Eve's Daughters at School

by Marion Norman

> No picture or exemplar is affected to be drawn, nothing but the sincere life of a daughter of Eve, beginning her course amidst the vanities of the world, advancing in excellence under the impulse of extraordinary faculties.
> (Wm. Roberts, Life of Hannah More, 4 vols., London, 1834, p. 4)

I

The original idea for this study of the education of seventeenth-century Englishwomen came from contrasting the self-image revealed in their numerous autobiographies, diaries, journals and letters with the scant attention they received in pedagogical treatises(1) and the commonly assumed disabilities under which they laboured in consequence of their virtual exclusion from the general educational system. Between the time of Milton, for whom the very possibility of Eve's "sweet attractive grace" (Paradise Lost IV, 298) achieving fulfillment apart from her husband was inconceivable, and that of Blake, whose Enitharmon's groans (Marriage of Heaven and Hell, XXV) heralded the birth of modern woman, almost a century of educational evolution seemed to invite exploration and reassessment.

This paper addresses itself to three simple but basic questions: Who (i.e., what proportion of the female popula-

The Head of Fame from Vermeer's
"An Artist in His Studio."

tion) were being educated? Where and what types of education were, in fact, available to them? What were the measurable results? Although the focus is primarily aesthetic, other factors--economic, social, political--profoundly affecting the situation, have been taken into consideration.

Investigation suggests that the increasingly intelligent and discriminating female audience appealed to by writers like Addison and Steele presupposed well-instructed mothers in the previous century determined to develop their daughters' full intellectual potential, despite the alleged risk of so jeopardizing their future happiness within or outside marriage; that long before universal education or female suffrage, even working women could and did learn to read and write --usually mainly for easier access to the Bible and devotional works (which still constituted more than forty per cent of publications),(2)rather than for business or recreation; finally, that behind Mrs. Thrale (1744-1821), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), Fanny Burney (1752-1840), Jane Austen (1775-1807) and Hannah More (1745-1833), were numerous seventeenth-century forerunners whose creativity and self-determination ensured wider horizons for their sex as a whole. Without attempting to challenge the system, seventeenth-century Englishwomen did manage to fulfill their intellectual identities, at least in some measure, through whatever educational resources happened to be available. Despite obvious inequalities of opportunity, their ranks contained a surprising proportion of persons of exceptional talent who have left ample evidence, published and unpublished, supporting their claims to distinction in life and in the arts, especially literature.

Disregarding the stereotypes embalmed in courtesy books and pedagogical treatises, reflections of deep-rooted prejudices or current fashions, I have pursued, instead, a more pragmatic approach. The initial impetus for what proved to be both a fascinating and rewarding journey was provided by a book, now relatively rare, left unfinished at death by George Ballard: The Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Who Have Been Celebrated for Their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences (London, 1752). To ensure greater comprehensiveness, I have supplemented this tribute by one of women's staunchest admirers with considerable non-literary evidence, as well as additional investigation of levels of literacy among women of the middle and lower classes and some comparison of educational standards and techniques in non-conformist and Roman Catholic schools with those of the establishment.

II

What proportion of women in the seventeenth century were educated, where and

by whom? There is considerable evidence proving that some rudimentary instruction was available in this period for girls as well as boys of all social ranks, as R.D. Altick's The English Common Reader(3) amply shows. (For the present I intend to postpone, for the most part, closer examination of the educational opportunities of the lower classes, in favour of those of children of the gentry and professions whose greater social prominence usually made them more vocal and the evidence more plentiful.) The girls selected for special study here are drawn from widely different backgrounds: the children educated in the Arminian community at Little Gidding; Mary Astell (1668-1731), future Cambridge Platonist and educational reformer; Lady Lettice Legh (1663-1753), author of The Lyme Letters 1660-1700, Anne Whitehead (fl. 1686), a talented Quaker; Lucy Hutchinson (1620-1675?), devoted wife and biographer of a Parliamentarian colonel; and Mary Ward (1585-1645), Yorkshire foundress of the first non-cloistered order for teaching Catholic girls.

In the converted pigeoncote of the farm at Little Gidding, the sixteen Collett children and several from neighbouring households were taught by Nicholas Ferrar (1592-1637), a Cambridge graduate specializing in classics, logic, mathematics as well as divinity, and by his mother and sisters. Lessons, for both girls and boys, included Latin, arithmetic, orthography, music (the virginals, viol, organ as well as singing), public speaking, history, physical education and, of course, religion. Girls, in addition, learned needlework, housekeeping and bookbinding. In this "Little Academy," the community's first secular venture, novels, plays and other profane literature were rejected in favour of historical moral exempla and books of travel which the older children read aloud at meal times. "This," we are told "made them men betimes and even acquainted women with histories, ancient and modern."(4) Religion classes for family and neighbours, adults and non-adults, modelled on the highly successful Sunday Schools pioneered at Milan by St. Charles Borromeo (1538-1584)(5) included instruction in reading and writing. As might be expected Ferrar's pupils profited greatly from this unique but short-lived experiment combining both traditional and modern educational methods.(6)

Boys and girls of the Legh family(7) were also educated together, first at home by their mother, then at the Wenwick school on their estate, founded and endowed by an ancestor. It had always had distinguished teachers such as the famous Richard Mather (1596-1669) first a pupil, then master, later one of the Pilgrim Fathers; another won fame both as a classical scholar and teacher before intemperance forced his dismissal; a third became so absorbed

in divinity that he abandoned teaching in favour of his own studies. Generations of Legh children learned the rudiments at Wenwick and received further training in foreign languages, music and dancing; only for boys, however, was Latin conversation compulsory, in preparation for eventual attendance at university. Older members of the family also took a personal interest in this education as may be seen from the letter written by one of the girls to her grandfather about the time of the Rye House Plot(8)in 1683: "Yr sister is labouring every day at her Music and Dancing and takes as much paines as you used to do."(9) On another occasion Lady Legh reprimanded her daughter for her "scribbling."(10) The girls especially turned out well. Fanny and Lettice, like other women of their time, were renowned for their needlework as well as their conversation. Peter married into the Fleetwood family and his mother-in-law, an exacting old lady, kept a salon in the young people's Soho house.(11) Peter's children, wild and unmanageable, were first educated at home. While the two boys were sent away to school, at nearby Tattenhill, then at Warrington where lax discipline encouraged truancy and neglect of learning, the daughter, who was educated at home by her father and, after her mother's death, by a French governess, afterwards displayed remarkable fortitude. Upon early loss of her child, her husband and her father, she moved to Worcestershire, courageously determined: "If the great ones will not let me live like a Lady, I must turn She farmer."(12) Surviving a second marriage and widowhood, she lived to be ninety, mourned especially by the poor whom she had never turned away.

In the Shardeloes family(13)the children were educated separately and not at home; the four boys went to Westminster, the two girls to a school run by the Misses Luck and Terry. Unlike their brothers' texts, which were entirely in Latin, the girls' included several in English: Salmon's Geography, Robinson Crusoe and a translation of Aesop's Fables; also a few French ones like Les Magasins des Enfants by Marie de Beaumont Leprince (d. 1780).(14) Lessons in writing, geography, music and dancing were provided for additional fees; but by far the greatest emphasis was given to needlework and "other polite accomplishments" judged to be necessary preparations for the girls' future entry into the matrimonial market. It was such an educational program which proved fair game for dramatists like Sheridan (1751-1816), in his School for Scandal (1777).

Theophilus Dorrington (d. 1715), who was schoolmaster-chaplain to the Duchess of Bedford in a household very different from that of the worldly Shardeloes, vigorously insisted on the primarily religious purpose of education and on parental responsibility for providing it, either by families

banding together in groups or by enlisting the aid of schools established by the town corporations. Only in this way could Anglican boys and girls be protected against the two-fold threat of Sectarian "profaneness and irreligion" and Popery's proselytizing families and "schools and seminaries of error."(15)

The Diary of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds (1677-1724) supplies further insight into the condition of girls' education during this period. An inveterate traveller of wide cultural interests who seems to have known virtually everyone of importance throughout the country, he had ample opportunity for first-hand observation. Furthermore, his continued association with numerous Non-Conformists and Catholics, while assiduously attending Anglican services himself, permitted him to compare educational opportunities both within and without the Establishment. His own small daughter, the "bed-fellow" of a young relative of the Archbishop of York at the Manor House, "Mr. Lumley's famous school," seems to have learned more of "needlework, embroidery and cross-stitch worsted for chairs" than from "the variety of ingenious books" her father had admired in the school library, though he seems to have lodged no complaint.(16) He reserved his highest admiration, however, for young ladies whose education provided better fare. The daughter of Mr. Bland of Beeston Hall, "read Hebrew distinctly into English which she had learnt from her mother, an ingenious gentlewoman." Quaker influence is suggested by her parting gift to Thoresby of "an autograph copy of the noted George Fox." (17) Still more he admired "the ingenious Elizabeth. . . the Saxon nymph,"(18) learned sister of Parson Elstob of Newcastle-on-Tyne.(19) Her intellectual achievements included scholarly editions of the Saxon Homilies, the Textus Roffinus and other manuscripts from the Rawlinson collection, annotated parallel translations of the Psalms and of M. de Scudery's Of Glory, and teaching her ten-year-old serving boy enough Anglo-Saxon grammar "to transcribe Saxon and other antique hands."(20)

Thoresby displayed greater interest in recording the more notable feminine achievements than in the particular educational techniques employed. He applauded the ability of one lady he met, "Mrs. Bury [1644-1720], a gentlewoman of great learning . . . to consult the Bible in the original;"(21) and of another, Lady Frances, to give learned Scriptural commentaries before service.(22) He admired Elizabeth Burnet (1661-1709), wife of the Bishop of Sarum, equally for her agreeable yet adroit conversation and for the modesty and devotion manifested in her anonymously published Method for Devotion (London, 1703).(23) Generous in his applause for every fresh evidence of feminine achievement, he reported

the growing fame as a miniaturist of John Evelyn's daughter Mary (1665-85), (24) author of that curious book Mundus Muliebris or The Ladies' Dressing Room Enlarged (1690).(25) He approved the discriminating taste in her choice of books, needlework and paintings of Lady Elizabeth Hastings (1700-39) (26) and the Countess of Warwick's (1625-78) admirable "contemplative humour" as displayed in writing to Lord Berkeley.(27) He had himself benefitted greatly from the genealogical expertise of Lady Burlington (1613-91) in his compilation of the Clifford pedigree.(28)

Among the ladies highly commended by both Ballard and Thoresby was Mary Astell (1668-1731).(29) This talented daughter of a Newcastle merchant began, when barely twenty, to put to good use the education she had received from her clergyman uncle and her friendship with the Cambridge Platonist, John Norris (1657-1711) by publishing anonymously, under the pseudonym James Drake, her Serious Proposal to Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Great Interest (London, 1694). Her plan was "to erect a monastery, or if you will . . . a retreat from the world . . . to fit us to do the greatest good in it . . . of mental, moral and religious training" to counteract "the foundations of vice which are laid down by ignorance and a narrow education." (Preface). Initial encouragement prompted an enlarged second part, An Essay In Defence of the Female Sex (London, 1696) dedicated to the future Queen Anne and with solid financial backing in the form of an endowment of one hundred thousand pounds, offered by her friend, Lady Betty Hastings, for the immediate establishment of "a college for the education and improvement of the female sex."(30)

Though herself a devout High Churchwoman, Mary Astell was bitterly opposed by the Anglican clergy like Dean Atterbury and Burnet(31) for her scheme's alleged monasticism rather than for its academic implications and more viciously by Swift and others as "Madonella" in the Tatler.(32) Despite disappointment at her failure to receive support from such quarters as it should have been forthcoming, she continued for over fifty years, well into the next century, to campaign in word and action for better educational opportunities for women.(33)

In this matter of equality of opportunity for both sexes, Astell pointed out, the country folk of Holland and France and even American Negroes surpassed the gentry of her own land.(34) "Why not let women do Arithmetic and other sedentary arts," she asked, "to release men for more activity? By their very physiques men are designed for active labour, women for thought . . . . Men ought no more to gloat over women, because of their advantage of better education, than a gladiator for winning over an adversary with his hands tied behind his back."(35) She

regretted the excessive emphasis in girls' schools on needlework, dancing and French, but made exception for music and painting. As to languages, even the classical ones, since their only purpose was to attain "the Sense, Wit and Arts in 'em, why not, for the unlearned at least, resort to translations?"(36) "I take Nature to be the great Book of Universal Learning which he that reads best in any of its parts is the greatest Scholar."(37)

The evidence so far, drawn mainly from the lives of young Anglican gentlewomen, points to the fact that, inspite of rather than because of the system, a surprising number of girls could and did manage to develop their talents. Their Non-Conformist and Catholic sisters suffered, however, from the additional handicap, for reasons of conscience and legal restrictions, of having to look for viable alternatives to the school system provided by the Established Church.

Among the Quakers, women had always enjoyed pre-eminence, constituting, according to one estimate, a very considerable proportion of its four hundred or more writers.(38) The views of Anne Whitehead (d. 1686) one of the better known of these, may be taken as typical:

> Women are not seeking to Rule over one another but that we may be furtherers of one another's Joy . . . Informing, Instructing and Exhorting . . . as the good women of old were helpers in the work of the Gospel, in such things as are proper to us . . . . Children at nurse [are to] be rightly educated and well brought up in order to a future well-being . . . . Again, we being met together, the Elder Women instruct the Younger . . . . a Marriage hath an equal concern in the Woman as in the Man . . . for which end there ought to be a special care over young people.(39)

In this group, the larger number of whom could neither read nor write, such stress on the need for women's education was the more remarkable. In 1679 the Women's Meeting ordered a Quaker family to instruct the orphaned Mary Benson, their servant, "and correct her and see that she keeps her reading and knitting or rather improves it." Two years later it was reported that she was "brought on in her learning."(40) At Waltham Abbey School, where fifty boys and girls from leading Quaker families were educated, standards must have been remarkably high, to judge from the diction and precocity of the written testimonies of eleven of the pupils.(41) The letters, too, of older women like Mary Pennington (1624-1682), despite their conformity to Quaker stylistic norms of simplicity and lack of ornament, reveal delightful glimpses of seventeenth-century life in

general, as well as exemplifying the highly developed intellects of many leading Quaker women.(42)

Among other Non-Conformist groups(43) education was also given priority, on the assumption that it was the surest antidote to the evils of ignorance, profanity and idleness. Like all revolutionaries, the Puritans were concerned with moulding the minds of the next generation to win their support for the cause. Surprisingly, this concern did not, officially at least, extend to women. Milton's Of Education (1644) ignored them entirely; however, within a few months painful experience taught him that mental incompatibility could contribute even more to the break down of marriage than physical infidelity.(44) An incurable romantic when it came to such matters, as may be seen from his idyllic picture of prelapsarian marital bliss,(45)it seems never to have occurred to him to trace his matrimonial troubles to Mary Powell's inadequate early education, rather than to some inherent mental deficiency in all women.

The Czech educational reformer Comenius, highly regarded by Milton and other leading Puritans, thought differently. There is, he declared,

> . . . no sufficient reason why the weaker sex . . . should be altogether excluded from the pursuit of knowledge, whether in Latin or in their mother tongue. They also are formed in the image of God and share in his grace and in the Kingdom of the World to come. They are endowed with equal sharpness of mind and capacity for knowledge, often with more than the opposite sex and they are able to attain the highest positions since they have been called by God to rule over nations, to give sound advice to kings and princes, to the study of medicine and of other things which benefit the human race, even to the office of prophesying . . . . Why then should we admit them to the alphabet and afterwards drive them from books? (46)

The closest equivalent among English Puritan writings, to Comenius' conviction that the minds of girls could and ought to be educated, occurs in John Drury's Reformed School (1650):

> Therefore as to the girls . . . [they] shall be changed by this our course of education . . . which may habituate them . . . to be good and careful housewomen . . . and understanding in all things belonging to the care of a family, according to the characters which Solomon doth give of a virtuous godly woman. And such as may be found capable of tongues and sciences (to perfect them in graces and the knowledge of Christ, for all is to be referred

> to him above the ordinary sort), are not to be neglected, but assisted towards the improvement of their intellectual abilities. (pp. 25-6)

Despite the multiplication of new schools (three hundred and fifty endowed and another hundred and fifty unendowed) by the time of the Restoration,(47)the ratio of literacy among Puritans, calculated on the basis of those who emigrated to America, remained ninety per cent for the males compared to forty for females.(48) Strong-willed, resourceful women like Lucy Hutchinson (1620-73) might achieve positions in their family and society comparable to the best of their Royalist counterparts, but they were largely the exceptions rather than the rule.

The main source of instruction in Non-Conformist as in Anglican upper and middle-class families continued to be the home, with parents, especially the mother, presiding. Tenants' and labourers' children, living near the Brougham Castle seat of the noted Puritan, Lord Saye and Sele (d. 1662) benefitted, as did those of the High Anglican Ferrars, from the feudal custom of sharing the manor house children's instructions in the rudiments and religion. No more vivid or charming picture of such a household could be imagined than Lucy Hutchinson's (1620-76) account of her mother and early childhood:

> The care and worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekaday lectures and a greate lover and encourager of good ministers and most dilligent in her private reading and devotions. When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him but made herselfe his nurse and cooke and phisitian . . . . The privilege of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents I have often revolved with great thankfulnesse for the mercy. . . . As soon as I was wean'd, a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse and I was taught to speak French and English together. . . . My father and mother fancying me then beautiful and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares and spar'd no cost to emproove me in my education. . . . By the time I was foure years old I read English perfectly and, having a great memory, I was carried to sermons and while I was very young could remember and repeat them. . . . When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had att one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, musick, dancing, writing and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my book . . . and every

> moment I could steale from play I would employ in any book I found, when my own were kept locked up from me.(49)

Learning Latin to please her father, though her chaplain-tutor was a dull fellow, she soon outstripped her brothers. She refused to practice her lute and harpsichord (except when supervised), loathed dancing and needlework and, when forced to play with visiting children, tore their dolls apart, though she got on very well with older people. Despite her mother's fears of her being over-addicted to learning and her rather priggish habit of trying to improve her mother's maids by turning "their idle discourses to good subjects," she was normal enough to enjoy anything that was not sinful, especially "writing songs and amorous sonnets or poems."(50)

English Catholics,(51)excluded by law as well as conscience from regular means of education, relied even more heavily than Non-Conformists on education within the family or some neighbouring household. But this became increasingly dangerous because the illegality of possessing Catholic books or harbouring a chaplain-tutor made them peculiarly vulnerable to victimization by government-subsidized informants and pursuivants. For girls especially, the only alternative, since the Reformation dissolution of English convents, was to cross the channel illegally to some cloister in Flanders, France or Germany. There exile from family and friends combined with foreign customs, food and language, made their eight or nine years at school a virtual imprisonment. For the families, too, this was still dangerous. Catholic education at home was penalized by loss of inheritance to the next male Protestant relative. To educate one's children abroad was punishable by life imprisonment; even in the seventeenth century there is a record of one parent, Lady Perkins, being heavily fined for sending her daughter to school on the Continent.(52) It was to remedy this situation that Mary Ward (1585-1645) conceived the idea of founding her schools in London and in Yorkshire for daughters of English Catholic families living abroad.

These colleges, modelled on similar Jesuit foundations for boys, were designed specifically to develop in young women all the qualities required for their future roles as heads of great households and persons responsible for the total well-being, physical, mental and spiritual, of those entrusted to them. Impatient with those who would denigrate woman as mere plaything, ornament, intellectual cripple or Divine mistake, she fearlessly urged her companions: "Love Verity; seek knowledge, not for knowledge, but for the end which it bringeth you unto, which is God; then you will be happy and able to profit yourselves and

others."(53) To well-meaning friends, grudgingly admiring her scheme but, with barely-concealed scepticism, questioning its feasibility because "after all, they are but women," she instantly retorted:

> Is it because we are women, that we are deemed inferior? No, but because we are imperfect women. There is no such difference between men and women that women may not do great things . . . and I hope to God that it will be seen that women in time to come will do much . . . . If women were made so inferior to man in all things, why were they not exempted in all . . . . I confess wives are to be subject to their husbands, men are head of the Church . . . but in all other things, wherein are we so inferior to other creatures that they should term us 'but women' . . . I would to God all men understood this verity that women, if they will be perfect, and if they would not make us believe we can do nothing and that we are 'but women,' we might do great matters.(54)

Little wonder that after such a challenge, Mary's schools won the admiration of English and foreign parents and of civil, if not ecclesiastical, authorities. (The latter, overcautious because of the Council of Trent's recent restoration of the most stringent regulations for women religious, were suspicious when not actively hostile).(55) Even after three and a half centuries we are apt to forget how revolutionary it must have seemed to have these English school girls taught by their own sex Latin, Greek, Flemish, French, Spanish, Italian or German (depending on where the school was located), as well as English;(56)to see them performing Calderonic dramas in Latin,(57)similar to those then popular for boys in English public schools and in Jesuit colleges; to find them writing and delivering Latin compositions so good as to incur suspicion of parental oversupervision of the homework.(58) Nor were the usual accomplishments expected of women of their class neglected--fine handwriting, embroidery, painting, music, dancing, home-nursing, as well as reading and writing accounts, geography,(59)and in the London school, astronomy and Hebrew.(60)

Still more innovative were the trade schools, founded originally by Mary Ward at Rome and Perugia, to keep the daughters of the working classes off the streets and out of houses of ill-fame, by teaching them simple trades by which they could earn their living.(61) Wherever, in fact, boarding schools were founded, Mary was careful to open free day schools close by where poorer children could learn to read, write and count, as well as receive basic religious instruction. Despite disheartening opposition, her schools flourished under the very eyes of the Government, in the heart of

London and at York under siege. Mistresses even on occasion, when arrested as Recusants, continued to hold classes in jail.(62)

III

What were the results of these efforts to educate Eve's English daughters? Can one, in fact, measure the value of this education, which despite all their handicaps so many managed to obtain, in terms of literary or other achievements? Most seventeenth-century women, as well as men, still accepted without question George Savile, Lord Halifax's assumption that woman's crowning achievement consisted in being a good wife and mother and bringing up daughters to do the same.(63) But, "Why do women not go further," complained Mary Astell? Because of "idleness and love of comfort," but surely also because, unlike their brothers, their minds are insufficiently challenged, their imaginations not enlarged.(64) Mary hated "smatterers" but saw no reason why, because girls happened to love learning, they necessarily aspired to become philologists, rhetoricians, philosophers, historians or poets.

Several seventeenth-century women, in fact, were remarkably successful in each of these traditionally male careers. Language study, according to Wotton, had become almost a fad by the end of the century(65)and a few attained notable proficiency in classical and Biblical languages as well as several modern European languages. Such were Bathsua Reynolds (fl. 1615) lauded by her pupil, Sir Simon d'Ewes(66) and Lady Theophila Cook (fl. 1640), wife of Sir Robert Cook, one of those included in Heywood's Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine of the Most Famous Women of the World (1640). I have not yet discovered any lady orators, but many could qualify as rhetoricians on the strength of their superb prose writing: Anne Finch, Lady Conway (1661-1713), and Dorothy Osborne (1627-95) for their letters; Anne Fanshawe (1628-80), Lucy Hutchinson (1620-76), Lady Brilliana Harley (1600-43) and Anne Halket (1622-99) for their autobiographies, biographies, diaries and memoirs; Anne Clifford (1590-1676), Mary [Cary] Mrs. Rande (fl. 1651), Margaret Fell (1614-1702), Gertrude More (1606-33) and Dorothy Pakington (d. 1679, the reputed author of The Whole Duty of Man), for their devotional prose. Philosophers were represented by Margaret Cavendish (1625-73), Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) travel writer and diarist; Katherine Cockburn (1674-1744) diarist; Hannah Wooley (fl. 1670) author of one of the earliest English books on cookery and home nursing and, a little beyond our time period and place, Maria Agnesi (1718-94) whose mathematical works were translated into English as early as 1748. The Arts were, naturally, well represented also: poetry by Katherine Phillips (née Fowler); "Ephelia" (minor metaphysical poet, friend of Rochester,

author of Female Poems on Several Occasions. London, 1679); and the American Ann Bradstreet (1612-72) a first edition of whose Works in Prose and Verse was published in Boston in 1642. Drama was represented by Aphra Behn (1640-89), Eliza Haywood (1693-1756), Katherine Cockburn (1674-1744) and Mary Pix (1666-1720); acting by Mrs. Coleman (fl. 1678) and Nell Gwynn (1650-1689); the novel by Mrs. Manley (Mary de la Rivière 1663-1724) and Aphra Behn; painting by Mary Evelyn (1665-85) and Mary Beale (1632-97); and drawing, calligraphy and emblems by Esther Ingles (1571-1674); historians by Charlotte Stanley, Countess of Derby (1579-1664) and Jane Lane (fl. 1649); social and educational reformers by Bathsua Makin (1620-76), Lettice Cary (1612-47), Lady Falkland (1612-47) and Mary Astell (1668-1731).

All that is proved by this compilation of names--and it could be extended considerably--is that, well before the educational reforms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the suffrage and women's liberation movements of the twentieth, women's desires for better educational opportunities had been aroused, both by ardent advocates of reform from their own sex like Mary Astell and the challenging examples set by valiant women like Lucy Hutchinson, Elizabeth Elstob and Mary Ward.

NOTES

1. But see the following exceptions: Addison, Joseph. The Guardian. London: 1713; [Allestree, Richard] The Ladies Calling. Oxford: 1677; The Whole Duty of Man. London: 1681; Astell, Mary. Defence of the Female Sex. London: 1696; Some Reflections Upon Marriage. London: 1700; Austin, William. Haec Homo, Wherin the Excellency of the Creation of Woman is Described. London: 1637; Barksdale, Clement, transl. of Anna Maria Schurmann's De Ingenii Muliebris (1641) as Whether a Learned Maid May Be a Scholar. London: 1659; Braithwaite, Richard. The English Gentlewoman. London: 1631; Chudleigh, Elizabeth. The Ladies Defence. London: 1700; Defoe, Daniel. "The Education of Women" in Essay Upon Projects. London: 1697; Dorrington, Theophilus. The Excellent Woman Described By Her True Characters and Their Opposites. London: 1692; Dunton, John. The Athenian Gazette, The Athenian Oracle. London: March 1691-June 1697; Essex, John. The Young Ladies Conduct or Rules for Education with Instructions Upon Dress and Advice to Young Wives. London: 1722; Evelyn, John. "A Girl's Private Education." Diary (March 9, 1685) ed. E.S. de Beer, 1 vol. London: Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 795-803; Featley, John. A Fountaine of Tears or Sobs of Nature Sanctified by Grace. Amsterdam: 1646; [Anon.] The Female Aegis or the Duties of Women. (repr. N.Y.: Garland, 1974); Fénélon, François. Instructions for the Education of a Daughter translated by George Hickes. London: 1707; Gerber, Charles. Elogium Heroinum or The Praise of Worthy Women. London: 1651; Gouge, William. Of Domestical Duties: Eight Treatises. London: 1622; Heywood, Thomas. The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine of the Most Worthy Women of the World. London: 1640; idem. The General History of Women. London: 1657; Makin, Bathsua. An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues. London: 1673; Salter, Thomas. The Mirror of Modestie. London: 1579?; Shirley, John. The Illustrious History of Women. London: 1686; West, Jane. The Advantages of Education, 2nd ed. London: 1803; Wray, Mary. The Ladies Library, ed. Richard Steele, 3 vols. London: 1714.

2. Louis B. Wright, "Significance of Religious Writings in the English Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. I (Jan. 1940), pp. 59-68.

3. R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 15-30.

4. John Ferrar, Life of Nicholas Ferrar, Baker Mss. XXXV, 1040 (Cambridge University Library).

5. Margaret Yeo, St. Charles Borromeo: A Prince of Pastors (London, 1938).

6. B. Blackstone (ed.), Ferrar Papers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

7. Lady Evelyn Newton (ed.), Lyme Letters (London, 1925).

8. Thomas Sprat, A True Account and Declaration of the Late Horrid Conspiracy (London, 1685).

9. Lyme Letters, pp. 155-6.

10. Ibid., p. 159.

11. Ibid., p. 220.

12. Lyme Letters, Letter of March, 1720, p. 279.

13. G. Eland (ed.), Shardeloes Papers (London, 1947).

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