



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

Corso di Laurea Magistrale
(ordinamento ex D.M. 270/2004)
in Lingue e Letterature Europee,
Americane e Postcoloniali

Tesi di Laurea

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A Present for a Servant-Maid:
Eliza Haywood and the
Conduct Book Tradition

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Anno Accademico
2012 / 2013

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Introduction

My interest in Eliza Haywood, which grew out of reading her popular women's periodical *The Female Spectator* and a selection of her many novels, was the starting point for my thesis. Haywood has been described as the most prolific and versatile writer of the eighteenth century (Blouch, in Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, 1998: 7), her more than seventy works spanning all genres. She has been especially popular for her novels, which have recently become the object of analysis by several scholars. Many of her works, however, continue to be neglected. Among those which have received little attention from critics is a conduct book entitled *A Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743). This advice manual represents the core of my thesis: I will show how it belongs to a long tradition of conduct literature for servants which dates back to the early seventeenth century, and how this woman writer renewed the genre, adapting it to the tastes of a new readership.

In chapter 1 I will trace Haywood's long career and its place within the new eighteenth-century literary marketplace. I will show how her professional experience as a writer may be split into two periods. The first period starts with the publication of her best-seller *Love in Excess* in 1719, and was characterized by the several novels of amorous intrigue of the 1720s, which made her famous as a 'scandalous amatory writer', and also by her theatrical involvement of the 1730s. The second period begins in the early 1740s, when Haywood came back to novel writing after a period devoted to the theatre and to political writings. I will show how her return was

motivated by the publication of a novel which shook the entire literary world, a novel which William Warner has defined as a real “media event” (Warner, 1998). Richardson’s *Pamela* (1740), and the controversy that it provoked, stimulated Haywood to capitalize on her male rival’s successful masterpiece with a number of writings, the best known of which is her novel *Anti-Pamela* (1741). During this second part of her career, moreover, not only was she engaged in writing books: she was also active in selling them. Perceiving the print market as an opportunity to achieve financial stability, Haywood opened a bookshop in 1741, a venture which proved unsuccessful, but which testifies to her struggle to gain a place in the male-dominated literary marketplace.

Given the intended public of Haywood’s *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, it seemed appropriate to follow with a historical overview of the condition of servants in early modern England. Chapter 2 shows that the earlier historians to be interested in service did not consider servants employed in smaller households, but focused on domestics employed in wealthy households, whose masters bequeathed many records about this occupational group. More recent historians have contributed to filling this gap. By examining settlement examination records and church court depositions, they have found evidence that from the late seventeenth century onwards the bulk of servants were hired by families of the middling sort; they also found out that most servants in more modest houses were women. In the same chapter I will also show how from the late seventeenth century servants begin to be perceived as a ‘problem’ within English society, as they were thought to be upwardly mobile: historians argue that the extraordinary demand for domestic workers from the late seventeenth century onwards, and their access to books and luxuries contributed to giving them

agency, namely economic independence and social mobility. Moralists and commentators of the time expressed their anxiety over these tendencies in numerous tracts aimed at reminding domestics of their duties and at regulating their behaviour.

In chapter 3 I will focus on the conduct literature for servants from the early seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. During this lapse of time ‘how-to’ writings for servants and their employers providing them with religious, ethical and practical advice achieve resounding success. The increasing production of conduct books for servants – with a peak between the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries – suggests that an audience was awaiting them, and these books responded to the need for guidance in everyday life: many youngsters left their families to start out as servants, but they often did not know how to carry out their duties properly or how to behave correctly towards their masters and mistresses. I will analyse three conduct texts for servants which seem especially useful for understanding how this sub-genre evolved, and how the tradition influenced Haywood’s *A Present for a Servant-Maid*. The first of these is William Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties* (1622), one of the earliest treatises for the family, which includes a section addressed to servants (“Duties of Servants”). Hannah Woolley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) recalls the earlier courtesy books and household manuals, but is one of the first texts devoted entirely to servants, and one of the first to be written by a woman. Finally, Defoe’s *The Family Instructor* (1715), represents the eighteenth-century’s answer to Gouge’s guidebook: both Gouge’s and Defoe’s books find their main sources in Puritan sermons, but Defoe inaugurates a new form of conduct manual by attaching to the usual maxims and precepts a fictional story set in the commercial context of the middling sort.

Finally in chapter 4 I will examine Eliza Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743), and I will argue how this conduct book includes both Puritan precepts and practical instructions for housewifery duties found in the early guides for servants, while adding new and more modern tenets. Haywood adapts her advice manual to a mid-eighteenth-century audience, for example warning servant-maids against imitating their masters and mistresses in dress and in the consumption of luxury goods. However, I will show how *A Present for a Servant-Maid* is not merely a product of the reformist stream aiming at regulating the conduct of servants in an age perceived as corrupted and depraved, but it is also a real literary 'commodity' by which Haywood endeavoured to capitalize on Richardson's *Pamela* of the 1740. Many sections of Haywood's conduct manual allude at Richardson's successful novel in their concern for the preservation of virtue and in putting servant-maids on their guard against sexual temptations by their masters and masters' sons. In this sense *A Present for a Servant-Maid* represents one of the outcomes of Haywood's participation in her literary and cultural milieu, and in particular in the so-called '*Pamela* controversy'.

Eliza Haywood:

a Female Writer in the New Literary Marketplace

1.0 Introduction

In the first chapter of my thesis I will introduce Eliza Haywood and delineate her crucial role as a female writer in the eighteenth-century literary marketplace. In her time she was known primarily as a prolific author of amatory fiction, and “referred to as ‘the Great Arbitress of Passion’” (Saxton, 2000: 1). Her concern on women, love, sex and marriage,



however, later caused her to be labelled as a ‘scandalous female writer’, but also to be cut out the literary canon and neglected by critics until the last decades of the twentieth century. Recent studies have demonstrated the centrality of this woman writer within the eighteenth-century English literature. During her thirty-seven year career she produced seventy-three works (Luhning, 2008: 7) which span all genres, from the conduct book to the political pamphlet, from the novel to the periodical, and was engaged in various activities such as translation, playwriting, bookselling and publishing.

During Haywood's lifetime the critic James Sterling likened her to two earlier women writers, Aphra Behn and Delarivier Manley, and called them the 'Fair Trumvirate of Wit'. Recently Saxton has described them as "the three most popular, influential, and controversial women writers of the Restoration and Augustan eras" (Saxton, 2000: 2). Behn, Manley and Haywood enjoyed a huge readership, and writing gave them financial independence. Of the three Haywood had the longest career and, by exploiting the new and freer literary market of her time, achieved the most positive reception from her public. She was writing at a time when "the literary marketplace and the profession of authorship expanded tremendously with the increasing participation of a range of writers, including women" (Ingrassia, 1998: 79). The new "commercialization of literature" (79) was made possible by the lapsing in 1695 of the Licensing Act, which had previously restricted the publishing industry. Haywood benefited from this revolution and could draw a broad readership "whose sustained interest in her texts enabled her to publish steadily" throughout her career (103).

While she was praised by large sections of her audience, she was also attacked by a number of her contemporary male writers who, as Saxton points out, were jealous of her "extraordinary sales" (Saxton, 2). Pope mocked her in *The Dunciad*, figuring her as the referent for women bad writing. He, along with other men writers and critics of his time, perceived Haywood "as a threat to the existing social and literary order" and contributed to conveying an image of her as an inferior writer (Ingrassia, 77). This, Luhning reminds us, was "a time and culture that severely questioned the social propriety of women writing and publishing" (Luhning, 2008: 11). Kirsten Saxton, among others, claims that during the eighteenth century women's roles

became increasingly more circumscribed, ideologically if not practically, as social theories began to move toward the doctrine of separate spheres and the idea of domesticated and private femininity that would be firmly in place by the nineteenth century (Saxton, 5).

Eliza Haywood was writing in a social setting in which “female subjectivity was increasingly configured in terms of privacy and domesticity” (5), and female authorship associated with “inappropriate public display, sexual transgression and the production of inferior texts” (8). Therefore Haywood’s public role, and her stories of amorous intrigue and scandalous plots “made her an easy target for [...] accusations of impropriety” (5). As these comments show, Haywood’s career as a whole has been read by recent feminist critics as an endeavour to question and deconstruct existing gender ideologies and hierarchies; in her texts she provided “alternative models of behavior and sexuality for her female readers...” (Ingrassia, 103).

Haywood’s attempt to resist male power is witnessed not only in her literary works, but also by her private life and career. Her “life is still largely a mystery” (Bakscheider, 1999: xiv); we know that she was born probably in 1693 as Eliza Fowler in a middle class family. It appears that she got married and that the marriage was “unfortunate”, but, as Saxton posits, “it is unclear whom she actually married and how the marriage ended” (Saxton, 6). Her two children were almost certainly born outside marriage: her first child appears to have been fathered by the Augustan writer Richard Savage, her second by the bookseller William Hatchett. She died in 1756 after an illness, and was buried in St. Margaret’s churchyard, Westminster (Bakscheider, xix).

Her career, conversely, is very rich and various, and may be split into two well-defined periods: the first period, starting in the 1720s and going through the 1730s, saw the publication of a great number of novels of amorous intrigue, the participation in the theatre as actress and playwright, but also the contribution in the political debate of the time with the issuing of several pamphlets. The second period, covering the 1740s and the 1750s, was marked by what critics consider a shift from pure amatory fiction to writings which display a didactic intent. During the later phase of her career Haywood also devoted herself to translations, and to the production of periodicals and essays. Moreover, while she “forged a career as a writer”, she also “participated in other aspects of the book trade, such as publishing and bookselling” (Luhning, 25).

1.1 Eliza Haywood’s Early Career: the Novels of Amorous Intrigue and the Theatre

The first public mention of Eliza Haywood was on the Dublin stage in 1715. It was however in 1719 that she came onto the literary scene with the novel *Love in Excess*, which introduced her to the reading public, and ultimately became her best-seller. *Love in Excess* has been considered Haywood’s most representative text of her early career, but it also cost her to be “labeled as a mere amatory writer” (Saxton, 7). It followed the strain of novels of amorous intrigue written by Haywood’s forerunners Aphra Behn and Delarivier Manley (Warner, 111); however, as Warner points out, “Haywood [gave] a special privilege to love over every other social value, and subordinate[d] traditional claims to improve the reader to the relatively new one of offering diversion and entertainment” (112). By shaping a new formula of sex-centred fiction she aimed at providing her readers with pleasure, and therefore *Love*

in Excess can be considered one of the first instances of what Warner denominates “media culture” (125), where “media” refers to the “print medium”, and “culture” relates to “the cultural forms and practices associated with the vogue for novels” (127), namely writing, publishing, and reading.

“Haywood’s repositioning of the novel of amorous intrigue” (112) in *Love in Excess* struck a chord with readers, and allowed her to produce steadily during the 1720s. *The British Recluse* (1722) was her second prose fiction, and its tales of seduction make it not dissimilar in themes from *Love in Excess*. Many other works of fiction replicated the amatory prose of her first literary work (Backscheider, xx): for example *The Injur’d Husband* (1722), *The Unfortunate Mistress* (1723), *The Fatal Secret* (1724), *The Fatal Fondness* (1725), *The Mercenary Lover* (1726) and *The City Jilt* (1726). All these pieces of amatory writing “subtly subvert[ed] and challenge[d] reigning notions of gender” and became “tremendously popular with the reading public” (Saxton, 4). Most of them also “demonstrate how Haywood represent[ed] her fictional female characters’ attempts to deal with economic forces that characterize[d] her own existence” (Ingrassia, 78).

In *The City Jilt*, for example, the female protagonist Glicera must struggle against the authoritative sexual and economic role which society bestows on men. Daughter of a tradesman, she is represented as “a product within a system of masculine exchange” (Saxton, 117). Seduced, impregnated and abandoned by Melladore, she will ultimately take revenge on him by subverting social conventions of gender. From naïve and submissive she turns independent, and able to manipulate male desire (that of the old and wealthy alderman Grubguard), in order to achieve

financial gain (Melladore's money). Novels such as this one witness to how Haywood addressed a middle class readership. As Ingrassia points out:

Her female subjects are frequently the daughters of bankers, merchants, or aldermen: individuals of the middling classes consistently located in the socio-economic and often geographical milieu of the City of London (Ingrassia, 85).

During the 1730s Haywood was intensely involved with the theatre and national politics. Haywood was a royal sympathizer and an "ardent Tory" (Saxton, 3). Her play *Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg* (1729) was written to praise Frederick Louis, who had become Prince of Wales and who would lead the opposition to the Walpole ministry (Backscheider, xxv), which lasted from 1721 to 1742. Robert Walpole, Member of Parliament and leader of the Whig party, was the target of numerous publications by several writers during that period, and Haywood was among them. She was also a member of the Haymarket Theatre circle, and together with her partner William Hatchett staged *The Opera of Operas* (1733), an adaptation of Henry Fielding's *Tragedy of Tragedies*, which turned to be a success; the play received the royal support Haywood sought, drawing the Prince of Wales himself to attend a performance (Ingrassia, 107). Ingrassia claims that "her professional participation in a cultural space that served as the locus of the discursive and performative political opposition helped her develop her abilities as a political writer" (107). In 1736 Haywood helped fuel political tension with her Anti-Walpole *The Adventures of Eovaai*, "one of the prose fictions that demonized Walpole into an embodiment of evil, corruption, and depravity" (Backscheider, xxxix). Fielding's Theatre certainly provided Haywood with a means for financial stability during the 1730s, but as it was becoming "a hotbed of Walpole opposition in 1737"

(Backscheider, xxv), the Whig leader ordained the closure of it and Haywood's stage career inevitably came to an end.

1.2 Eliza Haywood's Later Career: the 'Pamela Controversy' and the Shift towards Didacticism

The 1740s saw "Haywood's move from amatory to domestic fiction and conduct book literature" (Saxton, 8). After a period which can be called a 'hibernation' in terms of fiction productivity, compared to the non-stop publication of the 1720s, "Haywood's novel-writing career took off again" (Keymer, 84) in the early 1740s. The appearance in November 1740 of Richardson's *Pamela* may, according to Thomas Keymer, "have been provocation enough to make Haywood resume her pen" (84). "By claiming to inaugurate a new species of writing" (Warner, 182), Richardson promised to improve and reform novel reading (203), provoking a debate in which few seem to have resisted participating. The '*Pamela* controversy' became a market phenomenon, the "visible trace of the new consumer culture that was taking hold..." (Keymer, 15). As Keymer underlines, *Pamela* "compelled attack or defence on moral or aesthetic grounds,...inspired creative development irrespective of commercial motives", but it also represented "an opportunity to produce marketable books..." (15).

The publication of *Pamela* was followed by an unprecedented "deluge of print" (1). The most popular pieces of fiction to have appeared immediately after the publication of Richardson's masterpiece, were Fielding's *Shamela* (April 1741), and Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela: Or, Feign'd Innocence Detected, in a Series of Syrena's Adventures* (June 1741). Haywood's contributions to the *Pamela* craze may well owe their stimulus to Fielding as much as to Richardson himself, for it must be

remembered that she had been professionally entangled with both writers. Richardson seems to have printed some of her works in the late 1720s and early 1730s, while Fielding was the owner of Little Haymarket, the theatre where Haywood often performed during the 1730s. However she was not always in good terms with either. Richardson refused to acknowledge Haywood's novels of amorous intrigue as his sources for *Pamela*, and this was a good excuse for the woman writer to produce her own novel, and thus compete with his male rival. Fielding, on the other hand, was held responsible by Haywood for the closure of the theatres in 1737, which forced her to abandon the stage (84). Thus Haywood's heroine, Syrena Tricky, is a response both to Fielding's Shamela Andrews and to Richardson's Pamela Andrews (86), an expedient to devalue the literary authority of both male writers, but also to capitalize on their success.

With *Anti-Pamela*, Haywood showed that she was more interested in economics rather than morality. Syrena Tricky is not the virtuous heroine of Richardson's novel, but a depraved woman who "possesses the beauty and cunning to attract [wealthy] men" (Ingrassia, 112). However, as she "puts pleasure before business or interest" (115), she satisfies her sexual appetite even with men who have no capital to offer her. Thus she ends squandering both "her sexual and financial currency" (112). As Keymer points out,

Syrena ultimately fails to become the wife of any of the men who pursue her. While Pamela's virtue is indeed triumphant, allowing her to move up several steps in the social structure in marrying a landowner..., we see Syrena..., exiled from metropolitan pleasures... (Keymer, 92).

Haywood again upset gender ideologies, and she constructed her heroine as the antithesis of Pamela. While Richardson's heroine was prey to Mr. B.'s sexual desire,

Syrena becomes the predator of several men; given her tainted virtue, her reward cannot be but a banishment from marriage, and an exclusion from society. Therefore Haywood's novel also ends with a moral lesson, but this is the reverse of that provided by Richardson in *Pamela*: Syrena neither gets married to a wealthy man, nor ascend the social scale; on the contrary she ends up being a servant.

The sales of *Anti-Pamela* turned out to be rather disappointing, but Haywood's endeavour to compete in the book marketplace and to join in the debate on *Pamela* did not stop there. During the subsequent years she produced a number of books including conduct books, novels and periodicals, which gave her the chance to enrich "her literary reputation as well as her bank account" (Saxton, 9), exploiting the moralist wave of the literary market. In 1743 she addressed an audience of young female servants in *A Present for a Servant-Maid; or, The Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem*, making the reference to Richardson's heroine quite obvious. In switching from the transgressive satirical genre to which *Anti-Pamela* belongs to the conduct book tradition out of which *A Present for a Servant-Maid* grows, Haywood joined in the *Pamela* debate in many different ways, and proved to be always active and competitive in the literary marketplace.

From 1744 to 1746 Haywood dedicated herself to the first English periodical to be both directed to women and written by a woman. *The Female Spectator* explored social issues of the time such as the education of women, the marriage, or the spread of luxuries (such as gambling and tea drinking) which threatened to ruin the whole society. *The Parrot* (1746), another example of Haywood's engagement in journalism, dealt with political questions, consisting of "explicitly pro-Tory [...] propaganda" (Saxton, 9). Haywood continued to examine controversial social and

political themes even in her novels. *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744), which anticipated Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and *Life's Progress through the Passions* (1748), are works which demonstrate the author's ability to adapt to shifts in narrative style of her time and to the changing tastes of her readers.

The 1750s brought several more didactic works. In 1750 Haywood wrote *A Present for Women Addicted to Drinking*, another conduct book which treated what was seen as a serious contemporary social problem openly. Her late career, however, was especially devoted to writings whose major themes are "bad marriage, how to avoid it, as well as how to negotiate a good one" (Blouch, in Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, 1998: 15). Her concern over marriage is witnessed by two collections of advice essays written in the last years of her life, *The Wife* (1755) and *The Husband* (1756). Earlier, in 1751, she had published *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, which many have considered her best novel; the story of a young woman's "slow metamorphosis from thoughtless coquette to thoughtful wife" (16) has been described as "the first real novel of female development in English". Although the novel's finale conformed to the intrinsic didactic aim of the novel, in *Betsy Thoughtless* Haywood again "resist[ed] the domesticated and domesticating female subjects prevalent at this time", constructing her heroine according to an alternative morality (Ingrassia, 128). The heroine Betsy refuses to be a commodity circulating within the masculine sexual market; she is "an avid consumer" who wants to be independent and to "control...any monetary or sexual capital she possesses (132).

1.3 Publishing and Bookselling

Haywood was writing within “a period of rapid social, cultural, and political change” in Britain (Luhning, 26). In particular she was participating in an expanding literary marketplace, which fostered authors to write, publishers to print, and readers to buy books. As Catherine Ingrassia claims,

The nearly exponential rise in the number of books published and sold in the first three decades of the eighteenth century signaled the emergence of a new consumer culture defined, in part, by the commercialization of literature (Ingrassia, 79).

Profiting from this expansion Haywood produced an unmatched amount of writings throughout her career and, thanks especially to the support of publishers who promoted her works, could count on a consistent audience. Especially during her early career, “Haywood was under the...male control of booksellers who recognized her ability to ‘please’ her audience”, and who perceived “the value of her name” (83). Among others, William Chetwood presented Haywood’s first novel to the audience (Luhning, 46), launching her public persona. Chetwood and subsequent publishers would foster her popularity and consequently the sale of her works: as already mentioned, it appears that between 1728 and 1735 Samuel Richardson himself printed some of her works (Keymer, 84). As Luhning points out in her study entitled «Eliza Haywood: The Print Trade and Cultural Production», “Haywood’s name became a commodity that worked to sell books” (Luhning, 46).

Despite her constant dependence on male booksellers, who published most of her works, from the 1740s Haywood attempted “to operate...more as a literary entrepreneur acting with some agency within the marketplace” (Ingrassia, 104); as Luhning suggests, Haywood became a “businesswoman” (Luhning, 2). While she

tried to defy her epithet of ‘scandalous writer’ by experimenting with many other genres, she also struggled to escape her status as ‘commodity’ in the hands of male publishers, and partake in the lucrative market of bookselling.

Her involvement in the book industry is witnessed by her venture of opening a shop at the Sign of Fame in Covent Garden in 1741. Ingrassia argues that since Haywood would have lacked the start-up capital for a bookshop with full rights, she acted as a ‘mercury’, a category between a bookseller and a hawker (Ingrassia, 110). It is clear that she sold some books, among others *The Virtuous Villager; or Virgin’s Victory* (1742), and *Anti-Pamela* (1742). Although Haywood’s bookselling venture lasted less than one year (108), she did not in the aftermath of her failure cut her connections with the print trade; along with other women she was involved in the production and sale of ephemera, representing “the more marginal and precarious categories of booksellers” (110). Ingrassia asserts that “her subsequent position...[was] something akin to a mercury at the peripheral, and certainly unprestigious, edges of the print trade...” (108). In acting as a distributor of socially contentious material Haywood also faced legal risks (Luhning, 30); her struggle for competing in the print market caused her to be arrested in 1749, when she published and sold a political pamphlet on the Young Pretender (Bonnie Prince Charlie) entitled *A Letter from H – G – g, Esq. ...To a Particular Friend*. As Ingrassia comments:

Although Haywood struggled to establish herself as a producer of texts as physical rather than imaginative commodities, her efforts generally failed to provide the autonomy or control she sought (Ingrassia, 104).

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to present Eliza Haywood, “one of the early and most popular women in English literary history who held the commercially-viable occupation of writer” (Luhning, 11), and to show how her writings were all products of a “commodity culture” (Backscheider, xxxii). The plots and characters of her novels of amorous intrigue of the 1720s satisfied the interests of the reading public of that time, and her success allowed her publishers to shape “an intriguing, marketable public persona with which to publicize her texts” (Luhning, 2). Haywood contributed to generating to what William Warner has called “media culture”, namely that intersection of authorship, readership, and publishing, which he sees as an intrinsic feature of novel-reading in the eighteenth century (Warner, 127). However, since her writings defied gender ideologies and male economic powers, she could never escape the label of ‘scandalous writer’, even in her later career, when she conformed “to the desire for increasingly didactic fiction” (Ingrassia, 128), following the success of Richardson’s *Pamela* (1740). As Warner points out, “the *Pamela* media event [drew] the eighteenth century’s most prolific writer of novels...back into novel writing after a hiatus of nearly a dozen years” (Warner, 218). With her novel *Anti-Pamela* (1741), for example, she was clearly trying to capitalize on Richardson’s novel. Concurrently, with the purpose of raising the sales of her texts she ventured into a bookselling experience in 1741, which, however, turned out to be rather disappointing. Her endeavour to overcome the limits which society imposed on women, and in particular to free herself of her reputation of writer of scandalous novels, she experimented with genres other than the novel. “Haywood was a remarkably versatile writer” (Blouch, 7); she wrote political pamphlets, periodicals,

conduct books, essays, poems and much more; she was also a translator, a literary critic, and above all a playwright and a famous actress. Her controversial yet popular persona, like her works, “both reaffirmed and challenged social norms” (Luhning, 46), and would pave the way for “future women writers participating in the literary marketplace (65).

Servants and the ‘Servant Problem’ in Early Modern England

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will first draw a historical overview of domestic service in the period which goes from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, when servants started playing a crucial role in English society and culture. Until the early twentieth century very little was known about this occupational group, and the first publications examined servants working in wealthy households. While the first historians on service (for example J. Jean Hecht) adopted an employer-made perspective, and shared the view that domestics were hired mostly by aristocratic families, those writing in more recent years (for example Tim Meldrum and Paula Humfrey) have paid greater attention on servants working in more modest households, and agree that the domestic was, during the early modern period, “an integral part of all but the poorest households” (Kent, 1989: 111). Moreover, while the first historians were focusing on men servants, who were mostly employed in grand households, more recent historians shifted their attention to the female servants hired by families of the middling sort. Therefore in order to delineate the figure of the domestic servant in early modern England it is first necessary to distinguish between servants employed in élite households and servants hired by families of the

middling groups; and since service was defined by gender, it is also necessary to remind that men and women were valued differently in the service market.

Secondly I will introduce a phenomenon related to servants, which nineteenth-century historians refer to as the ‘Servant Problem’. With this expression they aimed at defining the insubordinate behaviour of servants which was thought to have spread from the late seventeenth century, and the consequent mutation from a paternalistic to a contractual master-servant relationship. Among the causes for this presumed attitude of domestics were the independent spirit and the desire for social ascent of the new middling groups employing servants. Therefore servants were thought to imitate their superiors in the same way in which the middling groups were emulating the upper ranks. This was also true in terms education; servants’ literacy was perceived by many as way to climb the social ladder.

2.1 Historians on Domestic Service

Servants living in great households are the objects of concern in one of the first books on the history of eighteenth-century servants, which was published in 1956 by Jean J. Hecht. This historian describes the whole hierarchy of domestics, but focuses particularly on men servants, “an expensive luxury” which only aristocratic families could afford (Hill, 1996: 31). Hence Hecht informs us that the top layer of the male servants’ hierarchy was occupied by the land steward and the house steward, followed by the gentleman-in-waiting, the man-cook, the butler, the gardener and the valet, while the coachman, the footman and the groom were placed at the bottom. Hecht pays less attention to female servants, but he asserts that they too were organized in hierarchies, with the lady’s maid at the top, followed by the house-

keeper, the cook, the chamber-maid, and the maid-servants (house-maids, laundry-maids, dairy-maids and scullery-maids).

All domestics, Hecht notes, served to advertise “the extent of [their] master’s wealth” (53). They enjoyed a sheltered and comfortable mode of life: not only were they supplied with necessities (food and lodging), but also with luxuries. Serving in grand households permitted a considerable amount of recreation, such as spending time at public houses, accompanying the master on the chase, playing cards, attending fashionable gardens and theatres. Servants of aristocratic families benefited of many rewards as well: for instance their wages were supplemented with ‘vails’, namely tips which they received from guests who visited the house, and with their master’s cast-off clothes. Serving in great households also meant social and economic advancement: it was not uncommon for a servant who remained in the same family for a considerable time to rise to a higher post in the servant’s hierarchy, or to leave service to set up a business, to serve the government or the army (Hecht, 1956).

Hecht’s perspective has been much criticized by recent historians for focusing on wealthy households and on male servants, and scarcely considering the bulk of servants hired by the middling ranks. D. A. Kent, for instance, states that Hecht “relies...on material generated by employers of servants in large establishments” (Kent, 1989: 112). In his essay entitled «Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London» he comments:

The term, domestic service, usually conjures up images of housekeepers and butlers, of chambermaids and footmen, of ladies’ maids and valets, for it is on such servants that the study of domestic service has focused thus far (111).

He maintains that little is known about domestic service because the overwhelming majority of servants were women who “were not employed in leisured households as chambermaids and ladies-maids but as maids of all work, general servants and drudges in the homes of artisans and retailers” (119); and since “almost nothing is known of this group as employers of servants” (119), it is even harder to have information about those such modest households employed.

The few sources available to investigate about servants hired in small and modest households, Kent tells us, are represented by settlement examinations. The terms of the 1692 ‘Act of Settlement’ allowed anyone working in service for a whole year in a parish to obtain settlement in that parish. Settlement examinations report name, age, place of residence, marital status of servants, and often name, occupation and location of former employers. Hence they provide useful information for historians who want “to learn a little more about the world of menial service” (112).

Settlement examination records show that it was not only wealthy household who employed domestics, but “there were [also] many shopkeepers, publicans, tradespeople and craftsmen who required an extra pair of hands” (114). These hands were usually those of young, often unmarried, poor girls who left the countryside to serve in the city:

...throughout the eighteenth century domestic service in London was one of the brighter economic prospects for unmarried working women...even in a tradesman’s home, domestic service offered security, protection against rising living costs, and an income entirely at the woman’s disposal (124).

Despite their low wages – Kent posits that the typical wage for a female servant was 5£ a year – young women benefited from an annual hiring in domestic service, since it provided security (they received diet and lodging), and relative economic

independence. The year-long contract, however, contributed to make female servants highly mobile. “Servants regularly changed...their employer” since mobility appeared to be “an opportunity...to improve their circumstances, and perhaps assert their independence” (120). Settlement examination records inform us that it was not uncommon for a woman to choose service as a long-life occupation and not merely a stage preceding marriage in their life-cycle.

In *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750* (2000) Meldrum writes that London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries experienced a demographic and spatial expansion which was fuelled by the migration of middling and lower sorts seeking employment “in the English centre of manufacture, commerce and mercantile wealth, as well as government, law and professions”. The metropolis was “credited with the making of a vibrant middle class” and “was the acknowledged centre of domestic service in Britain in the period 1660-1750” (Meldrum, 2000: 12). He explains that “one way in which the metropolitan middling groups consumed was by hiring and retaining domestic servants”, and that “this was an essential component in the construction of middling identity in London” (13). The rise of the middling sort who could afford to hire servants ensured that “domestic service [became] a significant magnet in drawing young people to the metropolis” (18).

Meldrum holds that “the servant experience in London was powerfully cross-cut by household size and gender” (208). While larger houses could afford to hire a great number of servants and especially men servants, smaller and more modest houses employed female servants (drudges), who were less paid than men servants. Shopkeepers and artisans tended to hire one female servant whose work involved

little housework and many tasks, such as running errands, delivering messages, and helping in her employer's shop or workshop.

According to Meldrum, men had far more opportunities for long-term employment, and not only in great households. They were often employed as apprentices in middling families “through the seven-year indenture, by which they were enjoined to follow their masters’ moral guidance and, . . . , dwell in their masters’ households” (27). Service for women, conversely, was usually a ‘life-cycle’ occupation which preceded marriage, according to the tradition of ‘service in husbandry’: in earlier times both men and women used to spend a period as servants living within another family and working in agriculture until they had saved enough money to get married. Meldrum estimates that in the period 1660-1750 still “over three quarters of female servants were under 30” and “most women left service in their late 20s or early 30s” to get married (16, 18). However he does not deny that there were a few women who chose to continue working in service instead of getting married.

Meldrum agrees with Kent that “at least one year in a place of service allowed individuals to gain a ‘settlement’, . . . , in the parish in which they had served” (23). Instead of settlement examination records, however, Meldrum supports his thesis by collecting witnesses’ depositions made at the London Consistory court from 1669 to 1752. Depositions of those bringing cases to the church courts (such as defamation, matrimonial disputes and domestic violence) witness that “most litigants employed domestic servants” (9).

While in this period the relationship between master and servant was growing more and more contractual, court depositions demonstrate that servants were still

involved in matters regarding the family. Servants themselves were often called to courts as witnesses of defamation disputes in order to defend the reputation of their employers. Meldrum stresses the importance of reputation in early modern society; reputation was crucial to employers who had to establish relationships with other people within the community in order to create capital; but servants too required it in order to be hired, and in their case it was provided by a ‘character’, namely “a statement by a servant’s former employer detailing how trustworthy, honest and diligent he or she had been” (52).

As her title – *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London* (2011) – suggests, Paula Humfrey focuses on female servants and argues “their importance to the urban economy” (Humfrey, 2011: 1) as contributors to the creation of capital within the family.

Like Meldrum, Humfrey argues that women servants could benefit from the high demand for their labour but only maintaining a good reputation, and she agrees with Kent in stressing their great independence and high mobility: “Women in London service tended to be highly mobile, and because there was a demand market for their labour, they were reliably able to leave places and take up new ones at their own discretion” (4). She goes on to say that

Domestic service for London women between the Restoration and the mid-eighteenth century was caught up in an urban economic, demographic and social setting that was undergoing expansion and development. In this setting, traditions according to which masters adopted a paternal role appropriate to the governance of young, unmarried women training to become wives were upended (18).

Here Humfrey calls into question Meldrum, who argued that servants were overwhelmingly unmarried young women. She claims that “domestic service in the

metropolis was [becoming] a labour market sector based on a novel form of contract that did not preclude married women...from getting work as servants” (9, 10). However she reiterates something both Kent and Meldrum had already made clear: “female servants in London...[were] part of a contractual system of yearly employment” (19). Humfrey too argues that the influx of poor female migrants into London who sought a place in service was regulated by a legislation. Aspirant servants underwent an examination during which they were asked to provide their age, wage, place of residence, marital status and details of their work histories, as well as to testify that they were employed with a year-long contract by a parish household. Like Kent, she provides settlement examination records in her book, but follows Meldrum in including the church courts depositions. Humfrey stresses the importance of these last in investigating this neglected occupational group: “Matrimonial and defamation cases brought many female servants as witnesses because these kinds of cases involved household events in which domestics were involved...” (35). Like settlement examination records, depositional testimonies provided servants’ age, background, marital status, their work history and so on. Although as historical records church court depositions are less reliable than settlement examination records, they include testimonies of domestic servants working both for wealthy and for modest families.

Kent’s study has fostered further enquires on domestic service such as those of Meldrum’s and Humfrey’s. Their studies report parish settlement examination records and church court depositional testimonies, and therefore offer crucial information about domestics employed by the middling sort. In particular they contribute to challenging the employer-made perspective of historians who restrict

their study of domestic service to aristocratic contexts (in which men are privileged), and give female servants the visibility they deserve.

2.2 The ‘Servant Problem’

D. Marshall in his essay *The Domestic Servants of the Eighteenth Century* (1929) argues that the early eighteenth century was an age in which employers were particularly discontented towards their servants; this climate of tension between masters and servants is particularly witnessed by the great amount of publications of advice manuals directed at regulating servants’ behavior, and providing useful suggestions for masters’ and mistresses’ management of their domestics:

almost every medium of expression was used to give vent to the discontent which the age felt with its servants. The Press was full of letters; pamphlets were written; journalists like Swift and Defoe found in it a subject for their ready pens,... Novelists like Henry Fielding and Richardson found interest in the subject sufficient to justify their writing novels... Even the stage was pressed into service... (Marshall, 1929: 15).

Kristina Straub in her book *Domestic Affairs* agrees with Marshall, and adds that historians of service referred to this phenomenon as the ‘servant problem’:

...eighteenth-century literature on servants...offers evidence of an emergent consciousness that domestic servants participated in the family in more troubling ways than they did in the past. Many historians of British domestic service see the eighteenth century as the beginning of what, in the nineteenth century came to be called ‘the servant problem’... (Straub, 2009: 5).

According to the historian J. Jean Hecht most servants in élite households indulged in luxuries, aping their masters in all sort of behavior and appearance: “...the servant tended to identify with his master. He assumed something of his master’s social status; he took his master as a model to be imitated...” (Hecht, 206).

Domestics strived to imitate their masters and mistresses in terms of dressing, way of speech and gestures, and as a consequence they “adopted vices as well as amusements” (215), such as gambling, and sexual license. If masters and mistresses were morally corrupted, so were their domestics. As Hecht points out, “...the moral standard of employers exerted a very real influence on the conduct of their servants” (216). What is more, since domestic servants were engaged in routine duties, they were often in touch with the members of different classes, and acted as a cultural nexus between upper and lower ranks (206), thus spreading the contagion of idleness and luxury among the lower sorts of people. Snuff and tea were two examples of diffusion of cultural elements from the upper ranks to the lower groups. Both substances were luxuries confined to the upper ranks until the late seventeenth century, but by mid-eighteenth century they were consumed by lower groups as well (given the increased importation and the lowered prices). Servants’ mobility also fostered the flow of cultural elements from the city to the rural regions (224). During the eighteenth century the improving standard of living of the lower classes permitted a cultural change in which servants of wealthy households played a crucial role (227).

The inclination to imitate their superiors, however, was not limited to servants in upper households. Historians like Kent, Meldrum and Humfrey point out that domestics employed by middling families were economically independent and highly mobile, and therefore they reflected their employers’ longing for social ascent. As middling masters strived to affirm their economic and social independence, so did their subordinates. Commentators believed that the new contractual bond between masters and servants caused a loss of moral and religious values. Members of the

middling sort were frequently accused by moralists of neglecting their duties towards their servants, and consequently granting them independence and mobility. This is testified, for instance, in Defoe's *The Family Instructor*. The author sets up an exemplary story featuring two masters and two apprentices. One master is a shopkeeper who completely disregards his servants: "As to his Servants, it was none of his Care...what they did...as to either their Morals or Religion, he counted it none of his Business..." (Defoe, 1715: 162). Defoe fictionalizes what he perceived to be the reality of his time.

Straub asserts that "a new historical phenomenon" (Straub, 7) was taking place: the paternalistic relationship between master and servant was turning into a contractual one. The economic change and the urbanization which occurred in England from the late seventeenth century onwards certainly affected the bond between servants and their masters, which became increasingly defined by money rather than by loyalty. Marshall argues that servants took advantage of their great demand from employers to claim high wages and this contributed to increase their agency and insubordination (Marshall, 21).

Therefore, as Straub argues, "'the servant problem' literature consistently tried to guide servants away from financial autonomy into a childlike dependence on the family" (Straub, 25). Servants "are seen throughout the century as objects of instructions, people who must be taught their proper role within the family" (19). In *The Family Instructor* Defoe urges masters to embrace their roles as surrogate parents: "...Masters of Families may observe, the Duty of instructing, and religiously guiding their Servants, lies indispensably upon them, as much as that of instructing

and educating their Children” (Defoe, 214). He exhorts his readers to “put the Master entirely upon the Father’s Place, and Servants in the Posture of Children” (230).

“Conduct literature throughout 1700s saw ‘the servant problem’ as symptomatic of a social *malaise*” (Straub, 8), which spread from the consumerism and luxury defining the period. Besides Defoe, many other voices raised on this issue. Eliza Haywood’s first lines of *A Present for a Servant-Maid* demonstrate what she considered to be a depraved time:

It is not to be wondered at, that in an Age abounding with Luxury,...,Servants should be in general so bad, that it is become one of our Calamities not to be able to live without them: Corruption, tho’ it begins at the Head, ceases not its Progress till it reaches the most inferior Parts, and it is high Time to endeavour a Cure of so growing a Evil (Haywood, 1743: Preface).

Haywood conceives the ‘servant problem’ as linked to luxury. As Straub comments, “servants [were] focus for concern over British ‘luxury’, both as symptoms of their employers’ overspending and as consumers themselves” (Straub, 8).

2.3 The Servants’ Literacy

In *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (1996) the historian Bridget Hill tells us that “the overwhelming majority of servants in early modern England were illiterate...” (Hill, 225). As a matter of fact only some domestic posts in elite households demanded literacy; as Kathleen T. Alves claims in her study entitled «Servant literacies in the cultural imagination of the British eighteenth century» (2011), “the duties of upper level servants, such as the land steward or the lady’s maid... required more than a basic knowledge of reading and writing”, while “for most of the other servants that ranked lower in the servant hierarchy these

cultural skills were neither required nor necessary for the execution of their duties” (Alves, 2011: 20, 21). However, she points out that

all servants were exposed to a considerable amount of literature...through their master, or sometimes the mistress, reading aloud sermons or other bits of morally edifying literature for them, especially the Bible (21).

Therefore lest servants were entering households as illiterate, the collective act of reading, listening and recitation certainly helped to instruct them. Even in more modest households they were often encouraged to approach to books through religious practices. As Naomi Tadmor puts it, “reading was part of a religious discipline” (Tadmor, 1996: 166).

In addition to the religious routine, it is certain that servants in elite households took over the reading habits of their employers (Hecht, 216), and thus it is likely that they read diverse printed material they could find in their masters’ libraries. From the eighteenth century onwards, however, “literacy certainly improved” (Hill, 227), and while the cultural prestige of the elite was becoming the pride of the middling sort, that which was once a privilege of the upper level domestics began extending to servants of more modest households. As Alves explains,

With the development of lending libraries, an expendable income, and access to their masters’ book collection, servants became direct participants of the marketplace and enjoyed commodities like reading material rarely accessible to them before (Alves, 8, 9).

As servants began to appear among the ranks of the reading public, they consequently became the addressees of many conduct books, aimed at regulating servants’ behaviour and reminding them of their duties. However, if the increasing literacy among servants prompted the publishing of several advice manuals, it also fueled polemics by those who maintained that “education was ruining servants”

(Hill, 227). Alves argues that “the ability to read...[rendered] traditionally subordinated workers intractable and unsatisfied with affective master/servant relationships” (Alves, 7). She goes on to say that “...the servant, empowered by new cultural capital such as literacy and money, moved away from the affective family unit...to destabilize the established hierarchy and dissolve the family” (9). Not few eighteenth-century commentators thought that literacy contributed to boosting servants’ insubordination and self-interestedness, and therefore the so-called ‘servant problem’.

Hence the servants’ literacy was paradoxically both feared and encouraged. While there existed widespread alarm that literacy could excite servants’ agency, thus “threatening to blur distinctions between ranks” (7), most conduct manuals published at the time stressed the importance of education for servants. Richard Mayo’s *A Present for Servants* (1692), for instance, advised servants “to attend on the means of knowledge...” (Mayo, 51), and “to cry and pray hard for knowledge” (55). Some years later Daniel Defoe’s *The Family Instructor* (1715) bestowed on masters the duty of instructing their servants, emphasizing that “every Master of a Family ought to be [an Instructor] to his Servants, as well as to his Children” (Defoe, 207).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to offer an overview of domestic service in early modern England. I have showed how the earliest historians studying servants are traceable in the mid-twentieth century. Jean J. Hecht’s *The Domestic Servant in Eighteenth-Century England* (1956), for example, explores the complex hierarchy of servants employed in elite households, giving prominence to male servants over female servants, as men represented a sign of distinction of wealthy families. Early

historians like Hecht relied on written material provided by employers of great houses (who usually kept diaries in which even their domestics were taken into account), as if servants were only hired by families of the upper ranks. However the studies of more recent historians, such as D. A. Kent, Tim Meldrum and Paula Humfrey, have demonstrated the incompleteness of Hecht's arguments, and found evidence of the servants' presence even in households of the middling sort by investigating parish settlement examination records and of church court depositions. These latter testimonies are extremely important to cast light on the servants employed by the middling ranks, as they both provide name, age, and marital status of the servant examined or interrogated. By analyzing these documents the more recent historians also discovered that families of the middling ranks tended to hire women, as these were less expensive than men. Hence, as Meldrum suggests in *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750* (2000), service was usually defined by household size and gender.

This chapter has also endeavoured to define a cultural phenomenon known as the 'servant problem'. From the late seventeenth century onwards servants were seen as growing increasingly independent and mobile, and the paternalistic nature of servant-master relationship was perceived as declining and turning into a contractual bond. The raised demand for servants' labour was related to the emerging middling groups who "consumed...by hiring and retaining domestic servants" (Meldrum, 13). The servants' tendency to changing place was symptomatic of a desire to climb the social ladder, and therefore appeared to mirror the aspirations of the middling ranks. Both middle and lower ranks were often accused by moralists for indulging in luxuries

which the élite only could afford (for example wasting money in apparel, and making habits such as tea-drinking).

Finally I have showed how servants' literacy was becoming a source of anxiety from the late seventeenth century onwards, since it was believed to dim distinctions between ranks, thus contributing to fostering domestics' independence and insubordination. If it has been assumed that most servants were illiterate in early modern England, yet they were not entirely cut out from education: they were certainly to acquire reading skills through their masters and mistresses. Moreover, the advent of the print marketplace and of the circulating libraries in the eighteenth century helped extending literacy among the lower ranks. The spread of advice manuals for servants, especially between the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, further suggests that servants could read, and were encouraged in this practice not only by their masters and mistresses, but also by those many didacticists who, in their guides, stressed the importance of education for domestics.

The Evolution of the Conduct Book for Servants in Early Modern England

3.0 Introduction

In the following chapter I will try to outline the evolution of the conduct book for servants in early modern England, thus dealing with one of the several kinds of conduct books. This genre enjoyed the height of its prosperity between the Restoration and the nineteenth century, addressing all sorts of individuals and social groups: men and women, the family and its members, middle and lower sorts. As Hunter suggests, its variety is bewildering and popularity enduring (Hunter, 1990: 235). The proliferation of this ‘how-to’ literature from the late seventeenth century onwards was certainly prompted by the spread of literacy among the middling and the lower sorts.

As my focus is on the conduct book for servants, in this chapter I will examine three texts addressed to this occupational group which were written between the early seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. The advice manuals for servants I will introduce display diverse features, since they were published in three different periods by authors who contrast in gender and background. Moreover, while those

written by men appear to stem from Puritan sermons, those produced by women seem to derive from Renaissance courtesy books, and especially from private household manuals.

The first guide I will examine is William Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties* (1622), which features an entire section on servants ("Duties of Servants"), and an entire section on masters ("Duties of Masters"). This treatise well illustrates the deeply religious character of the first conduct books for servants, containing many principles found in Puritan sermons. The second text I will analyse is Hannah Woolley's *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677), "one of the first tracts [entirely] addressed to female servants" (Dalporto, 2001: 80) written by a woman, including some directions for polite manners typical of courtesy books, along with many practical instructions and cooking recipes found in household manuals privately compiled by women. Eventually I will look at Daniel Defoe's *The Family Instructor* (1715), a guide which dedicates an entire section to masters and servants, and shows how the religious zeal of most seventeenth-century conduct books for servants merges with the secular values of the emerging middling sort.

3.1 The Influence of Puritan Sermons:

William Gouge's Of Domestical Duties (1622)

Attempting to delineate the origins of the conduct book genre, Hunter posits that "the most significant terrain on the didactic landscape" is represented by sermons written by clergymen (Hunter, 1990: 249). Sermons owed their currency to special occasions; they were printed and published for the audience of public events such as commemorations and anniversaries, but also for the public of private events such as funerals of ordinary people (250). Few sermon writers achieved success in terms of

sale, and if they did it was because of their prestigious reputation as preachers or religious leaders. As Hunter points out: “Sermons seldom caught on with the public”, and they never reached high market share (249). Because of their commercial failure, they were revised into other forms such as theological treatises, biblical commentaries, manuals for family prayers, catechisms, spiritual biographies, cautionary discussions of current events, exhortations to good conduct and so on (251, 252). These several didactic forms were “religious in subject matter [and] didactic in intent” (225). They

share[d] a hortatory spirit, intense zeal, and intrusive concern for regulated behavior...a basic worry about contemporary tendencies to ignore divine principles...[and] a view that the times [had] become luxurious, indulgent, and precarious for anyone trying to lead a life of righteousness (252).

Hunter uses the term ‘Guide’ to refer to this miscellaneous body of didactic writings which developed from religious works of clergymen. As a matter of fact “direction as a metaphor appears...frequently in the titles...” (258); the metaphor of life as a pilgrimage is spotted in many headlines: *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God* (1625), *The Christians Daily Walk in holy Securitie and Peace* (1625), *Christian Directions, Shewing How to walk with God All the Day long* (1661), and *A Sure Guide to Heaven* (1702). By including exhortations to praying God and behaving righteously, Hunter tells us, clergymen “adapted sermons to practical prose” (254).

From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century onwards many guides were published to direct the family and its members towards moral and religious virtues. Sometimes they were “designed for parents, sometimes divided into sections for different family members, and sometimes apparently intended for joint use, perhaps

during family prayers” (265). In the early seventeenth century William Gouge compiled a treatise entitled *Of Domestical Duties* (1622), in which he provided husbands and wives, parents and children, as well as servants and masters with moral and religious rules. In the late seventeenth century Richard Baxter’s *Rules and Directions of Family Duties* (1681) set forth “the duty of Parents...towards their Children,...Childrens duty to their Parents. Husbands to their Wives, and Wives to their Husbands. Masters to Servants, and Servants duty to their Masters” (Baxter, 1681). In the early eighteenth century William Fleetwood published *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants* (1705), and Defoe’s *The Family Instructor* (1715) was reprinted well into the nineteenth century, becoming the most famous guide for families. These texts conceive of families “primarily in terms of duties of members toward one another, particularly the duty of inferior members of the household (servants, children, and women) toward the head” (Hunt, 1996: 26).

William Gouge was one of those clergymen who, exploiting their religious



experience, rearranged sermons into guides aimed at regulating both the spiritual and moral human conduct. He started a brilliant teaching career at the King’s College in Cambridge, and later he was ordained minister at Blackfriars Church in London, drawing large crowds to his lectures. Spirituality and scholarship made his writings unique (Fox, in Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties*, 2006).

Of Domestical Duties (1622) is one of his most popular works, and may be defined as a conduct book retaining major features of sermons and religious writings. It includes eight sections, each gathering the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and servants towards each other, and especially towards God.

The seventh treatise, entitled “Duties of Servants”, provides domestics with instructions for good conduct towards their masters and towards God. This section is perfectly structured in 43 headings. With the first heading (“1. A resolution of the Apostle’s direction to servants”) the Puritan teacher aims at guiding these members of the family through the holy words of one of the apostles, who positions the master on the same level of Jesus: “Servants be obedient to them that are your masters...as unto Christ” (Gouge, 1622: 428). With the second headline (“2. Of the lawfulness of a master’s place and power”) Gouge further emphasizes the superiority of masters, who are given by God the authority over servants:

God...ordained degrees of superiority and inferiority, of authority and subjection.... God hath given express commandment unto masters to govern their servants and unto servants to be subject to their masters. In the fourth commandment God giveth a charge to masters over their servants.... And... servants are commanded to obey their masters (428, 429).

Given these premises, servants are bound to fear their masters (“4. Of a servant’s fear of his master”) because “...awe is...a reverend esteem of [the] master”, according to what S. Paul and S. Peter preach (431). They have to conform to a certain reverence when, for example, they happen to address their masters (“6. Of servants’ reverence in speech”); the author advises servants to “give reverend titles to their masters”, to be careful that “their words be few...” (433), that “all their

words...be meek, mild and humble...”, that “all their speeches and answers to their master be true...” (434). The same respect is required in terms of behaviour (“8. Of servants’ reverend behaviour to their masters”), which means that servants must obey their masters and be ready “to perform any service which [their] master shall appoint [them] to do” (437), because “the work which servants are by their masters appointed to do, is to them the work of God...” (451). They must listen to their master’s instructions in matters of trade (“14. Of servants hearkening to their masters’ instructions in matters of their calling”) and religion (“15. Of servants hearkening to their masters’ instructions in piety”), as well as be always faithful regarding their master’s business (“29. Of servants’ faithfulness in the businesses which they are to dispatch for their masters”), and regarding his secrets (“30. Of servants faithfulness in keeping their masters’ secrets, and concealing their infirmities”).

The distinction between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ is one of the features of didactic texts (Hunter, 229), and Gouge does not transgress the rule. Together with advice for right conduct he also lists servants’ misbehaviors, namely what they should shun. Under the heading “11. Of servants’ forbearing to do things without their masters’ consent”, servants are advised to avoid “doing things...without or against consent of their masters”, since the time spent in their service is “not their own...”, and “both their persons and their actions are all their masters...” (439). The Puritan author insists that

they ought not to do their own business and affairs... They ought not to marry while the time of their covenant for service lasteth, unless their master give consent thereto. ...They ought not to dispose their master’s goods at their own pleasure, no not for charitable uses. ...They may not before their covenanted time be expired go away from their master (439, 440).

Gouge is extremely concerned about servant mobility; he warns that those servants “who are oft shifted from house to house...as rolling stones, gather no moss” (452), a proverb which is resumed in several subsequent conduct books for servants, and which means that servants who do not stay in one place for a long time fail to lay up capital to maintain themselves when unemployed (Straub, 2009).

Servants are blamed for their “carelessness over their master’s goods”, so that, for example, “they leave doors or windows [of the house] open”, allowing thieves to come in and steal their master’s goods, or they “carelessly leave the fire or let candles burn”, so that “the house may be set on fire”. Even worse, they also rob their masters, an action which includes not only the theft of goods or money, but also “bringing in ill company into the house when...masters are absent, and entertaining them on their master’s cost...” (Gouge, 454).

As for masters, the author is severely critical about unreligious masters, who are likely to affect their servants with their own corruption, and therefore allow them “to swear, to profane the Sabbath, and spend the whole day in sleeping, sporting, eating and drinking: to go to bed without prayer, or catechizing , or reading the word of God...” (444). Besides, Gouge rebukes impious servants who are under the authority of devout masters, and who, when called to pray, are ready to say they were hired to work, and not serve God (“16. Of servants’ faults contrary to obedience in matters of religion”). As unreligious masters are to be shunned, under the heading “39. Of servants choosing good masters”, servants are required to “abide under good masters...”, and to “be under such masters as bear the image of God” (464). The author assures that “there will be comfort in serving such masters” (464), and the reward of good service will be “of both temporal and eternal blessings” (467),

namely servants will receive respect from their master in this life, and the respect of God in the life after death.

Persuasion appears to be Gouge's main goal, and the insistent repetition of identical words and phrases aims at affecting the behavior of his intended readers, and at impressing essential rules of conduct upon their minds, so that they will lead a righteous life. The superior place and the power hold by masters is reiterated throughout the treatise, as well as the reverence, the obedience, and the faithfulness servants have to observe towards their masters. As Hunter explains, repetition was a very useful device to instruct servants who, like children, "were pleased to hear familiar formulas and phrases" (Hunter, 235).

What is remarkable in Gouge's treatise is the almost total disregard for the female counterpart of masters and servants. Mistresses and maids are barely mentioned and find little space within the book. They are almost entirely overshadowed by masters, who hold both economic and religious powers within the family, and appear as the only supervisors of servants. In the late seventeenth century, however, a woman writer was to cast light on the crucial role of both mistresses and female servants within the economy of the household.

3.2 The Influence of Courtesy Books and Household Manuals:

Hannah Woolley's *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677)

Jennifer C. Georgia in her dissertation entitled *Polite Literature: Conduct Books and the Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (1994) underlines the aristocratic origins of the conduct book. She argues that the courtesy book "was perhaps the primary form out of which the...genre grew" (Georgia, 1994: 63). Courtesy manuals "were prose works, often in epistle or dialogue form, familiar, polished and urbane in

tone, addressed to young men preparing for life as courtiers” (63), and stemming from the French and Italian traditions. Courtin’s *Traite de la Civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les Honnêtes gens*, Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, along with all the classics of French and Italian conduct literature were all translated into English in the sixteenth century, and were to have a long-lasting influence on the British conduct literature addressed to women.

Hannah Woolley’s writings are worth of consideration in this sense, as they



appear to stem partly from this kind of aristocratic texts: titles such as *The Queen-like Closet, or Rich Cabinet* (1670) or *A Supplement to the Queen-like Closet* (1674) remind of noble texts indeed. However her treatises inherit most contents from household manuals: cooking recipes, medical remedies and tips for washing and housewifery more in general give her manuals a vernacular taste.

Household manuals represent an important historical form of women’s writing which well contributed to further women’s literacy (Kowalchuk, 2012: 36). They consisted of “highly collaborative...notebooks that included culinary recipes, medical remedies, and household tips” (2). These texts witness that, although very few women received a formal education, many acquired informal knowledge within the household through other women (for instance, daughters through their mothers and servant-maids through the housekeepers). Despite being always busy with the running of the household and therefore cooking, cleaning, washing, going to market to buy food or to sell their own products, looking after children and supervising

servants, therefore, women were often engaged in reading and writing (24). Their daily life involved reading and copying recipes, as well as making ink and practicing handwriting.

Although nearly unknown to the contemporary reading public, Hannah Woolley is in fact the author of several books on domestic practice and conduct directed at women, written out of her own experience. Born in 1623, she learned medical and surgical skills from her mother and elder sisters. She soon turned orphan, and at the age of fifteen she became mistress of a small school. Later she was employed as a domestic servant in at least two noble households, acquiring a thorough grounding on domestic skills, household management, deportment, French and medicine. She married a schoolteacher, and alongside him opened a boarding school in London. She began writing at the time of her first widowhood, presumably in order to support herself (Fraser, 2011). Kristine Kowalchuk also maintains that “Hannah Woolley may be the first Englishwoman to have made her living as a professional writer” (Kowalchuk, 34), and to have published her manuals (36). In 1661, for example, her first cookery book, *The Lady’s Directory*, appeared, followed by *The Cook’s Guide* in 1664. In 1670 she published *The Queen-like Closet*, which ran through many editions, and in 1673 her most popular book, *The Gentlewoman’s Companion*, was issued.

The Gentlewomans Companion (1673) is a good example to show the influence of continental courtesy books on the conduct book genre. This text, Georgia explains, is a

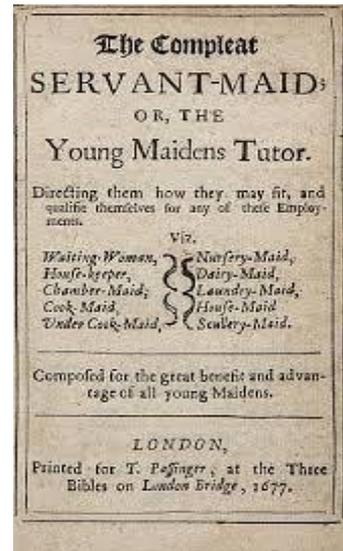
borrowing from and an expansion of a popular French courtesy book, *Traite de la civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les Honnêtes gens* by Antoine de Courtin, which was translated in English...as *The Rules of Civility; or Certain*

Ways of Deportment observed in France amongst all persons of quality upon several occasions (72, 73).

She goes on to say that “many of *Companion*’s chapter titles are exact or close approximations of those in *Rules of Civility*” (80), and the author admits to have made use of books “that have been lately writ in the *French* and *Italian* Languages” (Woolley, 1673: The Epistle Dedicatory). As a matter of fact “[plagiarism] was not uncommon at the time, especially in this particular genre” (75). This practice “invoked familiarity”, Hunter tells us, and was “the most effective tool of rhetoric” for the new readership (Hunter, 258). Given these features, the scholar Elaine Hobby has recently argued that *The Gentlewomans Companion* is “a pirated work, loosely based on Woolley’s writings, compiled by the publisher Dorman Newman to capitalize on her success” (Georgia, 71).

Although retaining many features of the continental courtesy book, this manual evolves to include daily social practices (78); the “Court-based...set of strictures” were modified in a “more democratic collection of guidelines” (88). Hence some chapters deal with how to treat servants: “Of a Young Gentlewomans deportment to her Governess and Servants in the Family” (Woolley, 25), “Of Womens behavior to their Servants, and what is to be required of them in the house, or what thereunto appertains” (109). The treatise instructs even “Gentlewomen, who though well-born, are notwithstanding by indigency necessitated to serve some person of Quality” (204). Included are also chapters about “Advice to the Female younger sort” (17), “The Duty of Children to their Parents” (21), “Marriage, and the duty of a Wife to her Husband” (103), as well as lists of recipes of cookery and medicine, and advice on letter-writing. Therefore this treatise deserves to be considered one of the most thorough conduct manuals for women ever published.

Whereas Hannah Woolley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion* addresses "the Female Sex" in "all Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions", *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) is "composed for the great benefit and advantage of all young Maidens" who are going to be employed as domestic servants. Before becoming a teacher, Woolley was herself a servant. As David Goldstein comments, she represents "a middle-class



writer writing...for her own class, relying on a rhetoric of lived experience to establish her textual authority" (Goldstein, 2005: 159); her perspective is not that of an élite writer, but rather that of a democratic one.

Accordingly Woolley addresses her readers directly as if her text were "a private communication between friends" (Hunter, 236), calling them "Sweet Hearts" in her prefatory letter and claiming:

The great desire I have for your good, advantage and preferment in the world, is such that I respect it equal to my own, I have therefore with great pains and industry composed this little Book, as a rich Storehouse for you, from whence you may be furnished with such excellent directions as may qualifie you for, and make you capable of serving the greatest person of Honour or Quality, or Gentleman or Gentlewoman, either in City or Country (The Epistle).

Woolley continues by promising her readers that her book will offer them the means to acquire the qualification of good servants, and consequently of good wives and mistresses. She declares: "...if you carefully and diligently peruse this Book and observe the directions therein given, you will soon gain the Title of a Compleate Servant-Maid, which may be the means of making you a good Mistress" (The Epistle). Whereas she exalts frugal domestic women, she criticizes those who "Trick

up [themselves] fine, and...[are] fit for nothing else but to be looked upon” (The Epistle). Woolley’s manual “denigrate[s] the ornamental body of the aristocrat to exalt the retiring and yet ever vigilant domestic woman” (Armstrong, 71). It criticizes the aristocratic leisure and “promote[s] a new ideal of femininity based on domestic labor” (Wall, 25).

The first section, entitled “General Directions to Young Maidens”, advises young women to be devoted to God and respect their masters and mistresses, so that the economic reward of service will be enhanced by affective recompense:

If you would endeavour to gain the esteem and reputation of a good servant, and so to procure to your self not only great Wages, but also great gifts and vales, the love and respect of your Lady, Master or Mistress, and the Blessing of God Almighty...you must in the first place, be mindful of your duty to your Creator (1).

The first advice set forth is about religious worship: “Be careful that you say your prayers morning and evening...and hear Sermons as often as...you can” (1). Servants are first and foremost to honor God, because it is only through their respect to the divine master that they can please their earthly master, and “be faithful, diligent, and submissive to them” (2). This attitude reminds of the maxims preached by previous Puritan writers such as William Gouge. The following passage is relevant in this sense:

...endeavour...to please your Lady, Master or Mistress, be faithful, diligent and submissive to them, encline not to sloth or laze in bed, but rise early in [the] morning. Be humble and modest in your behavior...lay up what money can...be spared. Be careful of what...you have in your charge...Do not keep familiarity with any but those, with whom you may improve your time (2).

Besides, the traditional proverb addressed to servants who wander from an household to another, and already seen in Gouge's text, reappears in Woolley's guide: "a rouling stone never getteth moss" (Woolley, 1677: 62).

As the frontispiece to *The Compleat Servant-Maid* promises, the manual addresses the entire hierarchy of female servants: the waiting-woman, the house-keeper, the chamber-maid, the cook-maid, the under cook-maid, the nursery-maid, the dairy-maid, the laundry-maid, the house-maid and the scullery-maid. The treatise dedicates one section to each of these employments and each part provides young women with moral and especially practical advice: from writing, arithmetic, and medicine to carving, cooking and washing. The fact that Woolley organizes her treatise respecting the female servants' hierarchy suggests that only women who were going to serve in great houses could read or had someone reading for them.

The second section of the manual sets forth "Directions for such as desire to be Waiting Gentlewomen". Those who wish to become waiting-women, the manual teaches, must: "Learn to dress well...Preserve well...Write well a legible hand, good language and good English...Have some skills in Arithmetick...Carve well". Moreover they

must remember to be courteous and modest in [their] behaviour...humble and submissive to their Lord and Lady, or Master and Mistress,... Sober in [their] countenance and discourse, not using any wanton gesture, which may give Gentlemen any occasion to suspect you of levity, and so court you to debauchery, and by that means lose a reputation irrecoverably (4).

Beside professing the usual qualities such as modesty, humility, submissiveness and sobriety, the manual warns aspiring lady's maids against levity, which often leads

women to be seduced by men and deprived of their reputation. This precept represents an original aspect defining the conduct book for female servants.

While directions for good conduct are absorbed in one page of the section, a great deal of space is devoted to practical instructions on how to preserve, to write and to learn the basis of arithmetic. Women are given lessons on how preserve fruits and flowers; for example, “To Preserve Oranges and Lemmons”:

Take the fairest you can get, and lay them in water three days and three nights, to take away their bitterness, then boyl them in fair water till they be tender, make as much Syrup as will make them swim about the Pan, let them not boyl long, for then the skin will be tough, let them lye all night in the Syrup, that they make soak themselves therein: In the morning boyl the Syrup to a convenient thickness, then with it and the Oranges and Lemmons, fill your Gallipots and keep them all the year. In this way you may preserve Citrons (7).

There follow “Directions for Writing the most Usual and Legible Hands...as Mixt Hand, Roman Hand, and Italian Hand”, and even precise instructions on “How to make a Pen” (16), “How to hold [a] Pen”, “How to sit to write” and the “Necessaries for Writing” (17). These teachings suggest that the manual addresses women who can write but need to learn to write more clearly and elegantly.

Some knowledge of arithmetic is also required for a waiting-woman according to Woolley. She starts with numbers, which constitute the basis of arithmetic, and proceeds to explain the addition and the subtraction, two operations necessary to the everyday life. The author’s experience as a teacher is inferred through the elementary and precise definitions: “Addition is that part of Arithmetick, which shews to collect or add diverse Summs together...” (23), “[subtraction] teacheth you to substract a lesser sum from a greater, and then to know what remains...” (27). Pages are enriched with tables and concrete examples to facilitate learning: “...as you see in

the example...if you receive a hundred and twenty pound, and pay away seventy five pounds, you must have remaining in your hands forty five pounds” (27).

These intellectual skills, however, must be combined with meaner ones. “Directions for Carving” (30) include, for example, instructions on “How to dismember a Hen”:

To do this you must take off both the legs and lace it down the breast, then raise up the flesh and take it clean off with the pinnion, then stick the head in the brest , set the pinnion on the contrary side of the CarKass, and the legs on the other side, so that the bones ends may meet cross over the Carkass, and the other wing cross over upon the top of the Carkass (33).

The third section provides those “who intend to be House-keepers” (35) with proper rules. House-keepers have the important task of “looking after the rest of the servants, that every one perform their duty in their several places, that they keep good hours in their up rising and lying down, and that no Goods be either spoiled or embezeled” (35). They must also be acquainted with medicine and surgery in order to cure the sick, and with the modes of distilling water. This section presents in particular many remedies against sickness. For example, it provides a way to recover from toothache:

If your tooth be hollow and paineth you much, take of the herb called Spurge and squeeze it, and mingle wheat flower with the milk that issueth from it, with this make a paste, and fill the Cavity of your Tooth wherewith, and leaving it there a while, you must change it every two hours, and the Tooth will drop out of it self (49).

The fourth section deals with those who “desire to be Chamber-Maids”. Among the main tasks of chamber-maids are washing linen, mending points and laces, keep their mistress’ room clean and making her bed, be careful that nothing that she

requires or desires be omitted. For instance, there are hints for removing stains from linen:

Take them before they are washed, and with a little butter rub every spot well, then let the cloth lye in scalding hot milk a while and when it is a little cooled rub the spotted places in the milk till you see they are quite out, and then wash it in water and soap (70).

The manual further describes how chamber-maids must behave:

...you must learn to be modest in your deportment..., to be ready at [your mistress'] call, and to be always diligent, never answering again when she taketh occasion to reprove you, but endeavour to mitigate her anger with pacifying words (63).

The rewards for a diligent and humble chamber-maid, the guide promises, will be “a good salary, and a great deal of respect...” (64). Woolley reiterates a concept expressed at the beginning of her manual: the economic recompense and the affection from the mistress represent the goals of a good servant-maid.

The fifth section is dedicated to those “who desire to be Nursery-Maids”. These women must be inclined to love children, “to keep good hours for them, both to arise and go to bed, likewise to get their Breakfasts and Suppers at good and convenient time” (110). They “must also be extraordinary careful and vigilant, that [children] get not any falls through your neglect, for by such falls, many...have grown irrecoverably Lame or Crooked” (110). They must “be always merry and pleasant, and...invent...sports and pastimes” (111). If they happen to be in charge of children’s education, they must also hear them reading, and remember not to speak or act unbecomingly, “lest [their] bad example prove the subject of [children’s] imitation” (111).

The sixth section deals with those who aspire to become cook-maids:

If you would fit your self for this employment, and so consequently gain great wages, good Vales and reputation of an accomplished Cook, you must learn to be skilful in dressing all sorts of Flesh, Fowl, Fish, to make variety of sawces proper for each of them, to raise all manner of Pastes...,and making all manner of Pickles (113).

Most importantly the treatise teaches future cook-maids to be thrifty, another quality which must not lack in a good servant-maid: “you must know to save what is left..., of which you may make...dishes again, to the saving of your Masters purse...” (113, 114). The subsequent pages of this section are filled with recipes for cooking meat and fish, and by a “Bill of Fare for Every Month of the Year”. Only a short chapter is dedicated to “Under Cook-maids”, who are mainly advised to be willing to learn from their “Head Cook” (155), so that they will be promoted from drudges to cooks some day.

Next comes a section devoted to those “who desire to be Dairy-Maids” (157). The main task of these servant-maids is to milk the cattle, and therefore the book provides advice on this:

The hours and times most approved, and commonly used for milking, are in the Spring and Summer time between five and six in the morning, and between six and seven in the evening: And in the Winter between seven and eight in the morning, and four and five in the evening (157).

Dairy-maids must also know how to make butter and cheese: “you must be sure to make up your butter neatly and cleanly, washing it well from the Butter-milk and then salt it well. You must be careful to make your Cheeses good and tender...” (158).

The last three sections of the treatise consist of a brief set of directions for laundry-maids, house-maids and scullery-maids. Laundry-maids must take care of all the

linen in the house, wash them quickly, and mend them if necessary. House-maids' main tasks are keeping the house clean, take care of the house's guests, help laundry-maids in washing, and housekeepers in preserving and distilling. Scullery-maids, who occupy the bottom layer of the hierarchy, are bound to do the "dirty work", namely washing and cleaning the kitchen, and to do it cleanly and diligently, with the promise of being "advanced to a higher and more profitable employment" (167).

Woolley's manual does not omit directions to religious worship and righteous behavior; however, devotion to God and moral guidance find little space in the treatise, whose major contents consist of a list of practical advice (typical of household manuals) which female servants in noble households should follow in carrying out their work. As Nancy Armstrong comments, "the spiritual virtues...became limited in how they might help [women] perform [their] practical duties..." (Armstrong, 68). Blending Puritan principles, courteous manners and household tips, and, most remarkably shifting from male to female audience, Hannah Woolley certainly contributed to the renewing of the conduct book for servants.

3.3 Advice to the Middling and the Lower Sorts:

Daniel Defoe's *The Family Instructor* (1715)

As the seventeenth century progressed, guides increasingly responded to the needs of a new urban readership. As Hunter argues,

People (especially young people) in new circumstances – loosened from the security of family... – needed desperately to be grounded, to gain basic information about how the "new world" worked and what was expected of them (245).

Hunter goes on to assert that "print culture took over functions that the oral culture could no longer handle" (253); in other words, printed guidance directing towards

good conduct and religious devotion replaced that provided orally by parents, guardians, and teachers. Also, the old zealous didacticism, characterized by “heavy-handed, nose-guiding directiveness” and urgent tones of “concern for religious salvation and moral well-being” (Hunter, 246), blended into a new wave of more pragmatic ethics which aimed to make things easier in the everyday world.

In this context many guides for ‘callings’ were published and went through several editions from the late seventeenth century onwards. The addressees were not only tradesmen and the middling sort, but also members of the lower groups such as soldiers, seamen, husbandmen, and servants. Titles are remarkable in this sense: *The Husbandmans Calling* (1665), *The Trades-man’s Calling* (1684), *The Soldier’s Monitor* (1705), *The Servants Calling* (1725), and so on. These manuals “achieved a mass distribution”, and this “suggests that they were circulated directly to menial laborers and probably read by many of them...” (256). They “sought to guide those in a single occupation...in their proper spiritual duties” (254). The anonymous author of *The Servants Calling*, for example, proposes “to treat of some Moral and Christian Duties” (anon., 7), and states that “domestick Servitude...must be undertaken and exercised upon the same Principles...of Religion” (anon. 7,8).

At the same time, however, the traditional guide for families remained a popular sub-genre. The concern on the regulation of family duties, Hunter states, was symptomatic of a decay in “traditional religious practices [which] were increasingly neglected”, especially among urban families (Hunter, 265). “Significant changes in...social patterns meant alterations in the routines of daily life” (266), and commentators of the time believed that ‘family religion’ (the symbol and source of ethical conduct) was seriously in danger.

Among those who took up the genre and adapted it for a new audience composed of middling and lower sorts, and in particular of tradesmen and apprentices, was Daniel Defoe. As his title suggests, the paper guide becomes the substitute for the human guide. *The Family Instructor* (1715) was written by Defoe when the campaign for the ‘Reformation of Manners’ was at its height. This movement developed in



England in the late seventeenth century, and continued in the early eighteenth century; it saw the involvement of many middling men who, perceiving a decline in morals and fearing “major implications for the spiritual and material welfare of the nation as a whole” (Hunt, 103), attempted “to ‘reform’ themselves and others” (102). The ‘Reformation of Manners’, however, was also “portrayed as a backward-looking movement” (102). Defoe’s *The Family Instructor* is significant in this sense, since it harks back to early seventeenth-century Puritan writings for the family exhorting to spiritual worship and good moral conduct. For example, the guide “remind[s] the reader of...the traditional patriarchal hierarchy within families” (Muller, 7):

...Wives are bid to submit themselves to their Husbands; Children to obey their Parents; Servants to be Subjects to their Masters; all which naturally implies, that the Government of the whole Family devolves entirely upon the Head of the Master, who has the whole Charge of them, Soul and Body, and is accountable for their Miscarriages, so far as those Miscarriages are owing to the Omission of his Duty (Defoe, 230).

This passage immediately recalls Gouge’s precept “2. Of the lawfulness of a master’s place and power” (Gouge, 428), in which the clergyman emphasized the authority of the master within the family, and especially towards his servants.

While *The Family Instructor* resembles Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties* and most seventeenth-century guides in contents, at the same time it shows some innovative features in terms of form. As Muller suggests, by 1715 the conduct manual had become a brief treatise "containing little more than a collection of maxims" (7). Defoe, by contrast, forsook "the usual formats of either a brief series of maxims or a more extensive religious treatise", "[moving] beyond the conventions of the ordinary conduct book", and employing "the most forceful of rhetorical tools", the example (8). In "the attempt to balance ethical instruction with pleasure" (Hunter, 267), he presented "several...case studies of obedient and rebellious subjects" (Muller, 7). Hence *The Family Instructor* consists of a series of dialogues between fictional fathers and children, between masters and servants, and between husbands and wives, framed by notes and comments of the author himself.

Whereas the first part of the volume relates to fathers and children and the third part to husbands and wives, the second part of *The Family Instructor* deals with the conduct of masters and servants. The introduction to the second section opens by presenting the characters of the exemplary story: "a Clothier...of a most devout and religious Behaviour" who instructs "his Children and Servants in the Fear and Knowledge of God", and "a wealthy Shopkeeper...who liv'd in a great hurry of Business" and did not think about "Religious Affairs" (161, 162). Each of these two tradesmen have one apprentice: that of the rich and unbelieving shopkeeper is a sober and religious boy, while that of the religious clothier is a wild and profane boy. The story pivots these two apprentices, their religious training, and the degree of family worship in their masters' homes.

This part of the conduct book comprises five dialogues introduced by a brief preface and are followed by a comment from the author. The first dialogue features the two apprentices talking about their religious habits in their masters' households. The opposition evil/good (William/Thomas), which is one of the main features of didactic books (Hunter, 228), is perfectly set from the beginning. William, the profane boy living in the clothier's house, repeatedly complains about his circumstances, about the house resembling "a Monastery instead of a Shop, or a Work house" (165), and about being called upon for prayers in the early morning and in the evening. He tells his friend Thomas:

...we [apprentices] are haul'd out of our Beds every Morning by Six a Clock to come to Prayers, before we open the Shop, or go into the Work-house, *and at Night* we are kept up,..., to read, and go to Prayers, when we might be all a bed and asleep; I tell you 'tis a meer Monastery, I can not endure it (166).

Thomas, on the other hand, lives within a household where religion is completely neglected: "...I never heard a Chapter read, or a Word spoke of Prayer since I came into the House, and that's as much my Uneasiness, as this is yours" (167). He envies his fellow apprentice for living in a family in which the worship of God is exercised every day: "...I wish I had such a Master, *Will*" (168). He reproaches William for talking wickedly about his master's household: "...Brother *Will*, thou talk'st as if thou had'st been bred a Heathen, and not a Protestant...", "...I wonder how you, that have been bred so wickedly, came to be put out to so religious a Family as your Master is!" (170, 171).

Thomas embodies the good example; he often speaks like a clergyman preaching a sermon: "...we must fear God, and keep his Commandments" (176). He shows off statements directly from the Scriptures: "...God has said, *He will pour out his Fury*

upon the Families that call not upon his Name...” (174), “...the Scripture says...*Let the wicked forsake his way, and turn unto the Lord, and he will have Mercy...*” (178). He suggests William to do two things in order to redeem from his sinful life, namely to “pray God” and to “read the Bible diligently” (177). He helps his wicked fellow to convert and thus to become a good Christian, as Defoe comments:

The Advantages of Religious Conversation are many, the present Case is brought to describe them; the young untaught, uninstructed Youth, who came out of the Hands of his Parents, to be an Apprentice, as perfectly naked of Knowledge and Instruction,..., becomes a Convert by his keeping Company, and conversing with a religious well instructed Companion...(185).

The mistress (the good master’s wife) also assumes a relevant role in converting the ignorant apprentice. She helps him to read the Scripture correctly, saving him from the erroneous belief that God will never save a sinner like him. The second dialogue is all about her endeavor to comfort him: “...Child, you must take that Part of the Scripture, which is a ground of Hope...” (190), “...you may reap Comfort from the Scripture; *come, Child*, let us see and examine strictly what your real Case is...” (193). Defoe acknowledges the importance of the mistress within the family and makes her playing an important part in the story. As Kristina Straub comments in her book *Domestic Affairs*, “if masters are depicted as the family’s primary religious leaders, mistresses support that leadership” (85).

Defoe is very concerned about the duty of masters, mistresses and servants. He reckons that masters should treat their servants exactly like their children, and make them participating in the family worship of God. They should not neglect their religious duties towards servants, and care merely about their business. In the third dialogue Thomas’ father speaks to his son’s master in these terms:

...he is your Servant...is he not entirely under your Government?...as I put him Apprentice to you, I committed him to your Government entirely, Soul and Body; I hope you have some little Concern for your Servants, besides just their doing you Business...I think you have the whole Duty and Authority of a Parent devolv'd upon you...and as you make your Apprentices a Part of your Family, all the Duty you owe the rest of your Family, you owe to them...(204, 205).

Worthy of notice is the repetition of similar concepts throughout the whole dialogue. Hence masters are responsible for both “Body” and “Soul” of their servants, namely they have to instruct them not only in matters of trade, but also in matters of religion, as they do with their children. Defoe comments at the end of the dialogue:

...Masters of Families may observe, the Duty of instructing and religiously guiding their Servants, lies...upon them, as much as that of instructing their Children: They are *PARENTS*, that is, *Guides* and *Governors* to their whole House, tho' they are *FATHERS* only to *their Children* (214).

Defoe insists on the duty of masters towards servants using another religious reference, which is the “Fourth Commandment”: “...Servants are subjected to the Master’s Command, in matters relating to their Duty to God; and...Masters are oblig’d to see that their Servants perform it” (207). However, he notes, “...Custom has wickedly of late years seem’d to discharge Masters of this Duty”. First Defoe blames servants who, “bringing large Sums of Money, much greater than formerly, seem to expect not to be so much at Command as they used to be...”. Secondly he reproaches parents for being negligent about “the Souls of their Children when they put them out as Apprentices” (213); in other words parents should not only care that their children learn trades, but also that they join religious families. And masters are not dissimilar from servants’ parents in their conduct according to the writer. The irreligious shopkeeper claims: “...I have no Time to trouble my self about my

Prentices” (218). This is a hint at the waning of the paternalistic relationships between masters and servants.

This part of *The Family Instructor* also deals with how time is spent by servants, a subject of concern of most didactic texts. Thomas’ father talks to his son’s master in these terms: “[The apprentice’s] Time is yours, and you ought to know how he spends it; if any of his Time is employ’d out of your Business, you ought to exact an Account of it from him, how it has been disposed of...” (208). He reiterates the same concept after few lines: “...command him to give you an exact Account of the Time you charge him with; where he has spent it, in what Company, and about what Business” (209). The shopkeeper is convinced that his apprentice (Thomas) and his neighbour’s apprentice (William) spend “their Time together in some clandestine Wickedness...” (219). This too reflects concern about the decay in the affective relationship between master/parent and servant/child, which from the late seventeenth century onwards was felt to have become a bond between master/employer and servant/employee.

Although *The Family Instructor* retains major features of earlier conduct books, that is to say directness, heightened and authoritative tones (Hunter, 236, 241), the main concern of Defoe is teaching by means of the exemplary narrative. The importance of the example is testified by the words of the unreligious tradesman’s wife:

...’tis our Duty to restrain [servants] from any evil Action, whereby they may offend GOD...and on the other Hand, we are to encourage them in all that is good,...in their Duty to God and Man, and this by all possible Methods, such as Exhortation, Command, Advice...but especially Example; praying to GOD for them and with them (231).

The “example had an especially powerful attraction for the young...” (Hunter, 282). At the beginning of the second part of Defoe’s conduct book, the religious master and mistress warn their children from conversing with the wicked and profane apprentice William, since children are inclined to imitate whatever they see. At the end of the story the evil apprentice starts serving God truly, and the unreligious master turns into a devout Christian “performing Family Worship, instructing and catechizing both his Children and Servants” (241), thanks to the influence of the good example embodied by Thomas and his father.

The Family Instructor achieved resounding success either in the aftermath of its publication and later, going through many printings until the nineteenth century, and acquiring the status of Defoe’s best-known text after his novel *Robinson Crusoe* (Hunter, 235). The long-lasting success of this guide witnesses that during the whole eighteenth century there was still a wide readership longing for literature which was “religious in subject matter [and] didactic in intent” (Hunter, 225). The manual, with its exhortation to religious worship and moral virtues, echoes traditional family guides such as Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties*; however, it rejects the treatise (with its typical series of repetitive precepts and maxims) for a new and more entertaining form (the exemplary story), which aims at instructing and delighting at the same time (Hunter, 240). Therefore Defoe renews the conduct book in his own way.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to trace the evolution of the conduct book for servants from the early seventeenth until the early eighteenth centuries. One of the earliest advice manuals addressed to this occupational group, William Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties*, consists of a section included in a family guide compiled by a

clergyman, and resembling Puritan sermons for its heightened and urgent tone. In this treatise servants' main duties, and directions for them to spiritual and moral virtues (good), as well as their misconduct (evil), are unfold in the form of precepts and maxims. Reading other advice manuals for servants published between the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century – for example Richard Mayo's *A Present for Servants* (1792), John Gother's *Instructions for apprentices and servants* (1799) and the anonymous *The Servants Calling* (1725) – I have noticed that they retain the same structure, the same imperative tone, and the same religious character as Gouge's early seventeenth-century treatise.

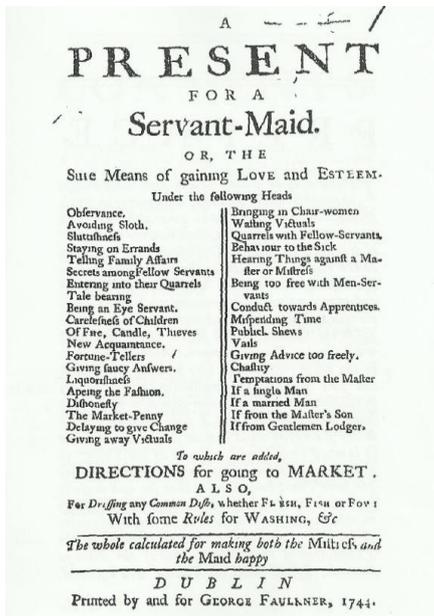
Hannah Woolley represents a remarkable exception in the seventeenth-century history of the conduct book for servants. *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) is arguably the first advice manual entirely addressed to female servants published by a female writer. The guide grants little space to religious precepts, enough space to directions for good conduct, and wide space to practical advice useful for carrying out housewifery duties. Woolley's text appears to stem more from Renaissance courtesy books, and especially from household manuals written by women in the private sphere of domesticity, rather than from Puritan sermons written by clergymen. Even though the structure is not dissimilar from the rest of conduct books for servants, *The Compleat Servant-Maid* adopts more secular values, and addresses young female servants with far more affective and relaxed tones.

In the early eighteenth century Daniel Defoe's *The Family Instructor* (1715) follows the tradition in the sense that it retains the heightened tone and the strong religious character of most seventeenth-century conduct books for servants; moreover, like Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties* Defoe's guide is split into several parts

addressing the different family members, servants and masters included. However, in Defoe's most popular conduct book precepts and maxims are no longer organized in the shape of a treatise, but are comprised in dialogues between fictional characters, as well as in comments of the author himself. The protagonists of Defoe's fictional story, moreover, belong to the middling sort (they are tradesmen), and thus witness to the new social and commercial environment in which this guide was produced.

Jennifer C. Georgia maintains that from the late seventeenth century a new form of conduct book grew, one which blended the old courtesy book with the Puritan guide. She claims that the new form was "neither the intense interior soul-searching of Puritan sermons, nor the more...pragmatic instructions in courtly behavior of aristocratic courtesy books". It was "something between the two, set in a different realm" (Georgia, 158). As far as the conduct book for servants is concerned, this seems to take two different directions, which are defined by the author's gender. Male writers address servants with heightened religious tones, and urge them to pray and read the holy writ in order to be virtuous; this religious strain, which characterizes the earlier conduct books for servants, protracts until at least the early eighteenth century. Conversely, guides signed by female writers are more relaxed and affectionate in tone, and offer more secular values; in other words, they point at the achievement of moral virtues and practical skills.

Eliza Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid*: Renewing the Tradition?



4.0 Introduction

In the last chapter of my thesis I will analyse the conduct book for servants written by Eliza Haywood and try to show the ways in which Haywood renewed this genre. *A Present for a Servant-Maid; or the Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem* (1743) was one of her most popular works, going through at least seven editions in six years. In 1771, fifteen years after

Haywood's death, it was expanded and republished as *A New Present for a Servant-Maid* (Iglesias, 2008: 7).

The title of Haywood's manual, on one hand, seems to link it to the seventeenth-century didactic tradition of conduct books for servants; as a matter of fact it recalls those earlier conduct books for servants such as Woolley's *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) and Mayo's *A Present for Servants* (1692). The subtitle, on another hand, significantly does not emphasize the role of tutors and masters in guiding servants; if Woolley's subtitle read "The Young Maidens Tutor", and Mayo's recited

“From their Ministers, Masters or Other Friends...”, Haywood’s subtitle, “the Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem”, can be interpreted as a provocation to Richardson’s *Pamela*. If the 1740 novel recounts the tale of a servant-maid who gains love and esteem from her master, Haywood’s 1743 conduct book, conversely, teaches servant-maids how to gain love and esteem from their mistresses; from the very beginning of her guide the author insists that her goal is to encourage mutual happiness between mistress and maid, not mentioning masters at all:

A due Observance of the Rules contained in this little Treatise, cannot fail of making every Mistress of a Family perfectly contented, and every Servant-Maid both happy and beloved...(Haywood, 1743: Preface).

Haywood ultimately aims at warning young female domestics that *Pamela* is merely “a fairy story” (Hill, 224), and that the only “Love and Esteem” they might receive does not come from their masters, but rather from their mistresses.

Haywood was certainly prompted by Richardson’s masterpiece to write *A Present for a Servant-Maid*. At the same time, however, the eighteenth-century proliferation of conduct literature addressing servants must not be overlooked; by the time Haywood produced her advice manual the servants’ conduct had become a very popular subject, which aroused the interest of many famous writers: among others Defoe issued *The Family Instructor* in 1715, and Jonathan Swift published *Directions to Servants* in 1731, followed few years later by Richardson with his *The Apprentice’s Vade Mecum* (1734). Haywood therefore can be said to belong to that large range of ‘activists’ who attempted “to discourage immorality” (Georgia, 147) by means of their writings. The preface to her conduct book testifies to her reformist attitude; the writer describes the society as threatened by temptation and vice, which originates among the upper classes but affects the inferior ranks as well:

It is not to be wondered at, that in an Age abounding with Luxury, and over-run with Pride, Servants should be in general so bad, that it is become one of our Calamities not to be able to live without them. Corruption, tho' it begins at the Head, ceases not its Progress till it reaches the most inferior Parts, and it is high Time to endeavour a Cure of so growing an Evil. I am certain no Undertaking whatever can be more useful to the Publick,...(Haywood, 1743: Preface).

The main body of *A Present for a Servant-Maid* is divided into two main parts. The first part, which occupies two thirds of the manual, consists of a treatise containing an introduction of its own, 44 precepts, and a conclusion. The precepts alternate warm advice (for example “An honest Service a great Blessing”, “Studying to give Content”), and warnings (for instance “Caution against bad Houses”); but most of the treatise consists of a catalogue of the kinds of servant-maids’ misconduct (namely “Sloth”, “Telling the Affairs of the Family”, “Carelessness of Children”, “Mispending your own time” and so on). The structure of the first part of the manual resembles that of traditional conduct books for servants, and many precepts replicate popular tenets embraced by earlier didactic writers. Anna Christina Patchias significantly claims that Haywood, along with many other eighteenth-century writers, was influenced by what she calls “the rhetoric of conduct”, an expression which aims at suggesting the “remarkable commonality of topics, themes, and rhetorical strategies” which conduct books developed over hundreds of years (Patchias, 2005: 10). In her study entitled «“That Ladies would take Example”: Gender and Genre in Eliza Haywood’s Didactic Writings» she points out:

Tenets that were popularized by Haywood’s predecessors – the didactic writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – remained in the public consciousness throughout Haywood’s lifetime and for at least a century afterward...(10).

Haywood, however, introduces new precepts warning servant-maids against “Apeing the Fashion” (Haywood, 24), against attending “Publick Shews” (41), and especially she offers advice on how to avoid sexual temptations from fellow servants and masters. Headings such as “Temptations from your Master” (45) and “Temptations from your Master’s Son” (48) are not unmotivated; after the book’s subtitle, these headings further demonstrate that *A Present for a Servant-Maid* cannot be released from that huge literary and cultural “media event” (Warner, 1998: 176) known as the ‘*Pamela* controversy’. The scandalous tenets included by Haywood in her treatise clearly evoke Pamela’s struggle to resist Mr. B.’s sexual assaults as recounted in the first part of the novel.

The second part, which occupies the final third of *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, is entitled “Directions for a Young Woman to qualify herself for any common Service”. Here the book switches from giving advice and cautions for good conduct, to offering practical tips on shopping at the market (for example how to choose meat and fish), on cooking (included are recipes for puddings, pies, pancakes, eggs and bacon, and so on), and on washing (for example how to wash linen, and how to remove stains). In this respect this small section resembles older household manuals and cookbooks such as those of Hannah Woolley.

4.1 Part I: Advice for Good Conduct

The introduction to Part I starts with the typical opening formula of a letter (“Dear Girls”), reminding us of Hannah Woolley’s affectionate tone at the beginning of the “Epistle Dedicatory” in *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (“Sweet Hearts”). However, while Woolley’s manual was mainly “composed...as a Rich Storehouse” (Woolley, 1677: Epistle) for servant girls, Haywood’s treatise “lay[s] down some

general Rules for [servant-maids'] Behaviour” (Haywood, 1743: Preface) in order to avoid making mistakes. Worthy of notice within the introduction is also the claim that servant-maids constitute “a numerous body” within “the Commonwealth” (5), which hints at the hope that there is a large potential audience for this guide.

The first headline of the manual reads “Caution against bad Houses” (5). The warning recalls the tenets of previous guide manuals, however Haywood’s outlook is much more secular. William Gouge’s 1622 treatise on the duties of servants, for instance, advised domestics to choose good masters, meaning religious masters: “...it is very requisite that servants be under such masters as bear the image of God in the inward disposition,..., as well as in their outward function and place...” (Gouge, 464). Haywood, on the other hand, warns servant-maids to “make some Enquiry into the Place before [they] suffer [themselves] to be hired” (Haywood, 5), in order to avoid the risk of falling into “Temptations of all Kinds” (6). Debauchery, she warns, is to be found even in houses where “the Mistress has an Air of the strictest Modesty” (6), and threatens maids’ virtue and reputation, with the consequent risk of falling into “Infamy and Beggary” (7). The religious underpinning which characterized previous conduct books for servants has disappeared; tradition has been secularized, and ‘religious masters’ are replaced by ‘mistresses of reputation’.

This shift of roles within the family reflects a change in eighteenth-century ideologies of gender; men were now more and more associated with the public sphere, while women with the private sphere of “frugal domestic economy” (Armstrong, 73), which meant also the management of servants in the household. The feminization of morality suggested by Haywood’s manual, moreover, recalls – and finds its embodiment in – Richardson’s *Pamela*. At the end of this novel, once

the heroine “becomes mistress of the household,..., the servants are ruled by her moral example rather than by the sheer force of political loyalty and economic power [of masters]” (Armstrong, 125).

Under the second heading (“An honest Service a great Blessing”) servant-maids are advised to stay in one household, and not to roam “from House to House, oftener out of Place than in, without Character, without Money, without Friends or Support, in case of Sickness or any other Exigence...” (Haywood, 7). The same precept had been upheld by William Gouge and Hannah Woolley, both of whose guides exploit the metaphor of the proverbial ‘rolling stones’.

Like her female antecedent, in particular, Haywood continually balances the economic reward of service with the affection which must underlie the maid-mistress relationship. As Teynor points out, “Haywood vacillates between such emotionally-charged language and that of businesslike obligation throughout the manual...” (Teynor, 25). Haywood positions servant-maids as both family members and laborers: they gain both “Love and Esteem”, as the subtitles suggests, but they also “have their Bread to get” (Haywood, 41). Similarly Hannah Woolley in *The Compleat Servant-Maid* directed young female servants “to gain the esteem and reputation...[and] procure to [themselves] not only great Wages, but also great gifts and vales, the love and respect of [their] Lady...” (Woolley, 1).

Haywood next turns to directing young female servants on how to please their mistresses: they ought “to perform all the Duties of a Servant with the utmost Exactness” and to behave towards their mistresses with timidity, which, according to the author, “is an Indication of your Respect for those you serve” (Haywood, 8). The latter precept recalls Gouge’s early seventeenth-century recommendation that one of

the servants' duties was to observe "reverend behaviour to their masters", which meant "dutiful obeisance", "respectful behaviour", and "readiness to perform any service which his master shall appoint him to do" (Gouge, 436, 437).

A Present for a Servant-Maid offers its readers lists of vices which the good servant-maid must shun in order please her mistress. Among these, sloth, namely laziness, is described as "the principal Source of all the Evils a Person in any Station can be guilty of" (9). In contrast with Gouge and Woolley, Haywood uses the opposite quality of diligence to strike her readers' minds so that they will behave righteously. According to Haywood, young female servants are also blamable for indulging in eating and drinking, following their mistress's example. In particular the habit of tea-drinking, which was once limited to the élite, is thought to have spread among servants as well; even these members of the lower sort are believed to waste their time in such a practice, are prompted to consume alcohol after it, and consequently fail to perform their duty properly: "...these Liquors,...diminish your Strength, waste your Time, and, for the most part, draw on a more pernicious Consequence, which is Dram-drinking"(10). Cleanliness, Haywood *docet*, is also "highly commendable, ...especially...in dressing of Victuals" (11); in this regard, she condemns servants who make use of snuff, a bad custom which, similarly to tea-drinking, has affected all sorts of people, from the upper until the lower ranks. Snuff, namely smokeless tobacco, is seen as not merely dangerous for health, but as a cause of sloth and a luxury which servants could not afford.

The attack on excessive consumption of products such as tea and snuff is new within the conduct book tradition for servants; Haywood is so concerned about this topic that she will reiterate her critique of "the immoderate Use of Tea" (*Selections*

from the *Female Spectator*, 83) in *The Female Spectator* (1744-46). The fictional correspondent of this women's periodical speaks in these terms: "[Tea-drinking] is the utter Destruction of all Economy, the Bane of good Housewifery, and the Source of Idleness,...all Degrees of Women are infected with it" (84).

The next heading of *A Present for a Servant-Maid* announces that it will deal with another fault attributed to maid-servants, namely "Staying when sent on Errands" (12). Here Haywood agrees with other eighteenth-century commentators that servants' time belongs to mistresses and masters, and if domestics waste it (for example by meeting their acquaintances) they rob their employers, who thus pay their domestics for their negligence, instead of for their diligence. In Defoe's *The Family Instructor* (1715) a similar concept of the economic value of time emerged; there the good apprentice's father rebukes his son's master in this way: "[Your apprentice's] Time is yours, and you ought to know how he spends it; if any of his Time is employ'd out of your Business, you ought to exact an Account of it from him, how it has been disposed of..." (Defoe, 208). Servant-maids' spare time, according to Haywood, should be spent going to church on Sunday, and not drinking tea with friends, walking in the fields, or sleeping; she advises young female servants not to "omit divine Worship" (Haywood, 39), and, lest they live within irreligious families, Haywood maintains they have the right to quit their place if they happen to be refused to go to pray. This is one of the few sections of the whole conduct book in which religion is effectively contemplated.

Another fault for which servant-maids are accused is "blabbing" the affairs of the family with which they live ("Telling the Affairs of the Family"). This precept replicates Gouge's teaching: "Contrary to keeping close the secrets of masters, is

blabbing abroad all such things as servants know concerning their masters...(Gouge, 456). In subsequent sections Haywood goes on to stress the importance of meekness. She warns servant-maids not to join in their fellow servants' quarrels ("Entering into their Quarrels"), not to be tale-bearers ("Tale-bearing"), namely not to report what they hear from their fellow servants' talk, not to give saucy answers to their mistresses ("Giving pert or saucy Answers"), and she advises against "Giving their Opinion too freely".

Servants are warned both by Gouge and Haywood against "Being an Eye-Servant", namely "to appear diligent in Sight, and be found neglectful when out of it" (Haywood, 15). A century earlier Gouge had written: "The world is full of such eye-serving servants, who while their masters are present, will be as busy as bees" (Gouge, 448), but if he happens to be away, they either idle at home, or wander outdoor, they often wrangle, they eat and drink immoderately. The same rule is reiterated by Haywood: "The taking any Liberties when your Masters and Mistress are abroad, which are not allowed you when they are at home...[is] a breach of Duty which you ought by no means to be guilty of" (Haywood, 15).

Looking after their employers' children is another duty which servant-maids must not disregard. Under the heading "Carelessness of Children" Haywood maintains that "There is no Negligence [maid-servants] can be guilty of less pardonable than that concerning Children committed to [their] Charge" (16). As a matter of fact she addresses young female domestics in this way:

...Part of the Duty of a Nurse will fall to your Share, and to use the little Innocent with any harshness, or omit giving it Food, or any other necessary Attendance, is a Barbarity that nothing can excuse (16).

Similarly in 1622, Gouge had advised servants to be faithful about their masters' children, "to be tender over them", "to teach them good things", referring especially to maids, who "[had] a particular charge of [children]" (Gouge, 458). In 1677 Hannah Woolley had dedicated an entire section to nursery-maids, teaching them how to fit for this employment; above all, she wrote, they must "be extraordinary careful and vigilant, that [children] get not any falls through [their] neglect, for by such falls, many...have grown irrecoverably Lame or Crooked" (Woolley, 110). To prevent any future damage, Woolley further preached, any accident befallen to children must be immediately reported to masters and mistresses. Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid* replicates the tenet almost identically: "...above all things be careful,..., that [the Child] gets no falls, and as such accidents may sometimes happen..., never let your Fear of offending prevail on you to conceal it" (16); however, Haywood enriches the precept with the persuasive device of narrative, by which she aims at sustaining her arguments. She invites her intended readers to imagine the guilt feelings of finding out "that a Child committed to [their] Care, should be lame, crook-back'd, or have any other personal Defect entailed on it for Life, merely through [their] neglect" (16). She tells of accidents happening to children entrusted by masters to servant-maids, and in claiming to be acquainted with these employers she shows herself to be speaking as a woman of experience:

The eldest Son of an Alderman in the City, with whom I am well acquainted, by a fall his Nurse had as she was carrying him down Stairs, had his Back-bone broke at six Weeks old...I know a Gentleman also, whose little Daughter of much the same Age, and by a Fall of the like Nature, had one Arm and one Leg broke, which, by not being set in Time, could never after be repaired" (Haywood, 17).

Servant-maids should also be very cautious about other sorts of accidents, those caused by fire, for example. Here, again, Haywood exploits the persuasive potential of narrative, relating a case taken from her own experience:

I once lived in a House, which, but by the strangest Providence in the World, must...have been consumed,..., by the Maid taking the Cinders off the Kitchen Fire, and putting them into a Coal Scuttle, which she set under the Dresser, and then went up Stairs to Bed...(18).

Similarly, the author warns her readers to take measures against thieves: “I would...advise you to answer all Strangers...from an upper Window, for several Houses have been robb’d by the Inadvertency of a Servant...” (19). Gouge referred to “servants’ carelessness of their masters’ goods” and rebuked servants who “leave doors or windows open” allowing thieves to “come in and take away,...or carelessly leave the fire or let candles burn so as the house may be set on fire...” (Gouge, 454).

Haywood follows Gouge’s strategy in providing both negative and positive tenets, setting out what servant-maids must do, and what they must shun. Modesty and humility are two qualities young women domestics should possess, according to the manual. In this sense they should never answer their mistresses back, “even tho’ [their] Mistress should be angry without a Cause” (Haywood, 23). Similarly, Gouge preached that servants should show patience when undergoing reproof and correction for “answering again hath been an old evil quality in servants” (Gouge, 445). Woolley too, in the section devoted to chamber-maids of *The Compleat Servant-Maid*, suggested her readers “never answering again when [their mistress] taketh occasion to reprove [them], but endeavour[ing] to mitigate her anger with pacifying words” (Woolley, 62).

Modesty and humility are to be accompanied by honesty, industry and frugality, all qualities essential to a servant-maid's reputation, but which, Haywood notes, young women servants often ignore. Many, for instance, prefer to indulge in follies such as imitating their mistresses "in point of Dress" (Haywood, 24), wasting their wages in fashionable apparel which they cannot afford. She further inveighs against servant-maids in these terms: "Ribbands, Ruffles, Necklaces, Fans, Hoop-Petticoats, and all those Superfluities in Dress, give you but a tawdry Air..." (24). "Apeing the Fashion" implies a waste of money and a risk of lacking financial support when out of service, Haywood warns. Recreations, such as attending plays and gardens, can be also included in this kind of admonition. These "dangerous Amusements" (42), Haywood warns young female domestics, are expensive and "drain your Purse as well as waste your Time" (41). She reminds her readers that "All Things that are invented merely for the Gratification of Luxury,..., ought to be shunned by those who have their Bred to get" (41). Such economic well-being of women in service takes on a new prominence in Haywood's conduct book, and the discussion over fashion and dressing relates to the argument on tea and snuff.

Whereas Gouge's *Of Domestical Duties*, and Defoe's *The Family Instructor* were pervaded of Scripture's quotations and pious references, Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid* loses the religious savour typical of former male writers, but includes more practical tenets, which recall Hannah Woolley's household manuals. Haywood, for instance, instructs servant-maids on how to behave when sent to the market ("The Market-Penny"), or on how to avoid wasting food ("Wasting of Victuals"); they should never delay to give change back to their employers ("Delaying to give Change"), or take the liberty to give their employers' victuals away ("Giving away

Victuals”); the writer reminds them that the money they spend at the market is their masters’ and mistresses’ and so is the food they buy. Eventually she reassures them that their economic deficiency is appeased by what Haywood calls “the Comforts of [servant-maids’] Condition” (32), namely affection and protection from their employers, who, despite “exorbitant Taxes and other Severities of the Times” (32), take care of their servants and pay them wages; Haywood explains to her readers the safety of service:

Whatever Changes happen in public Affairs, your Circumstances are unaffected by them. Whether Provisions are dear or cheap is the same Thing to you. Secure of having all your Necessities supplied, you rise without Anxiety, and go to Bed without Danger of having your Repose disturbed (32).

In this respect it is worth quoting Richard Mayo’s *A Present for Servants* (1692), which further shows how Haywood carries on tenets of earlier conduct book for servants:

...how free is the Servants Life, and void of those Troubles, to which even your own Masters, and others that live round you, are frequently expos’d? They have great Rents to pay, and the Money hardly got to pay them with; they have Meat and Drink to provide for you, and Wages at the Years end...[Servants] have no care but to do your work in the Day, and sleep quietly in the Night. Are not these burdens on [masters’] Minds, greater than any bear on [servants’] Shoulders? (Mayo, 63-64).

In return for the protection received from their masters and mistresses, servant-maids are advised to go beyond their usual duties, and show their fidelity by guarding their employers’ reputation (“Having any Thing said against your Master or Mistress”): “you...should always vindicate their Reputation from any...malicious Insinuations, never...suffer others to treat them disrespectfully,...” (33). *A Present for a Servant-Maid* relates the reputation of a family to its modesty and humility, and

its rejection of all the temptations and debauchery which could threaten both its own virtue and that of its servants.

Discussion over the preservation of servant-maids' virtue, namely their chastity, is from the beginning a crucial concern of Haywood's treatise. In the section "Chastity" the author encourages young female domestics "to hear Sermons, [to read] the Holy Scripture, and other good Books" in order to understand "how great the Sin is of yielding to any unlawful Solicitations" (Haywood, 44), putting religion back at the core of her cautionary advice. A century earlier *The Compleat Servant-Maid* had only hinted at the danger for servant girls of being seduced by men; as a matter of fact the aim of the 1677 manual was to school "women on how to attract a respectable gentleman" (Teynor, 26). Referring specifically to lady's maids, Woolley remembered them to be

Sober in [their] countenance and discourse, not using any wanton gesture, which may give Gentlemen any occasion to suspect [them] of levity; and so court [them] to debauchery, and by that means lose a reputation irrecoverable (Woolley, 4).

Haywood's guide, conversely, "devotes a large proportion of the work to specific strategies for guarding the vulnerable female body against predators of all kinds" (Teynor, 25), namely men servants, apprentices, masters, and masters' sons. Towards men servants, maids "must behave with an extreme Civility mixt with Seriousness" (36), the book suggests; "All Engagements with an Apprentice are to be avoided" (38); and with regard to temptations from their masters, maids must resist vigorously.

Haywood distinguishes in particular between single and married masters. Single masters are to be feared more, since "under less Restraint" (46); it is extremely important, Haywood claims, that young female servants "...Let no wanton Smile, or

light coquet Air give [their master] room to suspect [they] are not so much displeas'd with the Inclination he has for [them] as [they] would seem" (46). In case of a married master, on another hand, maids "ought to keep as much as possible out of his Way", and "remonstrate the Wrong he would do to his Wife" (47) by having base designs on his servant; and if masters persist in their importunities in order "to satisfy [their] brutal Appetite", servant-maids have no alternative but to give warning. This latter advice recalls the letter at the beginning of Richardson's novel in which Pamela's father writes: "[your parents] charge you to stand upon your Guard; and, if you find the least Attempt made upon your Virtue, be sure you leave every thing behind you, and come away to us;..." (Richardson, 14).

Haywood goes on to tell her addressees that the "Temptations from [their] Master's Son" is "a greater Trial of [their] Virtue" (Haywood, 48); the author warns female domestics that young masters have proved shrewd to undo servant-maids, by flattering their vanity and praising their beauty, and ultimately promising to marry them. She puts them on guard about the fact that although some matches of this kind have occasionally happened, yet they remain extremely rare; as a matter of fact she is possibly aware that many servant girls could have read Richardson's *Pamela*, published only three years before her conduct book, and could have been influenced by the happy ending of the story of a servant-maid who becomes the wife of her mistress' son (a member of the landed gentry). Haywood discourages young female domestics to give in to young masters' advances, and reminds them to be pragmatic, by claiming that "Such a Disparity of Birth, of Circumstances, and Education can produce no lasting Harmony" (49).

Haywood wrote *A Present for a Servant-Maid* at a time when the *Pamela*'s literary and cultural phenomenon was at its height. Among the sections describing the typical misconduct of servant-maids there are several other allusions to Richardson's novel, beside those I have showed so far. For instance "Telling the Affairs of the Family" (Haywood, 13) refers to one of the habits which can be attributed to Richardson's heroine; Mr. B. tells his housekeeper Mrs. Jervis that Pamela is forbidden to "write the Affairs of [his] Family purely for an Exercise of her Pen and her Invention" (Richardson, 29). The first part of novel itself is made up of an exchange of letters between Pamela and her parents in which she tells them the vicissitudes of her life with Mr. B.'s household. Another defect in *Pamela* is that of "Giving pert or saucy Answers" (Haywood, 23) to her master; she dares to ask Mr. B: "...why should you so demean yourself to take Notice of me?", triggering his complain "Do you year, Mrs. *Jervis*,..., how pertly I am interrogated by this sawcy Slut?" (Richardson, 58, 59).

However, the most obvious references to *Pamela* are represented by the headings "Temptations from your Masters", and "Behaviour to him, if a single Man" (Haywood, 45). Haywood advises servant-maids to beware of developing sentimental relationship with their superiors:

...a vigorous Resistance is less to be expected in your Station, your persevering may, perhaps, in Time, oblige him to desist,...How great will be your Glory, if, by your Behaviour, you convert the base Design he had upon you, into an Esteem for your Virtue! (45, 46).

The rules set out by Haywood's manual perfectly reflect Pamela's deportment in the first part of the novel. Moreover, Haywood's rhetoric echoes Pamela's and Mr. B.'s speech. The eponymous protagonist struggles to protect her virtue, and ultimately is

able to prevent her master from prosecuting his base designs; to Pamela's question "But what good Angel prevented this deep-laid Design to be executed?", the reformed Mr. B. replies: "When I...consider'd your untainted Virtue, what Dangers and Trials you had undergone, by my Means, and what a world of Troubles I had involv'd you in,..., resolv'd to overcome myself..." (269).

Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, like her novel *Anti-Pamela* in 1741, can therefore be seen as one of the many literary 'commodities' produced on the occasion of the "*Pamela* media event" (Warner, 1998), and may be read as another critique of the popular 1740 novel. With her conduct book she endeavoured again to challenge Richardson; if her male rival flattered himself that his piece of fiction inaugurated "an entirely new species of writing" (182), which resolved the first scandalous part – characterized by the struggle between Pamela and Mr. B. for her sexual body – "deploy[ing] the strategies of conduct book literature" (Armstrong, 109), Haywood competed with him doing the reverse of what he had done, and wrote a conduct book which included passages reminiscent of scandalous plots of novels of amorous intrigue. In other words, if with *Pamela* Richardson domesticated fiction (Armstrong, 109), Haywood transgressed the conduct book with *A Present for a Servant-Maid*. Unlike other conduct books for servants which "propound general rules" (Teynor, 25), "the advice within *A Present for a Servant-Maid* has to do with governing and regulating the female servant's body" (26). The treatise "is chiefly about re-routing and circumventing desire, about dodging advances and guarding chastity" (26); the addressees of Haywood's conduct book ultimately turn into victims of male lust, and the guide becomes a provider of advice for coping with that danger. Hence the paternalistic role of masters, emphasized by Defoe and other

previous servant conduct writers, clearly declines in Haywood's guidebook; servant girls are no more merely "in the Posture of Children" (Defoe, 230), and become the objects of desire for their masters (Straub, 48).

The concluding section of *A Present for a Servant-Maid* drops the image of the servant girl as sexual object, and returns to praising again the familial bond between maid and mistress, reminding women domestics about the "Advantages of living a great while in a Family" (Haywood, 50). By serving in the same household for many years, Haywood writes, servant-maids can come to depend on their mistresses' protection and assistance, when they come to get married and start their own family. Again, she stresses the fact that it is the servant-maid's interest to stay working within a family for a long time, for she will later be handsomely rewarded. Thus the first part of the manual ends as it started, with the promise to make servant-maids "both valuable and happy" (50).

4.2 Part II: A Short Household Manual

The second part of *A Present for a Servant-Maid* is entitled "Directions for a Young Woman to qualify herself for any common Service". While in the first part Haywood provided servant-maids with advice on good conduct, in the second part she offers inexperienced young girls who "venture out into the World" (51), namely who leave their families to work as servants, more practical rules such as those typical of books on housewifery and cookbooks written and read in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The second part of Haywood's treatise closely recalls Hannah Woolley's household manuals. It begins, for instance, with tips on buying food at the market, how to choose meat, fish, cheese, eggs, and describing all their features; for example, to buy salmon, she teaches servant-maids,

you must examine the Grain and Colour as you do in Butcher's Meat; if the one be fine, and the other high and florid, the Salmon is good, but if coarse and pale, it is bad. When it is perfectly new, a great Quantity of Blood will issue from it when it is cut, and the Liver look very clear, almost transparent (54).

Next are the different modes of cooking meat and fish (boiling, roasting, and stewing). For example, she recommends that, as to boiling, "Three Quarters of an Hour is sufficient for a middling Turkey, but you must always consult the Largeness, and give Time accordingly", while "A Quarter of an Hour is sufficient for a Chicken..." (58). She also provides a recipe for roasting "Tame-Duck":

Shred some Sage and Onion very small, mix it with Pepper and Salt, and put it into the Belly of the Duck; when it is enough done, take out the Stuffing, and mingle it with a good deal of Claret and Gravy for Sauce (62).

The cooking section ends with recipes for making meat puddings, salty and sweet pies, pancakes, as well as the traditional English dish eggs and bacon:

Cut all the Rind, and so much of Lean as you see has a yellowish Cast, clean off your Bacon, then put it into your Pan, and when you have turned it, break in your Eggs, taking Care that the one does not stick to the other, when they have lain about half a Minute, turn them on by one..., let them lie half a Minute more and take them up. Pour Vinegar, and shake some Pepper over them in the Dish...But the best Way of eating Bacon with Eggs is to broil the one, and poach the other, laying one Egg over each Rasher of Bacon...(70).

Finally come instructions for washing linen, for removing stains from linen, for ironing, and also the characteristics of water and soap used to wash. For example, as to "How to get Stains of Fruit out of Linen", the manual recommends to "Rub all the Stains very well with Butter, than put the Linen into scalding hot Milk, let it lie and steep there till it is cool, and rub the stained Places in the Milk, till you see they are quite out" (71). The same instruction is found in Woolley's *The Compleat Servant-*

Maid. Under the heading “To get Stains of Fruit out of any Linnen Cloth” the guidebook teaches:

Take them before they are washed, and with a little butter rub every spot well; then let the cloth lye in scalding hot milk a while and when it is a little cooled rub the spotted places in the milk till you see they are quite out, and then wash it in water and soap (Woolley, 70).

Another tip of this section imparts “How to wash Silk Stockings”:

Make a strong Lather with Soap, and pretty hot, then lay the Stockings on a Table, and take a Piece of a very coarse rough Cloth, roll it up, and rub them with it as hard as you can, turning them several times from one Side to the other, till they have passed through three Lathers, then wrince them in three of four Waters, till not the least Tincture of the Soap remains... (Haywood, 74).

Reading Woolley’s text in conjunction with Haywood’s, one is struck by the almost totally identical nature of the instructions offered in 1677 and in 1743, the only difference consisting in the spelling of some words and in phrasing:

Make a strong Ladder with soap, and pretty hot, then lay your stockings on a Table, and take a piece of such cloth as the Seamen use for their sails, double it up and rub them soundly with it, turn them first on one side and then on the other, till they have passed through three ladders, then rince them well...(Woolley, 67).

From these examples we infer that Haywood might have read Woolley’s guides, and possibly consulted other household manuals, as some cooking recipes differ from those found in Woolley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid*.

Remarkable, however, is the utter absence of instructions for curing sickness in Haywood’s guide, a reminder of the fact that in the eighteenth century professionals had taken over skills that in the seventeenth century were still handed down from mother to daughter. There is only a section, in the first part of the manual, whose

heading, “Behaviour to the Sick”, refers to medical matters, but it provides no practical medical instructions; it only suggests “visit[ing], attend[ing] and comfort[ing]” the sick, and “giving [them] the Medicines regularly” (35). Also lacking are those beauty treatments Woolley included in her manual: “How to keep the Hair Clean, and Preserve it”, “To keep the Teeth clean and sound”, “To make the Hands white and soft” and so on. This is probably due to the fact that Haywood addressed young women in “common Service” (51), who were not supposed to know how to care for their mistresses’ bodies.

Comparing the eighteenth-century book with 1677 *The Compleat Servant-Maid*, one notices how Hannah Woolley concentrated the bulk of advice on servants’ conduct within the first three pages (“General Directions to Young Maidens”), while devoted the rest of the guide to mainly practical rules: recipes, methods for the curing of sickness, instructions on writing, counting, and on housewifery duties in general. In *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, on the other hand, Haywood dedicates only a few pages to shopping, cooking and housewifery instructions, and relegates them at the very end of her treatise.

Haywood’s *A Present for a Servant-Maid* differs from Woolley’s manual in another respect. Woolley structures her text in nine sections addressing nine different employments which a servant-maid could fill, namely that of waiting woman, house-keeper, chamber-maid, cook-maid, undercook-maid, nursery-maid, dairy-maid, laundry-maid, house-maid, and scullery-maid. Woolley addressed servants hired by upper classes, since only wealthy households could afford such a multitude of posts. Conversely, the second part of Haywood’s treatise is entitled “Directions for a Young Woman to qualify herself for any *common Service*” (Italics mine). At a

certain point of the first part of the book Haywood suggested that servant-maids work for the “middling Gentry, as well as Tradesmen” (32). More than providing lessons on writing and counting, shopping and washing, Haywood’s treatise appears to be concerned with the reputations of servant girls, who must be honest, frugal and virtuous in order to obtain a character (namely, a reference). As Patchias suggests, eighteenth-century servant-maids needed to be guided “through the precarious world of domestic servitude” (Patchias, 18). This can explain why Haywood emphasizes regulation of servant-maids’ conduct more than practical tips for housewifery duties.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show how Eliza Haywood transformed the conduct book for servants. In *A Present for a Servant-Maid* she included all the main elements of traditional guides for servants, starting from the title, which recalls seventeenth-century conduct manuals (for instance Woolley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid* and Mayo’s *A Present for Servants*); many precepts hark back to those Puritan principles contained in seventeenth-century guides (for example Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties*), and the inclusion of practical instructions for managing the household find their source in women’s writings of the former century (for instance Woolley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid*).

However, if earlier guides directed servants to regulate their conduct in view of religious rewards (Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties*, Mayo’s *A Present for Servants*, and also Defoe’s *The Family Instructor*), *A Present for a Servant-Maid* moves away from the ‘bigotry’ of male didactic writers, and follows the secular strain of Hannah Woolley, who in her 1677 manual aimed at guiding servant-maids to acquire the

polite manners and the practical skills needed in order to obtain both economic and affective rewards from masters and mistresses.

If Haywood's concern with female servants and her secular view of the economic and affective rewards of a life in service had been anticipated by Hannah Woolley, the eighteenth-century writer leaves aside the distinctions between the lady's maid and the scullery-maid, and democratically addresses young women in "any common Service" (51). Moreover, while Woolley's manual swarms with practical instructions, and is poor in rules for good deportment, Haywood's book is rich in precepts for righteous conduct, and poor in practical tips for housewifery, offering merely a 'copy and paste' of recipes and instructions from older household manuals.

A Present for a Servant-Maid also renews the tradition by introducing new precepts. Some, for example, denounce the excesses which servants were thought to indulge in, which consisted mainly of imitating their superiors in terms of dressing, of attending the theatre, and of consuming luxury goods such as tea. Other precepts even advise servant-maids to stay away from sexual temptations, namely to guard their chastity from the men of the family; as a matter of fact men fellow servants and especially masters could ruin the reputation of a servant girl forever, according to Haywood. Never before her had a conduct book for servants included advice on how to avoid sexual threats from male members of a household. In *A Present for a Servant-Maid* the figure of the servant girl as 'daughter-to-be-protected' gives way to the representation of a female domestic who establishes a contractual and affective relationship with her mistress, and must be ready to resist her master's sexual attempts. It is clear how Richardson's *Pamela* affects Haywood's conduct book. Her goal in writing *A Present for a Servant-Maid* was indeed that of participating in the

so-called '*Pamela* controversy' as a way to challenge her male rival, and above all to make ends meet.

Conclusion

My thesis has endeavoured to demonstrate how Eliza Haywood renewed a long tradition of conduct books for servants with *A Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743). In order to achieve this goal, it seemed necessary to delineate the literary milieu as well as the historical and cultural setting in which Eliza Haywood operated. I have therefore offered an account of Haywood's literary career both as an author and a publisher of books, showing how she struggled to earn a living by experimenting with several diverse genres and by engaging herself in the eighteenth-century print business, and how she strived to 'jostle' in a literary marketplace controlled largely by men. From her earlier novels to her later works she always defied gender ideologies and the power which society bestowed on men.

Before addressing Eliza Haywood's conduct book *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, it seemed crucial to describe the role of servants in early modern England. Recent historians have unearthed late seventeenth-century evidence that the middling sort hired servants on large scale, thus filling the gap left by earlier historians who offer testimonies of servants in elite households only. They have argued that the high demand for servants from the middling ranks, and the new contractual nature of the master-servant relationships (which increasingly replaced the traditional paternalistic ones) contributed to making domestics mobile and independent. At the time many moralists and commentators complained about this agency and social climbing

among servants producing writings aimed at mitigating the so-called ‘servant problem’.

An analysis of some conduct books for servants in early modern England, among others William Gouge’s *Of Domestical Duties* (1622), of Hannah Woolley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677), and of Daniel Defoe’s *The Family Instructor* (1715), has been crucial in approaching *A Present for a Servant-Maid*. As a matter of fact many elements of the earlier guides – including seventeenth-century Puritan precepts and practical instructions for housewifery duties, as well as the eighteenth-century moralist attitude aimed at regulating the conduct of the middling and the lower sorts – converged in Haywood’s text.

However, although *A Present for a Servant-Maid* is both a significant component of the tradition of conduct books for servants, and one of the outcomes of the ‘rectifying vogue’ of the time directed at monitoring servants’ behaviour, it is first and foremost a product of Haywood’s participation in her contemporary literary and cultural milieu, and in particular a literary ‘commodity’ by which she endeavoured to capitalize on Richardson’s *Pamela* of 1740. I have argued that Haywood’s advice manual for servant-maids was clearly influenced by the novel which announced its aim of reforming readers by presenting a virtuous servant girl. Mr. B.’s sexual assaults and Pamela’s resistance in Richardson’s fiction turn into precepts warning against masters’ sexual temptations, and advising servant-maids to preserve their virtue in Haywood’s treatise.

By resuming a genre such as the conduct book, Haywood both complied with the didactic trend of the time, and contributed to perpetuating a long tradition of advice literature for servants. Haywood, however, introduced in her treatise some new

precepts which defied the affective master/servant-maid relationship set forth by the novel *Pamela*, and, against the tide, proposed a relationship between the mistress and the servant-maid based on “Love and Esteem”, in which the master was completely cut out. Therefore, while Haywood aimed at provoking Richardson and at capitalizing on his success, she concurrently renewed the conduct book tradition.

Lastly I would like to point out how my thesis has focused mainly on Haywood’s first conduct book *A Present for a Servant-Maid*. I have not dealt with *A New Present for a Servant-Maid* (1771), since this latter consists merely of a reduction of the first part (advice for good conduct) and an expansion of the second part (practical instructions for housewifery duties) of the original manual; moreover, the 1771 remake was published fifteen years after Haywood’s death, and this detail contributes to casting doubts on its actual authorship. However, the several editions of *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, as well as the re-publication of it with a new title, alone testify to the fact that, after the resonance it enjoyed during the seventeenth century, this genre continued to stay popular throughout the late eighteenth century and beyond.

I hope my restricted investigation on the conduct literature for servants prompt further enquiry on texts I could not examine. It would be decidedly interesting, for instance, to analyse a conduct book written by Haywood in 1750, entitled *A Present for Women Addicted to Drinking, Adapted to All the Different Stations of Life, from a Lady of Quality to a Common Servant*.

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