my final point that the connotations of politeness, sensibility, encouragement and beneficence, however, could mask the most negative and demeaning ways in which benevolence could be used by those with power. Charlotte Orlebar reinforced her status by speaking about her servants as ‘poor’ animals: ‘‘Mary Bletsoe (the cook) left our place being but a poor weak animal’.[[652]](#footnote-652) This final example of how sympathy could be used to establish and consolidate power for Charlotte references tropes found in the literature of oeconomy and sensibility directed at men. Animals were the ultimate symbols of pity, inferiority, and dependence, on whose usage civil society was dependant.[[653]](#footnote-653) In stripping subordinates like Mary Bletsoe of their humanity, the benevolent authority could see their own virtue reflected in the ‘good usage’ of their subordinates and excuse themselves of any ethical issues regarding othering such a ‘poor’ creature and using them. Kenyon Jones argues that John Locke, and later Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, drew parallels between cruelty towards animals and cruelty towards humans and that teaching children about their responsibility to animals taught them about social hierarchies; ‘the injunction to be kind to animals, like that of being kind to servants and other inferiors, is part of teaching the (essentially upper-class male) child its place in the social hierarchy’.[[654]](#footnote-654)These tropes made their way into the literature of sensibility. This is epitomised by Laurence Sterne and his analogy of the ‘Man and the Mule’ and ‘the Starling’ found in both *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*.[[655]](#footnote-655) They both use the word ‘poor’ to describe animals who assist them on a journey, either to provide productivity through their sensitive usage of them or to serve as a principal object for them to muse on the nature of sympathy and benevolence. At the very beginning of this section, I discussed the early sarcastic and condescending use of the word ‘poor’ by Mary Cowper to demean someone she felt was a social inferior. Charlotte Orlebar echoes that earlier cruel and condescending usage. However, whilst Mary’s ire was pointed, Charlotte had the benefit of the polite use of sensibility and sympathy to cloak these pointed social judgements and appear to be feeling of her servants.

In conclusion, the women of this thesis show how the concept of ‘poor’ expanded from being about mainly delineating pity according to economic background or to denote something bad, to using polite forms to express their own civility and to judge others and reinforce various facets of power and positionality. Studying how each of the women here used the cultural significance of benevolence, politeness, and sensibility shows how in practice the term ‘poor’ could reinforce and create their social and familial identities. These women harnessed the culturally gendered forms of sympathy to obscure their social negotiations, benefits and establishment of position which exchanges of sympathy allowed for but which in wider culture were more expressly attached to masculine uses of benevolence. By comparing the different experiences of sympathy of each woman, we can see the varied social and familial positions which dictated whether sympathy was directed at peers or at subordinates. This placed parameters on the actions of that sympathy and what could be gained in return, whether that would be domestic or community authority, social development, a reputation for virtue, community cohesion or the ability to get sympathy from others. As the eighteenth century progressed, the use of sympathy as an emotional tool evidently became more pronounced and the differences between different social sets and for people within those social sets were also more distinct. Studying this makes clear the less constructive or productive side of sympathy. The positive determination of sympathy in philosophical and social tracts, as the foundation of good, productive, and peaceful society, was undermined by the way the term was used in practice by ordinary women. Status, authority, and ‘othering’ were reasons for their use of compassion outside of consideration for the trials and tribulations of their social circles. Sympathy had consequences for all statuses and identities, within the different kinds of households, neighbourhoods, and societies in which they were found.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that the use of certain words - obligation, comfort and poor - was not radically different across eighteenth-century society's literate women. As literate women they would have all understood one another in the common culture that they lived in and drew upon. However, the method of this thesis lies in the ability to explore in detail what emotions meant to individuals and how personal and localised contexts affect that meaning. By doing this in this comparative chapter I have not only shown that broader models of emotion break down or how they might be used or adapted by women, as someone who might look for patterns across several letters or diaries might do, but I have demonstrated more fully why such terms might have been used in relational contexts. I show how these terms affected these women individually and in doing so highlight important facets of broader meanings of emotion and social practices by showing how they personally affected position, interactions, and the emotional consequences of relationships. By starting with the women exploring which emotions they cited themselves and what was recurrent I detected the models of ‘politeness’ and ‘sensibility’ amongst other broader concepts which the women were engaging with. It has been worth doing this comparative work alongside the detailed work to develop and show fully the potential of doing the detailed work of the previous chapters and how it can be applied to a broader understanding of experiences in the period.

These women did not simply adopt the wider social and cultural meanings of these words but personalised their meanings. My study shows how those personalised adaptations add to knowledge about what these widely shared emotion words meant to people. For example, I have shown how the patriarchal connotations of contractual relationships that the word ‘obligation’ held were not only experienced by women but adapted over time to be applied to varied self-interests and configurations of friendship and beneficial activities. By studying ‘comfort’ I have demonstrated how the word held most significance when used to detail emotions around relationships and continued to hold spiritual and mental connotations, which each of the women adapted to their idea of contentment. ‘Poor’ allowed me to highlight how conduct literature which defined male-dominated and sensibility-laden concept of sympathy was adapted by women and used by them to shape status and identities in varied relationships and communities. This also allowed them to ‘other’ those around them or develop authority.

Significantly, I have shown how wider behavioural styles and directives shaped by politeness and sensibility were adapted and used, using the contextualised meaning of these words for each of the women. In doing so I have demonstrated how these concepts had meaning and consequence for these women’s identities and interactions. This shows how and why such trends developed and were applied due to relational influences in particular. In particular, the first and third sections on ‘obligation’ and ‘poor’ have shown how these forces interacted with changes in how hierarchy and power structures were articulated. I showed this by demonstrating how emotion words connected to politeness or sensibility were used and had meaning in relational contexts. These changes demonstrate how ‘politeness’ and ‘sensibility’ provided civil and softened ways for women to harness some control in relational interactions. This may also connect to wider changes to how power structures were understood and asserted in the period, suffusing familial and social positions with emotional concepts which softened the rigidity of earlier conceptions of hierarchy. In doing so, this pluralised who could benefit whilst bolstering ideas of status.

Language might reflect more diverse and less overt ways in which power or cultural norms were understood and used and, in this diversity, there were opportunities for meaning to be adapted to individuals’ own power dynamics and situations. All the emotional experiences relating to the use of these words were influenced by relationships. Wider concepts were given meaning in the everyday by these relationships. The differences in situation, socially and relationally, of all the women affected how they adapted each of the words studied here and what they meant to them. Overall, this chapter has shown how the understanding of words which seem simple in wider cultural use can have many adaptations, meanings and uses. Moreover, words can remain consistent or change over time, disrupt apparent linearity of meaning and provide new ways to understand important social and cultural concepts. These phenomena have been revealed by this thesis’ methodology.

# Conclusion: ‘pages of inanity’?[[656]](#footnote-656)

This thesis has studied a selection of letters and diaries written by twelve women from various backgrounds at different points between 1714 and 1830. Using these kinds of sources aligns this thesis with the intention of the many historians of women’s lives, ego-documents, and experiences in the eighteenth century. This thesis has remained analytically in the realm of the case study and the individual woman and asserts a micro-history approach and localised, perspective as the route to derive meaning in the lives studied. This thesis has studied these women’s emotional language and what this language tells about the meanings of emotions and connected experiences or practices. This study has been primarily about the methodological approach to producing a micro-history of emotions, drawn from the approaches of social construction, historical pragmatics, micro-history, and the psychological model of emotions as ‘goal-related’.[[657]](#footnote-657) As outlined in the introduction, this thesis reconstructs how emotion words, attached to recurrent emotion themes, were used, and given meaning by each of the women in their immediate, relational, contexts. The approach gave me the way to break down, analyse, and reconstruct in immediate and relational context, emotion terms and show how these contexts affected emotion meaning. Importantly, the idea of ‘goal-related’ emotions posited a way of looking at what I have called ‘aims’ in emotion, showing why women might have made the emotion choices they did based on what they wanted to happen or what they perceived to be the way to emote in the contexts of their immediate circumstances and individual perceptions of society and culture.

I hope to have demonstrated how the analysis of emotion words used by individual women in localized contexts can deepen our understanding of the practices, relationships, and experiences of these women. Each chapter began with the database analysis and selection of emotion words and phrases which the women used most often, and the consistent subject matter and contexts connected to those words gave the overall theme and focus for each chapter. I have followed the journey of each word, how it was used, when and with whom, with what meaning or intention. Exploring where these words were connected to wider norms demonstrated the interaction between the localised and wider concepts. Studying emotions in this way has provided many ways to interrogate different historiographical strands on eighteenth-century women’s experiences, lives, society, and culture. By focusing on emotion in this approach I have expanded knowledge about the structures of eighteenth-century life and perspectives on it. How people used or chose such words tells us what people were hoping to achieve and what agency they had in negotiating within the contexts discussed in the thesis. For example, a word such as ‘dull’ for the aristocracy, when examined in context, revealed that judgements were being made about different kinds of sociability: some were characterised as ‘dull’ but for Theresa Parker this kind of sociability also seemed necessary, based on the pressures of the relationships around her and her own ambitions.

Other words and phrases presented similar findings which expanded knowledge about the experiences they described and the cultural and social context they were connected to. I have shown how the meaning of emotions in localised contexts shows variously how sociability was differentiated according to feelings in relationships and ambitions, and was understood and experienced by eighteenth-century aristocrats; how the understanding of the connection between mind and body which shaped descriptions of illness and pregnancy in which emotion was prominent in relational and familial and supportive contexts; and how Quaker women divided up their public and private contexts, judged their own activities and justified their relationships, through emotions. The thesis has shown how women’s emotion words display the wider themes and concepts that mattered to them, filtered through their own perceptions and contexts first and foremost rather than only being drawn down from wider cultural scripts. By beginning with the emotions which preoccupied them and the words they chose to deploy I have been able to examine this through their perspective. Developing a method to examine the ‘in-between’ perspectives and experiences in the micro, I have shown how specific circumstances affected shared communications, and informed women’s ideas or how they adapted wider norms, such as ‘politeness’ or ‘sensibility’ and social practices.[[658]](#footnote-658)

The thesis offers significant conclusions about the experiences of women in eighteenth-century England. In the first chapter my findings enhanced knowledge about the experiences of sociability and specifically on how the exclusivity and homogeneity of aristocratic social circles was experienced and differentiated by women according to feelings in relationships, understandings of intimacy and personal aims. In the second chapter I extended scholarship on eighteenth-century descriptions of embodied emotion as a symptom of illness and discussed how emotions were used to convey what was happening in the body. Looking at other sources than doctor and patient letters, using the pocket books of the Orlebars, I showed how that language of emotion intertwined wider concepts about the body with familial and relational structures, aims and potential actions and specific bodily conditions. In the third chapter I reinforced historiographical evidence about how Quaker women wove spirituality into their everyday activities and to present their authority on such activities by using emotion to define ‘good’ and ‘bad’ ways of working and judge public activities. I also presented findings which change how we consider Quaker ideals of spiritual behaviour, in particular Quietism, by demonstrating how they attached the concept to their own relationships and situations. Overall, I have shown how localised influences in the meaning of emotion terms provide sources of information on women’s experiences.

Significantly, the fourth chapter, with its comparative study of particular words used by all the women in the preceding chapters - ‘obligation’, ‘comfort’ and ‘poor’- demonstrated the rewards to broader understanding of emotions in the period to be discerned by examining the localised in dialogue with broader cultural forces. This chapter would not have been possible without the study of the chapters that preceded it in providing the necessary depth of analysis and reconstruction of contexts. Comparing individual conceptions of these shared words and meanings within the localised contexts in which they were found, displayed how those contexts affected the meaning of words and the adaptation of wider concepts in everyday lives. This chapter examined how experiences informed wider conceptions of emotion and in doing so, demonstrated why certain forces or ideas might have been adopted and how they were used. This adds to an understanding of what those words and concepts might have meant in a much wider sense in eighteenth-century culture and why inflections to those concepts plausibly evolved over time. This has also shown that some historiographical claims can be proved wrong when examined via my method, for example I demonstrated the consistent and prevalent non-material meanings of comfort in contrast to historiography which suggests the material meanings of comfort gain dominance over the period.

The thesis has also looked carefully at how, by using emotion, the women might have expressed what they wanted to happen or what they thought should happen in certain situations. Studying these ‘aims’ helped me to examine individual and shared variances about what people wanted or cared about and possible implied practices and outcomes which were inferred in the words used. These aims were compared across the women to consider where they might have differed about the themes of emotion in each chapter, and therefore in their possible experiences and actions. These aims, and the findings about how the women were using and understanding emotions, were also compared to conclusions previously drawn about these areas of life and consonant experiences, such as religion, the body, or sociability, in secondary literature. For example, Theresa Parker used words like ‘wish’ to indicate to loved ones she desired to see them more whereas Anne Robinson used her desire to be ‘quiet’ to determine a course of action which would limit her social engagements and those of her charge, Theresa. For the Orlebar women the aim of getting better to resume activities or to get help was displayed in the ‘hopes’ of each member of the family. For the Quaker women aims about the right kinds of action to take regarding businesses and families were also framed by ‘hope’ and ‘cares’. Moreover, the aim to keep the Quaker and familial community close and connected translated into personal desire to see loved ones, which was interpreted as a spiritual desire or manifestation of pure love outside of the bounds of the worldly or material. These expressions of aim and desire often were next to pronunciations of the most extreme or deep feelings. This showed similarities in findings but more importantly, variance and adaptation in the local.

Studying emotions by thinking about what ‘aims’ these women might have wanted to achieve is a valuable way of studying emotions in the past and thinking about how to reconstruct the meaning they had to individuals in their localised contexts. This thesis has provided information about the possibilities for action and influence these women did and did not have and the limitations they themselves perceived consciously and perhaps unconsciously. By exploring what they expressed they wanted or the inferences about how they thought things should happen, and the disappointments when things did not emerge the way they wished, I have throughout explored the perceptions of the parameters of relationships, agency, action and social behaviours and how different backgrounds and ideas the women had interacted with this. This has provided important information about the experiences and practices of women in different sections of society, such as the negative feelings which ideas of dutiful behaviour produced in aristocratic women as opposed to their personal desires to see friends or achieve aims. For the Orlebars I explored the influence which women had over communicating and having control over their bodies and how the demands of the body interacted with familial and social life. For the Quakers I showed how desires to be with family and friends or to work were rationalised through a spiritual lens. This thesis has provided more scope for considering how much agency women might have had, what their own perceived limitations were, how emotions are important in shaping the precepts of expectation and how immediate circumstances influence the parameters of agency in dialogue with wider culture.

All emotional lives when recorded are also semiological reflections and re-constructions of feeling. As I said at the beginning of this thesis, whether the emotions were truly felt or not is not important to my study, but the choices they made and why women used the terms they did, were. How everyday contexts affected these choices has been the focus of this study. This has provided new ways to interpret the possible reasons why different emotion terms and tropes were chosen regarding immediate need, relational exchanges, and connections to wider narratives in eighteenth-century society, culture, and practices. These reasons have also included exploring ideas of the embodiment of emotion. I have explored throughout what these emotions meant to these women in terms of their relationships, physical position, imagined position and in chapter two of how they thought about the connection between mind and body. This thesis has demonstrated the worth of looking beyond emotions as merely performative of wider culture or descriptive but also as perceptions of relational experiences which involved lived circumstances, relationships, spaces, activities, and needs.

An overarching impression I have gained through this work, is that the overall tenor of emotional life for all the women tended more heavily towards a negative emotional outlook. This impression evidently warrants further interrogation. There were shared aspects of life for all the women which were described using negative emotions, most commonly that of being separated from loved ones. Using the databases I constructed, I could easily survey what contexts or topics arose most often and what emotion words recurred. Whilst some aspects of their emotion repertoires were obviously positive or had connected positive emotions within the nexus of feeling surrounding a context, overall, the general tone was often gloomy or pessimistic. For example, overall, for the aristocratic women socialising was connected to emotions about arduous work, boredom, frustration, anguish and disappointment. For the Orlebars hope about health was often overshadowed by hopelessness and fear. The Quakers used pessimistic judgements and ideas about toil to structure ideas about work and the disappointments of being separated from loved ones were incorporated into their spiritual outlook. The positive emotions that were evidenced played out nonetheless against a more generally negative outlook. It may also suggest that the areas of life which provoked the most vocal emotional responses were those which tended towards the negative. This might in fact mean that when such occurrences were not taking place, the general positivity of life or contentment did not merit the same level of reflection as they were just everyday feelings. However, it would take another study to fully explore this idea and what this signifies regarding eighteenth-century culture and outlook on experiences more generally and whether this is only characteristic of these genres of source material. It might be that this is a general comment on women’s lives and experiences at the time or that the forms of letter and diary writing influenced the expounding on negative emotions as the preoccupation of the writer rather than positive ones. Moreover, significant shared experiences between all the women are something further studies should focus on. This would include further comparison of the common experience of being separated from friends and family which although a prerequisite of letters which were generated out of absence regularly affected all the women and seemed to be a standard part of their lives for varied reasons.

The length of the letters and diaries explored in this thesis allowed for the in-depth reconstruction of each of the women’s milieu and the plotting of emotional language use over an extended period. By being able to group the writings according to social background or family connection, I could see how extended communities might have influenced emotion choices and how comparisons, variation, and conflict in use of words and wider emotion concepts and culture came into play. Having writings spanning different decades provided evidence about longstanding emotional tropes or, alternatively, mutability over time for each individual and her social group and equally for all the women.

Future studies might also apply the methodology developed here to look at individual men, people from other religious backgrounds and other ranks of society to test my findings. As I mentioned in the introduction, there were limitations in my requirements of my primary sources which excluded people from poorer sections of society and women found in other forms of sources such as court records. I would like to explore how my method might be used to examine different kinds of sources relating to individuals which would give me access to the communications of poorer or illiterate eighteenth-century people and different perspectives on women across the social spectrum, such as court records and parish letters. I have focused mainly on first person accounts, and it would be useful to follow up this study with studies of first-person narratives in sources like court testimonies. However, I would also like to explore applying my method to accounts in third person sources as well, to see what results that would yield.

I would also wish to take the gains of the present study and the examination of the interaction between the localised and wider culture, to examine to reconstruct the emotion language and meaning in connections to British colonialization around the world in the period. Trans-Atlantic and Indian sources of correspondence became apparent in sources which I initially surveyed, especially sources where there was correspondence between individual women in Britain and people across the globe. I designed a chapter on this and then put it to one side as such as study could have constituted a whole thesis and needed much more attention than could be achieved in one chapter of the present study. The work needed to incorporate dimensions of race and imperial power which need significant attention. Each of the women I have studied here are all racialized as white women, further study, with a lens on racialised attitudes, would provide analysis of the extent to the ways in which emotions contribute to their own, and our, understanding of race and racialised systems in localised situations in eighteenth-century British lives. I wanted to use the thesis to explore how my approach to emotions works first and foremost. However, my approach would have potential benefits in exploring how localised circumstances influenced emotions and women’s perspectives in the interactions of colonialism.

I must conclude by drawing attention back to how my study of manuscript source material produced an intimate and a deep set of encounters for me to study. In the very first letter I read, written by Theresa Parker, she joked that all she wrote were ‘pages of inanity’.[[659]](#footnote-659) Using writings like hers I have been able to tell several stories of lives framed by emotions, none of which fit the description of ‘inanity’. The women I have studied left words which unlocked a valuable door into what they wanted themselves and others to think they were feeling. Their confidences to themselves, and to others, were what prompted and permitted the broader interrogation that this thesis has conducted, along with its suggestive methodological realignments for how we might interrogate existing historiography and how it is grounded. I hope that in closing this thesis you are drawn back to thinking of the lives of Anne Robinson, Theresa Parker, the Orlebars - Mary, Charlotte and Harriet, Martha Smith, Mary Routh, Ann Hawley, Frances Hawley, and Mary Hoyle, and of the lives of those they wrote to and about, such as Catherine Robinson, Elizabeth Orlebar, Charlotte Orlebar’s many children, Susannah Hawley, and Cousin Tabitha. The interactions between these women and those around them left behind the key which allowed me to open up significant and important perceptions on experiences in eighteenth-century society and across the period. Whether they felt the emotions they described or not is beside the point: what they articulated is important, and with this conviction I have tried to interpret and provide context to those records. These narratives drew me in and prompted this analytical approach, based upon the openings provided by the emotional turn of historical study. I hope, in its turn, this thesis opens a fruitful way for future discussions to be had about what it is to study the history of emotions, how one can do it and what it can show.

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84. Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013) p.19. See also: John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century* (Cambridge, 1994) pp.14-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013) p.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Rachel Wilson, *Elite Women in Ascendancy Ireland, 1690-1745: Imitation and Innovation* (Suffolk, 2015) pp.99-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. See Elaine Chalus, ‘Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England’, *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp.671-674. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Ingrid Tague, *Women Of Quality* (Suffolk, 2002) p.13. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2011) p.79. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Clarissa Campbell Orr, ‘Introduction’ in Clarissa Campbell Orr [ed.] *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester, 2002) p.7. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013) p.27. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *Ibid.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley, ‘Every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room’: Performing Emotions at the Early Georgian Court, 1714-60’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40 (2017) p.445. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Susan Broomhall, ‘Renovating affections: Reconstructing the Atholl family in the mid-eighteenth century’ in Susan Broomhall (ed.) *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850* (Oxon, 2015**)** p.52. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2014) pp.7-15. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Ingrid Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Woodbridge, 2002) p.209-217. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Irene Q.Brown, ‘Domesticity, Feminism, and Friendship: Female Aristocratic Culture and Marriage in England, 1660-1760.’, *Journal of Family History: Studies in Family, Kinship, Gender, and Demography* 7.4 (1982) p.406. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. *Ibid*., p.407. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. *Ibid*., p408. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001) p.170. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967) pp.143-145; pp.222-238. Baron Bernstorff was a German minister who accompanied George I to England. He had a monopoly over the court and courtly positions, especially at the beginning of the reign as one of the few people the King knew in England. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies [hereafter HALS]: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 21 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. *Ibid*., October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. *Ibid*., 25 December 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Ingrid Tague, *Women Of Quality* (Suffolk, 2002) pp.20-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. *Ibid*., pp.140-147. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Susan Broomhall, ‘Renovating affections: Reconstructing the Atholl family in the mid-eighteenth century’ in Susan Broomhall (ed.) *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850* (Oxon, 2015**)** pp.59-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. *Ibid*., pp.59-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. See: Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850*(Manchester, 2011) pp.31-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. *Ibid*., 28 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 15 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley, ‘Every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room’: Performing Emotions at the Early Georgian Court, 1714-60’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40 (2017) pp.452-457. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. *Ibid*., pp.456-457. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 21 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. *Ibid*., 25 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. *Ibid*., 15 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 1 December 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. *Ibid*., October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 2 December 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011) p.134. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Anne’s brother Frederick Robinson, known as ‘Fritz’, took over the running of Saltram with Anne until Theresa’s brother John was of age. Catherine Robinson (née Harris) married Anne’s brother Frederick ‘Fritz’ Robinson and when not in London resided at Durnford Manor in Salisbury, where her unmarried sister Louisa Harris also lived. It was Catherine who Anne and Theresa wrote to most often. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013) p.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. PATB: 1259/2/274-312, Letters from Theresa Parker and Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 January 1796; 13 January 1796; 19 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. PATB: 1259/2/275, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 January 1796; PATB: 1259/2/ 284, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 22 May 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. PATB: 1259/2/276, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 30 January 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Nathan Bailey, *An universal etymological dictionary of the English language. Comprehending The Derivations of the Generality of Words in the English Tongue* (London, 1764) p.317. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. PATB: 1259/2/276, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. *Ibid*., 9 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. *Ibid*., 10 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley, ‘Every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room’: Performing Emotions at the Early Georgian Court, 1714-60’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40 (2017) pp.448-452. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. PATB: 1259/2/303, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 10 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. *Ibid*., 19 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Nottinghamshire Archives [Hereafter NA]: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 5 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-57, 6 November 1727. Gertrude lamented ‘What should I do anymore in Publick? No! I'll strive no more against the stream. The World was not made for me, nor I for the World’. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2011)

     p.147. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 22 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Amanda Vickery talks of Savile as ‘depressive’, ‘unusually gloomy’ and cites her using needlework to hold ‘both insanity and society at bay’ in Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (Yale, 2009) p.188; p.192; p.245; The editor of her published diaries Alan Savile suggests that she had a ‘nervous breakdown’ see Alan Savile (ed.) ‘Introduction’ in *The Diaries of Gertrude Savile 1721-1757* (Devon, 1997) p.xiii. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011) p.9; p.17. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Suffolk, 2011) pp.24-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. For more on this see: Beth Kowaleski Wallace, ‘Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England’ *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 23 (1994) pp. 131-145; Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Suffolk, 2011) pp.24-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. For works on elite motherhood see: Ingrid Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Suffolk, 2003) pp.170-171; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914* (Hampshire, 2008) pp. 108-128; Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Suffolk, 2011) p.37; pp.24-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. See discourses on irregular families; Katie Barclay, ‘Marginal households and their emotions: The ‘kept mistress’ in Enlightenment Edinburgh’ in Susan Broomhall (ed), *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850* (New York, 2015) pp. 95-111; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge, 2003); Ingrid Tague, ‘Aristocratic women and ideas of family in the early eighteenth century’ in Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (eds), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007) pp. 184-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. *Ibid*., October - 5 December 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. *Ibid*., October - 5 December 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. *Ibid*., October – 5 December 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Antoine de Courtin, *The rules of civility; or, the maxims of genteel behaviour* (London, 1703); Rev. Thomas Cook, *The Universal Letter Writer*: *Or New Art of Polite Correspondence* (London, 1708); See also: John Moir, *Female Tuition; or an Address to Mothers on the Education of Daughters* (London, 1784), pp.125-127; pp.212-213. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Antoine de Courtin, *The rules of civility; or, the maxims of genteel behaviour* (London, 1703) p.4; p.6. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 22 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. *Ibid*., September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. See Section 1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, October 1714; 15 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. *Ibid*., 19 November 1714 [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. *Ibid*., October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. [Anonymous], *The accomplish'd housewife; or, the gentlewoman's companion* (London, 1745) p.63. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 22 October 1721. Gertrude talks about her mother’s cold behaviour towards her in terms of prudence ‘I fancy Mother's neglect is designed prudence’ and her cousin’s careful social behaviour as prudence also ‘So she makes the most she can, both for advantage and pleasure of everybody. She's a good huswife, a prudent manager. She uses people like her clothes: first she wears their good opinion fresh, for credit, and then turns… She is unsincere and all her good qualities are set out in the best light, and if she has any ill ones, they are prudently concealed to those whose good opinion will be of use to her’. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 3 -11 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. PATB: 1259/2/303, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Christine Roulston, ‘Separating the Inseparables: Female Friendship and Its Discontents in Eighteenth Century France’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999) pp. 215-231. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011) p.134.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Naomi Tadmor, ‘The concept of the household-family in eighteenth century England’, *Past and Present* 151 (1996) pp.111– 140. See also Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001) pp.167-215. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 21 August 1727. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 26 -27 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. *Ibid*. 26 -27 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. ‘our Acquaintance was renewed by supping together at Madame Kielmasegge's about a month ago; but it was shyly till now’:HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 26 -27 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. *Ibid*., 26 -27 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 8 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 21 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. *Ibid*., October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley, ‘Every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room’: Performing Emotions at the Early Georgian Court, 1714-60’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40 (2017) pp.443-464.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001) p.28; p.272. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. PATB: 1259/2/303, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. *Ibid*.,30 October 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. PATB: 1259/2/303, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 10 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. *Ibid*., 15 September 1796; 10 August 1796; 17 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Lawrence Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’ in *The Historical Journal*, (2002) p.879. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. PATB: 1259/2/301, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 16 October 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. *Ibid*., 4 December 1796; 16 October 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. *Ibid*., Monday 21 August 1727. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. PATB: 1259/2/293 Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 14 November 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. *Ibid*., 26 May 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. PATB: 1259/2/293 Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 13 February 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. HALS: DE/P/F63, Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Cowper, 3 September 1716. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century* (Cambridge, 1984) p.82. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. PATB: 1259/2/310, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 17 December 1796; 4 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. PATB: 1259/2/293 Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 15 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. *Ibid*., 17 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (London, 2009) p.188. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 14 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. *Ibid*., 14 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 January 1796.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 14 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. PATB: 1259/2/293 Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 17 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 12 October 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. *Ibid*., 25 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Jennie Dear, ‘Nobodies and Somebodies in Eighteenth Century Women’s Writing’ in *The Eighteenth Century* (1996) pp.185-186. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Susan Stabile, *Memory’s Daughters* (New York, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. PATB: 1259/2/ 297, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. PATB: 1259/2/287,Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 26 July 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. PATB: 1259/2/ 278, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 10 February 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013) p.16. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 20 September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. NA]: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Savile listed the qualities of the three men she met at Bath: ‘Powlett was a pretty gentleman as ever I saw and became more so by a regard (no farther than looks at me). Aston was much a gentleman, most agreeable company; could insinuate himself into anybody's liking: was the first who was obstinately civil and complisant after being acquainted with my cold, silly, unpromising temper. His behaviour is to this day a mystery to me. Stanhope, tho last, not least belov'd,…I have already said enough on. He was by his perservering, honest, senceer [sincere] goodnatured and above all, jealous looks, everything that was agreeable to my Eyes. He was as pretty a gentleman as Poolet [Powlett] and in my imagination as agreeable a companion as Aston. He had (or my whished would have it so) the agreeableness of a soldier, the veracity of a gentleman, the faithfullness of a friend and the softness of a lover. A soldier's person, a gentleman's behaviour, a friend's soul and a lover's heart. He was a competitor with Aston for my approbation. But vastly superior to all others after he was gon, and grew vastly more into my good opinion than Aston ever was.’ NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. *Ibid.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. *Ibid*., 22 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Bedfordshire and Luton Archives [hereafter BLA]: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 11 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. *Ibid*., 14 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. *Ibid*., 16 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London, 1813). For more on the gentry sort and gentry households see: Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 2002); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter* (London, 2003); Michael McKeon, ‘Chapter 15: Variations on the Domestic Novel’ in Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity* (Baltimore, 2006) pp.660-718; Katherine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2011); Henry French, ‘’Gentlemen’: Remaking the English Ruling Class’ in Keith Wrightson (ed.), *A Social History of England, 1500-1750* (Cambridge, 2017) pp.269-289. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Penelope Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London, 1995) p.2; pp.70-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. *Ibid*., p.78. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. For more on Pocket Books see: Jennie Batchelor, ‘Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women’, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2002) pp.1-18; Rebecca E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Abingdon, 2004); Stephen Colclough, ‘Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015) pp. 159-177. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. For a comprehensive overview of the fashion and industry behind pocket books see: Amanda Vickery, ‘A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 54 (2021) pp.670-672. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Jennie Batchelor, ‘Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women’, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2002) p.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Stephen Colclough, ‘Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015) p.172. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Amanda Vickery, ‘A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 54 (2021) p.682. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Jennie Batchelor, ‘Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women’, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2002) p.14. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Rebecca E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Abingdon, 2004) p.2-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. *Ibid*., pp.127-153. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. Stephen Colclough, ‘Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015) p.167; p.177. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. Wayne Wild, *Medicine-by-Post: The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-Century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York, 2006); Lisa Wynne Smith, ‘‘An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper’: The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41 (2008), pp. 459-480. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. Stephen Colclough, ‘Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015) p.160. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Jan Frans Van Dijkhuisen and Karl A.E Enenkel, ‘Introduction: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture’ in Jan Frans Van Dijkhuisen and Karl A.E Enenkel, (eds), *The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden, 2009) p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Wayne Wild, *Medicine-by-Post: The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-Century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York, 2006) p.8. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. *Ibid*., p.8 [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Mary Fissell, ‘Making Meaning from the Margins: The New Cultural History of Medicine’, in Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner (eds), *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore, 2004) p.367. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Ludmilla Jordanova, ‘The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge’ in Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner (eds), *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore, 2004) p.340. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Wayne Wild, *Medicine-by-Post: The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-Century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York, 2006) p.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (London, 2015) pp.1-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Iris Clever and Willemijn Ruberg, ‘Beyond Cultural History? The Material Turn, Praxiography, and Body History’, *Humanities,* 3 (2014) p.562. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Iris Clever and Willemijn Ruberg, ‘Beyond Cultural History? The Material Turn, Praxiography, and Body History’, *Humanities,* 3 (2014) p.562. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Barbara Duden, *The Woman beneath the Skin: A Doctor’s Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 1987) pp.14-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. *Ibid*., pp.457-458. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. Alun Withey, *Physick and the family: Health, medicine and care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2011); Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford, 2012); Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth, Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Roy Porter, ‘The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from below’, *Theory and Society* 14 (1985) p.187; p.192; p.176; Alun Withey, *Physick and the family: Health, medicine and care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2011) p.29; pp.121-126; Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (London, 2015) p.15. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Séverine Pilloud and Micheline Louis-Courvoisier, ‘The Intimate Experience of the Body in the Eighteenth Century: Between Interiority and Exteriority’, *Medical History*, 47, (2003), pp.470-472. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. For more on how patients themselves adopted and shaped the rhetoric used to describe ailments over the eighteenth century see: Wayne Wild, *Medicine by Post: The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 10 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. *Ibid*., 31 December 1776; 1 January 1810. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. *Ibid*., 1 January 1810. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. Karen Harvey, ‘Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2019) pp. 458-461; p.463. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Jan Purnis, ‘The Stomach and Early Modern Emotion’, *University of Toronto Quarterly* 79 (2010) pp.800-819. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Ulinka Rublack and Pamela Selwyn, ‘Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions’, *History Workshop Journal*, 53 (2002), p.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Ibid., pp.2-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. Lisa Wynne Smith, ‘‘An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper’: The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41 (2008), pp.463-464. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. *Ibid*., p.465. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 4 June 1794; BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 14 July 1794; BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 11 September 1776 and 7 December 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 7 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 12 March 1776 [first use of ‘faint and low’]. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. *Ibid*., 24 September 1776; 14 November 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. For examples where low and nervous were connected in both emotional and more technical ways in contemporary medical texts, see: ‘patient may take a large spoonful when very faint or low spirited’ from John Ball, *The female physician: or, every woman her own doctress* (London, 1770) p11; John Anderson, *Medical remarks on natural, spontaneous and artificial evacuation. By John Anderson*, (London, 1787); James Makittrick Adair, *An essay on regimen, for the preservation of health, especially of the indolent, studious, delicate and invalid; illustrated by appropriate cases* (Air, 1799) p37. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge, 2004) pp.78-81; Karen Harvey, ‘Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2019) p.461. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. For a good example of the interchangeableness of emotion words and medical symptoms see: William Falconer*, A dissertation on the influence of the passions upon disorders of the body* (London, 1788) p.55 ‘low fevers…presenting to the patient’s imagination gloomy or frightful ideas’; p.52 ‘those labouring under a present dangerous haemorrhage. low spirits and a certain degree of despondency’. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. John Ball, *The female physician: or, every woman her own doctress* (London, 1770) p.v. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 16-24 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (London, 2016) pp.21-22. For an overview of the concept of ‘non-naturals’ see: Antoinette Emch-Deriaz, ‘The Non-Naturals Made Easy’, in Roy Porter (ed.), *The*

     *Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850* (London, 1992), pp. 134-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. *Ibid*., pp.21-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. *Ibid*., pp.22-29. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. Hannah Newton, ‘She sleeps well and eats an egg’: convalescent care in early modern England’, in Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey (eds), *Conserving health in early modern culture: Bodies and environments in Italy and England* (Manchester, 2017) pp.104-105. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 16-24, 11 September 1776; 10 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth, Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) pp.96-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 16-21 September 1776; 13 December 1776 [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. *Ibid*., 17-22 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 26 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. *Ibid*., 22 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. *Ibid*., 17 September 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 22 April 1794; 24 April 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. *Ibid*., 28 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. *Ibid*., 6 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 26 June 1776. Other examples include: ‘my sister still very indifferent’ 17 June 1776; ‘My sister Constantia rode over to see Mrs O - found her very indifferent’ 4 August 1776; ‘Mrs O some days tolerably easy at others very indifferent’ 6 November 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 22 August 1794; BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 17 February 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. BLA OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 19 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 8 October 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. *Ibid*., 16 March 1776: ‘had the happiness of finding my sister C and neice Harriet well’. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 16 May 1808. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. *Ibid*., 6 November 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. *Ibid*., 19 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. Susanna Anthony, *The life and character of Miss Susanna Anthony, who died, in Newport, (R.I.) June 23, MDCCXCI, in the sixty fifth year of her age* (Worcester, 1796) p.141. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 22 July 1776; 6 November 1776; 26 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. *Ibid*., 21 June 1776; 12 June 1776; 26 June 1776; 7 July 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. *Ibid*., 22 July 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 12 June 1794; 1 October 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 4 April 1794; BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 21-31 March 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. *Ibid*., pp.117-121 [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter* (London, 1998) pp.119-120. The Gossip Family expose their children to smallpox when one seems to only have it mildly, ending in a more vicious attack of the disease. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) pp.2-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 24 June 1776: ‘My sister Orlebar considerably better today - Constantia came yesterday to see her and we rejoice together in the good prospect of Mrs Orlebar's recovery’. For more on the religious framing of health and deliverance see: Sharon Howard, ‘'Imagining the Pain and Peril of Seventeenth century Childbirth: Travail and Deliverance in the Making of an Early Modern World', *Social History of Medicine*, 16 (2003), pp.367-382. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter* (London, 1998) pp.99-107. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. Crawford, *Blood Bodies and Families,* p.2. See also: Phyllis Mack, ‘Preface’, in Jane Long, Jan Gothard and Helen Brash (eds) *Forging Identities; Bodies, Gender and Feminist History* (Perth, 1997) p.xi ; Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-century England* (London, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. Adrian Wilson, 'Participant or patient? Seventeenth-century childbirth from the mother's point of view' in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perception of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985) pp. 129-143; Patricia Crawford, 'The construction and experience of maternity in seventeenth-century England' in Valerie Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England. Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren* (London, 1990) pp. 3-38; Adrian Wilson, *Ritual and Conflict: The Social Relations of Childbirth in Early Modern England* (London, 2013) pp.153-210. See also: Angela Muir, ‘Midwifery and Maternity Care for Single Mothers in Eighteenth-Century Wales’, *Social History of Medicine* 33 (2020) pp.408-410. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. Adrian Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660-1770* (Abingdon, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. Lisa Foreman Cody, *Birthing the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons* (Oxford, 2005) pp.1-30.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. Linda A. Pollock, ‘Childbearing and female bonding in early modern England’, *Social History* 22 (1997) p.296-299. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Joanna Begiato, ‘‘Breeding’ a ‘Little Stranger’: Managing Uncertainty in Pregnancy in Later Georgian England’ in Jennifer Evans and Ciara Meehan (eds), Jennifer Evans and Ciara Meehan (eds), *Perceptions of Pregnancy from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke; 2017) pp. 13-34 [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter* (London, 1998) pp.99-107; [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. Karen Harvey, ‘What Mary Toft Felt: Women's Voices, Pain, Power and the Body’, *History Workshop Journal* 80 (2015) pp.42-44. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Joanna Begiato, ‘‘Breeding’ a ‘Little Stranger’: Managing Uncertainty in Pregnancy in Later Georgian England’ in Jennifer Evans and Ciara Meehan (eds) *Perceptions of Pregnancy from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke; 2017) p.14. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. Karen Harvey, ‘Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2019) pp.457-458. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) p.9. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Karen Harvey, ‘Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 (2019) p.458; p.465. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 22 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 4 September 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. Olivia Weisser, ‘Grieved and Disordered: Gender and Emotion in Early Modern Patient Narratives’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 43 (2013) pp. 247–273. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. Barbara Duden, *The Woman beneath the Skin: A Doctor’s Patients in Eighteenth Century Germany* (Cambridge, 1991). [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 21 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. Lisa Wynne Smith, ‘‘An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper’: The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France’, Eighteenth-Century Studies 41 (2008), p.472. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 15 September 1794; 7 September 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. Lisa Wynne Smith, ‘‘An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper’: The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41 (2008), p.460. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. *Ibid*., p.464. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 16-21 December 1776; 18 September 1776; 21 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. *Ibid*., 13 December 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 28- 30 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 15 September 1794, 8 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. BLA OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 8 May 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. Karen Harvey, ‘What Mary Toft Felt: Women’s Voices, Pain, Power and the Body’, *History Workshop Journal* 80, (2015) pp. 33–51. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (London, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 21 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford, 2012) p.94. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (London, 2015) p.2; [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. Roy Porter, ‘The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from below’, *Theory and Society* 14 (1985) p.187; p.192; p.176; Alun Withey, *Physick and the family: Health, medicine and care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2011) p.29; pp.121-126; Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (London, 2015) p.15. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Wayne Wild, *Medicine by Post: The Changing Voice of Illness in Eighteenth-century British Consultation Letters and Literature* (New York, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. Alun Withey, *Physick and the family: Health, medicine and care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2011) p.29. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) p.96. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 23 June 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. *Ibid*., 22 September 1776; 28 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. BLA: OR 2216: The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 8 April 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. John Anderson, *Medical remarks on natural, spontaneous and artificial evacuation. By John Anderson, M. D.* (London, 1787) p.103; E. Bullman, *The family physician; or a choice collection of approved medicines, for the cure of every disease incident to the human body* (London, 1789). [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 20 June 1776; 16 July 1776 ; on 24 June 1776 Mary wrote that she and her sister Constantia ‘rejoice together in the good prospect of Mrs Orlebar's recovery’ after Doctor Syme pronounced she was getting better, a day later he was called again and Elizabeth was pronounced to be ‘indifferent again’. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. *Ibid*., 16-20 December 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford, 2012) pp.104-119. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. *Ibid*., pp.113-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. *Ibid*., p11; p.207–217; p.236. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 4 March and 10 March 1776. Mary uses the term throughout March, just before she is summoned to Hinwick, for example when she went to see a play ‘went with Miss Farrer to the play a new one, The Runaway, pretty enough to amuse one agreeably’ and also when she went to church ‘went to church at St Pauls - and called on Mrs Carter drank tea with mrs Mulio - very agreeably entertained with the choir service’. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) p.217. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) pp.210-212. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 28 July 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. *Ibid*., 5 December 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. *Ibid*., 21 November 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 6-11 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. *Ibid*., 1-2 February 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge, 2009) p.27. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. Charlotte’s diary is full of the comings and goings of the family: ‘My sister Orlebar went away and was so good as to take little Constantia with her’, ‘Mr Orlebar set off again with two more sons to Bedford’, ‘my mother went as far as Wellingborough’, ‘Mrs S, Miss Maria and Mrs E[liza] Orlebar set off early this morn for Ecton’, ‘Harriet went to pass the day and night at Mr Hudson's. John and George at Odell Castle’, ‘Our horses went to Northampton to convey my father back’. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, , 2 July 1794; 1 August 1794; 8 August 1794; 18 September 1794; 20 March 1794; 20-21 January 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 22 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 14 July 1794; 1 August 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 1 August 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. Alun Withey, *Physick and the family: Health, medicine and care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2011) pp.121-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 11 October 1784. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. *Ibid*., 18 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. DA: DD/CL/3/18, Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. In 1650 George Fox, founder of the Quaker movement, visited Doncaster. His follower, Thomas Aldham, set up a meeting there, and Fox came to preach in the market square. Unfortunately, Fox was dragged from the market by the town officials and told never to return, he was even stoned on his way out of town. Nevertheless, Thomas Aldham’s son proceeded to open the first Quaker Meeting House in the area, and in 1652 thousands in Doncaster came to hear Fox preach again, this time under a walnut tree in Balby Orchard. As the numbers of Quakers grew in Doncaster, John Clarke, a Quaker who rose to the position of Mayor, lent his house in French Gate to become another Meeting House. In 1800 the Friends decided to move their Meeting from Warmsworth to Doncaster and bought an old barn on the lane leading to Hexthorpe, behind which they created a burial ground. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.23-24. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. The Clarke family were Grocers in Doncaster. They were cousins to Martha Smith and married into the Hawley and Routh families, William Clarke married Susannah Hawley’s daughter Mary Hawley, one of the letter writers, in 1809 and Samuel Routh (Mary Routh’s son) married Hannah Clarke, the daughter of Timothy Clarke in 1822. Susannah Hawley’s maiden name was Ecroyd, and she was descended from John Payne who had married Ann Aldham, daughter of Thomas Aldham of those first Doncaster Quakers. John’s son William had married an Elizabeth Ecroyd in the house of Joseph Clarke in 1755. Susannah Ecroyd married Robert Hawley and resided at Oakham in Rutland; they were the most successful up and coming branch of the family with Robert being called a Gentleman upon his death in 1816. Robert’s father, who had been a mercer, had helped to establish the Quakers in Oakham by giving them the land for the meeting house and paying £35 towards the cost of the building. Susannah and Robert Hawley had several children, including Robert Hawley Jnr, Mary Hawley, and Frances Hawley. Frances their daughter would marry back into the Payne family, wedding Dr Henry Payne in 1822. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. Martha Smith, ‘Address to the Welsh Half Year's Meeting of Ministers and Elders by Martha Smith’ *Library of the Society of Friends Catalogue,* <http://quaker.adlibhosting.com/Details/archive/110003035> [accessed 12 October 2017] [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. Susannah Hawley, as part of an influential Doncaster Quaker family by marriage, was at the centre of much of the business and community connections in the area. Susannah regularly received letters from Martha Smith and Mary Hoyle. Susannah also had one letter in the bundle directed to her from Mary Routh. The other letters in the family bundle were written by Ann Hawley, Susannah’s sister-in-Law, and Susannah’s daughter Frances who both wrote to Susannah’s other daughter Mary Hawley who was away at school in the 1790’s. There were also two other letters written by Mary Hoyle, one to Mary Hawley and the other to Mary Clarke, who was living at Oakham with the Hawley family. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. [Anonymous] (eds), *Letters of Martha Smith With a Short Memoir of Her Life Prepared and Published by a Few of Her Particular Friends* (New York, 1844) p.iii. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. See: Christine Trevett, *Women and Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century* (York, 1995); Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1994); Michele Tarter*,* ‘‘Go North!’ The Journey towards First-Generation Friends and their Prophecy of Celestial Flesh’, in P.Dandelion (ed.) *The Creation of Quaker Theory: Insider Perspectives* (Aldershot, 2004) pp 83-98; Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England 1640-1660* (Aldershot, 2006); Catie Gill, *Women in the Seventeenth Century Quaker Community: A Literary Study of Political Identities 1650-1700* (Aldershot, 2005). See also: Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (London, 1994); Hilary Hinds*, God’s Englishwomen: Seventeenth-Century Radical Sectarian Writing and Feminist Criticism* (Manchester, 1996); Rosemary Moore, *Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain, 1646-1666* (University Park PA, 2000); Christine Trevett, *Quaker women prophets in England and Wales, 1650-1700* (Lewiston, 2000); David Booy, *Autobiographical Writings by Early Quaker Women* (Aldershot, 2004); Marjon Ames, *Margaret Fell, Letters, and the Making of Quakerism* (Abingdon, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. See: Rachel Labouchere, *Abiah Darby: 1716-1793 of Coalbrookdale, wife of Abraham Darby II* (York, 1988); Rachel Labouchere, *Deborah Darby of Coalbrookdale, 1754-1810: Her Visits to America, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England and the Channel Isles* (York, 1993); Gil Skidmore, *Strength in Weakness: Writings by Eighteenth-Century Quaker Women* (Walnut Creek, 2003); Edward Milligan, *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry, 1775-1920* (York, 2007); Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. For an overview of the central role of Quaker women and their continued radicalism see: Judith Jennings, *Gender, Religion, and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century: The 'Ingenious Quaker' and Her Connections* (Abingdon, 2006) pp.8-26; Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.2-3**.** [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, ‘Introduction’ in Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill (eds), *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800* (Oxford, 2018) pp.8-9; Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. See: Catie Gill, *Women in the Seventeenth-​Century Quaker Community: A Literary Study of Political Identities, 1650 – ​1700* (Aldershot, 2005) p. 186; Catie Gill, ‘'Ministering Confusion': Rebellious Quaker Women (1650-1660)’, *Quaker Studies*, 9 (2005) pp.18-19; Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, ‘Introduction’ in Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill (eds), *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800* (Oxford, 2018) p.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. Christine Trevett, *Women and Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century* (York, 1995) p.81. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1994); Michelle Tarter, ‘Reading a Quakers’ Book: Elizabeth Ashbridge’s Testimony of Quaker Literary Theory’, *Quaker Studies* 9 (2005) pp.176-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.2-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. *Ibid.,* p.26; pp.98-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. See: James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London, 1997); Gillian Cookson, ‘Quaker networks and the industrial development of Darlington’ in John F. Wilson and Andrew Popp (eds), *Industrial Clusters and Regional Business Networks in England*, 1750-1970 (Abingdon, 2017) pp.155-173; [Anonymous], ‘Business in Britain and Ireland’, *Quakers in the World* <https://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/142/Business-in-Britain-and-Ireland> [accessed 24 February 2021]. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. For enquiries into the seemingly distinctive business ethics of Quakers, ‘plain dealing’ and the business

     networks they built see: Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960), pp.55–64; James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London, 1997); Esther Sahle, ‘An investigation of Early Modern Quakers’ Business Ethics’, *Economic History Working Papers*216 (2015) p.2; Richard Coopey, ‘The British glove industry, 1750-1970: The advantages and vulnerability of a regional industry’ in John F. Wilson and Andrew Popp (eds), *Industrial Clusters and Regional Business Networks in England*, 1750-1970 (Abingdon, 2017) p. 182; Esther Sahle, *Quakers in the British Atlantic World, c.1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2021). Sahle argues that a crisis in the business reputation of the Quakers about their self-interest in the colony in Philadelphia was the catalyst for the sect stressing honesty and trustworthiness in business by the end of the eighteenth century. [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. For overviews and case studies on Doncaster and Yorkshire Quaker industry see: Helen Roberts, ‘Friends in Business: Researching the History of Quaker Involvement in Industry and Commerce’, *Quaker Studies*, 8 (2003) pp.182-186. [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. See: Deborah M. Valenze*, Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (New Jersey, 1985), especially pp. 223-3; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes:* *Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (Abingdon, 1987) pp.31-32; p.391;Hannah Barker and Jane Hamlett, ‘Living above the Shop: Home, Business, and Family in the English ‘Industrial Revolution’’, *Journal of Family History* 35 (2010) pp.311-328; Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford, 2017) see especially p.4 and pp. 78-117. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes.* (Abingdon, 1987)p.32. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) p.26; pp.98-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) p.26; pp.98-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford, 2021) pp.174-175. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. *Ibid*., p.174. [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. Naomi Pullin and Sandra Stanley Holton suggest that the centrality of the home and household to the emotional judgements on work meant that the distinction made between public and private experiences or forms of work particularly for Quaker women were blurred. Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780–1930* (London, 2007); Naomi Pullin, ‘‘None fitter to do the husband's work’: Women, domesticity and the household in the transatlantic Quaker movement', in *Newberry Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 7 (Chicago, 2013) pp.133-149. See also: Linda Wilson, ‘She succeeds with cloudless brow...’ How active was the spirituality of nonconformist women in the home during the period 1825-1875?' *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1998), pp. 347-359. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1994); Christine Trevett, *Women and Quakerism in the Seventeenth Century* (York, 1995). p.81; Catie Gill, *Women in the Seventeenth-Century Quaker Community: A Literary Study of Political Identities, 1650 – 1700* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 186; Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, ‘Introduction’ in Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill (eds), *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800* (Oxford, 2018) p.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: ecstatic prophecy in seventeenth-century England* (Berkeley, 1994), p. 134. [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. Rufus M. Jones*, Later Periods of Quakerism* (New York, 1921) pp.35-36. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. Martha was quoting 2 Chronicles verse 28 in the Old Testament. [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. DA: DD/CL/3/18(13), Letter from Mary Hoyle to Mary Hawley, 3 January 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7), Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789; DD/CL/3/18(18) 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. See Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) p.7; p.10; pp.14-15; p.53; pp.65-66; pp.109-113; p.128; p.133. [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. DA: DD/CL/3/18(23), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 13 June 1829. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Alexandra Shepard, ‘Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy’, *History Workshop Journal*, 79 (2015), pp. 12 – ​14. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. Robin Holt and Andrew Popp, ‘Emotion, succession, and the family firm: Josiah Wedgwood & Sons’, *Business History* 55 (2013) p.892. See also: Andrew Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families: Business, Marriage and Life in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Abingdon, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. Robin Holt and Andrew Popp, ‘Emotion, succession, and the family firm: Josiah Wedgwood & Sons’, *Business History* 55 (2013) pp.155-187. Holt and Popp posit Wedgewood was influenced by ‘the enlightenment spirit’ studying how enlightenment and unitarian emotional models affected Josiah Wedgewood’s business motivations and contributed to his success. According to Holt and Popp, Wedgewood’s outlook on the family as a site of individual freedom and affective ties, rather than being merely the site hereditary ambition, and dissenting Unitarianism allowed for his experimentation and autonomy. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. Hannah Barker, ‘Chapter Four: Cooperation, Duty, and Love’ in Hannah Barker, *Family and Business During the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2017), p.119. Barker charts by looking at diaries and letters how wider cultural and societal rules for co-operation, duty, or managing emotions on a ‘collective level’, were supported by emotions such as affection and love and were realised and used in real family businesses. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. *Ibid*., p.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. For more on how these pressures might have affected the sharing of labour in marriages see: Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.79-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. *Ibid*., pp.227-228. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. DA: DD/CL/3/18(7), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. DA: DD/CL/3/18(19), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 May 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (13), Letter from Mary Hoyle to Mary Hawley, 3 January 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. See also: Henry Ecroyd Smith, *Annals of Smith of Cantley, Balby and Doncaster, County York; Embracing Elaborate Pedigrees of the Connected Families and Biographical Notices of their more Eminent Members* (1878) in <https://archive.org/stream/annalssmithcant00smitgoog/annalssmithcant00smitgoog_djvu.txt> [accessed 03/01/2020]. Henry Ecroyd Smith gives information about the school. ‘Mary (Ecroyd) Routh, who having relinquished her business, retired to the house of her two daughters in French-gate. Some little time after, she mar, secondly at Boston, Herbert Camm, son of Joseph and Esther Camm, who had recently settled in Doncaster; without issue. Shortly after the marriage, Mary Camm, undertaking gratuitously the charge of a boarding-school for girls of the Soc. of Friends at York, (the precursor of the present Yorks. Q.M. School for Girls, established in Castle-gate, York, in 1831,) they removed to that city and opened the institution — one chiefly inaugurated by the Tuke family — in 1784. After about five years had elapsed, Herbert Camm died there, and shortly his widow once more retired to Doncaster, where she died 5 H. 1815, and was bur. in Friends' burial ground in West Laith-gate. She was very amiable and intelligent, and edited the Memoir and Poems for her cousin, John Marriott’ (p.113). [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. John Ash, *The new and complete dictionary of the English language* (London, 1775). Older words were connected to ‘toil’, ‘Blondrin (v. obsolete) To toil, to hustle, to blunder’ (p.121) and ‘Moil (v.int) To labour in the dirt, to drudge, to toil’ (p.617). See examples of the use and meaning of ‘toil’ in wider contemporary etymology: Nathan Bailey, *The new universal etymological English dictionary* (London, 1760) p.307; p.621. To ‘toil’ was defined as ‘Labour’ which was further defined as ‘a painful exertion of strength, or wearisome perseverance, pains, toil, travail, work…motion with some degree of violence…the toil of the mind destroys health and generates maladies’ furthermore Bailey defined ‘toil’ as being ‘full of labour’ without any respite; Similarly in Francis Allen, A complete English dictionary (London, 1765) ‘labour’ and ‘toil’ were connected as ‘tiresome perseverance; pains; toil; work;…travail; state of pain…[before] being delivered of a child; … to take pains’ (p.295). [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. Samuel Whyte, *The beauties of history: or, Pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from real life: designed for the instruction and entertainment of youth* (Dublin, 1788) p.241. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. Martha used the reference to 2 Chronicles verse 28 in the Old Testament to underscore the aim for which they worked: for spiritual rather than pecuniary benefit. [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
426. Examples of positive emotions attached to work: ‘if they work together for good I think I shall rejoice’ DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. DA: DD/CL/3/18(23), Letter from Martha Smith to Mary Clarke, 13 June 1829. [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. DA: DD/CL/3/18(12), Letter from Frances Hawley to Mary Hawley, 13 January 1801. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. DA: DD/CL/3/18(21), Letter from Mary Hoyle to Mary Clarke, 24 February 1810. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. DA: DD/CL/3/18(9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806; DA:DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. For more on how the ‘Mothers of Israel’ was used a moniker for women who held considerable power in guiding the community and church policy see: Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750*(Cambridge, 2018) pp.100-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. DA: DD/CL/3/18(14), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. Edwina Newman, ‘Quakers and the Family’ in Stephen Ward Angell, Stephen W. Angell, Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford, 2013) p.443. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. DA: DD/CL/3/18(7) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806 [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. DA: DD/CL/3/18(16) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. DA: DD/CL/3/18(23), Letter from Martha Smith to Mary Clarke, 13 June 1829.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. In terms of work, Pullin contends that there was no straightforward dichotomy between preaching and family life and that a ‘multiplicity of domestic relationships and ideals were accorded to women’ in their roles as travelling preachers and homemakers: Naomi Pullin, ‘‘None fitter to do the husband's work’: Women, domesticity and the household in the transatlantic Quaker movement', in *Newberry Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 7 (Chicago, 2013) p.133. Sandra Stanley Holton similarly concludes that the lived public and private contexts for the women of the Bright Circle were indivisible and that these women shaped their identities through the values and activities which were sanctioned by their wider network, most often in the application of domestic and familial values in public activities. Sandra Stanley Holton, *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780–1930* (London, 2007). pp.84-85; p.118. [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. See Chapter Two, p.97; p.163. [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, ‘Introduction’, in Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2012) pp.1-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2013) p.6; pp.9-10; Hannah Newton, *Misery to Mirth: Recovery from Illness in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2018) pp.27-28. See also Alec Ryrie, ‘Chapter I The Protestant Emotions’ in Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2013) pp.17-98. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford, 2021) pp.1-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (Cambridge, 2008) pp.5-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. Michael H. Plugh, ‘Meaning in Silence and the Quaker Tradition’, *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 69 (2012) pp.205-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. See: Judith Roads, ‘The Distinctiveness of Quaker Prose, 1650-1699: A Corpus-Based Enquiry’, PhD thesis (University of Birmingham, 2015); Rhiannon Grant, *British Quakers and Religious Language* (Leiden, 2018) pp.38-59); Judith Roads, *Quaker Prophetic Language in the Seventeenth Century: A Cross-Disciplinary Case Study*, *Religions*, 9 (2018) pp.1-24.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. Sheila Wright, 'Gaining a Voice': An Interpretation of Quaker Women's Writing 1740-1850’, *Quaker Studies*, 8 (2003) pp.37-38; pp.49-50; Carme Font Paz, ‘The Case for Prophecy: Politics, Gender and Self-representation in 17th-Century Prophetic Discourses’, *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 22 (2009) pp.63-78; Michele Lise Tarter, ‘Written from the Body of Sisterhood: Quaker Women’s Prophesying and the Creation of a New Word’ in Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill (eds), *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800* (Oxford, 2018) pp.74-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Edwina Newman and Judith Jennings, ‘New Perspectives on Eighteenth- Century British Quaker Women’ *Quaker Studies* 14 (2010) p.162. [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. Robynne Rogers Healey, ‘Quietist Quakerism, 1692-c.1805’, in Stephen Ward Angell, Stephen W. Angell, Ben Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford, 2013) p.50. [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. Ben Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge, 2007) pp.58-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Robynne Rogers Healey, ‘From Apocalyptic Prophecy to Tolerable Faithfulness; George Whitehead and a Theology for the Eschaton Deferred’ in Stephen Ward Angell, Stephen W. Angell, Ben Pink Dandelion (eds) *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought* (Cambridge, 2015) p.284. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. See: Naomi Pullin, ‘Chapter 4 ‘‘In the World, but Not of It’: Quaker Women’ s Interactions with the Non-​Quaker World’ in Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.200-251. [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Ben Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge, 2007) p.60. [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. *Ibid*., pp 65-67. [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. Douglas A Kline,’The Quaker Journey and the Framing of Corporate and Personal Belief.’ *Ethos*, 40 (2012) pp.277-278. [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. *Ibid.,* p.278. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Edwina Newman, ‘Quakers and the Family’ in Stephen Ward Angell, Stephen W. Angell, Ben Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford, 2013) p.434. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. *Ibid*., p.434. [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. Naomi Pullin, ‘Chapter 3 ‘United by This Holy Cement’: The Constructions, Practices, and Experiences of Female Friendship’ in Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.152-199. See also: Sandra Stanley Holton, ‘Kinship and Friendship: Quaker women’s networks and the women’s movement’ *Women’s History Review* 14 (2005). pp.84-85. Holton in her work on the Bright circle examines the church culture of Friends and how the methods used to sustain and preserve kinship networks blurred the lines between public and private in their activities and connections to the domestic. [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.167-175. [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. *Ibid*., pp.167-180. [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.93-151. [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. DA: DD/CL/3/18(10), Letter from Ann Hawley to Mary Hawley, 18 July 1798. [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. DA: DD/CL/3/18(17), Letter from Frances Hawley to Mary Hawley, 6 December 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. DA: DD/CL/3/18(8), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792; DA: DD/CL/3/18(7), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789; DA: DD/CL/3/18(9). [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley,4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. DA: DD/CL/3/18(19), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 May 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. See Chapter One Section 1.4, ‘The emotional consequences of socialising as ‘dull’ ‘duty’’ pp.67-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.192-199. [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. *Ibid*., pp.172-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. Katherine Damiano, ‘On Earth as it is in Heaven: Eighteenth Century Quakerism as Realised Eschatology’, Unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Experimenting Colleges and Universities, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650-1750* (Cambridge, 2018) pp.187-189. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. *Ibid*., pp.163-165. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. *Ibid*., pp.193-194. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. DA: DD/CL/3/18(16), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford, 2021) pp.58-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford, 2021) pp.58-59;Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011) pp.112-116. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. DA:DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. DA: DD/CL/3/18(9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. Edwina Newman and Judith Jennings, ‘New Perspectives on Eighteenth- Century British Quaker Women’ *Quaker Studies* 14 (2010) p.160. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. See: Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson and David Olafsson on ‘in-between spaces in, Sigurdur Gylfi Magnusson and David Olafsson, *Minor Knowledge and Microhistory: Manuscript Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2017) p.5. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. Lawrence Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal,* 45 (2002) p.873; pp.878-879. [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. *Ibid*., p.870. [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. *Ibid*., p.881. For an overview of the culture of politeness see: Lawrence Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994); Paul Langford, ‘The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), pp. 311-331.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. For more on the rhetoric of sensibility in novels, cultural education and display of sensibility and sympathy through seeing, touching and display see: Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge, 2004); Ann Jessie van Sant, *Eighteenth-Century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in Social Context* (Cambridge, 2004) p.3; p.5; pp.9-15; p.73; p.96. There is also much about how religious mores and morality were tied to ideas of sensibility and brought religion into displays and structures of politeness and social culture, see: G.J Barker Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992) p.6; pp. 7-8; 71-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. G.J. Barker Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility* (Chicago, 1992) pp.1-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. For more on how sensibility developed in the period see: G.J Barker Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); Daniel Wickberg, ‘What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New’, *The American Historical Review*, 112, (2007) pp. 664-666.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. E. Deidre Pribram, ‘An Individual of Feeling: Emotion, Gender, and Subjectivity in Historical Perspectives on Sensibility’ in Willemijn Ruberg and Kristine Steenbergh (eds), *Sexed Sentiments: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Gender and Emotion* (Leiden, 2011) p.22. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Kate Davison, Marja Jalava, Giulia Morosini, Monique Scheer, Kristine Steenbergh, Iris van der Zande and Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker, ‘Emotions as a Kind of Practice: Six Case Studies Utilizing Monique Scheer’s Practice-Based Approach to Emotions in History’, *Cultural History*, 7 (2018) pp.235-236. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. For a comprehensive overview of early modern obligation and gift-giving culture in economic and social relations see: Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Hampshire, 1998); Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (London, 2002); Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008); Brodie Waddell, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, 2012); Tim Stretton, ‘Written Obligations, Litigation and Neighbourliness’ in Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, John Walter (eds), *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2013) pp.189-210. [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. Linda Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar, ‘Introduction’ in C.Klekar (ed.), *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 2009) p.3;Seealso: Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Hampshire, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904). [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Hampshire, 1998) p.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (London, 2002) p.70. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. For example, in reflections on male duties in contemporary print, such as Thomas Gisborne’s, *An Enquiry into the duty of men in the higher and middle classes of society in Great Britain*, aristocratic men were considered to have mainly public or useful obligations to their monarch, politics and social order, their country and their tenants and dependants. These obligations, which although often entailed involuntary debts and responsibilities to those lower and higher than themselves, allowed for a determined sense of position and power over most of society and for them to retain economic benefits alongside the maintenance of their subordinates. This idea of social obligation also placed certain parameters on the conduct and obligations of their tenants as well, who supported the aristocracy’s affluence but in return for loyalty and subservience were supposed to receive care. See: Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the duty of men in the higher and middle classes of society in Great Britain* (London, 1794); similarly in [Anonymous], *The Relative duty of creditors and debtors considered* (London, 1743) The author wrote ‘the Obligation of his Duty is established upon that fundamental Rule and Maxim of Justice, *to render to all their Ducs*; (a) without which Property could not be preserved, commerce could carry on, nor civil society subsist in the world’ (p.8). [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. See examples of ‘satisfaction’ and other positive emotions in: In Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Hampshire, 1998). Muldrew quotes Samuel Pepys’ diaries when Pepys cites such emotions when building his credit reputation ‘everyday I understand more and more the pleasure of following business and the credit a man gets by it’, ‘I offered now to pay him the £4000 remaining of his £8000 for Tangier, which he took with great kindnesse, and prayed me most frankly to give him a note for £3500 and accept the other £500 for myself, which in good earnest was against my judgement to do, for [I] expected about £100 and no more, but however he would have me do it, and ownes very great obligations to me, and the man indeed I love, and he deserves it. This put me into great joy’ (p.1777-1778); Pepys clearly understood ‘Obligation’ as a practice as well, doing certain things to gain credit and reputation from money lending to sitting down to dinner with others. All these things were cited as being ‘under obligation’ to others, which held strict connotations of status, power, and exchange. [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Examples of negative emotions connected to ‘Obligation’ include Thomas Johnson, *An essay on moral obligation: With a View Towards settling the Controversy, Concerning Moral and Positive Duties* (London, 1731) p.29-30. Johnson writes: ‘an internal principle whereby we receive amiable or disagreeable Ideas of Actions , when they occur to our observation, antecedent to any opinions of Advantage or Loss to rebound to ourselves from them’; Again Samuel Pepys exemplifies negative feelings associated with credit obligations ‘walking in the garden with Captain Cocke till 5o’clock. No newes yet of the ﬂeete. His great bargaine of Hempe with us by his unknown proposition is disliked by the King, and so is quite off; of which he is glad, by this means being rid of his obligation to my Lord Bruncker, which he was tired with’ (p.1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. Linda Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar, ‘Introduction’ in C.Klekar (ed.), *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 2009) p.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. Amanda Vickery presents a significant overview of this culture of hierarchy and how it affected ideas of relationships in the home over the period: ‘The home was celebrated in conduct literature as the stage set for a harmonious hierarchical domesticity, yet this was achieved at the cost of the self-determination of the inferior family members: wives, younger sons, daughters, dependant kin, servants and apprentices all had to accept their place in the chain of command…Bowing the head to others was a universal performance …social stability reinforced the social assumption that hierarchy, like Anglicanism, was natural’: Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London, 2009) p.186.For examples of how women and marital relationships were affected by the culture of ‘obligation’ see: Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 2013) pp.97-98, 204-206,249,350; Katie Barclay, ‘Chapter 4 The construction of patriarchy: love, obligation and obedience’ in Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 2013) pp.102-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (London, 1740). In Mr B’s list of the duties he expected of a wife Richardson details these obligations explicitly and underlines that if Pamela follows all the rules he, as a husband would not have to use the terms ‘command and obey’ and would be ‘incapable of returning insult for obligation, or evil for good’ (pp.239-240) .By using the idea of the obligations between wives and husbands, based on affection and duty, as the most moral and fruitful foundation for a marriage, Richardson presented an ideal version of marriage that circumvented differences in economic background, espoused romantic love but was still embedded in those obligations and dutiful ties between men and women that anyone with the ‘right’ moral attitude, like Pamela, could create. See also: Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge, 2003) pp.27-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. Victoria Kahn, ‘‘The Duty to Love’: Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory’, *Representations* 68 (1999) p.85. Kahn argues that historians should focus their attention on ‘‘domesticall duties’ and gender relations in the decades leading up to and including the English Civil War’ which ‘are as crucial to this narrative (of obligation) as are the canonical works of early modern political theorists’ (p.85). See also Katie Barclay, ‘Chapter 4 The construction of patriarchy: love, obligation and obedience’ in Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 2013) pp.102-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. Victoria Kahn, ‘‘The Duty to Love’: Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory’, *Representations* 68 (1999) p.85. [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (London, 2009) pp.186-187. See also: Victoria Kahn, ‘‘The Duty to Love’: Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory’, *Representations* 68 (1999) p.85. [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 1737-57, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 26-27 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. *Ibid*., 18 November 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 1737-57, October to 5 December 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. *Ibid*., 20 September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. *Ibid*., 11 November 1727. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. Brodie Waddell, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, 2012) p.113-114. Waddell makes the point about the differences between the rich and the poor and how preachers such as John Conant and Robert Moss accorded these simple duties for people to carry out their different services for the stability and benefit of all. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. For an overview of this position see: Alexandra Shephard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015) p.192. Shephard also suggest that for people lower on the social scale during the early modern period, their self-identification of their position and dependencies within the social order show that beyond the aristocracy’s binary ideas of obligation there was already a complex and diverse understanding of appraisal of worth and social reckoning that overlapped many forms of relationship; Tim Stretton, ‘Written Obligations, Litigation and Neighbourliness’ in Steve Hindle, Alexandra Shepard, John Walter (eds), *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2013) pp.189-210. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 19 October 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. PATB: 1259/2/285, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 26 May 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. *Ibid*., 19 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. *Ibid*., 25 November 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 3-4 March 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar 1776 -1810, 18 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. *Ibid*., 2 September 1776. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 14 December 1796, 14 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. DA: DD/CL/3/18(19 ) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 May 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. The word ‘obliged’ was often used connected to showing the correct kinds of polite behaviour in a range of situations and to underline the compulsion to behave in polite ways and in polite exchanges. For example, in [Anonymous], *The polite academy; or, School of behaviour for young gentlemen and ladies. Intended as a foundation for good manners and polite address, in masters and misses,* (London, 1780) there are various directions to be ‘obliged to show your skill’ in polite accomplishments (p.32), to be ‘obliged’ for social favours (p.107) interestingly using a version of the story of ‘Beauty and the Beast’ to underscore obligation to polite behaviour and in response to innate politeness and gentility. See also: Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des enfans. The young ladies magazine: or, Polite tutoress. Containing dialouges between a governess and several young ladies of quality her scholars* (Dublin, 1792) in which a character named ‘Mrs Affable’ emphasises she is ‘much obliged’ to her counterparts ‘Miss Witty’ and ‘Miss Rural’ (p.55) and ‘mightily obliged’ to ‘Miss Sensible’ (p.152). [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 14 July 1794 ‘Mr Gibbard and his son called this afternoon and were so obliging as to insist upon taking John and George home’. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar 1776-1810, 5-7 February 1776 ‘met with a very obliging reception there’. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. PATB: 1259/2/302, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 October 1796 ‘I am much obliged to you for enquiring after my maid’; PATB: 1259/2/303, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 30 October 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. DA: DD/CL/3/18(16 ) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805. Mary wrote: ‘to tell thee how much I feel indebted to thee and thy dear husband for your kindness to my Mary during so great a part of my long absence, the relief it was to my mind, having her so placed, is better felt than described, and the good effect your air had upon her health, combine to fill my mind with gratitude and glad I shall be to return the obligation, whenever it is in my power… she speaks of her visit with much pleasure and is very desirous I should write and tell you all with her dear love, how much she feels obliged by the many kindnesses she received’. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge, 2003) p.38. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar 1794, 26 March 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. BLA: OR 2216 The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar 1794, 5 April1794; 17 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. PATB: 1259/2/288, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 29 July 1796; PATB: 1259/2/297, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 September 1796; PATB: 1259/2/302, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 25 October 1796; PATB: 1259/2/309, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 14 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. L. Gowing, M. Hunter, M. Rubin, ‘Introduction’ in *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800* (Hampshire, 2005) p.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. Amanda E Herbert, ‘Chapter 1 ‘Small expressions of My Passionate Love and Friendship to Thee’: The Idioms and Languages of Female Alliances’ in Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* pp.1-21; *Ibid.,* p.22. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. DA: DD/CL/3/18(16 ), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805; DA: DD/CL/3/18(15 ) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. DA: DD/CL/3/18(13), Letter from Mary Hoyle to Mary Hawley, 3 January 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. DA: DD/CL/3/18(16 ), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 5 December 1805. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008) p.81; p.385. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. For discussions on material comfort, taste, luxury, consumerism and objects and identities see: Carole Shammas, ‘The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America’, *Journal of Social History*, 14, (1980) pp. 3–24; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, ‘Tea, Gender, and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century England.’, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994) pp. 131-145; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (New York, 1996); Christopher Flint, *Family Fictions: Narrative and Domestic Relations in Britain, 1688-1798* (California, 1998); John Styles, ‘Georgian Britain 1714-1837: Introduction’ in Michael Snodin and John Styles (eds), *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain 1500-1900* (London, 2001) pp.157-185; Helen Berry, ‘Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England.’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002) pp. 375-94. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds), *Luxury in the 18th Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Amanda Vickery and John Styles (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (London, 2006); Hannah Greig, Giorgio Riello, ‘Eighteenth-Century Interiors—Redesigning the Georgian: Introduction’, *Journal of Design History*, 20 (2007) pp. 273–28; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London, 2009); Judith S. Lewis, ‘When a House Is Not a Home: Elite English Women and the Eighteenth-Century Country House.’ *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 2 (2009) pp.336-63; Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013) Karin Hofmeester, Bernd-Stefan Grewe (eds), *Luxury in Global Perspective: Objects and Practices, 1600–2000* (Cambridge, 2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (London, 2006) p.251. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. Marie Odile-Bernez. ‘Comfort, the Acceptable Face of Luxury: An Eighteenth-Century Cultural Etymology’ in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* ,14 (2014), pp. 3-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Christine Adams, *A Taste for Comfort and Status: A Bourgeois Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (Pennsylvania, 2000) p.48. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. *Ibid*., p.68. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. John Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, 2000); Marie-Odile Bernez. ‘Comfort, the Acceptable Face of Luxury: An Eighteenth-Century Cultural Etymology’ in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* ,14 (2014), pp. 3-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. John Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, 2000) p.170 and p.262. Crowley also quotes Samuel Johnson: ‘life consists not a series of illustrious actions, or elegant enjoyments; the greater part of our time passes in the compliance with necessities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of small inconveniences…and we are well or ill at ease…The true state of every nation is the state of common life’ (p.174). See also: John Crowley, ‘The Sensibility of Comfort.’ *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 749-82. (p.774). [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. John Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. Marie-Odile Bernez. ‘Comfort, the Acceptable Face of Luxury: An Eighteenth-Century Cultural Etymology’ in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* ,14 (2014), p.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. Hannah Barker, *Family and Business During the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 2017) pp. 143-144.Barker observes that in all the couples she examines for her work on how emotional family ties were central to business practices that all the men use ‘comfort’ to mean the emotional support and consolation provided by their wives. Barker ties this to the more established meaning, highlighted by Odil-Bernez, of spiritual and emotional support rather than physical comfort. Barker also observes that John Tosh sees a similar outlook in men of Victorian England who saw home as the place where ‘their deepest needs were met’. See also:John Tosh, *A Man’s Place:* *Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, (London, 2008) p.1. For an overview of the historiography on how older emotional connotations of ‘comfort’ in consolation and social interaction were connected to the ‘home’ or sentimentality in material goods see: Jon Stobart and Christina Prytz, ‘Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c.1760–1820’, *Social History*, 43 (2018) p.237. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. Jon Stobart and Christina Prytz, ‘Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c.1760–1820’, *Social History*, 43 (2018) p.237. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. *Ibid*., p.237. [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2004) pp.127-128. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. See also Jon Stobart and Christina Prytz, ‘Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c.1760–1820’, *Social History*, 43 (2018) p.239. Stobart and Prytz query the use of the actual word ‘comfort’ and what it meant to contemporaries in Sweden and England. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. PATB: 1259/2/273, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 13 January 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends* (Cambridge, 2001) p. 127; p.199. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 23 April 1720. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. PATB: 1259/2/287, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 26 July 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. PATB: 1259/2/291, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 19 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 17 March 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. DA: DD/CL/3/18(18 ) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (8) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792. [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. DA: DD/CL/3/18(23) Letter from Martha Smith to Mary Clarke, 13 June 1829. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (8) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. DA: DD/CL/3/18(22) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. *Ibid*., p.142. Crowley argues that: ‘Anglo-American political economists, moral philosophers, scientists, humanitarian reformers, even novelists…sought to evaluate the relations of body, material culture and environment in the name of physical comfort. As they reconceptualised values, redesigned material environments and urged the relearning of behaviours, they gave the term *comfort* a new, physical emphasis, changing its centuries old reference to moral, emotional, spiritual, and political support in difficult circumstances. To be ‘comfortless’ had meant to being without ‘anything to allay misfortune,’ and ‘discomfort’ involved feelings of ‘sorrow’, ‘melancholy’ and ‘gloom’ rather than physical irritability. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. For an overview of works on eighteenth century secularisation see: C. John Somerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford, 1992); Carol Ann Stewart, *The Eighteenth-century Novel and the Secularization of Ethics* (Ashgate, 2010); Penelope Corfield, ‘An Age of Infidelity’: secularization in eighteenth-century England’ in *Social History* 39 (2014) pp. 229-247. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. Jeremy Gregory, ‘Introduction: Transforming ‘the Age of Reason’ into ‘an Age of Faiths’: or, Putting Religions and Beliefs (Back) into the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal for Eighteenth‐Century Studies*, 32 (2009) pp. 287-305. [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. Comfort was commonly attached to religious texts throughout the early modern period and over the whole of the eighteenth century. For examples of titles see: John Archer, *Comfort for believers about their sin and troubles. Or, an antidote against despair* (London. 1705); Richard Baxter, *Preservatives against melancholy and over-much sorrow; or the cure of both. Written above thirty years ago, by the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, for the Benefit and Comfort of all such as are Afflicted in Mind, in Body, or both.* (London, 1716); John Chappelow, *The christian's life is a piece of chequer work, made up of sorrow and joy. Or, the believers ground of joy under sorrowful dispensations. Being A comfortable poetical Paraphrase on several select Texts of Scripture, to comfort and support the distressed Christian in his Way to Glory* (London, 1724); William Brown, *The benefit and comfort of the Christian revelation* (Edinburgh, 1736);[Anonymous], *The daily companion, with Christian supports under the troubles of this world; To Comfort and Succour all those who in this transitory Life are in Trouble, Sorrow, Need, Sickness, or any other Adversity* (London, 1774);Thomas Bell, *Grapes in the wilderness: Or, A discourse of the dispensations of God towards his people: with their duties under these, and grounds of comfort from the precious promises, while walking through this wilderness* (Edinburgh, 1785); William Burkitt, *Family instruction: or principles of religion necessary to be known by family governors, And needful to be taught their children and servants, for preparing both themselves and theirs, to receive the holy communion with benefit and comfort* (Berwick, 1791). [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. For overviews of the differences in denominational practices see: Knud Haakonssen (ed), *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1996) p.5; pp.10-11; pp.95-96; David Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century: The I.B.Tauris History of the Christian Church* (New York, 2011); Nigel Yates, *Eighteenth Century Britain: Religion and Politics 1714-1815* (London, 2014). The Anglican church relied on continuity and ritualistic habit, church attendance and periodic ministration through the church structure of relief and sacraments as ways for most people to access the comfort of the church. Whilst other denominations such as the Quakers, Baptists and the Methodists were exhorted to find comfort in the face of a changing and uncertain world in the commonplace piety of the home, in rules and discipline and in the prospect of the transcendental. The Quakers conceived of comfort in their community made real in their different kinds of meets, similarly found in the feasts or gatherings of the Methodists. All were exhorted to find comfort in the promise of the afterlife or in personal knowledge of spiritual or gospel truths. [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. BLA: OR 2155-2162 The Diary of Mary Orlebar 1776-1810, 11 March 1810. [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809 [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9) Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797. [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 18 January 1794; BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar 1794, 19 March 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar 1776-1810, July 1808. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. *Ibid*, 15 March 1810. [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. PATB: 1259/2/310, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 17 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar 1794, 20 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 1737-57, September 1721; 23 January - 26 March 1722. [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. *Ibid.*, 11-19 October 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. John Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore, 2000) pp.170-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. Jon Stobart and Christina Prytz, ‘Comfort in English and Swedish country houses, c.1760–1820’, *Social History*, 43 (2018) p.237. [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. PATB: 1259/2/293, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796. In this case Theresa Parker was writing about their ill friend Lady Sheffield ‘Poor M. Sheffield is I fear very weak and unwell’. [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. For more on the redefinition of patriarchy and social structures using the idea of the benevolent patriarch see: Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity* (Oxford, 1991) p.17 ;Michael Mckeon, ‘Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995) p.316; Erin Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates: The Making of the Modern Gentleman in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 2009) pp.5-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. For more on the challenges to this model regarding sexuality see: Michael Mckeon, ‘Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995) p.315. [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity* (Oxford, 1991) pp.12-20; Katie Barclay, ‘Chapter 4 The construction of patriarchy: love, obligation and obedience’ in Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 2013) pp.102-124. For other accounts of how the structure of benevolent or affectionate patriarchy affected accounts of the experiences of women and children see: Martha Tomhave Blauvelt on how women’s emotional labour went into suppressing themselves to conform to societal principles and on discerning ‘men of feeling’ who used the language of love to control courtship and marriage: Martha Tomhave Blauvelt, *The Work of the Heart* (Charlottesville, 2007) pp.86-87. See also Lisa Wynne Smith’s account of how family trauma and abuse was blamed on children due to the romanticised narrative of benevolent fathers in Lisa Wynne Smith, ‘Resisting Silences: Gender and Family Trauma in Eighteenth‐Century England’ in *Gender and History*, 32 (2020) p.32. [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion Identity and Generation* (Oxford, 2012) p.121; pp.118-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Wetenhall Wilkes, *A letter of genteel and moral advice to a young lady. In which is digested into a new and familiar Method, a System of Rules and Informations, to quality the Fair Sex to be useful and happy in every State.* (London, 1740) p.62. [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. HALS: DE/P/F205, Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, Book 1, 2 December 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. *Ibid*., 29 October 1714. [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. NA: DD/SR 212/10-11, Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-2, 1737-57, September 1721. [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. Wetenhall Wilkes, *A letter of genteel and moral advice to a young lady. In which is digested into a new and familiar Method, a System of Rules and Informations, to quality the Fair Sex to be useful and happy in every State* (London, 1740) p.68. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. Hester Chapone, *Letters on the improvement of the mind, addressed to a young lady. By Mrs. Chapone* (London, 1773) pp.159-160. See also: Thomas Gisborne, *An enquiry into the duties of the female sex. By Thomas Gisborne, M.A.* (London, 1797). On p.345 Gisborne writes very similarly to Chapone that ‘if religion has a genuine effect on her [a lady’s] manners and disposition…it renders her humble and mild, benevolent and candid, sedate, modest, and devout; if it withdraws her inclinations from fashionable foibles and fashionable expenses; if it leads her to activity in searching out and alleviating the wants of the neighbouring poor’ [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. Hester Chapone, *Letters on the improvement of the mind, addressed to a young lady. By Mrs. Chapone* (London, 1773) p.135. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. John Gregory, *A father's legacy to his daughters, by the late Dr Gregory, of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1799) p.241. [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7) Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789; BLA: OR 2192 The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 16 August 1794; PATB: 1259/2/290, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 10 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. Richard Allestree, *The ladies' calling. In two parts. By the author of The whole duty of man* (London, 1787) p.57. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. Abbé d'Ancourt, *The lady's preceptor. Or, a letter to a young lady of distinction upon politeness. Taken from the French of the Abbé D'Ancourt* (London, 1745) p.72. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. See John Andrews, *An analysis of the principal duties of social life: written in imitation of Rochefoucault: in a series of letters to a young gentleman* (London, 1783): ‘good nature and benevolence are the basis of all the virtues, since they are not only the first promoters of justice and equity, but also the source of all public and private munificence…Good nature is a complacency in the pleasure and happiness, and a feeling for the pains and distresses of others…alleviating their misfortune with our assistance…A placid benevolent disposition is the great conservator of the peace of society…the same that love or friendship effect in our private attachments…the mind of a benevolent man is like a well-administered kingdom’(pp.23-25). [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. Richard Allestree explicitly displayed the connection made between male business endeavours, poverty and perceived weakness in his work *The gentleman's calling. Written by the author of The whole duty of man.* (London, 1705) p.1. He stated ‘He that by sloth and improvidence dissipates and consumes that stock which is properly his own, falls justly under the blunt censure of folly, and usually under the sharper and more smarting penance of Poverty and Want…The weakness of the one may possibly meet with somewhat of pity; but the falseness and treachery of the other is the object of universal detestation’. Allestree explicitly relates this state of pity and the emotional duties of men to the negotiations of oeconomy and the duty of men to deal with their business correctly, not as tyrants but as guides: ‘GOD has placed man in the world, not as proprietary but as steward; he hath put many excellent things in his possession , but these in trust to be not only kept, but negotiated with, and by Traffick improved to the Use of the true owner…interweaving his interest so with his Duty’ (p.2). [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. See: Samuel Johnson, *The Idler Number 100:* *The good sort of woman* (London, 1760) where Johnson satirises the ideal woman to make a wife: ‘she daily exercises her benevolence by pitying every misfortune that happens to every family within her circle of notice; she is in hourly terrors lest one should catch cold in the rain, and another be frighted by the high wind. Her charity she shews by lamenting that so many poor wretches should languish in the streets, and by wondering what the great can think on that they do so little good with such large estates’ (pp.174-175). [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar 1776-1810; BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar,; BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789; DA: DD/CL/3/18 (8), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792; DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797; DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806; DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807. [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. See: Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity* (Maryland; 2007). For primary cultural sources on this transition and ideas about devolution of authority in household and benevolent rule see: Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha* (London, 1680); John Locke, *Two Treatises on Government* (London, 1669); Jean Jacques Rousseau, *A Discourse Upon Origin and Foundation of the In-Equality Among Mankind* (1755). [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. Xenophon*, The Science of Good Husbandry* trans. Richard Bradley (London; 1727)p.130. [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
635. David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (London, 1751) p.26. [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
636. For overviews on sympathy in eighteenth-century culture and the dominance of masculine ideals of benevolence see: Tom Aerwyn Roberts, *The Concept of Benevolence: Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke, 1973) p.103; Kenneth A. Lockridge, *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd II and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1994) pp.43-44;p.113; A. Rai, *Rule of Sympathy: Sentiment, Race, and Power 1750–1850* (Basingstoke, 2002); Michael L. Frazer, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today* (Oxford, 2010) p.171; David Stove, *What's Wrong with Benevolence: Happiness, Private Property, and the Limits of Enlightenment* (New York, 2011)p.104; Alex Wetmore, *Men of Feeling in Eighteenth-Century Literature: Touching Fiction* (Basingstoke, 2013) p.97; pp.148-149; p189. [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. PATB: 1259/2/290, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 10 August 1796; PATB: 1259/2/293, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796; PATB: 1259/2/306, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 14 November 1796; PATB: 1259/2/310, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 17 December 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. PATB: 1259/2/277, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 5 February 1796; PATB: 1259/2/300, Letter from Anne Robinson to Catherine Robinson, 12 October 1796; PATB: 1259/2/293, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 3 September 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. PATB: 1259/2/290, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 10 August 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (9), Letter from Mary Routh to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1797; DA: DD/CL/3/18(18), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 12 January 1807; DA: DD/CL/3/18(22), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 18 January 1813. [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. DA: DD/CL/3/18(15), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 29 November 1806. [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
642. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (8), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 11 November 1792. [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
643. DA: DD/CL/3/18(20), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 4 January 1809. [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
644. DA: DD/CL/3/18 (7), Letter from Martha Smith to Susannah Hawley, 21 October 1789. [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
645. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 16-17 January 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. *Ibid.,* 11 June 1794; 13 June 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 16 August 1794; 18 September 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. *Ibid.,* 16 August 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. BLA: OR 2216, The Diary of Harriet Constantia Orlebar, 16 March 1794; 4 July 1794; 18 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 11 Oct 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. BLA: OR 2155-2162, The Diary of Mary Orlebar, 10 September 1776; 14 September 1776; 16-20 December 1776; 30 June 1808. [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. BLA: OR 2192, The Pocket Book Journal of Charlotte Orlebar, 10 July 1794. [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. Richard Payne Knight, *The progress of civil society*. *A didactic poem, in six books* (London, 1796). In Richard Payne Knight’s poem *The Progress of Civil Society* Knight expressly suggests that it is a benevolent labour exchange between men and ‘animals’ that pushes civil society onwards ‘The faithful dog, the natural friend of man/ The unequal federation first began;/ aided the hunter in his savage toil,/ and grateful took the refuse of the spoil’(p.30). Similarly, Alexander Hume specifically cites animals and plants as the ultimate useful creatures and as so they deserve ‘an applause and recommendation suited to its nature’:Alexander Hume, ‘On Benevolence’ in Alexander Hume, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751) p.26. [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. Christine Kenyon Jones, *Kindred Brutes* (Aldershot, 2001). p.57. [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. Lawrence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (Hertfordshire, 1996) p.25, p.362.; Lawrence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (London, 1967) p.64. In both novels, Tristram and Yorick only spend emotion on those people and creatures that are both familiar and worthy on their travels. In *A Sentimental Journey* Yorick comforts a dead mule’s master by drawing on his own knowledge of benevolent husbandry; ‘Thou hast one comfort friend, said I, at least, in the loss of thy poor beast; I’m sure thou hast been a merciful master to him’ (p.64). Tristram begins his exchange with the ass; ‘there was more pleasantry in the conceit, of seeing how an ass would eat a macaroon- than in the benevolence in giving him one’ (p25). Yorick goes even further by laying the un-equality bare in the person the of the mule’s master; ‘I fear the weight of myself and my afflictions together have been too much for him –they have shortened the poor creature’s days, and I fear I have them to answer for’ (p.64). [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. PATB: 1259/2/273, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 13 January 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. See: Introduction, Section 3 ‘Methodology’ pp. 18-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and David Olaffson, *Minor Knowledge and Microhistory: Manuscript Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Abingdon, 2016) p.9. [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. PATB: 1259/2/273, Letter from Theresa Parker to Catherine Robinson, 13 January 1796. [↑](#footnote-ref-659)