2019

Changing Her Habit: Women Writers and Needlework in Early Eighteenth-Century England

Jane B. Harwell

Changing Her Habit

Women Writers and Needlework in Early Eighteenth-Century England

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of the Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University

by

Jane Harwell
Bachelor of Arts, Virginia Commonwealth University 2016

Director: Dr. Catherine Ingrassia
Professor and Chair, Department of English

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May, 2019

Acknowledgements

This thesis owes many thanks to the support and generosity of teachers, colleagues, friends, and family. Acknowledgment is due first to my committee members: Rivka Swenson, Mary Caton Lingold, and Carolyn Eastman, all of whom provided crucial feedback and support. I would especially like to thank my committee chair, Catherine Ingrassia, who tirelessly read countless drafts with insightful editing suggestions on each revision. This research was partially made possible by Kim Ivey, the Senior Curator of Textiles at Colonial Williamsburg. I am deeply indebted to my friends and cohort at VCU, especially Kayleigh Conner, Meghan Kern, and Paige Deans. For camaraderie and good cheer, I thank Annie Persons for being the Clarissa Harlowe to my Pamela Andrews.

I would also like to thank Vivian Davis for teaching my first eighteenth-century literature course, showing me how to knit during her office hours, and being a great friend. Kelly Heard has been my closest friend for many years and read almost everything I've ever written. My mother and sister deserve much love and many thanks for unconditionally supporting me. The final acknowledgement belongs to my best friend and partner Jonathan Schlienz, whose contributions to work and to home are too numerous to count.

Table of Contents

Illustrations.....5

Abstract.....6

Introduction.....7

Chapter One.....23
Materializing Reflection in Jane Barker's *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies*

Chapter Two.....50
Needling Pieces: Domestic Market, Foreign Goods

Chapter Three.....85
"Marks of good Houswifry": Needlework, Virtue, and Gendered Economies

Coda.....118

Bibliography.....122

Illustrations

1 Lady Francis Norton, *Memento Mori: or, Meditations on Death*, London, 1705

2 Embroidered picture, England, 1665, Artist Unknown, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.125-1937

3 Quilt top, pieced with silk and paper templates, England, 1700-1730, Artist Unknown, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No. 2005-1A

4 Close-up of Quilt top, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No., 2005-1A

5 The Marian hanging, England, 1570-1585, Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury Talbot, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.29-1955

6 Decalogue sampler, England, 1723 Inscribed ‘Barberah Iones,' Fitzwilliam Museum, T.125-1928, 1723

7 Penelope Aubin, *Noble Slaves* title page

8 Raised Needlework Pictorial, England, 1650-1675, Artist Unknown, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No. 1962-112

9 Heckle, Augustin, Image from *The Florist* (1759)

10 Sloane, Han, image from *Voyage to the Islands*, 1707

11 Hogarth, William, England, *Harlot's Progress*, etching and engraving, British Museum Acc. No. 1848, 0708.19-21

12 1650-1675. Embroidered Cabinet. Artist Unknown. Colonial Williamsburg. Acc. No. 1971-1650

13 Inside of Embroidered Cabinet

14 Inside of Embroidered Cabinet

15 Drawers of Embroidered Cabinet

Abstract

CHANGING HER HABIT: WOMEN WRITERS AND NEEDLEWORK IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

By Jane Harwell, B.A.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of English at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2019

Major Director:
Dr. Catherine Ingrassia, Professor and Chair Department of English

This thesis attends to the appearance of needlework within early eighteenth-century British women's writing. The central goal of this work is to complicate the seemingly oppositional relationship between the needle and the quill, as applied to women surrendering needlework for written work. Popular representations of needlework within early novels demonstrate an elision between text and textile. Further, both female-authored work and the lack of surviving embroideries elucidate the ephemerality of what is broadly defined as "Women's Work." I focus on texts between 1700-1750, however the material examples of embroidery were created as early as 1570. This timeline helps illuminate the tradition of needlework in which women workers interact. In addition to gender, this thesis scrutinizes the impact of class- and cultural-others within the nascent British imperialistic patriarchal marketplace.

Introduction

In 1714 Lady Norton published *A Miscellany of Poems, Compos'd, and work'd with a* Needle, *on the Backs and Seats &c. of several* Chairs *and* Stools, *and Humbly* Dedicated *to Mrs.* Elizabeth Freke, *of* Billney, *in the County of* Norfolk. The subject of Lady Norton's poetry is the death of her only surviving daughter, Lady Gethin, who lived until twenty-three. Norton's published miscellany stands out from typical poetry volumes, as it is also an extended pattern book. *Miscellany of Poems* publishes poems intended for decorative embroidery. The poems' ultimate purpose as embroidered furniture renders the readers into needleworkers. The table of contents of the miscellany is not organized by poem titles, but instead by the furniture pieces featuring each embroidered poem. The "Contents of the First Part," for instance, read "*Six great* Chairs. *Two Long* Stooles. *One great Easy* Chair."[1] Each body poem begins with design instructions, such as "*In a* Flower-pot *on the Back of the first* Chair" before featuring the text of the poem.[2] The textual work of poetry becomes the textile work on furniture, as the words coexist in the published miscellany and on sets of furniture.

The occasion for writing—the mourning of her daughter—is at once singular to Lady Norton and relatable to early eighteenth-century English women. Lady Norton's *Miscellany of Poems* establishes a literary tradition on writing poetry occasioned upon the death of adult children.[3] In the section titled "*Wrought in two Suits of* Chain-stick" one

[1] Lady Francis Norton, *A Miscellany of Poems*, in *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works*, ed. Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott (Vermont: Ashgate, 2003), 4.
[2] Norton, *A Miscellany of Poems*, 1.
[3] The headnote for "Poems on Death" states, "Life writing is traditionally studied as evidence about identity construction and as access to cultural mores; poems about death give valuable insights to both. They are

poem reads, "VVho sows in *Tears* in Joy shall reap,/ In Triumph bring their *Happy Sheaff*." The form and content collapse within the poem, as the heading instructs to "Wrought" or embroider in "Chain-stick," or chain stitch. The body of the poem then instructs to "sow" in tears to "reap" a "Happy Sheaff" or harvest. Norton's use of the word "sow" plays on the double meaning of sewing seeds for harvest and the act of sewing her tears into the verses made for needlework. Jane Barker, explored later in this thesis, writes, "That *much reflecting on* Death, *is the way to make it less terrible.*" Lady Norton's poetic work serves as a pattern in more than just the traditional sense of embroidery patterns. The act of embroidering—and writing—becomes a way to reflect on death, and the finished furniture creates a solid remembrance of the now-gone daughter.

Lady Norton stitching grief into furniture creates a permanent, corporeal reminder of ephemeral life. In *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* the early modern scholar Robert Burton (1577-1640) instructed women to combat melancholy "they have curious needle-works, cut-works, spinning, bone-lace, and many pretty devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, cushions, carpets, chairs, stools,... which they shew to strangers."[4] Lady Norton adds writing to the "pretty devices" women use but does so in the sanctified way of embroidering writing into the adornment of "cushions, carpets, chairs, [and] stools." Figure 1 features the frontispiece from Lady Norton's earlier prose essay *Memento Mori: or, Meditations on Death* (1705). The image depicts Lady Norton and her sister, Elizabeth Freke, mourning Lady Gettings on her deathbed. Behind Norton and

---

also compelling individual utterances." Paula Backscheider and Catherine Ingrassia, ed., *British Women Poets of the Long Eighteenth Century: An Anthology,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 674.

[4] Robert Burton, *The anatomy of melancholy: what it is, with all the kinds, causes, symptomes, prognostics, and several cures of it, in three partitions... by Democritus Junior; with a satyricall preface conducing to the following discourse,* vol. 1. 12th ed. (London, 1821), 430

Freke stands death holding an hourglass, highlighting the fleeting quality of life. Death's position behind the mourners underscores that even their own lives will end soon. Through the "curious needle-work" poetry worked into inanimate furniture, embroidered writing creates a permanence inaccessible to the mortal.

Figure 1 Lady Francis Norton, *Memento Mori: or, Meditations on Death*, London, 1705

Further, Lady Norton's instruction to stitch her own singular mourning into disparate households extends Norton's maternal grief beyond the parameters of her own home—as her daughter's name, Lady Gettings, appears throughout the collection and even is incorporated into the rhyme scheme. *Miscellany of Poems* therefore creates a network of domestic spheres both through text and textile. Women separated temporally or geographically connect through both the act of reading and the act of embroidering. The finished suites of furniture create a visual harmony otherwise impossible—a harmony among the houses of female readers. Despite their physical separation, this community mirrors the upper-class women and lower-class servants of one household working on a textile project together. Eighteenth-century women living and working in one great house together often embarked upon larger textile work.[5] Women in the nobility, such as Lady Norton, would expect domestic servants to assist in aesthetic embroidery, patchworking, and any textile projects. The publication of *Miscellany of Poems* creates a broad market to consume and read the text. The text as pattern book then replicates a lady and her maids working on one textile project, with Lady Norton as the central figure of one household and her readers stitching this large embroidery work together.

Lady Norton's *Miscellany of Poems* shows the collaboration of needle and quill possible for female authors within early eighteenth-century England. Lady Norton justifies her authorship through the textual work's intent to be embroidered, as seen in the preface, "Apology *this* Book *needs none*,/ *Were* Work *the Fashion* Ladies *own*:/ *That*

[5] Kathleen Epstein writes, "Many skilled housewives practiced two different kinds of needlework, and they often taught and supervised household servants in these endeavors." *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Press, 1998), 31.

Stamp needs not, if you'll vouchsafe,/ This Suit make up this Work to grace."[6] Women's textual work in eighteenth-century England often begins with a prefatory apology for the female author's engagement in writing and publication. For instance, Eliza Haywood's preface to *The Fair Captive* (1723), states women writers faced a "Tide of *Raillery*" when "they exchange the *Needle* for the *Quill.*"[7] Haywood asserts women writers are the object of satire when they trade feminine textile work for the masculine domain of textual work. However, Lady Norton recognizes she does not need this "Stamp" from the printing press of a page of apology. In the preface to the second book of *Miscellany of Poems* Norton describes writing her verses with a "*Needle-Pen*" (14). Norton hybridizes the tools of writing and embroidering to justify her position as a female author.

Norton intertwines her miscellany with needlework patterns also to place her published text above legal censure of writers. Norton's mention of the "Stamp" may also refer to the 1712 Stamp Act that regulated published works. The Stamp Act served as an indirect form of government censorship on public texts.[8] However, Norton claims her book needs neither apology nor censorship due to its needlework orientation. The embroidery patterns found within *Miscellany of Poems*, instead, promotes proper spheres of femininity. Thus, Norton justifies the act of female writing and publishing *Miscellany of Poems* as the finished project, as a "Suit" brought up "to grace," using the double meaning of "Suit"—the suit of actualized embroidered furniture resulting from

[6] Norton, *A Miscellany of Poems,* 4.
[7] Eliza Haywood, *The Fair Captive: A Tragedy. As It Is Acted by His Majesty's Servants,* (London, 1721), viii.
[8] For more on the Stamp Act of 1712 and censorship of printed texts see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century,* (London: Croom Helm, 1998) and George Justice, *The Manufacturers of Literature: Writing and the Literary Marketplace in Eighteenth-Century England,* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002).

Miscellany of Poems and a satirical legal suit following women writers entering the masculine domain of publication.

Throughout my thesis, *Changing Her Habit*, I will explore the different types of women's "Work," from accomplished gentlewomen to wage workers. Through the textile definition of "Work" in the second line of the *Miscellany of Poems* preface, Norton draws attention to the double meaning of women's work as the finished embroidery project and the act of women working. For upper-class women, such as Lady Norton, women's work meant aesthetic embroidery and did not suggest physical labor bought and sold in the textile marketplace. However, for eighteenth-century British women in lower-classes, "Work" meant both needlework and the labor of needlework in domestic service and public textile trades. As women "exchange the *Needle* for the *Quill,*" such hierarchies of class and needlework follow their textual projects. Though Haywood argues that eighteenth-century women "exchange the *Needle* for the *Quill*," Chapter 3 of this thesis shows that even Haywood employs needle imagery as a trope within her textual work. Further, eighteenth-century women's needlework expressed alternative forms of literacy. Female education for women of all classes included needlework. Women entering domestic service and public textile trades, such as millinery and mantua-making, used samplers as a means to show literacy of certain types of stitches as well as Bible verses. Noble women crafted pictorial embroideries within their needlework education, often visually depicting scenes from the Bible.[9] Both the verses of the Bible and the portrayal of Bible passages elide categories of text and textile. In such, needlework is as instructive

[9] Epstein, *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*, 17-21. According to Kathleen Epstein, surviving embroideries show that stories from the Old Testament are the most common subjects of pictorial embroideries, however design sources also drew from mythology, illustrated-travelogues, and popular literature.

and essential to femininity among chambermaids and noblewomen. Embroidery unravels hierarchal divide while weaving together disparate classes of eighteenth-century English women's lived experience.

Norton's preface underscores the perceived tension, but ultimate interplay, between early eighteenth-century British women's authorial work and needlework. Women's textual work and textile work are placed as opposing ends of a binary; however, Susan Frye notes the collapse of the categories pen and needle as "unstable and overlapping" adding "despite the fact that much of the scholarship of the past two centuries has insisted on their separation."[10] The seemingly oppositional categories of pens and needles were so connected that, in fact, both paper and textile industries depended upon the same primary materials and technologies. Chloe Wigston Smith points out in *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, "clothing and paper shared direct physical bonds during the eighteenth-century: paper was made from pieces of old clothes and textiles, culled by itinerant rag-and-bone merchants, and clothing incorporated paper into its design and structure."[11] Paper was first culled from rags, pressed, and then dried on wire paper molds made from weaving looms. Just as paper-making borrowed technology from the textile industry, textiles within the eighteenth-century used copper-plate engraving, block printing, and even the designs from published travel accounts and books of ornaments for aesthetic inspiration.[12] Texts and textiles were sutured together by more than just popular representations of textiles within literature, the very foundation of production shared deeply interwoven roots.

---

[10] Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 12.
[11] Chloe Wigston Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 49.
[12] Smith, *Women, Work and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 49.

Despite the shared physical bonds of text and textile—and women's association with textile goods—textual creations were culturally considered masculine work in the early eighteenth century. Scholarship on women writers, within the eighteenth century and more broadly, began the work of recovering female authors and their texts within the past fifty years.[13] Indeed, early eighteenth-century British literature male authors turn to needlework and needle imagery as a symbol of female identity, and directed a "Tide of *Raillery*" at women writers. However, even female needleworkers within their proper sphere are presented as deceitful. The character Penelope in Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) translation of *The Odyssey* represents marital fidelity, but also inherent female deceitfulness. Penelope remains faithful to her husband by keeping marital suitors at bay while she weaves a burial shroud which she unstitches every night. Though Penelope uses needlework, in its broadest definition, and does so to uphold her marital vows, Penelope is still charged as beguiling. Pope highlights this paradigm in saying,

> We saw, as unperceiv'd we took our stand,
> The backward labours of her faithless hand.
> Then urg'd, she perfects her illustrious toils;
> A wond'rous monument of female wiles![14]

Penelope's weaving to Pope, and the Homeric echoes that follow in male-authored texts, is at once the needlecraft and the craftiness of feminine deception. Penelope is charged with a "faithless hand" and "female wiles" even while performing needlework, the exact thing that makes her an emblem of female virtue, all while adhering to the

[13] For a general introduction on feminist recovery projects in the field of eighteenth-century studies see the introduction by Ellen Pollak, "The Future of Feminist Theory in Eighteenth-Century Studies," *The Eighteenth Century*, (Spring 2009): 13-20.
[14] Homer and Alexander Pope, *The odyssey of Homer*. Vol. 1. (London,1725-26).

heteronormative patriarchal system. That is to say, to Pope, and countless other eighteenth-century English male writers, women are trapped beyond the double-bind of virtue and vice. Even when doing the right thing—needlework—for the right reason—marital fidelity—Penelope cannot measure up to the male-imposed standards of femininity. When women then exchange the needle for the quill, the duplicity and the efficacy of duplicity increases.

Some eighteenth-century women writers, on the other hand, use needlework within their texts as both imagery and lived experience. The image of the needle within female-authored texts of the period often point to the masculine perception of women as virtuous yet cunning. Women remain aware that patriarchal eighteenth-century England expects women to perform the female labor of needlework, yet still accuses women of deception despite their participation in gendered stereotypes. Needlework is more than just a poetic device for female authors. Women throughout the eighteenth century performed some type of needlework—domestically, commercially, recreationally, or a combination of all three. Cecilia Macheski notes, "When we turn to works by women, we discover a decided change, for women truly engaged in needlework, labored from their youth to perfect the skill that so definitively classed them as women, and, as a result, when they adapt the Penelope legend to their own ends, their writing reflects the different experience and perception of women."[15] Representations of embroidery, and needlework more broadly, within early eighteenth-century women's texts evoke the paradoxes of womanhood both culturally constructed and lived reality.

[15] Cecilia Macheski, "Penelope's Daughters: Images of Needlework in Eighteenth-Century Literature," in *Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815*, ed. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski. (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1986), 91.

Further, surviving eighteenth-century textiles illustrate the way in which needlework can also be narrative. Embroidered samplers, pictorials, and cabinets, all part of female needlework education, feature Biblical and secular narratives. Embroidered symbols and messages are present as early as the Anglo-Saxon period.[16] During moments of British political turmoil, such as the English Civil War (1642-1651), embroidered works feature hidden political allegiances, such as images of Charles I. Kathleen Epstein notes that surviving embroideries most commonly feature stories from the Old Testament, specifically the stories of Esther, Sheba, Sarah, Rebecca, Bathsheba, and Jephthah's daughter.[17] Such female-centric narratives recast the patriarchal Hebrew Bible to focus on moments of female empowerment. Xanthe Brooke, curator of continental European art at the Liverpool Museum, suggests embroideries featuring Esther in particular was "invoked during times of danger by persecuted minorities, such as the Puritans, the Royalists under the Republican Commonwealth, Dissenters, and Jacobites in Charles II and William and Mary's reign."[18] In such, the narratives within embroideries reflect the double-speak within female-authored textual work. Women who create narratives through textual work apply the subversions they learn from needle-crafted textile works. The surface of such narratives disarms readers or viewers from critiques of patriarchal structures. Needlework as a sanctified space for women and the appearance of needle imagery within female-authored texts conceals deeper layers of meaning. Figure 2, for instance, illustrates the moment King Ahasuerus touches Esther with his golden scepter granting her the right to speak. Female embroiders were undoubtedly drawn to

[16] See Epstein, *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*, 2.
[17] Epstein, *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*, 17.
[18] Xanthe Brooke, *The Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries*, (Stroud: A. Sutton, 1994), 53.

such a moment to highlight the discovery of their own narrative voice, whether through textile or text.

Figure 2 Embroidered picture, England, 1665, Artist Unknown, Victoria and Albert Museum, T.125-1937

Changing Her Habit explores the hierarchies of class, needlework, gender, and authorship as well as the intersections between distinctions of textual and textile work in acting with the needle and quill in order to show representations of eighteenth-century women's figurative and lived experience. Lady Norton sutures together aesthetic embroidery, the masculine classical tradition of poetry, and nobility. Embroidery serves no utilitarian function; it is purely decorative. However, the term needlework did not end at embroidery in the early eighteenth-century. Needlework serves as an umbrella term

that includes the aesthetic embroidery which upper-class British women practiced, but also lower-class milliners running seams. Textile work also means the clothing produced, bought, sold, worn, and mended. Throughout this thesis, I look at a range of material goods as well as the literary, class, and gender cultural constructions imbuing the various works.

Chapter one focuses on the conflation between text and textile in women's writing. Jane Barker's (1652-1727) *A Patch-work Screen for the Ladies* (1723) uniquely exemplifies the way women's mastery of needlework may be applied to novel writing. Macheski writes, "women writers in fact share patterns of imagery and ideas based on their common experience of needlework, and that this special use of language constitutes a subtext on female experience."[19] Jane Barker uses the metaphor of patchworking to construct her anti-generic "Patch-work" novels. Patchworking as a practice stitches together seemingly aesthetically clashing bits of new and recycled fabrics, or patches, into a cohesive whole. The protagonist of *Patch-Work Screen*, Galesia, sits with a group of women and sews textile passages into a fabric screen, vocalizing the texts as she works. The narrative frame is then metafictional and material. Jane Barker acts as the collector of the text, but, as Galesia recycles her textual work, Barker too recycles previously published and manuscript poetry within the novel. The material frame, the finished patchwork screen, continues Galesia's patched narratives and includes reflections on the actual patchwork process. Barker's novel further points dually to the application of the skilled work of needlework, such as pattern making and decorative embroidery, and to the construction of belletristic novels and poetry.

[19] Brooke, *The Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries*, 86.

This chapter explores how the process of embroidering creates an opportunity for reflection and a sanctified context for female friendship. When entering the Lady's house, Galesia notes the "rich furniture" of the "glorious Appartments" were "the Work of hers and her Husband's Ancestors, who delighted to imploy poor Gentlewomen, thereby to keep them from Distress, and evil Company."[20] Robert Burton's threat of melancholy is compounded by the patriarchal threat of "evil Company." However, the solution of "curious needle-works" remains; embroidery creates a utopic female space and practice. Further, as seen with Lady Norton's preface, Jane Barker's letter to the reader anticipates a female readership. The text speculates a female community of readers just as textile work actualizes such spaces.

Chapter two then turns to global trade of text and textiles, particularly how text/textiles produced within the eighteenth century often illustrate an unease surrounding class mobility and nascent British imperialism. The rising merchant class interacts with geographic Others, or non-European peoples, creating a market for foreign goods. As seen in British anxiety about class and cultural others overwhelmingly focused on the actualized female body as a battle ground, as foreign textiles and patterns in female fashion were targeted as the site of protest. Women symbolized the domestic sphere; the consumption and use of foreign goods seemed to threaten British textile manufacturing and style.

Women writers and needleworkers featured in chapter two stitched a place into the global economy through text and textile marketplaces. Early modern travel narratives cast a pattern for financial success within the print marketplace. Early eighteenth-century

[20] Jane Barker, *The Galesia Trilogy and Selected Manuscript Poems of Jane Barker*. ed. Carol Shiner Wilson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 74.

fiction writers recycled narrative themes and tropes of non-European people to capitalize on the cultural preoccupation with such accounts. Female characters within popular culture showcased the way in which needlework skills could be monetized, as seen in Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (1722) and Penelope Aubin's (1679-1738) *The Noble Slaves* (1722). The global marketplace and growth of middling classes worked in tandem, intertwining the fear of class mobility with fear of the cultural Other. That is to say, as colonization lead to the rise of the middling class, anxiety surrounding class mobility and foreign presence within the metropole united. Professional needlework sold within the eighteenth century often borrowed from Orientalized themes present within such literature. Travel fiction and Orientalized embroidery therefore created a symbiotic relationship within the marketplace at large. The images represented within such literature sparked a preoccupation with the geographical Other just as Orientalized themes in embroidered goods served as visual advertisements for such fiction.

Chapter two concludes by looking at textiles as texts. Early eighteenth-century illustrated travelogues provided a means for women to vicariously participate in global exploration. Travel narratives often featured botanical findings native to a respective colonized place, such as Hans Sloane's (1660-1753) *Voyage to the Islands* (1707). These botanical prints were then repurposed as patterns for embroidery by female embroiderers. The scientific field was a masculine domain. However, through the feminine medium of embroidery, women gained entry to scientific knowledge by translating the illustrated flora into patterns and ultimately needlework.

Finally, chapter three attends to needlework and sex work as binary opposites, or even two parts of one whole, within early eighteenth-century England. Young women being put to service in the needlework trades were seen as particularly vulnerable to sex work. Domestic servitude and milliner-adjacent trades were simultaneously considered the only proper career option for young women and the most dangerous. Eighteenth-century English women had to navigate the mixed messages culturally constructed around them. Chapter three highlights three of the binaries needlework invokes for women—virtue/vice, domestic labor/sexual labor, and private space/public space. As needlework and sex work are so culturally entangled, women may be seen as virtuous through their employment yet also sexually available.

Eliza Haywood's texts are acutely aware of needlework as a performance of virtue, as represented in chapter three. Haywood's fiction, particularly *Anti-Pamela* (1741), responds to popular representations of needlework eliding into sexual work. *Anti-Pamela* in part responds to Samuel Richardson's (1689-1761) *Pamela* (1740), where a young woman undergoes a series of sexual threats by her master, Mr. B. Pamela embroiders a waistcoat for Mr. B and, in so doing, establishes a reputation as virtuous but also prolongs her stay within Mr. B.'s sexually perilous estate. The private sphere of domestic needlework is still liable to the sexual dangers of a woman in public. *Anti-Pamela*'s protagonist, Syrena Tricksy, displays an awareness of the performative ability of needlework as a means to demonstrate virtue without ever behaving virtuously. Haywood's conduct-book entitled *A Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743) likewise reveals the underlying assumption that women embarking in needlework trades are sexually available to libertine men. *Anti-Pamela* and the overtly didactic *Present for a Servant-*

Maid serve to teach young women how to ensure financial compensation for their labor. *Anti-Pamela* and *Present for a Servant-Maid* satirically represent the reality of eighteenth-century patriarchal England against the unrealistic expectation of class mobility in Richardson's *Pamela*. Haywood forces her female readership to be aware of the hidden agenda of male characters in *Anti-Pamela*. Likewise, *Present for a Servant-Maid* details the dangers at every turn in the marketplace even within the ordinary content seen in contemporaneous conduct literature.

When an eighteenth-century British woman exchanged the needle for the quill, she continued the same narrative tools she was taught during her textile education. Writing and needlework both rely upon craft. Yet, even within textile works, a hierarchy emerges. Embroidery in its purely aesthetic function reflects the classical art of poetry. Novels, meanwhile, were considered low and even dangerous for female readers. The availability of novels to lower-class, newly literate women mirrors types of needlework created for utilitarian purposes, such as running seams. All of these hierarchies complicate eighteenth-century women's textual and textile productions. In such, *Changing Her Habit* untangles the complicated relationship between women's work, in all its meanings.

Chapter One

Materializing Reflection in Jane Barker's *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies*

Jane Barker's autobiographical character, Galesia, moves through *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies* (1723) like a rhapsodist, both delivering the pieces that become the screen like the Ancient Greek reciters of epic poetry and collecting miscellaneous literary pieces to be sewn into the Lady's patchwork screen. Galesia acts as a type of narrative frame, like the frame of the screen itself. The bulk of the action of the text does not appear in real time to the reader; instead Galesia adds recycled texts from her trunks that appear in place of recycled fabric. In Jane Barker's (1652-1732) letter to the reader, she describes the process of collecting the work by means of her protagonist. Barker's letter to the reader defends the seemingly unusual form of her printed novel in calling it a "History *reduc'd into* Patches," in a time when "Histories *at* Large *are so Fashionable*."[21] The "Patches" of the novel are indeed a series of interpolated narratives, poems, recipes, and parables of differing genres stitched together into one text. Barker states she follows the example set forth by "*a Set of Ladies together, their* Sentiments... *as differently mix'd as the* Patches *in their Work*" as they make their "Dis-union *meet in an harmonious* Tea-Table" (52). Barker sets "History *reduc'd*" and "Histories *at* Large" as binary converses, pointing to the process, or action, of reducing History into patches as oppositional to the static "Histories *at* Large."

[21] Barker, Jane, *The Galesia Trilogy and Selected Manuscript Poems of Jane Barker*, ed. Carol Shiner Wilson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 51. Each subsequent edition will use this edition and will appear in-text.

Much like the sonic nature of rhapsodist, Barker's emphasis on "Dis-union" meeting in harmony catalyzes a reflection upon the civil unrest of the recent past: the "*differently mix'd*" set of Ladies and patches harmonize the "*wit,* Whigs *and* Tories, High-Church *and* Low-Church, Jacobites *and* Williamites *and many more Distinctions, which they* divide *and* sub-divide" (52). In *Jane Barker: Exile*, Kathryn King notes that such examples "were particularly acute during the 1690s and the years of Queen Anne's reign."[22] Thus, Jane Barker reflects upon a sociopolitical moment marked by turbulence. Such political unrest during the English Civil War was preferable to Barker to the settled time following Whig ascendance of 1714. However, the multiple voices, or the "Dis-union," sets apart the turmoil of the 1690s from the single-voice, "History *at* Large." Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* highlights the time following the Act of Union in 1707 as a process of 'othering' within monolithic Great Britain which unprivileged the "minorities who would not conform."[23] Such a single-voice insists on conformity and normalization of the body politic and is particularly dangerous for Jane Barker—four times disprivileged and other-ed as Jacobite, Catholic, female, and spinster.

The single-voice is further complicated by *Patch-Work Screen* insistence upon reflection, defined within the text in saying, "That *much reflecting on* Death, *is the way to make it less terrible*" (84). Reflection, then, becomes a way to revisit and amend. Barker then connects the past to the present and future, as integral to "*compose this glorious Fabrick of the* Universe" (52). Barker locates reflection as a type of female labor, both in the textile work of patchworking and the textual work of female authorship within the "*harmonious* Tea-Table" of Ladies. The textile/text product, or the Work, relies upon and

[22] Kathryn King, *Jane Barker: Exile: A Literary Career 1675-1725*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 201.
[23] Linda Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 53

catalyzes a female-centric, collaborative or shared, reflection. Jane Barker, described by Toni Bowers as "one of the most dyed-in-the-wool and unequivocal of Jacobites," shows self-reflection even within the works she stitches together.[24]

Like revisiting the past through reflection, Galesia is a reoccurring protagonist throughout Jane Barker's oeuvre. Galesia first appearing in her manuscript poetry then the Galesia trilogy of novels, beginning with *Love Intrigues* in 1713. By the 1725 finale, *The Lining of the Patch-Work Screen; Design'd for the Farther Entertainment of the Ladies*, Galesia reflects upon contemporaneous political shifts. Barker's later poetry, as Bowers notes, "suggests a level of self-doubt and negative expectation quite different from what we might expect from a Jacobite of her stripe."[25] Through Barker's oeuvre, then, she demonstrates growth and change through reflection. The process of needlework creates just such an opportunity for reflection, as Barker points out the space in which Ladies work together becomes a space of storytelling, as they "*pleas'd themselves with this sort of Entertainment*" while at the needle together. Barker distinguishes individually constructed needlework from these collaborations as she meets with "poor" Galesia when she walks to stretch her legs "*having been long sitting at her Work*" (53). Thus, the instance of the overarching text, *Patch-Work Screen* as published by Jane Barker, stems from a collaborative reflection between the semi-autobiographical character Galesia and Jane Barker following a moment of physical discomfort from being too long in solitary work. Further, the "*curious Works*" mentioned in the prefatory letter are "*pernicious to the Eyes*" (54). The focused, solitary, focused work of aesthetic embroidery gradually degrades vision, just as the single-voice of the sociopolitical moment in which Jane

[24] Toni Bowers, "“Jacobite Difference and the Poetry of Jane Barker,” *ELH*, vol. 64, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 857–69, 860.
[25] Bowers, "Jacobite Difference and the Poetry of Jane Barker," 861.

Barker writes is too closely attended and fails to see the larger harmony or multifaceted "*Fabrick of the* Universe."

The patchwork screen serves as a metaphor for this "*Fabrick of the* Universe," as it is both diverse textile pieces sewn together and the multi-generic literary pieces constituting the novel. The patches, both text and textile, weave together multiple, layered temporal, geographic, gendered, and classed realities, imbuing all with the importance of reflection. Ultimately, the Ladies serve as an example to normative culture, or "History *at* Large," as a means of embracing reflection and diversity. Seemingly messy or other-ed identities coexist within patchwork, as "*in* Patch-Work *there is no Harm done*" with diverse bodies or body politics, as "*a smear'd Finger does but add a* Spot *to a* Patch, *or a* Shade *to a* Light-Colour" (54). Therefore, diversity, even the messy aspects such as political turbulence, enhances the finished work of a patchwork. Further, the patches do not appear cohesive until they become patchwork; instead patches appear as bits of recycled cloth until they are stitched together to create a work of textile art. This chapter is organized by all that constitutes the patchwork screen at the heart of *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies.* First this chapter breaks down the patches, or the individuated text and textile pieces. The second section turns to the process, or the act of patchworking. The final section focuses on the sum of the patchwork screen's parts, both the completed patch work screen as a piece of furniture and Barker's overarching novel. The individuated textiles and their corresponding texts embody the moments of reflection that they both constitute and by which they are constituted. The reflective process of patchworking, of cutting and sewing, creates a form that simultaneously embodies the texts/textiles origins and a new creation altogether. Finally, the sum of the parts of the

patchwork text/textile, the novel or the finished patchwork screen furnishing the Lady's room, serves as an embodied reflection of the patches and process.

The Patches

A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies opens with both reflection and movement, immediately suturing the past with the present. The author-character Barker, serving as the overarching collector of the text, begins "when we parted from *Galesia* last, it was in St. *Germain's Garden*" (55). This moment of reflection immediately connects to the current moment Barker continues, "and now we meet with her in *England*, travelling in a Stage-Coach from *London* Northward" (55). Galesia, herself, collects the stories of the "good Company," the five passengers including Galesia, which the "Danger of the Road had first brought into their Memories" (65). As with the past to present geographical location of Galesia, the current "Danger of the Road" catalyzes reflection, or "Memories," which prompt story-telling. This initial narrative frame mirrors the genre of travel narratives, such as the examples of "History *at* Large" Barker points out in her letter to the reader. Yet, just as the coach empties out at the "End of the Stage," affording Galesia solitude, another coach travelling parallel to Galesia causes her coach "together with its Horses" to fall "off the Bridge into the River" (71). Galesia attributes the disaster to the neighboring stage-coach's overcrowding in saying, "whether the Bounty of the Passengers had over-filled the Heads of the Coach men, or what other Freak, is unknown" (71). However, the text cannot support the solitude of Galesia's coach nor the over-crowding of the neighboring coach. Galesia seeks solitude throughout the text; later, in reflection, she is "depriv'd of [her] solitary retreat," which she calls her "Den of Parnassus," as if literary production can only occur within a private space (132).

Similarly, the overcrowded stage-coach differs from the five-passenger coach before reaching the end of the stage. The "Bounty of Passengers" is not working together, or harmonizing, but instead likened to a "Freak." The carriage of five passengers exemplifies harmony and reflection in story-telling. The solitude of Galesia's ride and the busyness of the overcrowded coach, on the other hand, are not sustainable, thus they both fail to the point that Galesia is violently overturned off of the bridge.

Galesia's fall from the coach also marks a genre shift. This first section closes as Galesia follows a Lady into her house. Galesia moves from the exterior, the gardens, to the house, to the "glorious Appartments," described as being "adorn'd with rich Furniture of all Sorts; some were the Work of hers and her Husband's Ancestors, who delighted to imploy poor Gentlewomen, thereby to keep them from Distress, and evil Company" (74). Textile work is seen here as inherited, communal, and female. The "rich Furniture" within these "glorious Appartments" highlights the communal process of employing "poor Gentlewomen to keep them from Distress, and evil Company," likely the evil company provided by men and the distress of heteronormative relationships. As Galesia and the Lady proceed to the heart of the house they enter into the ultimate private, female space. The innermost apartment is described as "embellish'd with Furniture of [the Lady's] own making, which was Patch-Work, most curiously compos'd of rich Silks, and Silver and Gold Brocades: the whole Furniture was compleated excepting a Screen which the Lady and her Maids were going about" (74). The process of women working communally around needlework connects the current moment to the ancestral work. Predictably, one day the Lady's own apartment, and the furniture "of her own making" will be a future generation's to enjoy and remind.

Textile patches become text patches when Galesia is invited to "assist [the Lady] in her Screen" and sends for her "Trunks and Boxes, which contained her Wearing Cloaths" but instead the trunk contains Galesia's writings (74). The "Wearing Cloaths," or Galesia's own clothing, were called for to cut and patch into the screen, highlighting the type of textiles used in patchworking. The patches are thus made of recycled fabrics, or at least welcome recycled fabrics in with the new. The second life of the fabrics would be enough to inspire reflection upon the occasion of each cloth, but when the trunk arrives "they found nothing by Pieces of *Romances, Poems, Love-Letters*, and the like" which the Lady insists upon using to compose the screen. The arrival of the literary pieces in place of the cloths highlights the slippage between text and textile. The Lady, her maids, and Galesia begin to recite, reflect, and stitch in the literary fragments. Between the fragments of text, Galesia weaves together the temporal space of the moment of writing to the moment of patching, and anticipating similar reflections upon the completion of the screen.

The patchwork quilt seen in Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrates a corporeal example of the interlocking material relationship between text and textile metaphorically described by Barker. Created between 1700 and 1730, the quilt top uses tabby linen, tabby cotton, and sheer silk, in addition to recycled papers as the backing. The textual backings include scribal letters and accounts, as well as printed newspapers and books. Chloe Wigston Smith writes of such objects that while "literary textiles" such as narrative embroideries "elucidate the aesthetic links between print and material culture" objects such as the quilt with its paper backing "invoke the pragmatic exploitation of paper in the

creation of objects such as embroidery and quilts."[26] Fabric pieces were cut to uniform size and shape by first cutting paper templates. The fabric shapes were then pieced together with their paper backing, thus creating the paper and fabric quilt. Typically, the paper was rendered invisible by the fabric on both sides, as seen in Figure 3. However, the patchwork screen Galesia and the ladies work upon complicates the "aesthetic links" of "print and material culture" as the literary patches are sewn as the exterior of the screen, not just the interior support. Galesia's patchwork screen privileges textual narrative work, even during its elision of text and textile. However, textile works that render the paper goods invisible still contain narratives.

The narrative work of patchworking extends beyond the text narratives contained within. Quilting, a type of patchworking, has always been associated with world trade.[27] The fabrics used in quilting were the product of global mercantilism, including silks and calicoes from the East Indies and Flanders. The quilt in Figure 3 creates the Orientalized scene using the imported textilic commodities to narrates a story of nationhood and empire, with panels depicting turbaned men and women holding oriental-style parasols. The quilt was created between 1700 and 1734 during bans on imported fabrics and foreign designs. Just as the act of patch-working imagines a diverse body politic, the textile materials and Orientalized design brings together all the fabric of empire. Further, the figures featured on the quilt are based upon published texts, as was typical within the early eighteenth century.[28] Linda Baumgarten and Kimberly Ivey identify the figure of

---

[26] Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 58.
[27] Advertisements throughout the eighteenth century list fabrics "from Persia, India, Flanders, Turkey, Hanburg, Holland, Russia, Scotland, England, France, and more specifically Marseilles." Linda Eaton, *Quilts in a Material World: Selections from the Winterhur Collection*, (New York: Abrams, 2007), 112.
[28] For more see Chi-Ming Yang, "Asia out of Place: the Aesthetics of Incorruptibility in Behn's Oroonoko," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2 (January 2009): 235-53 and Madeleine Jarry, *Chinoiserie:*

the horseback rider in the top middle panel as the figure of Dutch ambassador Johan Nieuhoff with the Dutch East India Company.[29] The image of Nieuhoff appears within his travel narrative, *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces,* originally published in Dutch in 1665 and translated to English in 1669. Beyond this particular quilt, Nieuhoff's illustrated travelogue was often used in British chinoiserie patterns. The textual source becomes a needlework pattern, connecting text and textile beyond its material bonds. As seen in Figure 4, the quilt also uses text within the interior and exterior, just like Galesia's patchwork screen. Such patches stitch together a harmonious and diverse nation, quite literally; diverse materials like silk, velvet, and paper suture together global figures using domestic English hands.

Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art, 17th and 18th centuries, (New York: Vendome Press, 1981).

[29] Linda Baumgarten and Kimberly Smith Ivey, *Four Centuries of Quilts: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection*, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2014), 89.

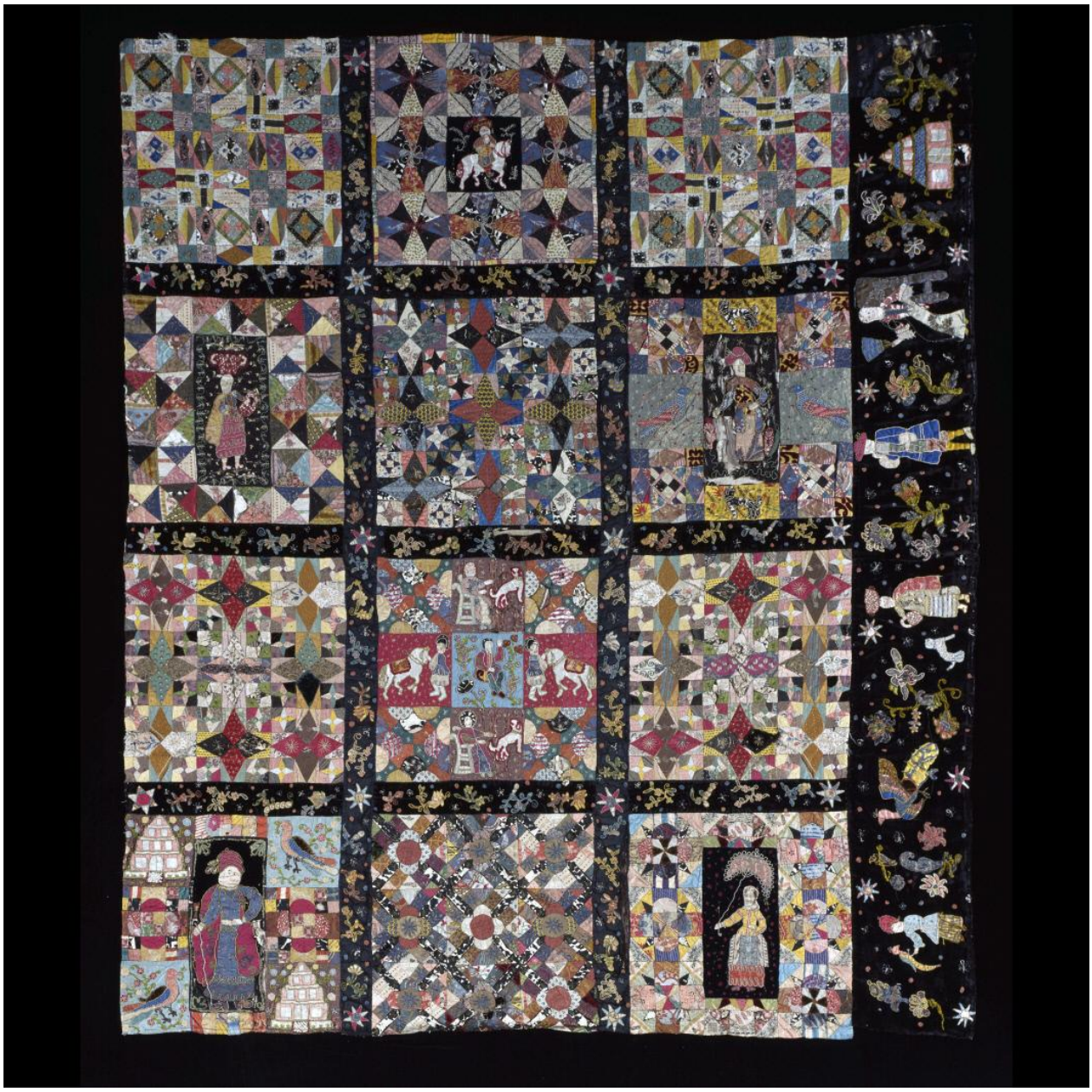


Figure 3 Quilt top, pieced with silk and paper templates, England, 1700-1730, Artist Unknown, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No. 2005-1A

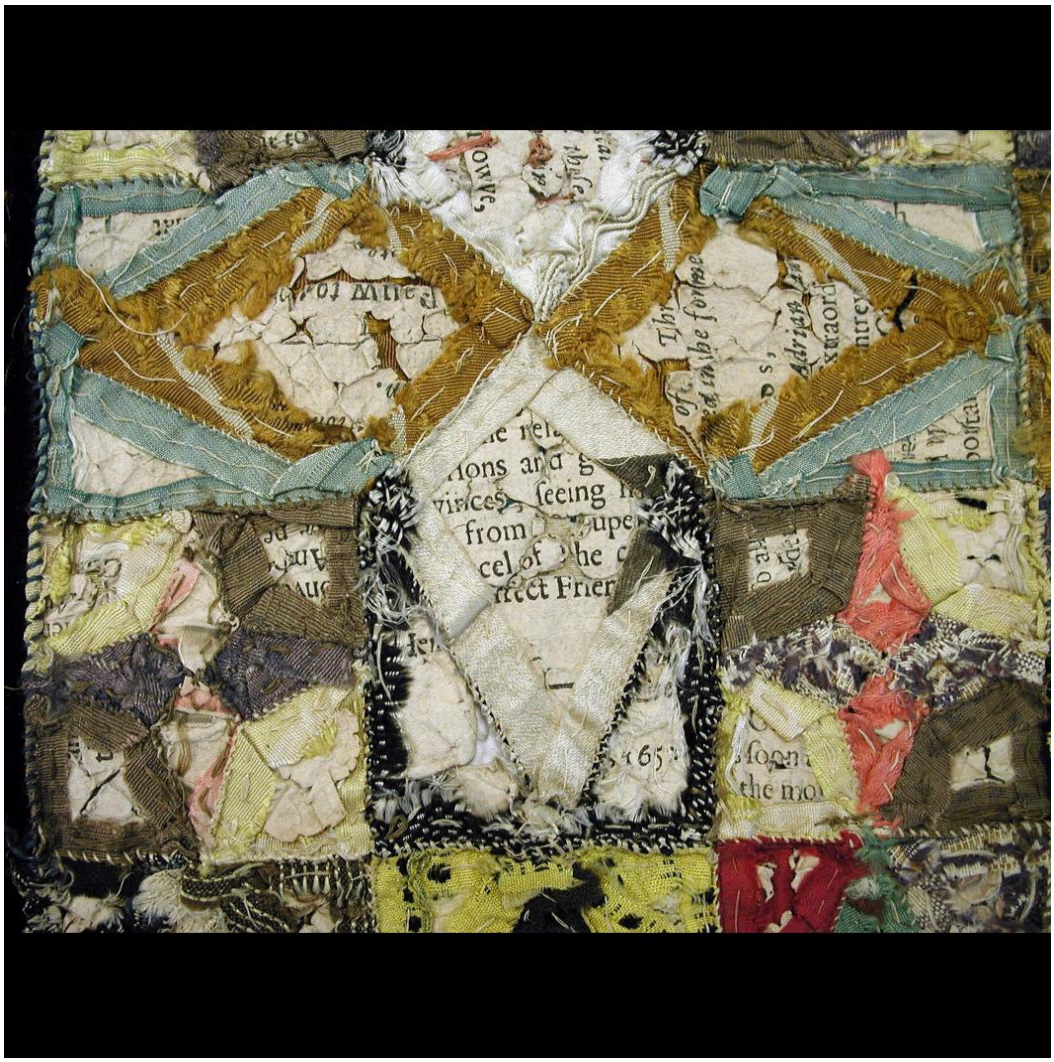


Figure 4 Close-up of Quilt top, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No., 2005-1A

The slippage between texts and textiles is again emphasized as the content of the texts affect the color of the patches. Following the inclusion of a series of poems occasioned by the death of Galesia's beloved brother, Galesia qualifies the poems' inclusion within the screen in asking, "Whether your Ladyship will like to have them plac'd in your Screen, you yourself must determine" (92). The Lady responds, "By all means... these melancholy *dark Patches*, set off the light Colours; making the Mixture the more agreeable. I like them all so well, I will not have *One* lay'd aside" (92). Therefore,

the content of the poems alters their appearance as patches on the screen. Like the multiple dark and light-colored patches, the resulting form of the overarching text, *Patch-Work Screen*, is hybridized and polyvocal. The patches, or literary pieces, within the narrative frame range from hymns to proverbs to recipes. Further, just as the cloth was meant to be the recycled "Wearing Cloaths," many of the poems inhabiting *Patch-Work Screen* are recycled from Jane Barker's previously published *Poetical Recreations* (1687) (which as a publication itself was recycled from an earlier manuscript coterie). The second life of each patch imbues each text/textile piece with plurality of time, in addition to the colorful content and genre. Patchworking is already a hybridized form; however, in highlighting the plurality even within each individuated patch, Barker's patchwork screen allows for ultimate diversity and harmony.

Other patches serve only the textual frame while bringing little or nothing to the textile frame, like the interior paper of Figure 4. Leaf I opens "the good Lady and *Galesia* being thus sate down to their Work, and the Trunks open'd, the first Thing they laid their Hands on, was a Piece of a *Farce*, which the Lady would have put by, for another Opportunity" (75). The Lady abandons the farce, as she is impatient for Galesia to continue her previous story interrupted by a break in their work. The text introduces the "Piece of a *Farce*" without adding it to the screen or overarching novel. However, the screen does not ever hold the farce, whereas the text at least gestures to the lost farce's existence. The promise of "another Opportunity" points to a continuation of the story, reified by Jane Barker's letter to the reader when she states, "*But I will inquire against the next Edition; therefore, be sure to buy these* Patches *up quickly*" (54). The reader of the *Patch-Work Screen* is tantalized into buying Barker's future works. The farce's immediate

dismissal from the screen, and the text, places the novel as a piece—or patch—within a larger body of work.

Later, Galesia reflects upon the death of her mother, her final surviving family member; following the melancholy poems written in this period of grief, the Lady and Galesia are called to dinner. Galesia, "rising from her Seat, dropp'd the following Verses" which the Lady takes up saying "Well! Here I see, is Matter for another *Patch*, which we will peruse on our Return" (163). Throughout the text, Galesia retains control over which literary patches are introduced and guides the reflection surrounding each patch. Here, however, the Lady usurps the textual control as well as the patch. Even more troubling, the poem that follows, "On the *Difficulties of Religion,*" contains a backside, a "Product of the same melancholy Frame of Mind with the former" (165). The reverse side of the poem is a poem grieving the loss of "*Fidelius,"* a character never explained. As Galesia's mother throughout the text was "very desirous to see [Galesia] established in a married State," the poem prompted by the death of her mother also signifies to Galesia the death of her potential success within a heteronormative system (133). Thus, one side of the poem mourns her mother and the reverse mourns her potential at romantic love. As a patch, however, only one poem can be displayed, the other side will be sewn into the shadowy darkness between the patch and frame. In *Patch-Work Screen*, Galesia never recovers narrative control following the Lady discovering the two-sided poem. Instead, *Patch-Work Screen* ends with the Lady's Ode. Just as the content of the text alters the color of the patches, here the grief of the poem's content obscures the overarching narrative voice.

The literary patches are then not always visible, creating a shadow narrative within Barker's metaphorical patchwork screen. The reader of *Patch-Work Screen* is in on the secret poem about Fidelius, but not even the reader has access to the lost farce. The textual backing of the quilt shown in Figures 3 and 4 creates a similar lost text. The literary pieces, epistles, and bits of news would be used only to template the shapes of fabric piecing together the quilt. They are only seen now due to the quilt's degradation; however the bits of paper proved invaluable to discovering and corroborating details about the quilt. For instance, pages from a book dated 1652 and a handwritten letter from as early as 1672 create a material narrative of how and when the quilt was made.[30] If the quilt imagines a similar reflective patchworking process, the instance of sewing the literary patches between two pieces of fabric creates a forever-lost shadow text. This lost quality highlights the importance of the text that constitutes *Patch-Work Screen* accompanying a potential material object made using texts. If any texts within the quilt held narrative importance, that story is lost to the textile narrative. Yet, *Patch-Work Screen* recovers both the narrative of textual patches as well as the larger narrative of women needleworking in a domestic space.

The Process

In *Patch-Work Screen*, the process of cutting and sewing—of textile and text—reflects upon such plurality as favorable to the normalization of a monolithic Great Britain. Jacques Derrida in *The Truth in Painting* writes, "*recoupe* means cut again *and* reimburse or rebalance...[then] you will see that the tissue ceaselessly reforms itself

[30] Baumgarten and Ivey, *Four Centuries of Quilts,* 89.

around the incision [or *entaille*]."[31] Text simultaneously shares a root with textere, to weave, and textus, a tissue. The process of cutting in *Patch-Work Screen*, both seen in the literary and fabric patches constituting the patchwork screen, creates new texts around the incision, or here the narrative and textile frame.

Barker equally emphasizes the process of sewing together the fabrics that compose the screen and the literary pieces that construct the novel. Returning to Barker's question posed to her reader, "*And why a* History *reduc'd into* Patches?" Barker answers, "*you'll find in the following Pages, by what Steps and Means it was framed into this Method*" (51). The verb "*framed*" works doubly. The frame describes the narrative frame, or Galesia's reflections upon the instances for her textual contributions, and the physical frame used in needlework projects, an object employed to hold needlework in place while the work is being sewn together. The frame is both outside and within. The narrative framework, Galesia's movement throughout the text, unites the disparate textual pieces and facilitates reflection. Likewise, the material patching necessitates the needlework frame in order to create a finished product, the patchwork screen itself.

However, the text does not reward the reader with a finished project. Jane Barker's letter to the reader notes the continuation of both the text and textile in offering, "*Which if you like, I will get the remaining Part of the* Screen; *for they are still at Work*" (54). In foregrounding the text with the unfinished state of the work, Barker's emphasis of the continued process immediately disrupts the notion of reading for conclusion and instead situates the process itself as the intended result. In "Representing Modernity in Jane Barker's *Galesia Trilogy*" Rivka Swenson states, "readers are important actors in

[31] Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 25.

these fictions that resist them."[32] Indeed, through immediately defining the work as in process, the act of reading becomes integral to the very core of the text. That is to say, the work's status as unfinished, not an independent product, means that the text cannot exist outside of process and interaction. Furthermore, the title includes the instructions "for the Ladies." The text collaborates with the female reader, thoroughly reconstructing and mirroring the Ladies at the screen through the process of female reading. As with the Ladies at the Tea-Table, the loop created by the female author and the anticipated community of female readers unites in harmony. The text, then, cannot be complete precisely because of the female harmony required.

If patchworking, or sewing, is female work, *Patch-Work Screen* also presents its inverse, the masculine destruction of cutting. A story told by gentlemen in the coach centers on the act of cutting. Separated by proverbs, the final gentleman precedes the young lady in the coach and tells the story that begets "*Thus Murder will out*" (65). The story follows a gentleman who "raffled in a Booth 'till it was pretty late" (64). The "Master of the Booth" warns the gentleman that there were "Many Spies about the Fair" and, as the gentleman was a "chief Winner," he should stay with Master of the Booth overnight. The gentleman is then dosed with opium in his pot of chocolate and murdered. The murderers then "cut him in Pieces, and carry'd him out to a Common Shore" where his body parts are then found "Piece-meal." The gentleman of the coach's story leaves the cut-up body "Piece-meal," thus creating a masculine space void of the feminine act of sewing, or patchworking. The body is never sewn back together, and loses the process of reflection. Barker's definition of reflection, "That *much reflecting on* Death, *is the way to*

[32] Rivka Swenson, "Representing Modernity in Jane Barker's *Galesia Trilogy:* Jacobite Allegory and the Patch-Work Aesthetic," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2005): 55-80, 59.

make it less terrible," the piecemeal death remains "terrible." The masculine process of cutting, then, is located within the opening narratives told by the gentleman of the coach.

The converse of this story is found in an interpolated tale Galesia reads within *Lining of the Patch Work Screen*, where a "beautiful young Nun" enters "into an Intrigue with a Cavalier" where the story notes, "they found means to contract an Affection; nor did they stop there, but promis'd personal Enjoyment, and to live together as married People, if our Nun could find a way to get out of her Cloyster" (214). The nun marries the cavalier and abandons her religious vows, however the cavalier is soon called to war. The woman's husband is soon presumed dead and she "in haste" marries his best friend. When the "dead husband" returns, the woman "in the midst of her Anxiety... resolved his death" (215-6). The woman "resolved his death" by murdering her first husband. The living husband then devises a plan where he would cast the body, wrapped in a sheet, into the river. As the woman followed her husband carrying the body, she "perceived a Foot hanging out, and immediately took a Needle and Thread, and sew'd it into the Sheet: But in her Fright, by mistake, took hold of the Gentleman's Coat, and so fastned that to the Sheet" (217). The woman in sewing her two husbands together thus seals their fate. The living husband drowns with the dead body when he throws it into the river.

This interpolated tale echoes the story of Penelope from Homer's *Odyssey*, where Penelope wove a burial shroud for her presumed dead husband to keep suitors at bay. Both Penelope and the woman's husbands are presumed dead and both characters use textile work to different ends. If the moral Penelope provides, however, is marital fidelity, the woman in Galesia's story highlights lustful abundance. The woman in Galesia's story neither keeps the suitors at bay nor does she undo her work, like Penelope

does to prolong the period of mourning and remain faithful to her husband. As a result, the woman stitches her way to disastrous ends; she is left with no husband instead killing them both. Whereas the cut "Piece-meal" body within *Patch-Work Screen* creates an abundance within the text, the woman's sewing leaves an absence—the absence of any proper husband.

The process that connects textile work to reflection serves as a moment of reflection. The proverb that follows the nun's tale reads "*Marry in haste, and Repent at leisure*" (217). Barker's emphasis on "haste" highlights the lack of reflecting before acting. The woman marries her second husband before confirming the first is dead, but also the woman marries—or combines—the two bodies, and two fates, together by physically sewing the first husband's sheet to the second husband's overcoat. Both texts focus on a bodily relationship with textile work. The body politic is created by both cutting and sewing, yet, when cutting or sewing occurs independently, the individuated body is harmed. Both the "Piece-meal" body and the sewn together husbands create a plurality, but a plurality that does not represent the full process, or harmonizing. The moral's end "*Repent at leisure*" introduces two conflicting ideas. Repenting points to the sin, marrying in haste, but does not specify which marriage is in haste. The nun sacrificed her "Solemn Religious Vow of Chastity" for her first marriage and the second marriage occurs before solid evidence of the death of her first husband. However, the word "leisure" returns the woman to a freedom of solitude, as she would have been in a nunnery; a solitude enjoyed by spinster Jane Barker as well.

The process of cutting and sewing is important for both text and textile. Galesia cuts out the poems, narratives, and literary pieces she collects throughout the course of

her life and sews them into both the overarching fictional novel and the textile screen. This process of cutting and pasting texts would not be entirely unfamiliar to an early modern reader, as the process is not unlike that of a commonplace book or miscellany. Kathryn King defines Jane Barker's early collection of poetry as "composed for a small but sympathetic circle (or circles) of fellow amateur poets, this is pre-eminently sociable verse."[33] Barker's verse, then, first moved in literary coteries, meaning her poems likely found themselves within more than a few commonplace book and scribal miscellanies. Barker's Magdalen Manuscript, MS 343 in Magdalen College, Oxford, features eighty poems, fifty-three of which are reprinted as *Poetical Recreations* in 1688. Barker reclaims one of her poems as seen in a heading that reads, "These following poems, are taken out of a book of Miscellany poems, and writ by the same author as the former,/ But without her consent, were printed in the year i688:/ now corrected by her own hand, which makes the third part of this Collection."[34] With this heading, Barker presents a tension between print and scribal culture. Consent and correctness comes only "by her own hand." The scribal miscellanies written by hands that are not Barker's "own" are the cut up pieces of her original work. Barker sews back together her literary patches into the printed *Poetical Recreations*. The poem in question, titled "An invitation to my learned friends at Cambridge: to my country solitude," later reappears in *Patch-Work Screen*, further, suturing her textile works into "her own hand."

Certainly *Patch-Work Screen* embraces variety and merges genres. The printed miscellany rose in popularity in England beginning in 1640. Adam Smyth defines the printed miscellany in saying, "the products of a bundling together of writing from diverse

[33] King, *Jane Barker: Exile*, 29.
[34] Jane Barker, *The Poems of Jane Barker: The Magdalen Manuscript*, ed. Kathryn King, (Oxford: Magdalen College Press, 1998), 43.

sources (manuscript printed verse collections, play texts, theatrical or musical performances, song books, ballads), altered to suit the envisioned purposes of readers."[35] Yet, the imitation of form ends at its single authorship, whereas part of the variety of traditional miscellanies is the variety of sources. Galesia as a character constructs the commonplace book that becomes *Patch-Work Screen* through collecting stories from other characters, that, in turn, become a variety of authors. However, Jane Barker still acts as the keeper of the book, creating a single author function of the overarching text unique from the tradition of miscellanies. Much like scribal miscellanies, the work is always in process, just as a commonplace book is likewise never finished. New content is constantly being created and collected.

The process of cutting, sewing, and reflecting for Jacobite Jane Barker is the Stewart clan motto *Virescit Vulnere Virtus*—as translated by Juliet Fleming in *Cultural Graphology*, "virtue flourishes by wounding," or "injury strengthens the worthy," or even "strength comes from cutting."[36] The motto appears on an embroidered bed hanging, called the Marian hanging, collaboratively made by Mary Stuart and the Countess of Shrewsbury sometime between 1570 and 1585, while Mary Stuart was imprisoned (Fig 3). Jane Barker's own exile, where she followed Mary Stuart's great-grandson James II to France, began 100 years later in June 1689. The Marian hanging depicts a hand cutting away the branches of the Tudor family tree with a pruning knife, representing the belief common to Catholics of the time that Elizabeth was illegitimate and Mary Stuart was the

[35] Adam Smyth, "Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682: 'Store-House[s] of Wit,'" *Criticism*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2000): 151-84, 153.
[36] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 99.

rightful queen of England.[37] Whether or not Barker was familiar with the Marian hanging, the theme of cutting and sewing during a time of Stuart exile share roots with Barker's work. Both the Marian hanging and the patchwork screen reflect upon different historical moments of political plurality, or rather, competing claims to the throne and Stuarts in exile.

[37] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 99.

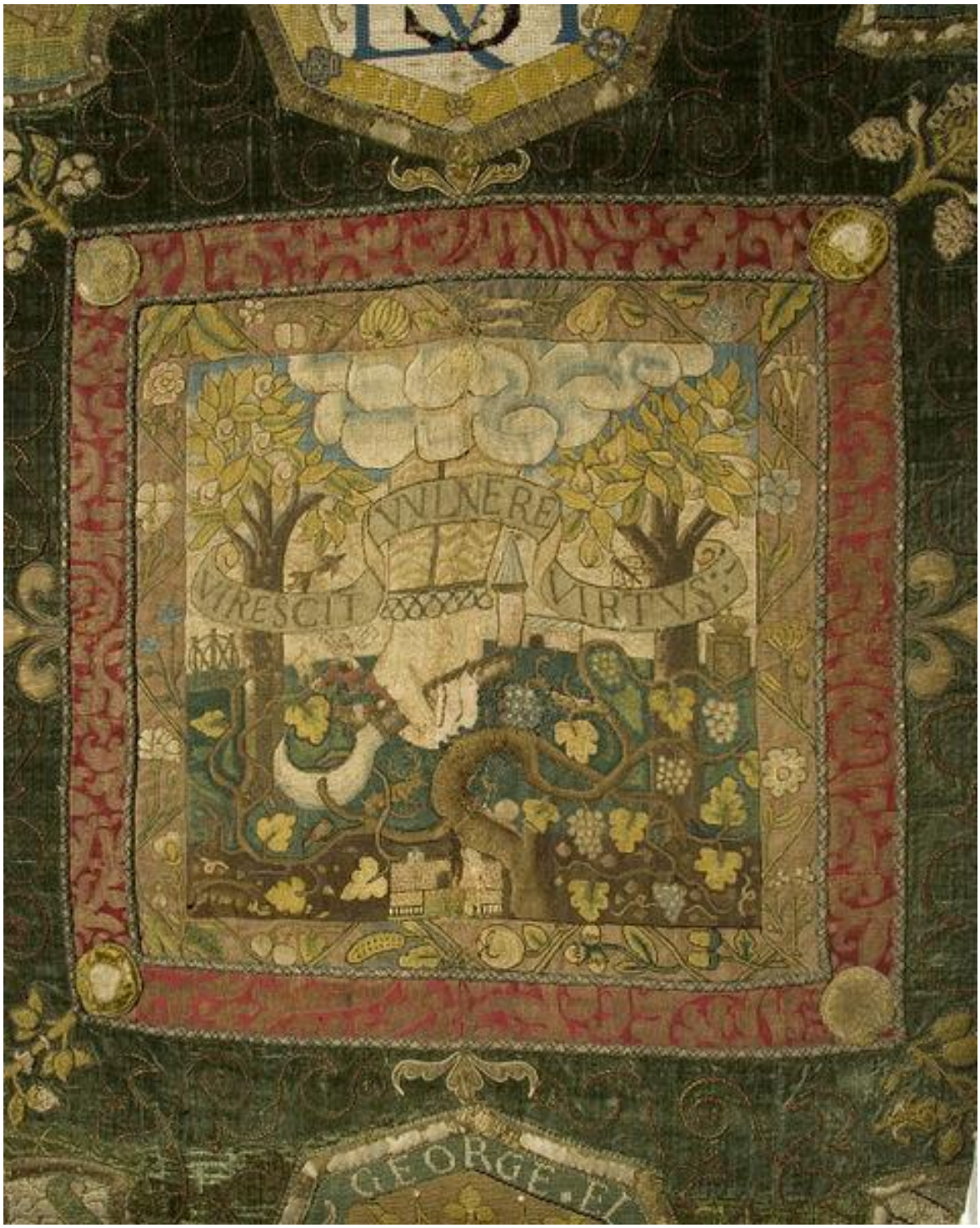


Figure 5 The Marian hanging, England, 1570-1585, Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury Talbot, Victoria and Albert Museum T.29-1955

The Sum of its Parts: The Screen

A finished patchwork screen is used to decorate and separate a room. The material object of a screen, even when finished, performs the cutting found within its process. The screen divides and sub-divides a space, just as the Ladies' sentiments are split in the letter to the reader. In *Patch-Work Screen* the reader leaves the patchwork screen unfinished, with the promise for another novel soon. Chloe Wigston Smith states patchwork screens, "often ornamented with pieces of fabric and embroidery, decorative screens might divide a room or protect women from the heat of a fire."[38] The screen and similar embroidered pieces of the room do not just protect the women "from Distress, and evil Company," but rather the very real, material concern of an open fire (74). The reflective process of story-telling imbues each patch with meaning; thus, the completed needleworks as furniture remain as corporeal reminders of the abstract feelings they represent.

However, the completed textile work is not without its own process of reflecion. As seen in the ancestral needlepoint in the "glorious Appartments" leading to the Lady's innermost room, the previous generation's work continues the process of reflection upon the "Distress, and evil Company" the needleworking meant to prevent (74). Further still, the utilitarian purpose of furniture disrupts the binary of static and ephemeral. How does the nature of reflection change between the act of viewing needlework to sitting on a needlework chair? The Lady's innermost apartment, her own room, is "embellish'd with Furniture of her own making." The domestic sphere, the constricted domain of eighteenth-century women, is thus a prison of her own design. Women are bound to the domestic sphere as wives to tyrannical husbands. The reflection process reminds the Lady of the dangers of "evil Company," such as the tyrannical husbands or libertines littering the embedded narratives of *Patch-Work Screen*. The imaginative act of

[38] Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 70.

reflection, on the other hand, provides an escape from the physical constraints of the house; the Lady, Galesia, and the maids speculatively travel by means of the stories to each location of the embedded texts as they travelled through the rooms of the household. The process of creating needlework furniture, and the reflection inspired upon viewing the furniture, imagines a world where the domestic sphere is not a prison but a space of freedom.

The Marian hanging, for instance, was created during an actual imprisonment within the domestic space of Lady Shrewsbury, better known as Bess of Hardwick. From 1569 to 1584 Mary Stuart was imprisoned in the Shrewsbury estate; though she was treated as more of a guest, Mary Stuart was placed under the protection of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, "under the suspicion of treason and plotting against her cousin Queen Elizabeth."[39] The Marian hanging survives as part of the Oxburgh hangings, largely housed within Oxburgh Hall except a few that remained in the Victoria and Albert Museum following conservation efforts in 1955. Nicole LaBouff writes, "many of the words and pictures in these textiles were copied from scholarly printed texts... works that include emblem books, compendia of Latin adages, and natural history texts."[40] As with Jane Barker's *Patch-Work Screen*, Mary Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick create their own literary miscellany by means of textile production. Many of the patches of the Oxburgh hangings were animals copied directly from woodcut illustrations. Mary Stuart and Bess of Hardwick interact with available books through textile production, creating the loop of female readership predicted in *Patch-Work Screen*'s letter to the reader. The collapse of text and textile on the hangings demonstrates a feminized reflective practice,

[39] Nicole LaBouff, "Embroidery and Information Management: The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick Reconsidered," *Hunington Library Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 3 (2018): 316-358, 315.
[40] LaBouff, "Embroidery and Information Management," 318.

as women translate literary elements into the feminized practice of needlework. Further, the Oxburgh hangings are loaded with early Jacobite ciphers, as seen in the central image of the Marian hanging, but also seen in a patch depicting a crowned ginger cat—much like the red headed Queen Elizabeth—toying with a grey mouse. These ciphers reveal an interior process of reflection about Mary's political circumstance. The hangings are not meant to leave the domestic sphere, and in fact do not until the 1950s, but Mary still codes information about her predicament within her textile work.

Patch-Work Screen itself is largely such a cypher. Swenson writes, "*Love Intrigues* offers a Jacobite and Catholic heroine who, betrayed by a lover, holds fast to abstract ideals—honor, loyalty, integrity, and all those other qualities associated with a Jacobite rhetoric."[41] Throughout the trilogy, Galesia, like Jane Barker, decides to live as a spinster over marrying the unfaithful Bosvil. Likewise, Jane Barker followed James II into exile instead of taking an oath to uphold a false monarchy. Evelyn Lord points out that marriage in the court of exile mirrored the patriarchal authority found in England, as "the family and household became an analogy for the state with their members owing unquestioning allegiance and obedience to the head of the household."[42] The divine right of the king, as exhibited in Jacobite philosophy, was present at the level of the household. Galesia and Jane Barker's refusal to marry a false suitor reflects the Jacobite refusal to obey a false king. The literary patches that comprise the patchwork screen, then, create a series of ciphers stitched together, just as Mary Queen of Scots crafted within her own exile.

---

[41] Swenson, " Representing Modernity in Jane Barker's *Galesia Trilogy:* Jacobite Allegory and the Patch-Work Aesthetic," 61.
[42] Evelyn Lord, *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites, 1689-1752*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 61.

Patchworking also weaves together disparate classes throughout the text. The screen is a place where the Lady sits with her maids, all "going about" (74). Later, as they "[looked] for more *Patches* to carry on their Work" the Lady's butler appeared inquiring for a recipe for a "Bowl of Punch" (140). Galesia "readily rehears'd" the verse recipe, prompting the Lady to stitch the recipe into the screen. The women at the screen were momentarily halted within their work, and only the appearance of the butler renewed the process. Further, though Jane Barker authors the text at large, the collaborative process of textile work within the text equates all the women as co-authors. The participation of disparate classes equalizes Lady to maid, poet to needleworker, even if just during the time while they are "going about" the screen. The typical labors of the day for each of those classes would vastly differ. The collaborative process of needlework mirrors the diversity of color and print of the fabrics stitched together on the completed screen.

The harmony of needlework as a practice and finished project thusly weaves together diverse voices. Therle Hughes' *English Domestic Needlework 1660-1860* writes, "patchwork is unique in that it offered the hardworking cottage woman as well as the over-leisured ambitiously painstaking girl in her teens an opportunity to revel in colours and textures of fabric far removed from their workaday world."[43] Mary Queen of Scots and Bess Hardwick would also work with the female members and domestic workers of their household to produce the embroidered one hundred panels appearing in the Oxburgh hangings. Additionally, the appearance of a patchwork screen would not be out of place in the cottage of a working-class family nor a landed estate. The many needlepoint pieces within the estate of the Lady showcase the effort of collaboration among differently

[43] Therle Hughes, *English Domestic Needlework 1660-1860*, (London: Abbey Fine Arts, 1961), 148.

situated women, and expanding beyond the estate, such needleworks tie together the interior of homes as different as the women who appear "going about" the screen.

Conclusion

Patch-Work Screen and *Lining of the Patch Work Screen* resist leisure modes of reading. The unusual formal elements of the texts catalyze a continued process of reflection. The jarring interpolated stories, unfinished overarching narrative, and call to action of critical reading skills never allow the reader leisure. The process of reflection continuously engages "*the Ladies of* This Age" with "Those *of the* Former," thus breaking down the arbitrary demarcation between different generations, classes, and sentiments of women. Female readers are asked, instead, to consider the past and present as patches, where a "*smear'd*" fingers on a screen, add to harmonious diversity.

Jane Barker inhabits multiple identities as a woman, author, Jacobite, Catholic, former-exile, and spinster. The work she emphasizes within *Patch-Work Screen* and *Lining of the Patch Work Screen* is a particularly feminized form of labor. The female work focuses on process over product, particularly the work of texts and textiles as a form of nation-building. Through this focus on process Barker highlights how monolithic British identity in Hanoverian England is itself a process of normalization. Just as varied patches create a unified whole in the finished patchwork project, different socio-political identities illustrate socialization processes as artificially constructed throughout each age. That such processes are normalized, but not natural, highlights patchworking as an example of how there is room for diverse citizenships within the patchwork screen of England, or any body politic.

Chapter Two

Needling Pieces: Domestic Market, Foreign Goods

In the 1711 edition of *The Spectator*, Mr. Spectator describes a visit to the Royal Exchange, London's central financial district on Threadneedle Street. He begins, "There is no Place in Town which I so much love to frequent as the *Royal-Exchange*. It gives me a secret Satisfaction, and, in some measure, gratifies my Vanity, as I am an *Englishman*, to see so rich an Assembly of Country-men and Foreigners consulting together upon the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a kind of *Emporium* for the whole Earth."[44] Emporium at once alludes to Empire—particularly the British Empire, as they share a root word—and also directly describes the major center of commerce. Emporium is also defined as the anatomical center of brain activity where all major nerves and nervous sensations meet. Thus, Mr. Spectator locates London as the brain of the Empire, with all colonies simultaneously powering and being empowered by the metropole. By centering the Royal-Exchange as the brain, Mr. Spectator implicitly invokes a bodily understanding of the early eighteenth century and its colonial holdings. Mr. Spectator defines his Englishness through and against the foreign business, as he locates the vanity of being an Englishman within watching his countrymen consult with foreigners.

Mr. Spectator continues to describe the motley array of nationalities found within the Royal Exchange. The abundant appearance of country names on the page creates a visual cacophony of identity, paralleled with the embodied diversity Mr. Spectator clearly

[44] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 69 (London, 1712), 391.

observes. One such paragraph begins "NATURE seems to have taken a particular Care to disseminate her Blessings among the different Regions of the World, with an Eye to this mutual Intercourse and Traffick among Mankind, that the Natives of the several Parts of the Globe might have a kind of Dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common Interest.[45]" "Traffick" here becomes a loaded term, as the "mutual Intercourse," or equity in trading partners, is set apart from the "Traffick among Mankind," which describes an inequitable "Traffick"—the human traffic of enslaved peoples. Mr. Spectator stands in for the authors of *The Spectator*, Richard Steele and Joseph Addison. Steele inherits a sugar plantation in 1705, making Steele's "Interest" in human "Traffick" personal.[46] Likewise, Addison becomes a commissioner of trade and plantations in 1716.[47] The paragraph continues to describe goods being the product of disparate geographic spaces, such as "The Infusion of a *China* Plant" being "sweetned with the Pith of an *Indian* Cane." Finally, the paragraph concludes, "The single Dress of a Woman of Quality is often the Product of an Hundred Climates. The Scarf is sent from the Torrid Zone, and the Tippet from beneath the Pole. The Brocade Petticoat rises out of the Mines of *Peru*, and the Diamond Necklace out of the Bowels of *Indostan*."[48] The "Woman of Quality" and her singular dress thusly stands in for this great confusion of nationalities and trade. Erin Mackie calls such a figure "a stylized, harmonious composite of imperial booty, the fashionable woman depicted here approaches a type of Britannia

[45] Addison and Steele, *Spectator*, 393.
[46] Calhoun Winton, "Steele, Sir Richard (bap. 1672, d. 1729), writer and politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2005.
[47] Pat Rogers, "Addison, Joseph (1672–1719), writer and politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (2015).
[48] Addison and Steele, *Spectator*, 394.

figure, an allegory of harmonious empire."[49] Women's fashion and female bodies represent domesticity; thus their adornment with foreign goods is crucial when considering changes in the marketplace during the rise of British imperialism and merchant class.

The Royal Exchange's location on Threadneedle Street illustrates the textile market's importance on British domestic trade. The history of the British-centered Royal Exchange site begins with textiles, specifically the Merchant Taylors. Threadneedle Street was originally Three Needle Street, named such due to the three needles in the arms of the Merchant Tailors' Company.[50] The Merchant Taylors made "both men's and women's apparel, soldiers' quilted surcoats, the padded lining of armour, and probably the trappings of war-horses" and eventually played major financial roles in empirical conquests, the English Civil War, and even lent their halls to the East India Company meeting of 1702.[51] More importantly, as seen in the site of Threadneedle Street, textiles again stand at the center of global marketplace. Each of the locations of the woman's dress represents another holding of British economic "Interest," such as the Scarf sent from the "Torrid Zone," a location of British colonial holdings. The "Brocade Petticoat" rising from the "Mines of *Peru*" describes the embroidery thread being made of silver from Peru. A single dress in a single woman of quality's wardrobe, then, stands in for the first truly global network of trade, beginning with the newly discovered sea routes of the

[49] Erin Mackie, *Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in* The Tatler *and* The Spectator*: Market à la Mode*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 43.
[50] Emma Endres, "Street Names and Shop Signs of Old London," *The Catholic World, A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science 1865-1906*, vol. 70, issue 419, (New York, 1900), 576.
[51] Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). Lemire offers a fulsome discussion on the consumer clothing trade's involvement with the British military, overseas trading companies, and colonial adventurers.

fifteenth century and evolving into a chinoiserie, an incorporation of foreign motifs that created a visual language of English domestic textile design.

Apprehension about foreignness within the British metropole also reflects the uneasiness surrounding the rise of the middling class due to nascent colonial efforts. In *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, Melinda Watts writes, "as early as 1681 anxiety about the popularity of imported textiles was aimed specifically at their use in dress that crossed social strata."[52] The "Woman of Quality" praised by Mr. Spectator as an icon of global trade was also viewed, then, as an object of cultural anxiety, especially as the rising merchant class seemed to suggest a "Woman of Quality" need not be born so. The "calico crisis" of 1719-21 targeted women's, and particularly female domestic servants', consumption of foreign goods within the domestic marketplace.[53] The original Calico Act prohibited the sale of imported foreign textiles as well as the reproduction of foreign patterns on domestic fabric. Women were targeted as the primary consumers of such goods, and a flurry of pamphlets targeted female servants, in particular, as breaking the social code by not wearing British produced wool. Women's fashion and women's bodies became the battleground for the unease of foreign influence and class mobility within the shifting British metropole. Not only was the "single Dress of a Woman of Quality" the "product of an Hundred Climates" but also the dress literally represented a convoluted, messy product of a hundred political climates.

---

[52] Melinda Watts, "'Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East," *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[53] For more on the female marketplace of calicoes, see Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12-29 and Chloe Wigston Smith "'Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2007): 29-55.

As Mr. Spectator defined his British identity against the foreign presence in the Royal Exchange, early eighteenth-century understanding of British socio-political identity was shaped through the growing presence of foreign identities and goods within the metropole. Further, non-European, or Orientalized, Othering also relied upon the feminization of such non-British entities. If the British Royal Exchange was the brain of the domestic marketplace, the Woman of Quality's dress represents foreign textile goods and the body of the British Empire. The imported foreign goods conflated with expectations of gender; in other words, as women symbolized the domestic sphere, the consumption and use of the global textile trade symbolically attached itself with femininity, thusly threatening the domestic English economy. Patriarchal language dominated the early eighteenth-century marketplace. Drawing on such gendered ideology, mercantilists observed the flood of foreign goods within the British domestic marketplace as a failure of the crown to live up to its patriarchal duty. David Kuchta notes, "foreign luxuries were not only exotic and excessive, they were enervating and effeminate, bringing in idleness, supineness, and corruption."[54] The feminization of Orientalized goods doubly Othered both women and non-British people. The influx of foreign goods, then, became a failure of the English elites to control production and consumption of goods—and therefore losing the cultural hegemony of patriarchal British identity. Foreign goods and women's consumption and reproduction of such goods was an attack on masculinity as a cultural norm.

Early eighteenth-century British cultural constructions of femininity relied upon the image of needlework as a signal of female virtue. Women's involvement with the

[54] David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 73.

actual textile economic marketplace complicated the aesthetic ideal of women's needlework. English women did not merely abstractly represent the global textile network—women consumed textile, reproduced foreign patterns, and travelled along these same sea routes. As with the masculine merchant class, women were able to experience a type of class mobility through foreign goods and the domestic textile marketplace. "Women's Work," or needlework, means at once the finished embroidery project made by all classes of women as well as an economic venture, a way in which women may also partake in the "common Interest." Female participation in both the text and textile global economy highlights the slippery identifying categories of nationality, gender, class in early eighteenth-century England. Nascent British Imperialism and rise of the middle class, the very driving force for textile trade, coincided with the explosion of print culture. Women's work as authors and embroiderers capitalized on both the domestic print and trade marketplace, often eliding the categories of text and textile. Further, the global movement of goods paralleled the global movement of people, as seen in both the enslaved human cargo that was transported on the same ships that carried texts/textile commodities and the European actors of imperialism. Finally, just as eighteenth-century texts depict textiles, textiles serve as texts. Embroidered Orientalized figures and symbols created a visual language in which a young woman could become literate.

The Domestic Text/Textile Marketplace

Early eighteenth-century women's actualized involvement in the British textile marketplace complicated popular representations of women's textile work as inherently

virtuousness. Foreign textile products were feminized within the domestic marketplace and portrayed as perilous to the British economy. These foreign products were fetishized in similar ways to promiscuously dangerous women, as female sexual agency was often viewed as a threat to masculinity. The calico crisis of the early eighteenth century best demonstrates the reality of women as producers and consumers of textile goods and the dangerous female sexuality attached to such imports. In 1700 Parliament passed a ban prohibiting the use of importation and reproduction of cotton fabrics of Persian, Chinese, or East Indian calicoes or cotton fabrics in an attempt to strengthen English wool production, which persisted until the lift of the ban in 1774.[55] Domestic textile production in Spitalfields created floral patterns woven into the fabric themselves, often made of silk and called brocade or damask.[56] Calico patterns, on the other hand, used the same technology of printed text. Calico relied upon wood blocks to print patterns on white cotton or linen cloth.

Domestic wool production symbolized patriarchal ideals and masculinity. Critics of calico consumption targeted women as the primary consumers of calicoes. Kuchta shows the seventeenth-century mercantilists and clothiers' nationalistic conception of a "new image of the aristocratic gentleman" as "wearing English wool, eating English food, and drinking English ales."[57] The production of masculinized English wool then became part of the national identity, effectively gendering the national economy. Women's consumption of foreign luxury goods represented a crisis of this masculine national

[55] For the impact of such legislation and restrictions on imports, see Watts, "Whims and Fancy," 88. Also see Jonathan Eacott, "Making an Imperial Compromise: The Calico Acts, the Atlantic Colonies, and the Structure of the British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 4 (2012): 731-62.
[56] Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 86.
[57] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit*, 75.

identity. Thus, women's consumer practices loomed larger than merely an economic disturbance; women wearers of calicoes threatened the very patriarchal fabric of eighteenth-century England.

The original Calico Act prohibited the sale of these imported and reproduction foreign textiles in England, excepting importation from the British Atlantic colonies. This exception caused the weavers to riot in 1719, the violence directed to the site of the female body. On July 8th, 1719, John Humphrys, Sam Bains, George Picket, Thomas Hardy, and Charles Child were indicted for "a Riot and Assaulting divers Women, and tearing their Gowns made of Callicoe."[58] The following year Dorothy Orwell testified against a group of Spitalfield weavers who assaulted her on the highway, "tearing and cutting her Callicoe Gown and Petticoat... left her naked in the Field... in such a Fright that she did not know them again."[59] In both court cases, the clothes enshrouding women's bodies became the target of violence due to their consumption of foreign goods. Further, the victims of the calico riot and Dorothy Orwell were left stripped of their clothing and naked in public. This public nudity, though caused by the rioting weavers, reified the sexualization of textile foreign goods.

Critics described calico as being thinner than domestic made wool and silk, ascribing the female consumers and wearers of calico dresses sexual promiscuity.[60] "The Spittle-Fields Ballad: or, the Weavers Complaint against the Callico Madams" defends

[58] Trial of John Humphreys, Sam Bains, George Picket, Tho[mas] Hardy, Charles Child, July 8, 1719, ref. no. t17190708-56, in Hitchcock et al., *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, (London) Post-Boy, June 11–13, 1719, 1

[59] Trial of Peter Cornelius, July 12th, 1720, ref. no. t17200712-28, in Hitchcock et al., *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, (London) Post-Boy, July 1720, 1.

[60] Smith, "'Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis," 33.

the actions of the rioting weavers stating, that the weavers, who have "run mad" are "reduc'd to such wretched Conditions" in saying:

> Then well may they tare
> What our Ladies now wear,
> And as Foes to their Country upbraid 'em,
> Till none shall be thought
> A more scandalous Slut
> Than a taudry Callico Madam.[61]

Female consumers of calicoes are sexualized as "scandalous Slut[s]" or "Callico Madam[s]." The ballad blames the female victims of calico riots for the violence perpetrated against them by the weavers. The ballad suggests women first "reduc'd" the male weavers to their "wretched Conditions" and then incited the weavers to "tare" their calico clothes off. Further, the ballad creates a loop of sexual violence, as the weavers tear the calicoes off women leaving them naked, as with Dorothy Orwell, until all women in calicoes are deemed "taudry Callico Madam[s]" because of the nudity and sexual violence. In effect, the ballad advocates that female victims of calico riots were asking for the violence because of the sexual suggestion of their outfits. The ballad's argument is circular, as the women being left nude, and its advocacy within the ballad justifies the enacted sexual violence.

As the textile marketplace witnessed a rise in foreign goods, the early eighteenth-century British print marketplace was also flush with Orientalized narratives. The lucrative venture of early modern print travel narratives established a precedent for

[61] "*The* Spittle-Fields *Ballad*: or, the *Weavers Complaint against the Callico Madams*," in *The Northern Cuckold, or the Garden House Intrigue*, ed. Edward Ward (London, 1721), stanza III, ll. 1-12.

financial success. Richard Hakluyt published as an editor and translator more than twenty-five travel books, including an anthology of travel narratives entitled *The principall navigations, voiages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or over-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth. Principall navigations* appeared in two editions within Hakluyt's life, first published in 1589 and then expanded into three volumes between 1589-1600.[62] Hakluyt's *Principall navigations* continued to be reprinted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along with countless similar travel narratives. Hakluyt's anthology of travel narratives quite literally stitches together various nations into one textual community. The gathering of nations, both the material gathering of quires and the figurative gathering of stories, creates a new united space, free of the restrictions of geographic and temporal boundaries—as the narratives within the collection. Readers within the metropole then participate in the act of nation building and colonization through a shared imaginative experience.

Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) participated in this imagined global community as both a reader and writer of fiction travel narratives. Inspired by Hakluyt and Hakluyt's contemporary Sir Walter Raleigh, Defoe located the solution to early eighteenth-century England's economic problems in the expansion of colonization and global trade. Paula Backscheider writes, "as early as the War of Spanish Succession, Defoe argued tirelessly for increased colonization in the Americas and had praised the profits of the African trade, but in the last ten years of his life, these economic arguments become increasingly developed, sustained, and imaginative."[63] These arguments began as pamphlets, often

[62] Anthony Payne, "Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616), geographer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006.
[63] Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 114.

pamphlets responding to the Calico Acts as counter to English progress. Defoe used the success of geographic and cultural others in textual works to defend imports of foreign textile goods within the domestic marketplace.

Scenes of women's textile work in texts highlight the possibility of class and geographical movement through the global textile trade. Daniel Defoe's popular novel *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (1722) begins with the orphaned Moll Flanders recounting the tale of her mother "convicted of Felony for a petty Theft, scarce worth naming, *viz.* borrowing three Pieces of fine *Holland*, of a certain Draper in *Cheap-side.*"[64] Moll's mother "pleaded her Belly," thus evades the Old Bailey prison and instead is sentenced to "being Transported to the Plantations."[65] Moll's mother's crime, stealing Holland cloth from "a certain Draper," or textile manufacturer, reminds the eighteenth-century audience of the ban on sale and reproduction of foreign textiles within London. The punishment, transportation to the colonial American plantations, also reminds Defoe's audience of the colony's exception from the ban. Through the arrest's connection with textile commodities, Moll's mother's transportation sentence establishes this global trade network of textile and human cargo. Defoe is no stranger to the textile riots and restrictions of the Calico Acts, writing many pamphlets in support of global trade and even trading calico.[66] In 1719 he published a pamphlet entitled *A Further Examination of the Weavers Pretences*, in which Defoe defends there being "as great a want of Wooll as of Work" and combats the rumor that he is "a Mercenary employ'd by the *Drapers* and *East-India* Jobbers".[67] The charge against Defoe

[64] Daniel Defoe. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 2.
[65] Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders*, 2-3.
[66] Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation*,112.
[67] Daniel Defoe, *A Further Examination of the Weavers Pretences*, (London, 1719), 7.

as an "*East-India[n]* Jobber," or a person who receives bribes from textile manufacturers and East Indies traders, equates him to Moll Flanders' mother—though he has the cultural capital to defy such claims before being transported.

The domestic marketplace presents very little opportunity for class mobility for women, unlike the perceived sumptuousness of foreign luxury textiles. Moll is "put to Nurse" by a woman who "was indeed Poor, but had been in better Circumstances, and who got a little Livelihood by taking such as I was suppos'd to be" until they were at an age "which it might be suppos'd they might go to Service."[68] As Moll neared eight-years old, the time she go to service, Moll becomes terrified and asks her "Motherly Nurse" if instead if she "could get [her] Living without going to Service" as the woman "had Taught [Moll] to Work with [her] Needle, and Spin Worsted, which is the chief Trade of that City."[69] The city is likely Spitalfields. Spitalfields is culturally recognizeable as a city representing the binary opposites about labor and economic success. For instance, William Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* series depicts "Spittel Fields" in 1747 as a site of capitalistic success or failure.[70] The options available to Moll within the domestic textile trade are domestic service or becoming a weaver herself—the same weavers described in "The Spittle-Fields Ballad" as "reduc'd to such wretched Conditions."

Moll and her fellow charges learn "to Work," or needlework, in anticipation of service, a practice common in during the underclass population growth and subsequent creation of charity schools.[71] Preceding the influx of British charity schools, needlecrafts

[68] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 4.
[69] Defoe, *Moll Flanders,* 4-5.
[70] For more on Hogarth and Spitalfields, see Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World*, 124-139.
[71] Exhibition, *Sampled Lives: Samples from the Fitzwilliam Museum,* Fitzwilliam Museum, May 6, 2018-January 13, 2019.

were part of female education, beginning with a sampler, then pictorial embroidery, culminating in the final product of a worked cabinet or casket.[72] However, samplers that would be made by Moll and seen in the following 1723 sampler, Figure 6, were used as a type of resume for domestic service. The embroidery sampler housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum showcases three types of literacy to a potential employer: the literacy of the written word, religious and moral literacy, and the literacy of necessary embroidery stitches. Working the sampler's transcription of the Ten Commandments may be the only text the young woman learns to read, thus inculcating her solely with the Christian religious beliefs. A potential employer would perhaps find the display of moral standards appealing, yet a domestic servant's literacy in needlework stitches would be most critical to job performance. The sampler thus demonstrates knowledge of different types of stitches and common design elements. Through these components the potential domestic servant displays her ability to mend clothing and soft furnishings as well as assist in the noblewoman's leisure decorative embroidery.

[72] Kim Ivey (Senior Curator of Textiles of Colonial Williamsburg), in discussion with the author, December 5, 2018. See also Epstein, *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*, 4-29.

Figure 6 Decalogue sampler, England, 1723 Inscribed 'Barberah Iones,' Fitzwilliam Museum, T.125-1928, 1723

Moll's class aspirations continue to highlight the lack of mobility typically within the domestic textile eighteenth-century British marketplace. Moll is able to postpone service through an emotional appeal to her Motherly Nurse. However, Moll continues to be inconsolable prompting the Motherly Nurse to ask, "is the Girl Mad? what would you be a Gentlewoman?"[73] Moll asserts that she does mean to be a Gentlewoman, thus beginning a running joke of Moll as the "little Gentlewoman." Moll's class mobility

[73] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 6.

aspirations cast her as a spectacle to upper-class visitors of the charity school. When the Motherly Nurse asks "Why, what can you Earn [...] what can you get a Day at your Work?" Moll responds, "Three Pence [...] when I Spin, and Four Pence when I Work plain Work."[74] This glimpse offers insight into what could be made from professional needlework made by female hands. However, the economic reality of such an income does not provide for the lifestyle of the upper-class, as Motherly Nurse notes, "that will not keep you and buy you Cloaths too" nor can "Work[ing] harder" afford the little Gentlewoman "in Victuals."[75] The joke of Moll as a gentlewoman lies in her lack of understanding about class mobility, particularly that despite the rise of the merchant class, one cannot work their way to becoming a gentlewoman—precisely because the expectation of a gentlewoman is to not work.

Moll does at last succeed in minimal class mobility. Moll's position as spectacle does serve as a form of self-marketing. Moll as "the little Gentlewoman" results in frequent visits of the lady "Mrs *Mayoress*" and her two daughters, which generates actual capital gain for Moll. Moll notes, "I stood up, made a Court'sy, and [Mrs Mayoress] took my Work out of my Hand, look'd on it, and said it was very well; then she look'd upon one of my Hands, nay, she may come to be a Gentlewoman, *says she*, for ought I know; she has a Lady's Hand I assure you."[76] Upon this remark, Mrs Mayoress gives a shilling to Moll, followed by her two daughters also giving Moll money. Though samplers often served as professional recommendations for young girls going to service, the mistress

[74] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 6.
[75] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 6.
[76] Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 7.

was the only household member expected to embroider pictorials for leisure.[77] A domestic servant would be expected to mend clothing and sometimes help in simple embroidery. Thus, Moll's well-worked embroidery combines with her "Lady's Hand" and self-marketing to lift her out of service. When called a second time "to go out to Service," Moll had become "so good a Workwoman" that, with the benefit of the Ladies visiting tips, Moll earns enough to avoid domestic servitude. Though not a traditional Gentlewoman, Moll at least evades service.

The calico pamphlets ignored women's participation in the production of textile goods within the English eighteenth-century marketplace. Smith writes, "the rhetoric of pro-wool camp erased working women's contributions to the textile industry while at the same time reflecting wider perceptions of female consumption as symbolically emasculating men."[78] Male professionalization of embroidery complicates the economic reality for Moll and other female embroiderers. Female embroiderers generally sold appliques or slips, which were ready-made pieces that someone could buy to attach to a backing with other slips. Finished professional embroidery often came from men within the needlework trade.[79] By the end of the seventeenth century in London, the most prominent trade for women was domestic service, followed by the manufacture and mending of clothing. Lemire describes women's employment within the needlework trade as a means to exploit women as "invaluable cheap labour, employable at a fraction of male wages."[80] Therefore, the image of the "Calico Madam" is doubly incorrect. Women did, in fact, work in textile productions, not merely consume textile goods. Further, the

[77] Exhibition, *Sampled Lives: Samples from the Fitzwilliam Museum,* Fitzwilliam Museum, May 6, 2018-January 13, 2019.
[78] Smith, "'Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis," 36.
[79] Epstein, *British Embroidery,* 49-62. Also see Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* 52.
[80] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* 50.

wages of women within such fields were worse than those male weavers the "Spittle-Fields Ballad" described as "reduc'd to such wretched Conditions" by women's consumption.

Global Movement of People and Goods

Despite the early eighteenth-century British concern for imported textiles threatening the domestic economy, clothing featured as a staple export in the global trading network. Beverly Lemire writes, "supplies of garments, in addition to the copious quantities of shoes, hosiery and hats, were basic exports from the seventeenth-century onwards and Bristol shipping records reflect this pattern."[81] Bristol was also a primary shipping port for enslaved people and the growing captive population also resulted in the exportation of ready-made clothing.[82] Cultural contact had never before been so accessible, whether with non-Europeans in the metropole, British travel, imported goods, or Orientalized narratives. Just as foreign textiles and texts were available within the British metropole, British people moved with the exported goods into Othered geographic spaces. The feminization of foreign goods within the domestic space doubly Others non-European people and women. In such, early eighteenth-century women's own engagement with foreign luxury items imagines agency outside of imperialistic, patriarchal England.

Early eighteenth-century women, such as author Penelope Aubin (1679-1738), held lived connections to global movement beyond abstracted interactions with foreign

[81] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* 33.
[82] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* 33.

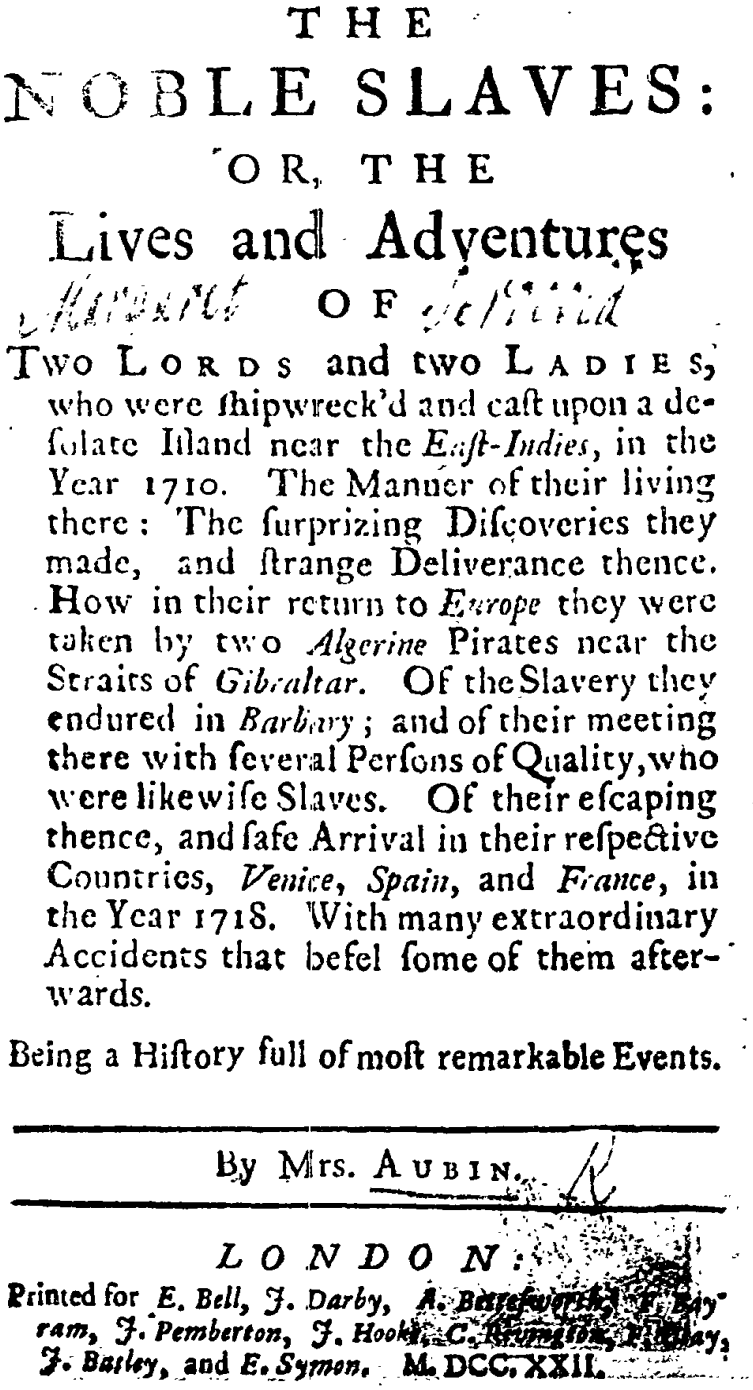
goods and Orientalized narratives. Recent scholarship on Aubin reveals a close connection with merchant trade, sea travel, and even piracy.[83] Records indicate Penelope Aubin married Captain Abraham Aubin in 1696 against her family's wishes and effectively disinheriting herself. Captain Abraham Aubin was employed in military service, however by 1728 he dropped the "Captain" and began to describe himself as a "Gentleman."[84] Additionally, Aubin's brother-in-law, David Aubin, writes to Abraham from Barbadoes detailing a pirate attack. The attack occured in 1720 while David's ship was anchored in "Domenico" ending with David, his ship, and his crewmates being taken by the pirates to "Martinico."[85] Aubin repurposes David's account of the attack in her 1723 novel *The Life of Charlotta Du Pont* (1723) as well as *The Noble Slaves* (1722). In fact, Debbie Welham points out that David Aubin's initial letter to the Aubin family is directly repurposed as lines of *The Noble Slaves*. David's letter reads "I persieved a large sloop to leeward of us with French colours flying to windward [...] the saide sloop having passed within a halfgun shot of us [...] when on a sudden she tacked and bore down upon me" becomes "When a ship coming up our ship's crew haled her. She soon came near, and lay by, hoisting French Colous [...]. The Captain wonder'd the boat stayed, but at lastseeing the ship bear up to us, he suspected the truth."[86] Through identifying a direct source for Aubin's novels, Welham pulls into question the possibility that more of

[83] See Debbie Welham, "The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31, no. 1 (March 2008): 63-76 and Joel Baer, "Penelope Aubin and the Pirates of Madagascar: Biographical Notes and Documents," in *Eighteenth Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture,* ed. Linda Troost (New York: AMS Press, 2001). For an early biographical account of Penelope Aubin, see William H. McBurney, "Mrs. Penelope Aubin and the Early Eighteenth-Century Novel," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 20, no. 3 (1957): 245–67. Additionally, scholars such as Sarah Prescott, Chris Mounsey, and Aparna Gollapudi have performed queer and feminist readings of Penelope Aubin's work, thus rescuing Aubin's literary reputation as a mere moralistic writer.
[84] Welham, "The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin," 69.
[85] Welham, "The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin," 71-72.
[86] Welham, "The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin," 72

Aubin's work could come from such intimate accounts—or even firsthand experience. All of Aubin's novels prominently feature global movement of its characters.

Penelope Aubin's first novel, *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil And his Family* (1721), creates a community of readers between her writing and Daniel Defoe's. *Count de Vinevil*'s preface reads, "As for the Truth of what this Narrative contains, since *Robinson Cruso* has been so well receiv'd, which is more improbable, I know no reason why this should be thought a Fiction."[87] As Hakluyt bound together anthologies of travel narratives, Aubin's outsider status as a female author provides a metaphorical connection between Defoe's fictional travel accounts and her own. Geographical identity is even more slippery in Penelope Aubin's novels than Mr. Spectator's account of the Royal Exchange. The jumble of italicized national identities, as seen on Spectator no. 69, creates a visual sensation that the different nations and national identities are simultaneously distinct and slippery. The extended title of *Noble Slaves* (1722), for instance, appears:

[87] Penelople Aubin, *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and His Family*, (London, 1721), 6



THE

NOBLE SLAVES:

OR, THE

Lives and Adventures

OF

TWO LORDS and two LADIES, who were ſhipwreck'd and caſt upon a deſolate Iſland near the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Year 1710. The Manner of their living there: The ſurprizing Diſcoveries they made, and ſtrange Deliverance thence. How in their return to *Europe* they were taken by two *Algerine* Pirates near the Straits of *Gibraltar*. Of the Slavery they endured in *Barbary*; and of their meeting there with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were likewiſe Slaves. Of their eſcaping thence, and ſafe Arrival in their reſpective Countries, *Venice*, *Spain*, and *France*, in the Year 1718. With many extraordinary Accidents that befel ſome of them afterwards.

Being a Hiſtory full of moſt remarkable Events.

By Mrs. AUBIN.

LONDON:

Printed for E. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Bayram, J. Pemberton, J. Hooke, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, and E. Symon. M. DCC. XXII.

Figure 7 Image of *Noble Slaves* title page from *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*

Early eighteenth-century female authors, such as Penelope Aubin, align female characters with Oriental others and goods to subvert hegemonic, patriarchal constructions. *The Noble Slaves* follows two European Ladies and two European Lords as they undergo a series of captivities in vast ocean travel. The overarching narrative is constantly interrupted, as the new characters they meet in each geographic location usurp the narrative voice. The title, *The Noble Slaves*, seems to suggest a distinction between European, Christian slavery and the mass enslavement of African people; however, even this distinction does not always hold as many enslaved Africans serve as the rescuers of the European, Christian protagonists from moments of captivity. The Ladies, Teresa and Emilia, encounter the widow-woman, or Saraja, after thwarting an attempt at sexual violence while provisionally enslaved in Algiers. Teresa and Emilia are held captive by a Turkish Selim, who is described as a "Man of excellent Shape and Stature, his Mien great and majestick, his Vest and Tunick were made of Cloth of Gold, his Turbant glitter'd with Jewels, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds, which seem'd to emulate each other; in fine, he was not much above thirty, and was one of the most beautiful and accomplish'd Men of his Nation."[88] The "Shape," "Stature," and "Mien" are vaguely mentioned whereas the Selim's habit—and the commodities attached to his habit—are greatly detailed.

This attention to wearable goods suggests that national identity, or to be an "accomplish'd [Man] of his Nation" are foremost tied to the Selim's participation in the global trade economy. Teresa and Emilia are marked for capture by their own wardrobe, as the overtaking of their ship is described in saying, "the *Turks* guessed by the vast Treasure they found in the Ship, and their Habit, that they were Persons of Quality, and

[88] Penelope Aubin, *The Noble Slaves: Or, the Lives and Adventures of Two Lords and Two Ladies, Who Were Shipwreck'd ... By Mrs. Aubin,* (London, 1722), 45.

therefore fear'd to lose their Ransoms if they kill'd or starved them."[89] Teresa and Emilia's habit both saves them and imprisons them; they are neither "kill'd" nor "starved" due to the visual signaling of class through wardrobe but held captive by the Selim for the ladies' charms. Teresa listens to the Selim's threat of sexual violence against Emilia through a shared wall, a narrative device that mediates the action of the narrative from the reader. Teresa overhears the Selim urge "Come, come, trifle not with me; I'm resolved to possess you, and will not be deny'd" to which Emilia responds, "Villain, I fear you not, I'll sacrificeyou to preserve my Vertue; die Infidel, and tell your blasphemous Prophet, when you come to Hell, a Christian spilt your Blood."[90] Emilia reverses the sexual violence by using the Selim's dagger against him. Upon rushing into Teresa's chamber, Teresa notes Emilia "had *Selim's* Habit on, and in her Hand a Woman-Slave."[91] Through donning the Selim's garb, Emilia cross-dresses into a different gender, class, and national identity, seemingly appropriating the power of "accomplish'd Men of his Nation." Emilia frees the "Blackamore" woman slave, and another "fair Slave" simultaneously being subjected to a "Renegado['s]" sexual violence through murdering him too.

Emilia leads all the female captives to safety where a young man in "the Habit of a Slave" leads Emilia and Teresa to the Widow-Woman's house, to whom he is a servant. The young man recounts, "I am Servant to a Widow-Woman who lives not far from this Place, to whose Husband it was my good Fortune to be sold [...] She gets her living, and mine, by making Turbants and Embroidery, which I carry home to our Customers, and the Shops."[92] The Widow-Woman, Saraja, likely inherited the Servant and the textile

[89] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 44.
[90] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 48.
[91] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 48.
[92] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 50-51.

business from her husband. The male servant works as a draper, or middleman, for the widow's embroidery trade—a mutually beneficial arrangement as his male status potentially allowed the textiles to be sold for more money, thus "live very comfortably."[93] Lemire writes, "even women with an advantageous marriage in the [needlework] trade found themselves pushed into sweated work upon widowhood. Informal training might come through a husband's craft, but skill acquisition was unlikely to be systematic and widowhood brought no guarantee of security, even in a trade so closely associated with female skills."[94] Aubin imagines the non-European widow and the feminine space of her house as a retreat. Within the British domestic marketplace, widow-women still face economic obscurity. As seen in the calico riots, women producing and consuming textiles that reproduce foreign patterns are often subject to violence. Textile goods manufactured by the widow, Teresa, and Emilia could have been exported to England. If Teresa and Emilia manufactured such goods within England, however, they might be subject to domestic violence. The women "live very comfortably" due solely to being outside of patriarchal England.

The intersections of class, culture, and gender within this scene illuminate the confusion of hierarchy; the widow is advantaged as master yet disadvantaged as female. Ultimately, the male servant in his "Habit of a Slave" could obscure the source of the textile goods within the marketplace—that is to say, he could act as servant to a male producer. Emilia undresses from the Selim's habit and the women "immediately cut the Clothes in pieces, which served to make the Caps of the Turbants" as well as repurposing the clothes and jewels into embroidery, "particularly in rich Belts" which were "traded

[93] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 51.
[94] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* 50-51.

with to *Spain* and other parts of *Europe.*"[95] Travel is thus made easier for the textile products than the European ladies. Finally, the Saraja instructs the ladies to "conceal your Quality and Beauty with this homely dressing, and pass for young Maids whom I have bought to assist me in my work" to which Teresa responds, "I will assist you [...] in working with all my Heart; we both know how to use our Needles."[96] As seen with the sampler, the shared female education of all classes of young women benefits the ladies. Teresa and Emilia are able to disguise themselves as female domestic servants precisely because the skillset received by upper-class ladies runs parallel to the work of lower-class female workers.

The impression produced from the litany of country names highlights a British familiarity with a great array of countries, largely shaped by global trade. However, within the text, gaps of geographical knowledge become apparent. For instance, Teresa's narrative begins in Mexico, where, deciding to "take the Air in a Pleasure-Boat" Teresa and her "*Blackmore* Slave" are shipwrecked and carried by current to an uninhabited island.[97] Here, the pair meet a "poor *Indian* who was a Christian, converted with his Family by the Missionaries in *Japan*, and shipwrecked here as he was going with Goods for the Merchants to *China*, with a small Bark which he was then Owner of; he and the *Moor* went daily out to fish, hoping to get sight of some Ship, or Bark, that would carry them to *Japan,* or *Mexico*."[98] That such varied nation markers describe one person shows the confusion of geographic identity, distance, and language. The eighteenth-century British imagination of Othered national identities does not merely stem from participation

[95] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 52.
[96] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 52.
[97] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 3.
[98] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 4.

in trade routes, but also the travel narratives that preceded such fiction. The Hakluyt anthology provides accessibility of diverse geographical locations bound together within one tome. Hakluyt's anthology begins with a table of contents grouping the narratives together by region. Aubin, and similar early eighteenth-century travel fiction writers, condense the individuated texts of Hakluyt into one work, or even one sentence as seen above.

Even British women bound to the metropole could speculatively participate in the nascent imperialistic remapping of the world, whether through text or textile. A growing female readership coincided with lower prices of mass-produced print, meaning women readers could imaginatively travel through fiction. Embroidery also provided a means to explore the world outside of England. Embroidery often reflected Orientalized preoccupations, as seen in the Oriental themed popularity of calico and chinoiserie. Amateur embroidered pictorials likewise reflected global fixations. The raised work picture, "Harmony and the Four Continents," Figure 8, represents some of the repeated images depicting Transcontinental themes. Created in England between 1660-1675, Harmony stands at the center.[99] The upper right depicts America, wears feathers and holds a bow and quiver. Beneath America is Asia, swinging a censer or thurible—a vessel in which incense is burnt. To Asia's left is Europe. Europe holds a scepter in one hand and a book in the other, illustrating the maker's belief that Europe rules over all of the continents. The book also privileges the written word even within a pictorial where Harmony, often equated with the sense of hearing, rules. Finally, the upper left corner features Africa with a globe and sprig of sweet balsam. Africa's globe defines Africa only within global trade, not as an individual global power. The globe suggests Africa is only

[99] Epstein, *British Embroidery,* 23

important to the creator in what it offers to the other continents, deeply Othering the continent.

The figures within the embroidered pictorial are all rendered white, regardless of country. Harmony presiding over the continents implies that the people of each continent have been blanched to create a visual harmony that privileges European whiteness. Hakluyt anthologies and eighteenth-century British fiction writers narrate and collect non-European stories with white voices. The effect of the white figures and white voices reinforces British imperialism. The text and textile marketplace financially benefit from Orientalized narrative, however, the authors and embroiderers uphold nascent white supremacy. Even Defoe's defense of calicoes favors global trade to benefit the British domestic marketplace.[100] Likewise, the white representations of the four continents in Figure 8 imagine global harmony only through sustaining British colonization and control.

[100] Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, 112-3.

Figure 8 Raised Needlework Pictorial, England, 1650-1675, Artist Unknown, Colonial Williamsburg, Acc. No. 1962-112

The movement of people was, of course, not always voluntary. Eighteenth-century textile goods were often shipped with human cargo. David Wheat shows that as early as 1574, a ship leaving the port of Buguendo was stopped for inspection near Santo Domingo. The ship's cargo was noted as containing "cloth, porcelain, beeswax, soap, and ivory, the San Jorge was found to be carrying nearly two hundred African captives and a number of passengers. Its crew members included several free people of color and enslaved mariners"[101] *Noble Slaves* contrasts the image of San Jorge's cargo, as the ship that initially arrives in the Indies to take the Ladies and Lords off the island "arrived from

[101] David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016),105.

Japan bring much Goods, as rich Persia Silks, Cotton, Linen, Spices, Fruit, Sugar, Tea, Chocolate, Liquors, lie Fowls of several kinds for breed, tame Beasts, and all things wanting."[102] The reveal of the two hundred African captives intermixed with the trade commodities construes a shocking image; the litany of consumer goods at the beginning of the sentence creates a sense of surprise, just as the inspector might be surprised, to find the two hundred African captives. The ship that the Ladies and Lords board presents a similar inventory of foreign consumer goods, though enslaved Africans are either not present as cargo or the text purposefully conceals their presence. There is a high likelihood that the crew included enslaved Africans or free people of color, as seen in the San Jorge. The two lists in tandem illuminate just how common it was to ship textile goods in the same boat as enslaved humans, both lists feature various cloth goods among the commodities.

Noble Slaves only sometimes notes the presence of enslaved Africans, such as the enslaved person initially shipwrecked with Teresa or the enslaved women Emilia rescues in Algiers. *Noble Slaves* even situates itself within the Transatlantic slavery. Chapter I situates the text as a found narrative of a "French *West-India* Captain just return'd from the Coast of *Barbary*, having brought thence some Ladies and Gentleman, who had been Captives in those Parts, the History of whose Adventures there are most surprizing, I thought it well worth presenting to the Publick."[103] The opening of the novel thus presents two juxtaposing forms of slavery. The West-Indies and Coast of Barbary signal to the eighteenth-century reader the Transatlantic enslavement of African people, as the Coast of Barbary was a huge port for the Transatlantic slave trade and the West-Indies

[102] Aubin, *Noble Slaves,* 39.
[103] Aubin, *Noble Slaves*, 1.

consisted of the plantations that exploited enslaved labor. Yet, the title *Noble Slaves* refers instead to the captivity of the "Ladies and Gentleman." The enslaved "*Blackmoor*" characters appear only in relation to or in service to the European *Noble Slaves.* The modifier of "noble" to the titular Christian, European slaves presents a provisional slavery. The embedded captivity narratives within the overarching narrative at once hold the reader captive—as each captivity ends a new one begins—and cast enslavement as a temporary condition.

Textiles as Texts

Eighteenth-century texts and textiles reproduced Orientalized narratives creating a trope or pattern of such images. Pattern means both example and copy. Patterns were created and copied for embroidered designs, printed fabrics, and any recurring designs. Pattern also means repeating any habit. Orientalized narratives were reproduced within eighteenth-century travel fiction, creating a textual pattern. In both textile patterns and textual patterns, the actualized voice of the cultural/geographical Other is left as a trace within British authored texts and textiles. The pattern of cultural and geographical Others created by white voices further complicates the tension between foreign goods in the domestic marketplace. The Calico Acts, for instance, targeted British reproductions of foreign textiles in addition to the actual imports. Therefore the trace created by pattern repetition endangered the domestic aesthetic just as much as the foreign influence.

The shared technology of printed text and textile work elided the separation of such categories. Calico, for instance, depended upon the same wood block's of printed engravings. Early embroidery pattern books relied upon such engravings. Even without

access to such pattern books, early eighteenth-century embroidery artists copied the designs of type ornaments within printed texts. Type ornaments are the decorative elements on the borders of pages of printed books, often marking divisions in the writing in tandem with chapter headings; ornamentation was used as early as the sixteenth-century and aptly titled "printers' lace."[104] Europeanized designs of printers' lace were patterns found in printed texts from Islamic countries as early as the twelfth-century. These designs were referred to as "rebeske" or "branched work" from the original "arabesque" style.[105] The rebeske "damask ware" of British domestic textile woven patterns was first introduced in the fifteenth-century when trading between Constantinople and Venice. Spitalfields weavers opposed Indian calicoes in favor of seemingly British damask ware. However, British textile manufacturers failed to recognize the foreign origin of these domestic patterns. The shared technologies of text and textiles allowed the global movement of such patterns to make possible innovations in domestic pattern making.

Through the seventeenth and eighteenth century, pattern books did not have any type of copyright restrictions, so, ironically, the pattern for many early patterns is hard to trace.[106] Susan Frye writes in *Pens and Needles*, "with writing and design moving without copyright interruption from engraved print to cheap printed picture to embroidery, or from cheap picture to painted cloth and wall, narratives from religious history, as well as proverbs, emblems, and images celebrating fertile and productive

[104] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 69.
[105] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 69.
[106] Kim Ivey (Senior Curator of Textiles of Colonial Williamsburg), in discussion with the author, December 5, 2018.

country life, filled domestic interiors."[107] Indeed, the very domesticity and craft of embroidery frees visual narratives from the copyright restrictions of printed texts and even engravings following the Engravers' Copyright Act, or "Hogarth's Act" in 1735.[108] Frye compares such repetitions of embroidered work to the rhetorical strategy *imitato*, where a student learns to compose their own textual work through a process of copying model texts.[109] Texts and textiles both, then, rely upon patterns.

Common subjects of embroidered works—such as stags, lions, unicorns, and parrots—were reproduced so often that no pattern was needed to reproduce these symbolic images. Such iconography was often embroidered and sold as slips, or appliques. Slips are smaller embroidered works sold piecemeal. Individual slips were then sewn together into a larger work creating a cohesive image by a less talented hand. Each symbol carries meaning; for instance, the frequently occurring parrot symbolizes a woman and connotes particularly a woman's love of gossip.[110] Returning to "Harmony and the Four Continents" (Figure 8), the camel and rooster within Asia's corner signify Asia in embroidered language and the horse signifies Europe.[111] These images appeared and reappeared constantly in embroidery, either due to their ability to convey such meaning or to their availability in the textile marketplace as slips. The symbolism thus coupled with the repetition, created and reinforced a visual language of embroidered works. The textile works became their own texts. The patterns of such repeated slips immediately signaled a narrative trope within the textile goods.

---

[107] Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*, 5-6.
[108] Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World*, 89.
[109] Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 3.
[110] Kim Ivey (Senior Curator of Textiles of Colonial Williamsburg), in discussion with the author, December 5, 2018.
[111] Epstein, *British Embroidery*, 23.

Textiles as texts also significantly interacted with the illustrated seventeenth-century travelogues. Watts writes, "these illustrations rarely served as direct sources for textile designs, but during the eighteenth-century they were adapted with great facility and success by artists and designers who made their reputations with publications of chinoiserie designs for the decorative arts, some of which inspired textile designers."[112] Later pattern books, such as *The Florist* published in 1759 (Figure 9), imitate illustrations of the flora from illustrated travelogues, such as Hans Sloane's (1660-1753) 1707 *Voyage to the Islands* (Figure 10). Though not exact reproductions, *The Florist* adapts similar visual elements, such as the incorporation of Sloane's asymmetry and inclusion of roots in his drawings. The original Sloane illustrations mean to create scientific parameters surrounding imperialistic projects.[113]

[112] Watts, "Whims and Fancies'," 95.
[113] See Christopher Ianinni *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

Figure 9 Image from *The Florist,* 23

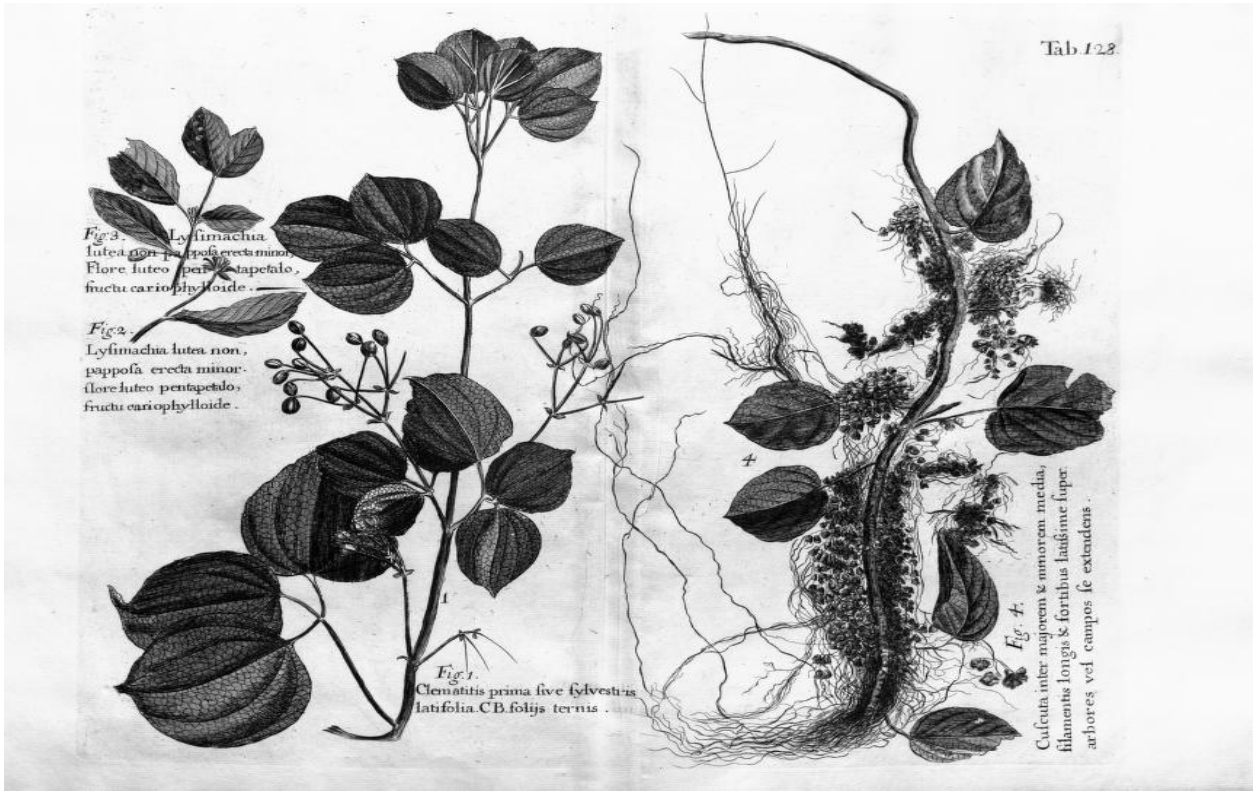


Figure 10 Sloane, Hans, image from *Voyage of the Islands,* 128

The incorporation of travel narratives into the language of textiles provides another means for eighteenth-century British women to participate in remapping the world and also a way to gain entry to the scientific field. The gendered medium of embroidery creates a type of double-speak—where women gain entry to forbidden knowledge spheres through the culturally accepted medium of textile work. Eighteenth-century women did not get to travel as physicians and natural scientists, like Han Sloane. Instead, the travel accounts and scientific illustrations within such travel accounts were translated into embroidery works. Early eighteenth-century British women stitched their way into such global interactions through crafting embroidery works from scientific sources.

Conclusion

Early eighteenth-century British women stitched their way into global agency. Closer inspection of seemingly binary opposites—such as texts and textiles, manufacturers and consumers, or domestic and foreign—reveals the ubiquitous influence each participant had on one another within nascent global exchange. In the beginning, seventeenth-century illustrated travelogues, written by white European male colonists, mediates and obscures the global Other's voice. The illustrations enter into the British cultural imagination through texts, where British women reconstruct the images into textiles. The colonial Other's voice becomes a little more lost with each stage. Finally, like a lost embroidery pattern, originators of ideas and design become impossible to trace, and the reproductions of texts and textiles create a trace.

The relationship between texts, textiles, and nationhood further reveal gendered realities of participation in trade and travel. The phrase "women's work" did not immediately evoke a financial venture, but instead the culturally accepted habit of needlework as a leisure pursuit. A closer look into the textile trade and depictions of textiles within texts reveals a more material reality of women's work. Just as the vaguely Oriental themes within embroidery did not accurately reflect the lived lives of non-European people, the overarching cultural image of a woman "Working" was not adequate in locating embroidery squarely within the nobility. Instead, female workers—of both textile and text—often did so for financial means. The lost embroidery pattern creates a pattern of erasure of material reality.

Chapter Three

"Marks of good Houswifry": Needlework, Virtue, and Gendered Economies

Appearances of needlework within Eliza Haywood's (1692/3-1756) texts respond to the material reality for women in domestic service and public needlework employments. Working-class women entered such trades miles away from their families and were particularly vulnerable to what Bridget Hill calls "sexual exploitation."[114] A public perception of women in textile trades, such as millinery and mantua-making, misrepresented vulnerability into a cultural perception of sexually availability. This conception aligns needlework to sex-work, reinforced by a larger early eighteenth-century cultural understanding—domestic work, such as needlework, represents the private sphere virtuous women are meant to inhabit, whereas a woman entering the public sphere, such as through textile trades, points to a woman embracing sexual vice. A circulatory conversation occurs among William Hogarth's (1697-1764) *Harlot's Progress* (1732), Samuel Richardson's (1689-1761) *Pamela* (1740), and Haywood's *Anti-Pamela* (1741). Each rendition of the sexually available, needleworking woman seeks to amend the previous. That is to say, if *Harlot's Progress* shows a woman welcoming sexual vice, Richardson reforms the woman into preserving her virtue. Haywood then responds to Hogarth, Richardson, and the broad cultural perception of needleworking women as sexual predators instead of prey—and provides women instruction on how to actually act as predator, as seen in *Anti-Pamela*.

[114] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 44.

Texts and visual interpretations preceding Eliza Haywood construct and reinforce a link between needlework and sex work. Eliza Haywood perceives this cultural dichotomy and illustrates the unsustainability of such a binary. Haywood adds the category of public writing to sexualized women's work, as she writes in her Dedication to *The Fair Captive* (1721) that women face a "Tide of *Raillery*... unless they are very excellent *indeed*... when once they exchange the *Needle* for the *Quill*."[115] The tension between the needle and the quill—and the spheres represented respectively—arises throughout much of Haywood's oeuvre. The needle represents the proper sphere of femininity, whereas the quill is the masculinized domain of print culture. Although Haywood abandons the needle for the quill, her penned characters do not. The needlework within Haywood's works, however, demonstrates the lived experience of women entering needlework, and often sex work, trades. In such, appearances of needlework within Haywood's texts illustrate the performative nature of virtue, the economic imperative driving women to domestic or sexual servitude, and the lack of private spaces for women even, and sometimes especially, within the domestic sphere.

Needlework invokes a triple-bind early eighteenth-century English women navigated: virtue/vice, domestic labor/sexual labor, and private/public. Haywood's work, however, complicates and often erodes such binaries. Virtue and vice as categories do not contain intrinsic meaning. Popular texts and illustrations create what it means to be virtuous, feminine, and marriageable. Domestic labor, such as domestic service and textile trades, and sexual labor, or sex work, do contain meanings grounded in reality; however, cultural constructions ascribe other, often opposing, qualities onto such work. Finally, eighteenth-century women moved throughout the private sphere and into the

[115] Haywood, *The Fair Captive,* viii.

public sphere, causing, apparently, a tide of raillery. Haywood's texts following Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and *Harlot's Progress* particularly respond to the sexual dangers early eighteenth-century British women face daily. Through appearances of the needle within the distaff of the quill, Haywood amends cultural constructions surrounding women in domestic service and public needlework trades.

Virtue/Vice

Cultural constructions of virtue and vice render the categories meaningful. Needlework particularly became associated with virtue, however Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* illustrates a nearness to vice through the shared root of needlework. *Harlot's Progress* begins with Moll Hackabout arriving to Drury Lane. The first plate visually depicts the line between needlework and sex work. Moll alights from a York wagon full of young women destined to domestic servitude. Moll and the York wagon foreground a woman employed in laundry and surrounded by chamber pots (Figure 11). On the other half of the plate, a bawd strokes Moll's cheek with the naked flesh of her hand. Behind the bawd are two men, one of whom already reaches into his pants, and a coffin shaped trunk featuring Moll's initials. Moll wears a dressmaker's pincushion and scissors around her waist, signaling her preparedness for domestic service prior to the bawd's seduction.[116] Though lacking the entertainments of the city, the house with the woman deployed in domestic labor illustrates a solid brick foundation whereas the house of amusements cracks along the walls. The plate at once presents a visual contrast and

[116] Aaron Santesso, "William Hogarth and the Tradition of Sexual Scissors," *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 39, no. 3 (1999): 499-521. Santesso details how the image of scissors signals sexual licentiousness within the eighteenth century. Santesso argues that scissors appear throughout Hogarth's works, and in visual culture more broadly, to suggest myriad non-normative sexualities.

unity—though the two sides present a binary opposition, their existence within the same plate suggests needlework and domestic servitude and sexual labor inhabit the same sphere. In such, the two halves of virtue labor and sexual labor constitute a whole of early eighteenth-century English female employment.

Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* inspired many literary adaptations throughout the early eighteenth century.[117] A "Hudibrastick Canto" adaptation of *Harlot's Progress* ventriloquizes the visual characters in Hogarth's plates. The Cantos appeared in five editions throughout 1732. In the first canto, mirroring the first plate of Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*, shows the "old Baud" fixing her eyes on Moll in order to "catch poor *Polly* in her Snare."[118] The musical nature of cantos causes the old Baud and Moll Hackabout to duet. The old Baud sings "*My Dear,* said she, *would you be rich?*" to which Moll responds "Yes, Madam:—" and in the same line the Baud asks "*Have you learn'd to* STITCH?" This collaboration intertwines needlework with sex work beyond the visual contrast of first plate. The duet continues as the Baud asks "*Can you Wash and Starch*" to which Moll answers "Yes, Madam:—clean and stiff." In the same line, the Baud notes "*You're arch*" seemingly pointing to the curves of Moll's body as opposed to the "clean and stiff" promise—a response which points to its own sexual innuendo. Finally, Moll begins a solo stating "Why, Madam, I am young and nimble,/ Can use a Bodkin, or a Thimble;/Can Bake and Brew, and Spin, and Knit."[119] The nature of the duet between the mistress of the brothel and the needlework content renders Moll's description of

[117] For more on literary adaptations of Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*, see Peter Wagner, *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1988), 133-143.
[118] *The Harlot's Progress: Or, the Humours of Drury-Lane. Being the Life of the Noted Moll Hackabout, in Six Hudibrastick Cantos, with a Curious Print to Each Canto, Engrav'd from the Originals of Mr. Hogarth,* (London, 1732), 8.
[119] *Harlot's Progress: Or, the Humours of Drury Lane,* 8.

sempstress ability into sexual suggestiveness. Just as Moll can make laundry "clean and stiff," Moll's self-professed proficiency with bodkins and thimbles intimates her ability to perform detailed handiwork—in other words Moll is good with her hands, a favorable trait to a recruiting bawd. Similar to the two halves of Hogarth's plate, the aural unity of a duet implies an entangled economy.

Figure 11 Hogarth, William, England, 1697-1764. 1732. Harlot's Progress. etching and engraving. Place: British Museum, Acc. No. 1848, 0708.19-21

The tangled economies of needlework and sex work is further complicated when Haywood introduces female authorial work. As Haywood points out in the preface to *Fair Captive*, eighteenth-century women needleworkers invoke a virtuousness not seen within the "vice" of women writers. Richardson's *Pamela* encapsulates how to

successfully exchange "the *Needle* for the *Quill*" while retaining virtue. From the first letter of *Pamela,* Pamela stitches together textile work with writing, "...my Lady's Goodness had put me to write and cast Accompts, and made me a little expert at my Needle, and other Qualifications above my Degree, it would have been no easy Matter to find a Place that your poor *Pamela* was fit for."[120] The "Qualifications above [her] Degree" simultaneously include Pamela's ability to perform aesthetic embroidery and her ability to write. Pamela's employment as a domestic servant means she should have only learned enough embroidery to assist her Lady with aesthetic embroidery, however Pamela insists she is an "expert at [her] Needle," likely meaning she can perform all embroidery stitches and create elaborate works. Pamela's ability to embroider largely enables her class mobility, as the novel eventually culminates in Pamela marrying her late mistress' son, Mr. B. Pamela's embroidery immediately contrasts her from *Anti-Pamela*'s Syrena, as Syrena is only taught to run seams at a millinery apprenticeship. Since upper-class women embroider, embroidery immediately invokes femininity and virtuousness. Pamela's needlework is already privileged, and when she exchanges that particular needle for the quill her virtue is rewarded in a way that is inaccessible to Syrena.

Pamela's writing first faces a "Tide of Raillery" in its opposition to time spent in handiwork. In Letter X, for instance, Mr. B notes, "This Girl is always scribbling; I think she may be better employ'd" to which Pamela answers, "And yet I work all Hours with my Needle, upon his Linen, and the fine Linen of the Family; and am besides about flowering him a Waistcoat."[121] Pamela's scribbling, and her own position as a "female author," continues the tension presented in *Fair Captive*. The reductive word "scribbling"

[120] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Albert J. Rivero, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9.
[121] Richardson, *Pamela,* 20.

refers to a carelessness, an account Pamela combats with self-reporting that she is "all Hours with my Needle."[122] Mr. B's use of the word "scribbling" immediately invokes a larger dismissal of women's writing. Jonathan Swift, for instance, wrote of Eliza Haywood, "Mrs. Haywood I have heard of as a stupid, infamous, scribbling woman but have not seen any of her productions."[123] Swift reduces Haywood's writing to "scribbling," and also calls her "infamous," tying a sexual availability to Haywood's authorship. Mr. B repeats such language, saying Pamela would be "better employed," but it is Pamela's interpretation that Mr. B means at her needle. Mr. B, instead, may be claiming that Pamela could be better employed in sexual service to him, aligning scribbling with "infamousness" as Swift does.

Further, Mr. B's account and Pamela's account of Pamela's time do not match. Mr. B as the master of the house would know Pamela's every move, making her particularly vulnerable to sexual advances. As Bridget Hill points out, "The organization of servants' day-to-day work routine was known to everyone in the house."[124] Mr. B's report of Pamela's time as spent "always scribbling" and Pamela's version in working "all Hours with [her] Needle" presents a discrepancy. In moments where Pamela is, in fact, at her needle, she is particularly vulnerable to sexual attacks. The threat to Pamela's virtue begins just a few lines later, as Mr. B says, "I will take care of you all, my Lasses; and for you, *Pamela*, (and took me by the Hand; yes, he took me by the Hand before them all) for my dear Mother's sake, I will be a Friend to you, and you shall take care of my Linen." The naked hand of Mr. B mirrors the bawd's hand upon the flesh of Moll Hackabout in

[122] "Scribbling" as defined by *Oxford English Dictionary*
[123] Jonathan Swift, *Miscellaneous pieces, in prose and verse. By the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Not inserted in Mr. Sheridan's edition of the Dean's works*, (London, 1789), 13.
[124] Hill, *Servants*, 45.

Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*. Mr. B presents the sexual danger, which indeed he pursues throughout the novel, on just the other side of Pamela's needlework. Mr. B puts Pamela to work on his linen, bringing her close to his body by proxy. Pamela's role as domestic servant and textile worker doubly objectifies her and leaves her vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

Indeed, by Letter XI, Pamela's needlework presents the opportunity for Mr. B's forward advances. Pamela writes, "and at last he came to me, as I was in the Summer-house in the little Garden, at work with my Needle, and Mrs. *Jervis* was just gone from me; and I would have gone out; but [Mr. B] said, No don't go, *Pamela*; I have something to say to you; and you always fly me so, whenever I come near you, as if you was afraid of me."[125] As seen in Pamela's insistence that she is virtuous because she is "all Hours with [her] Needle," Pamela believes herself to be performing virtuous work. However, Mr. B exploits the opportunity of knowing exactly where she is in his house, performing assigned labor, and attempts a sexual assault. Pamela continues, "I found myself in his Arms, quite void of Strength, and he kissed me two or three times, as if he would have eaten me."[126] Pamela's education at the needle would have included pictorial scenes, often the subject of which included "chase scenes" or classical representations of rape. Pamela's private needle education, furthermore, would likely include the literary allusions depicted within the pictorial chase scene, an education administered by Mr. B's late mother. Pamela now finds herself as the object of one such scene—occasioned by her needlework and enacted by her teacher's son. Mr. B's sexual attack on Pamela replicates the exact chase scene frequently depicted in embroidery pictorials.

[125]Richardson, *Pamela,* 20.
[126]Richardson, *Pamela*, 21.

Eliza Haywood's response to *Pamela*, aptly titled *Anti-Pamela* (1741), follows Syrena Tricksy and also begins with a mother's instruction. In *Anti-Pamela*'s case, the instruction is from Syrena's own mother, who was "a Woman of Intrigue in her Youth" and "one of the most subtil Mistresses in the Art of Decoying that ever was."[127] The respective maternal educations of Pamela and Syrena are consistent with the needlework/sex work, virtue/vice double-bind. As Pamela learns to be "expert at [her] Needle" by Mr. B's mother, Syrena is "not out of her Bib and Apron, before [her mother] instructed her in Lessons" of sexually manipulating men.[128] The chase scene motif that Pamela finds herself in is one that Syrena often fabricates to ensure financial compensation for sexual endeavors. While apprenticing and living with a milliner, Syrena begins an amour with Vardine that her mother advises against as Syrena writes as if she is truly in love. Syrena, reflecting on her mother's admonishment, questions, "Why must I run away whenever I see him, as if I were afraid he would devour me?"[129] Syrena echoes Pamela's lament that Mr. B "would have eaten" her. Mr. B and Vardine offer Pamela and Syrena the gift of stockings, respectively, which both refuse—though Syrena as a highly performative refusal quickly negated by her justifying the continuance of the affair as she states she is "a little vex'd tho' now, that I did not take the Stockings, for as there is nothing to be done with him, 'twould have been clear Gains."[130] Later, Syrena designs upon an aged merchant widower, Mr. W, for instance, reflect an inverse of the chase scene between Mr. B and Pamela. Upon Mr. W's approach, Syrena sees him through the window and "ran to tell her Mother, on which they both took up a Work Basket: *Syrena*

[127] Eliza Haywood, *Anti-Pamela, or, Feign'd Innocence Detected*, ed. Catherine Ingrassia, (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 53.
[128] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 53.
[129] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 71.
[130] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 69.

seem'd darning a Cambrick Apron, and her Mother altering an old Velvet Mantelet."[131] Just as Pamela alone at her needlework catalyzes Mr. B's sexual assault, Syrena performs virtue and industriousness through using needlework as props. Such a performance complicates the sexual aggressor and victim roles. Syrena finds a means to act as the sexual aggressor but within the culturally appropriated patriarchal hierarchy.

Syrena's authorship, unlike Pamela's textual/textile work, moves in opposition to her sexual blossoming. Syrena, like Moll Hackabout, "could not endure the Apprehension of sitting all Day to run Seams," the prospect of living her life as a milliner overwhelms her with boredom and instead she embarks on a kind of sexual labor.[132] Yet, Syrena's status as author thwarts almost every attempt at procuring a rich husband. Her letters to and from her mother at different times reveal her sexual plots to the intended victims. As Kathryn King points out in her essay, "Of Needles and Pens and Women's Work" (1995), Eliza Haywood may use Syrena's failures as both an author and needleworker as a nod to the "Tide of Raillery" early eighteenth-century English female authors faced when choosing between spheres.[133] Syrena "could not endure" life as a milliner, therefore immediately fails at the traditional feminine sphere. Yet, Syrena and her mother also do not write cryptically enough within their letters to conceal their plotting. In such, Pamela's position as author casts Mr. B as reader, and, through reading, securing a marriage to her advantage that rewards Pamela's virtue. Syrena's writing, on the other hand, consistently results in a failure to procure a similar settlement.

---

[131] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 170.
[132] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 56.
[133] Kathryn R. King, "Of Needles and Pens and Women's Work," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 14, no. 1 (1995): 77–93.

Syrena's position as author mirrors Haywood's own authorship. Eliza Haywood began selling books in 1741/2 at the Sign of Fame to increase her income.[134] One of Haywood's first advertised texts was her own *Anti-Pamela* as, like Syrena, Haywood's financial situation relied upon procuring some cultural capital she needed to accumulate for herself. Ingrassia notes, "[Haywood] renegotiates (or reconstructs) Richardson's apparent lesson in the economy of virtue and the financial rewards of morality to represent more accurately the dynamic between sexuality and finance."[135] Pamela's own engagement with a virtue economy, as promoted by embroidery, is only truly rewarded through her textual work—synthesizing the needlework virtue economy with the sexualized economy of scribbling. However, *Anti-Pamela*, and more broadly Haywood's authorship, more accurately describes the lived experience of sexualized female needleworkers, including domestic servants, and "scribbling" female writers. The Sign of Fame finds Haywood embarking on her own textual/textile work in stitching together printed pamphlets.[136] Unlike the image of virtue rewarded constructed by Richardson's *Pamela*, Haywood and her written works portray the reality of textile and text marketplaces for eighteenth-century British women.

The lived experience of eighteenth-century textile workers, such as Haywood shows, contrasts with Pamela's virtue rewarded based on a hierarchy of needlework. Pamela's "Qualifications above [her] Degree" means she is taught decorative embroidery, which aligns with upper-class femininity, and therefore class compatibility with Mr. B. Pamela's time at Mr. B's estate is paced by her flowering, or embroidering, a waistcoat

[134] See Catherine Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 110-11.
[135] Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender*,111.
[136] For more on Haywood's pamphlet-making, see Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, (London and Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto, 2003), 675-93.

for Mr. B. Pamela writes, "O! I forgot to say, that I would stay to finish the Waistcoat; I never did a prettier Piece of Work; and I am up early and late to get it finish'd; for I long to come to you."[137] Pamela describes herself as always at her needle to finish this "[pretty] Piece of Work," a vastly different type of needlework as Syrena who is apprenticed to run seams all day in a mantua making. The finished embroidered waistcoat, and embroidered clothing at large, represents virtue as a gender and class performance.

Pamela's finished flowered waistcoat mirrors the waistcoat seen in an "it" narrative *Memoirs and Interesting Adventures of an Embroidered Waistcoat* (1751). The narrator records the tale of an embroidered waistcoat that springs to life in a pawnshop and begins describing each life and owner it knew before. The waistcoat describes the first owner as a "noble Lord" who the waistcoat describes in saying:

> he was my Master upwards of three Months, during which Time, he not a little distinguished himself by my Means, in the Boxes at the Play; he shone with great Superiority of Grandeur at the Opera; he captivated twenty Hearts at the Oratorio; and to my certain Knowledge, he stole the Virginity from upwards of thirty good-natured Girls, who believed his Protestations, and, struck with my sparkling Dignity, yielded their Beauties to his Arms, in Expectation of his Sincerity being as real inwardly as my Embroidery render'd him brilliant outwardly.[138]

The embroidered waistcoat "performs" masculine virtue for the noble lord, as the interior "Expectation of his Sincerity" through the "brilliant outwardly" embroidered waistcoat

[137] Richardson, *Pamela*, 40.
[138] *Memoirs and Interesting Adventures of an Embroidered Waistcoat*, (London, 1751), 5-6.

catalyzes a trust from "upwards of thirty good-natured Girls." The waistcoat continues to detail two love affairs that stand out—"an Actress, of no inconsiderable Abilities" and "a Poetess, of superior Intellect, but not so charming."[139] Of these women, the actress echoes Syrena's own misfortunes. The waistcoat describes the conquest of the actress in saying "and the other fell a Sacrifice to her violent Appetite for Finery; who, allured by the Prospect of a Settlement, yielded her blooming Beauties to his Arms, and now shines on the Stage without her Virtue or Settlement; the latter of which, in the Opinion of some theatrical Connoisseurs, she most sincerely laments."[140] The actresses' "Appetite for Finery," mirrors the consuming masculine sexual desire expressed in both *Pamela* and *Anti-Pamela.* Pamela fears Mr. B "would have eaten [her]" just as Syrena eschews avoiding Vardine "as if... he would devour [her]." Here, the actress expresses the lustful hunger but ostentatious textiles fulfill the role of object that women typically inhabit. Also mirroring Syrena, the actress does not miss her virtue, but instead "sincerely laments" the possibility of a settlement. The waistcoat implies that merely the noble Lord's waistcoat fulfills the actress' "Appetite for Finery", not presents of her own embroidered goods. Therefore, the noble Lord performs marriageability through merely wearing the waistcoat in public view.

The master's ascribed sincerity as rendered outwardly by the waistcoat highlights the way in which interior qualities are projected. Syrena attempts to perform this same type of embroidered outward virtue. After three marriage plots fail for Syrena, she begins to frequent a fashionable part of town attempting to procure a new settlement. However, by this moment in the text Syrena enacted too many scandals to safely participate in

[139] *Embroidered Waistcoat*, 6.
[140] *Embroidered Waistcoat*, 6.

public activities without fear of discovery. Syrena chooses then to signal virtue through costuming; the text notes, "she had, therefore, her Eyes continually on the Watch, that if she happen'd to see any of them at a Distance, she might turn away, before they came near enough to distinguish her, thus disguised as the Hussy was in Lace and Embrodery."[141] The disguise of embroidery causes a misread of interiority, as seen with the noble lord of *Embroidered Waistcoat*. Like the marriageability of the noble Lord, Syrena's embroidered frock is a "disguise" masking her identity as "the Hussy."

Needlework/Sex Work

The actualized economic imperative for needleworking for women often was seen as a means to prevent sex work, highlighting just how intertwined the two industries were in early eighteenth-century England. Just as Syrena wards off the textile trade through sexual labor, Richard Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (1747) warns women entering millinery in saying:

> But if the Parents will needs give their Daughters this kind of Education, let them avoid your private Hedge Milliners; those who pretend to deal only with a few select Customers, who scorn to keep open Shop, but live in some remote Corner: These are Decoys for the Unwary; they are but Places for Assignations, and take the Title of Milliner, a more polite Name for a Bawd, a Procuress, a Wretch who lives upon the Spoils of Virtue, and supports her Pride by robbing the Innocent of Health, Fame, and

[141] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 145.

> Reputations: They are the Ruin of private Families, Enemies to conjugal Affection, promote nothing but Vice, and live by Lust.[142]

Campbell echoes a larger cultural sentiment, that young women embarking upon needlework trades run the risk of being poached to "live by Lost" and, further, that "the Title of Milliner" is nothing more than a "polite Name for a Bawd." Further, the title "Hedge Milliner" points to the inferior and clandestine quality of such textile shops. The plural "daughters" highlights these spaces as a female-centered workplace coupled with a sexual vulnerability to the start. When such "Hedge Milliners" are then in a "remote Corner" and only open to a "few select Customers," the site of a millinery appears increasingly as a brothel. Campbell warns of the potential sexual exploitation to the "kind of Education" needlework provides, reinforcing the doubled nature of needlework and sex work present within *Anti-Pamela* and its influences—including Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* and even *Pamela*. Syrena's early introduction to vice and lust strips milliners of the power to corrupt, as she already comes to her apprenticeship corrupted. In such, Syrena at least exerts agency over her own sexuality.

Campbell fails to provide an alternative type of education for parents who "need" to send their daughters to public textile work. Eliza Haywood's 1743 conduct-book *A Present for a Servant-Maid* anticipates the necessity of women entering such trades, and instead instructs working-class women how to navigate the overlapping marketplace of needlework (or domestic work) and sex work. Haywood wrote *A Present for a Servant-Maid* capitalizing on the popularity of conduct-literature geared towards lower classes.[143] *Present for a Servant-Maid,* first published anonymously, immediately met success and

[142] Richard Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, (London, 1747), 207.
[143] Eliza Haywood, *A Present for a Servant-Maid*, (London, 1743).

underwent at least seven editions in six years.[144] In addition to the typical instructions for young women entering into domestic service, the text conceals subversive critique on the ever present sexual dangers presented to a young woman entering service, as seen in *London Tradesman. Present for a Servant-Maid* presents the typical substance of conduct-literature, such as how to clean and cook when employed. However, Haywood also uses this platform to warn women how to conduct themselves to avoid what essentially amounts to being trafficked into sex slavery. Whereas *London Tradesman* addresses the parents of young women being sent to millinery, Haywood speaks directly to the servant-girl, opening her preface with "Dear Girls."[145] The preface then continues to cite the same sources of danger noted within *London Tradesman*, but instead with an aim to highlight how young women entering service can navigate these sexual dangers implicit within the needlework/sex work binary.

In examples such as *Harlot's Progress* and *London Tradesman*, the onus of responsibility for the fall from virtue is placed onto the young woman. The bawd of *Harlot's Progress* uses her bare hand to graze Moll Hackabout's naked cheek, just as the rake reaches deep inside his pocket—the world surrounding Moll is full of imminent danger. Yet the proceeding plates, as well as the title's focus on the Harlot, emphasize an internal malfunction within Moll, a readiness to be sexually corrupted; in other words, she was always a harlot in waiting. Haywood simultaneously embraces and subverts this paradigm. In *Present for a Servant-Maid,* the onus of responsibility is on the servant-maid in that she can prevent her fall into vice, but Haywood's instructions focus on and identify the latent threat of the world of bawds and rakes. The didactic aim of *Present for*

[144] See Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, 402.
[145] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 1.

a Servant-Maid coupled with the address "Dear Girls" allows the female reader to take charge of her education and subsequent future—whether it be in domestic work or sex work. *London Tradesman,* on the other hand, locates the control of education within the hands of the parents. The parents who "needs give their Daughters" education in needlework is warned of the education in vice and lust.

The potential reader for *Present for a Servant-Maid* does not have a fixed identity. For instance, Haywood states the victims of sexual traps are not "confined to Country Girls alone."[146] Further, and more importantly, the potential sexual aggressors do not have a fixed identity, either, as Haywood notes "those cunning wicked ones have their Spies in every Corner of the Town, who lie in wait to intrap the Innocent and Unwary."[147] Unlike Syrena—a hussy disguised in embroidery—the victim of such latent sexual threats could be any girl whereas the sexual aggressors are fixed as "cunning wicked ones" who have "Spies in every Corner of the Town."[148] Haywood's instructions to the servant-girl, however, allow her savviness to the potential dangers lurking anywhere within anyone. Unlike *Harlot's Progress* or *London Tradesman*, the potential victim of sex trafficking does not have a corrupt interior, but instead the traffickers are "wicked" inside.

Women positioned to decide between domestic and sexual labor also do not just decide once, if they get to decide at all. Haywood's *Present for a Service-Maid* follows a young woman entering service— not as a hussy waiting to be revealed but instead a woman facing a series of financial decisions and sexual dangers. Haywood's subject decides between continuing the long-term domestic work Syrena eschews and the short-

[146] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 3.
[147] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 3.
[148] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 3.

term economic gains of sex work under the employ of deceitful bawds. Haywood writes, "Here Temptations of all Kinds are offered her; she is not treated as a Servant but a Guest; her Country Habit is immediately stripp'd off, and a gay modish one put on in the Stead; and then the design'd Victim, willing or unwilling, is exposed to Sale to the first leud Supporter of her Mistress's Grandeur that comes to the House: If she refuses the shameful Business for which she was hired, and prefers the Preservation of her Virtue to all the Promises can be made her, which way can she escape?"[149] Thus, the type of education Haywood touts in *Present for a Servant-Maid* can be applied in endless situations. Haywood reiterates the inevitability of sexual assault on female domestic workers, as the woman is a "designed victim" and "exposed to Sale" whether "willing or unwilling." The poignant final question, "which way can she escape," presents the reality that women in lower-classes are materially incapable of avoiding sexual assault perpetrated by those in the upper-class. Haywood's *Present for a Servant Maid* teaches women how to be neither innocent nor unwary of all the danger constantly surrounding her.

The chances for a young woman to fall from virtue are countless. Even with Syrena's education in the sex work marketplace, she consistently falters on long-term financial stability when presented with the short-term gains. Syrena aligns with Moll Hackabout or the subject of *London Tradesman*, as her relations advice "to put [Syrena] to a Milliner or Mantua-maker, tho' the latter they seem'd to think most proper; not only because there required no Stock to set up with, when her Apprenticeship should be expired; but because also they thought that in that Business, having to deal only with Persons of her own Sex, she would be exempt from those Temptations, her Youth and

[149] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 2-3.

Beauty might expose her to in the Millinary Way."[150] Syrena's relations believe mantua-making, or sewing dresses made of silk manufactured in Mantua, deals with only female customers, so will be safer for Syrena than millinery. However, Syrena ultimately proves Campbell's assessment of public textile trades correct; she meets her first seducer when buying silk for her employer. Chloe Wigston Smith writes, "Haywood demonstrates that commercial needlework draws laboring women into sexual circulation whether they work in shops or in private rooms."[151] That is to say, Syrena's position in the female-centric mantua-making trade does not protect her from the other branches of textile work.

Of course, as *The London Tradesman* describes six years after the publication of *Anti-Pamela*, the "Millinary Way" presents its own dangers to a young woman's virtue. The section on millinery begins, "Though a young Woman can work neatly in all manner of Needle-Work, yet she cannot earn more than Five or Six Shillings a Week, out of which she is to find herself Board and Lodging. Therefore, out of Regard to the Fair Sex, I must caution Parents, not to bind their Daughters to this Business."[152] The promise of "Five or Six Shillings a Week" certainly would not be enough for Syrena who, with the help of her mother, has her eye on a settlement or a marriage. *London Tradesman* continues, "A young Coxcomb no sooner is Master of an Estate, and a small Share of Brains, but he affects to deal with the most noted Milliner: If he chances to meet in her Shop any thing that has the Appearance of Youth, and the simple Behaviour of undesigning Innocence, he immediately accosts the young Sempstress with all the little Raillery he is Master of, talks loosely, and thinks himself most witty, when he has

[150] Richardson, *Pamela*, 9; Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 54.
[151] Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 165.
[152] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 208.

cracked some obscene Jest upon the young Creature."[153] In contrast to Campbell's assessment of a woman earning no more than "Five or Six Shillings a Week" with the "young Coxcomb" customers, the eighteenth-century textile trade is clearly not designed to support single women. Working-class women destined for millinery are set up to be attracted to such offers, as they are not able to support themselves on such an income, and then judged as sexually corrupt for taking advantage of the system. Syrena, seemingly aware of the "Master of an Estate" and his designs uses this sexual economic exchange to her advantage.

In each stage of *Anti-Pamela*, Syrena faces the decision between long-term financial stability and short-term gains in the sexual marketplace. The millinery, though not paying much, would lead to stability and a middling class lifestyle.[154] Likewise, Syrena complains "How happy would some young Women think themselves to be in my Place, I have so little to do, and am so much respected by the inferior Servants, that I can scarce think I am a Servant myself."[155] If not for her eye on a settlement, or what Ingrassia calls the "business of (sexual) pleasure," Syrena could remain in the employ of the Lady with a comfortable life, good wages, and a solid recommendation for similar homes after the lady dies.[156] *Pamela*, for instance, opens with the death of her lady, where she is given clothing, a year's wages, and "Qualifications above [her] Degree."[157]

---

[153] Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 208.
[154] Lemire writes, "Women's work in this landscape speaks to the ways in which they laboured to get by, applying gendered needle skills to secure a living in this most common of the consumer trades" (118). Precise data on women's involvement within eighteenth-century textile work is overshadowed by census taking's bias towards male professionals. *London Tradesman* gives an idea of what a woman could make, five or six shillings a week, but the textile trade allowed for movement, often resulting in higher or lower salaries. Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce*.
[155] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 85.
[156] Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender*, 111.
[157] Richardson, *Pamela*, 9-10.

Syrena's education in the "art of Decoying," on the other hand, leads her to simultaneously pursue Sir Thomas and Mr. L—, and surrender both.

Pamela's plan to continue with her needlework skills after leaving Mr. B's estate puts her in the same position as Syrena, the female reader of *Present for a Servant-Maid,* or the subject of *London Tradesman*. Pamela is taught "Qualifications above [her] degree"— that is to say that Pamela's embroidery education was more like that of a lady than one destined for domestic service. Pamela's potential entry into the world of professional millinery would not clear her of sexual predatory dangers. Mr. B notes, for instance, that he thinks it "would be Pity, with these fair soft Hands, and that lovely Skin... that you should return again to hard Work, as you must, if you go to your Father's."[158] Mr. B's attention to Pamela's "soft Hands" and "lovely Skin" implies that her current needlework education lends more to sexual labor. Pamela's hands and skin have only remained soft and lovely because of the fine fabrics used in decorative embroidery. Pamela's "soft Hands" would be made hard by the rougher linen used in public needlework trades.

Further, Pamela considers the return to "hard Work," or literally working on rougher changes her tone in proceeding letters. Later she writes to her parents, "All the Matter is, if I could get Needle-work enough, I would not spoil my Fingers by this rough Work. But if I can't, I hope to make my Hands as red as a Blood-pudden, and as hard as a Beechen Trencher, to accommodate them to my Condition."[159] Already, Pamela considers the ramifications of rough work to "spoil [her] Fingers." As an attempt to avoid "rough Work," Pamela plans to bring home fine fabrics from Mr. B's estate to start her

[158] Richardson, *Pamela*, 64.
[159] Richardson, *Pamela*, 71.

new needlework career. She lays out the items she intends to bring home for Mrs. Jervis and among "Cotton Handkercheif," "new-bought knit Mittens," and a "new Flannel Coat," she brings a "Parce pinn'd together" with "several Pieces of printed Callicoe, Remnants of Silks, and such-like, that, if good Luck should happen, and I should get Work, would serve for Robings and Facings, and such-like Uses."[160] The fabrics Pamela lists are all soft and would prolong her hands turning hard. Pamela's entire savings are textile, at once potentially saving her from only working with harsh, cheap linen backings while also making her immediately valuable in the textile marketplace. Pamela smartly considers Mr. B's suggestion that her long-term economic value depends on maintaining "soft Hands," but, as the extended title "Virtue Rewarded" suggests, Pamela procures a means to retain her "soft Hands" without employing them in needlework's inverse—sex work.

Public/Private

The typical sphere for an eighteenth-century woman is the private, domestic space. Yet, a young women entering domestic service, particularly needlework trades such as millinery, embark in domestic textile work within the public sphere. Even female servants lacked the private spaces allowed to the noble owner's of such homes. Bridget Hill writes, "Wherever [servants'] quarters were, something that was common to them all was that they could rarely be locked."[161] Private spaces were rarely, if ever, allowed to women in lower-classes. Likewise, female authors send textual work into the public sphere through publication. Both textile work and textual work therefore occasion

[160] Richardson, *Pamela*, 73.
[161] Hill, *Servants*, 45.

eighteenth-century English women to circulate within the public marketplace. As the public sphere is conceptualized as a masculine domain, young women and their parents are prompted to be always on guard against publicly sanctioned sexual aggression. Syrena and Pamela both negotiate the boundaries of public space and private space, and the implicated vice and virtue inherent within such spaces, to various degrees of financial success or failure. In such, the overarching lesson in *Present for a Servant-Maid*—present even from the preface—is how to negotiate public spaces without being trafficked into sex slavery.

Just as the bawds, rakes, the "cunning wicked ones," and their spies are ever-present and disguised by the lack of fixed identity, houses of ill repute are disguised as richly furnished homes. Haywood notes, "There are some Houses which appear well by *Day*, that it would be little safe for a modes Maid to sleep in at *Night*."[162] Syrena's constant disguises and rented apartments allude to just such a phenomenon. Syrena when dressed in embroidery is a hussy in disguise, or seemingly virtuous despite her interior corruptness. Likewise, such houses that "appear well by *Day*" are not just common spaces a young woman would already be on guard against, so a young woman could be deceived into feeling at ease within the interior space until she finds it "little safe...to sleep in at *Night*." Haywood continues to distinguish such spaces; beginning with those a young woman would (or should) already bolster herself against, Haywood remarks:

> I do not mean those Coffee-houses, Bagnio's, &c which some Parts of the Town, particularly *Covent-Garden*, abounds with; for in those the very Aspect of the Persons who keep them are sufficient to shew what manner of Trade they follow; but Houses which have no public Shew of Business,

[162] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 2.

> are richly furnished, and where the Mistress has an Air of the strictest Modesty, and perhaps affects a double Purity of Behaviour: Yet under such Roofs, and under the Sanction of such Worth as I have described, are too frequently acted such Scenes of Debauchery as would startle even the Owners of some common Brothels.[163]

The litany of spaces opens with specific locations of ill repute, but the list quickly devolves into general houses. A reader of *Present for a Servant-Maid* would then know to avoid coffee-houses, Bagnio's and "Parts of the Town, particularly *Convent-Garden,*" however, how could she know what houses "have no public Shew of Business"? There are not clear instructions on how to immediately identify such a place when a domestic servant is looking for employ. Instead, advice on how to avoid sexual attack appears throughout every passage of Haywood's conduct guide, reflecting the way in which danger could be anywhere. As with the possibility of any person being a "cunning wicked ones" or "Spies in every corner of Town," the geography that presents possible danger for a servant maid could be anywhere.

Within even the rote instructions for shopping for the household, the London world is riddled with danger for a servant-maid. A merchant, like many men the servant-girl meets in a day, constantly tries to deceive the young woman. For instance, when buying a cock or hen, Haywood advises "If young his Spurs are short and dubb'd; but you must be careful in taking notice whether they are not pared or scraped by the Poulterer, in order to deceive you."[164] In fact, deception is so abundant that in contrast with all other shopping directions, buying a chicken is qualified in saying "You cannot

[163] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 2.
[164] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 54.

well be deceived in Chickens."[165] Even with butter the servant-girl must be on guard as, "when you buy fresh *Butter*, trust not to the Taste the Person gives you; for they often patch a Piece of good Butter at the End when the rest is naught."[166] Even seemingly innocent micro economic transactions within various marketplaces are sites of potential danger.

Observation lies central to the negotiation of public and private spaces. The "cunning wicked ones" are all the more insidious by their spies. Syrena and Pamela hold varying access to private spaces and relate differently to the possibility of being observed. *Anti-Pamela*'s title page, for instance, notes that it is "Publish'd as a necessary Caution to all Young Gentlemen." Yet, Ingrassia states, "[*Anti-Pamela*] serves as an antidote to *Pamela*; if Richardson's novel threatens to make all the servant girls in England pine after their masters, then *Anti-Pamela* teaches those masters how to resist such advances (and perhaps instructs serving girls how to dissemble even more effectively)."[167] Likewise, *Present for a Servant-Maid* reflects *Anti-Pamela*'s ability to instruct "serving girls... to dissemble even more effectively," as it opens in saying, "Dear Girls, I Think there cannot be a greater Service done to the Commonwealth, (of which you are a numerous Body) than to lay down some general Rules for your Behaviour, which, if observed, will make your Condition as happy to yourselves as it is necessary to others."[168] The instruction to observe works doubly—a young woman observes the "Rules of [her] Behaviour" for promotion but also a young woman observed following such rules results in promotion.

[165] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 55.
[166] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 56.
[167] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela,* 51; Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender*, 111.
[168] Haywood, *Present for a Servant-Maid*, 1.

Syrena first takes advantage of observation when living in the Milliner's house. In an effort to secure Vardine, she dresses in front of a window where to "not seem to forward" she "put the Window-Shutters a-jar."[169] In a later instance, Syrena and her mother anticipate the arrival of the older gentleman they similarly mean to entrap and when "seeing him from the Window" Syrena and her mother "both took up a Work-Basket."[170] Mr. W, looks just in time to see Syrena "darning a Cambrick Apron" and her mother "altering an old Velvet Mantelet," or a sleeveless cape. Mr. W views this performance of needlework as "Marks of good Houswifry and Frugality" and, "to find them thus employ'd gave him an advantageous Idea of their Modesty and Virtue."[171] Syrena's performance of the domestic, virtuous task of needlework procures the position of Housekeeper within Mr. W—'s home—a job she is hardly qualified to hold. Syrena transforms the private space into a public one. Mr. W— does not question the performed virtue precisely because of the conceptualized privacy of a home, as opposed to the public sphere where one may constantly be performing. However, the inverse for Syrena is also true, and always what gets her in trouble. Syrena leaves her letters to and from her mother in seemingly private spaces, her rented apartments for instance, and the intrusion of men within such spaces dissembles Syrena's designs.

Pamela, on the other hand, does receive private spaces, such as her closet in the Lincolnshire estate in which she is entrapped. Pamela's closet in the Lincolnshire estate provides a private space to write that is not allowed to Syrena. Even within the seemingly private space of her closet, Mrs. Jewke's spies on Pamela through the keyhole. Mr. B finds multiple ways throughout the text to commandeer Pamela's letters. Yet, whereas

[169] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 62.
[170] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 170.
[171] Haywood, *Anti-Pamela*, 170.

Syrena never anticipates her letters being observed, Mr. B's mediation of Pamela's letters works to her advantage, ultimately, as her written virtue reforms him from rake to husband. Pamela further collapses text and textile through sewing her letters into her clothes. Pamela writes, "I begin to be afraid my Writings may be discover'd; for they grow large! I stitch them hitherto in my Under-coat, next my Linen."[172] As Mr. B tasked Pamela with taking "care of [his] Linen" early in the novel, Pamela shows just how intimate linen can be. Pamela sews her writing into the linen because she believes that is the safest, most intimate space. Letters and printed texts were often used to back textile works, therefore the practice of obscuring texts within textiles is not singular to Pamela. When Mr. B demands Pamela's papers she describes her distress to "all undress... in a manner to untack them," and writes, "I took off my Under-coat, and, with great Trouble of Mind, unsew'd them from it."[173] Pamela's private spaces erode so completely that not even the textiles enshrouding her body, like her body itself, is safe. Pamela's "Trouble of Mind" stems from the act of undoing her work, both textual and textile. She must "unsew" her clothing and also reveal her personal writing.

Pamela and Syrena exhibit the ways personal spaces, even within domestic spheres, were in short supply. The final projects of eighteenth-century English women's needlework education were embroidered cabinets that reflected the desire for privacy.[174] These cabinets were the product of young women's finished embroidery panels that were then sent to an upholsterer to be made into a cabinet.[175] The cabinets were designed to provide secret openings and enclosures, as seen in the cabinet in Figure 12 housed at

[172] Richardson, *Pamela*, 120.
[173] Richardson, *Pamela*, 218.
[174] Kim Ivey (Senior Curator of Textiles of Colonial Williamsburg), in discussion with the author, December 5, 2018. See also Kathleen Epstein's *British Embroidery* pgs. 17-18.
[175] Epstein, *British Embroidery*, 26.

Colonial Williamsburg. The cabinet opens in two ways. Lifting the lid of the cabinet reveals a printed Biblical image, much like the exterior Old Testament embroidered panels. Once opened, the casket contains a space for ink, quills, paper and all writing apparatuses as well as the notions, or tools, needed for embroidery (Figure 14). A closer look at the embroidered cabinet reveals hidden uses, literally, as many drawers and compartments have false bottoms and secret interior space. The compartment in Figure 13 can be lifted to reveal a secret compartment. Inside of the secret compartment is an empty compartment that can also be lifted to reveal another secret compartment within. The largest drawer inside of the cabinet is capable of being locked with a key. The middle and right drawers seen in Figure 15 may be pulled out to reveal a long secret container. All of the secret spaces are lined with marble paper and would likely hold, among many precious things, letters with private information—binding textual and textile.

The external embroidery of the cabinet performs the same virtue as seen in the embroidered waistcoat of the "it" narrative or Syrena's embroidered dress; the virtuous projection of the exterior camouflages the interior. In the case of the embroidered cabinet, the interior's ability to deceive with secret compartments and false bottoms is masked by embroidered biblical outside. The front left door depicts a woman holding a book, likely a Bible. The public exterior, embroidered biblical scenes or women performing other virtuous tasks, create a sort of Godly cypher. The initial distraction from investigating the cabinet is precisely this seemingly virtuous outside. The drawers' secret spaces then create a type of labyrinth, a true potential for privacy in a world that does not believe

women should need any such thing. The secret spaces inside particularly allow for private writings, illustrating the realistic needs of female characters such as Pamela and Syrena.

Figure 12 Unknown Maker. 1650-1675. Embroidered Cabinet. Colonial Williamsburg. Acc. No. 1971-1650

Figure 13 Inside of Embroidered Cabinet

Figure 14 Inside of Embroidered Cabinet

Figure 15 Drawers of Embroidered Cabinet

Conclusion

In eighteenth-century England, the hierarchy of women's textile work mirrored the hierarchy of class, which contributed to how desirable a woman would be in the marriage market. Female education for all classes of women involved needlework, however women in nobility were expected to embroider aesthetic work whereas women

entering domestic service were expected to mend, sew, and only sometimes help the lady of the house with her embroidery projects. *Anti-Pamela*, particularly when paired with the more serious work of *Present for a Servant-Maid*, highlights the material reality for eighteenth-century women in the under class. There is no escape for these women in the lower rungs of the marriage market and public textile trade. Further, Syrena's successful use of needlework to demonstrate virtuousness exposes how performative femininity really is. Syrena's success in performing inward goodness, like the embroidered waistcoat in the "it" narrative, shows the extent to which ascribed qualities do not necessarily align with avowed virtues. Haywood does not only highlight the material reality of women in the bottom of textile and marriage hierarchies, but also implicitly censures the highest part of the same hierarchy. *Present for a Servant-Maid* states that even "richly furnished houses... under the Sanction of such Worth... are too frequently acted such Scenes of Debauchery as would startle even the Owners of some common Brothels." Therefore, these hierarchies that place nobility, marriageability, and femininity at the top uphold upper-class participation in sexual assault of women in the bottom.

Eliza Haywood's female characters slip between needlework and sex work, exposing the collapse of a series of seemingly binary opposites. Haywood's satirical portrayal of the tension between needle and quill, noted as early as 1729 in *Fair Captive*, underpins the faulty observation that early eighteenth-century women must work either domestic, needlework or public authorial work—and to embark on the latter is to surrender one's femininity. The nature of satire indeed illustrates a naturalized cultural construction that female authors already embark upon sexual vice in surrendering needlework, therefore making them objects of a "Tide of *Raillery*."

Coda

Textual work and textile work share one central thread—both craft new products out of existing materials. The covers of a book, like the hoop of embroidery, provide the parameters for words, like embroidery floss, to be recycled into something new. Lexicons available within a language are finite, but literary texts create something new. Poetic devices within literary text are similarly recycled throughout belletristic works of all ages. As discussed in Chapter One, the root of text comes from *textere*, and, as Juliet Fleming points out, "the metaphor has come to be used to refer to the *act* of writing, as if its essence concerned making something in a craft setting."[176] Multitudes of linguists point to the connection of weaving textiles as a metaphor for creating texts. Robert Scholes, for instance, aligns weaving with writing in noting, "weaving as a textual process" is "the creation of a textile or web out of mere threads."[177] Embroidery, like weaving, creates a visual literacy, as seen in Chapters 1 and 2, that further showcases the interplay between texts and textiles. As with texts, embroidery recycles artistic styles both specific to needlework and seen within the broader category of fine arts.

Textiles and texts do more than reflect contemporaneous shifts in attitude towards new technology, they likewise catalyze such progress. Textiles and texts developed in tandem with eighteenth-century printing press technology. Moving forward, textile advances continued to shape advancing technology. John Styles notes, "Technical innovations in textile production were crucial in propelling and defining the Industrial

[176] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 70.
[177] Robert Scholes, *The Rise and Fall of English: Reconstructing English as a Discipline*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 74.

Revolution."[178] Indeed, the early eighteenth-century introduced mechanisms where looms selected their own threads, saving weavers two to three weeks of setting up a pattern.[179] The first automated machinery following Industrial Revolution was Joseph-Marie Jacquard's (1752-1834) loom. Charles Babbage (1791-1871) employed the technology of Jacquard's loom to develop a small machine used to calculate numbers: the loom becomes a calculator. Babbage's own calculator was first used to quickly process information to create the pattern for fabric. What used to take textile designers a large amount of time could quickly be performed by Babbage's calculator.

From this calculator, Ada Lovelace (1815-1852), the daughter of mathematician Annabella Byron and author Lord Byron, joined Babbage in developing a more sophisticated Analytical Engine in 1834—an early version of what is now a computer. Lovelace borrowed the language of textile work, as she became the first computer programmer; she accredited her inspiration to create early computer software to the mechanics of the loom.[180] The early computer was first called a loom; to date, coding is still referred to as creating a pattern.

Lovelace's own literary connections, as the daughter of Lord Byron and a participation in nineteenth-century literary groups, reinforces the connection among textile work, textual work, and early computer processing. Nineteenth-century public criticism charged Lovelace with being "eccentric" and "hysterical" due to gendered expectations.[181] As seen in Chapter 3, Haywood notes women authors were likewise

---

[178] John Styles, *The Dress of the People*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.
[179] See Nancy Gildart, "Torn Face Anger and Textile Actions at Ground Zero and Beyond Mended," in *The Object of Labor: Art, Cloth, and Cultural Production*, ed. by Joan Livingstone and John Ploof. (Chicago: School of the Art Institute of Chicago Press, 2007).
[180] Gildart, "Torn Face Anger and Textile Actions at Ground Zero and Beyond Mended," 260-264.
[181] Gildart, "Torn Face Anger and Textile Actions at Ground Zero and Beyond Mended," 262.

charged with the "raillery" of entering a seemingly masculine sphere (in Haywood's case the sphere of writing). The field of computer programming continued to employ female programmers following the death of Lovelace. Recovering and remembering the works of women within this field is seen in projects such as The Ada Project (TAP), begun by scholars at Yale University. TAP provides resources and information for current female programmers, including a timeline of historic women in the field. Just as literary scholars focusing on female texts had to fight for representation within the canon, TAP showcases the ongoing presence of women's work within computer programming. The recovery efforts of TAP showcase the way in which women's advancements in technology and craft in every field are systematically erased.

Thus, there is a clear reason current digital language borrows textile language. Even the practice computer coding reminds of text/textile crafting—creativity within clear boundaries. That is to say, coding language, like text/textile language, creates largely different results by using the recycled materials within existing parameters. Likewise, the evolution of these languages never witnesses a complete revolution of the tools available, but instead shows new ways to use recycled coding languages. When embroidering, one chooses different size and shapes in hoops, different colors of embroidery floss, but the parameters of an embroidery project are still restricted to these materials. When writing a novel, an author chooses from the words and poetic devices present throughout literature.

Changing Her Habit continues in the tradition of emphasizing the importance of women and women's work. Cultural attitudes in the eighteenth century dismiss the importance of female-authored texts, treating women's writing as ephemeral. Likewise,

female craft, such as embroideries, have not been given the same attention as art categorized as fine arts, such as painting or sculpture, both men and women but seen as a male medium. Patriarchal classification of embroidery as female-centric creates a disparity in how needlecraft is collected and preserved. Lower-class women's needlework, such as simple samplers or garment making, further complicates this hierarchy. The lack of collecting and preserving of needlework ultimately reflects the way in which women's work is dismissed, and how certain women are doubly disposable.

Bibliography

Museum sources

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Textiles and Costumes

Fitzwilliam Museum, Textiles

Victoria and Albert Museum, Fashion Jewellery, and Accessories

Primary Sources

Addison, Joseph and Richard Steele. *The Spectator*. Vol. 1, No. 69. London, 1712-15.

Aubin, Penelope. *The Noble Slaves: Or, the Lives and Adventures of Two Lords and Two Ladies, Who Were Shipwreck'd* [...] *By Mrs. Aubin.* London, 1722.
———. *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and His Family* [...] *By Mrs. Aubin.* London, 1721.

Barker, Jane.*The Galesia Trilogy and Selected Manuscript Poems of Jane Barker*. Edited by Carol Shiner Wilson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
———. *The Poems of Jane Barker: The Magdalen Manuscript*. Edited by Kathryn King, Oxford: Magdalen College Press, 1998.

Burton, Robert. *The anatomy of melancholy: what it is, with all the kinds, causes, symptomes, prognostics, and several cures of it, in three partitions* [...]. London, 1821.

Campbell, Richard. *The London Tradesman*. *Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, both Liberal and Mechanic* [...]. London, 1747.

Defoe, Daniel. *A Further Examination of the Weavers Pretences* [...]. London, 1719
———. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* [...] *Written from her own memorandums*. London, 1721.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries* [...]. Vol. 1. London, 1599.

The Harlot's Progress: Or, the Humours of Drury-Lane. Being the Life of the Noted Moll Hackabout, in Six Hudibrastick Cantos, with a Curious Print to Each Canto, Engrav'd from the Originals of Mr. Hogarth [...]. London, 1732.

Haywood, Eliza. *Anti-Pamela*. In *Anti-Pamela and Shamela*. Edited by Catherine Ingrassia. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004.
———. *A Present for a Servant-Maid; or, The Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem* [...]. London, 1743.
———. *The Fair Captive: A Tragedy. As It Is Acted by His Majesty's Servants*. London, 1721.

Heckle, Augustin. *The Florist: Or, An Extensive and Curious Collection of Flowers, for the Imitation of Young Ladies, Either in Drawing, or in Needle-Work. By A. Heckle.* London, 1759.

Homer, and Alexander Pope. *The odyssey of Homer*. Vol. 1. London: printed for Bernard Lintot, 1725-26.

Memoirs and Interesting Adventures of an Embroidered Waistcoat. London: printed for and sold by J. Brooke, 1751.

Norton, Lady Frances. *Memento Mori: or, Meditations on Death*, London: printed for John Graves, 1705.
———. *A Miscellany of Poems*. Edited by Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott. Vol 9 of *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

Richardson, Samuel. *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*. Edited by Albert J. Rivero. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

"*The* Spittle-Fields *Ballad*: or, the *Weavers Complaint against the Callico Madams*," in *The Northern Cuckold, or the Garden House Intrigue* [...] *as Likewise the* Spitle-Fields *Ballad on the Calico's*. Edited by Edward Ward London: printed for Sam Briscoe, 1721.

Swift, Jonathan. *Miscellaneous pieces, in prose and verse. By the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Not inserted in Mr. Sheridan's edition of the Dean's works*. London, 1789.

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 03 May 2019), July 1719, trial of John Humphreys Sam Bains George Picket Tho Hardy Charles Child (t17190708-56).

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 03 May 2019), July 1720, trial of Peter Cornelius (t17200712-28).

Secondary Sources

Anishanslin, Zara. *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Baer, Joel. "Penelope Aubin and the Pirates of Madagascar: Biographical Notes and Documents." In *Eighteenth Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture*, edited by Linda Troost. New York: AMS Press, 2001.

Backscheider, Paula. *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Baumgarten, Linda and Kimberly Smith Ivey. *Four Centuries of Quilts: The Colonial Williamsburg Collections*. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2014.

Black, Jeremy. *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Bowers, Toni. "Jacobite Difference and the Poetry of Jane Barker." *ELH* 64, no. 4, (Winter 1997): 857-869.

Brooke, Xanthe. *The Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries.* Stroud: A. Sutton, 1994.

Colley, Linda. *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Derrida, Jacques. *The Truth in Painting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Eacott, Jonathan. "Making an Imperial Compromise: The Calico Acts, the Atlantic Colonies, and the Structure of the British Empire" *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2012): 731-62.

Eaton, Linda. *Quilts in a Material World: Selections from the Winterhur Collection*. New York: Abrams, 2007.

Endres, Emma. "Street Names and Shop Signs of Old London." *The Catholic World, A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science 1865-1906*. 70, no. 419 (1900): 593-601.

Epstein, Kathleen. *British Embroidery: Curious Works from the Seventeenth Century*. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Press, 1998.

Fleming, Juliet. *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Frye, Susan. *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Gildart, Nancy. "Torn Face Anger and Textile Actions at Ground Zero and Beyond Mended." In *The Object of Labor: Art, Cloth, and Cultural Production*, edited by Joan Livingstone and John Ploof. Chicago: School of the Art Institute of Chicago Press, 2007.

Gollapudi, Aparna. "Virtuous Voyages in Penelope Aubin's Fiction." *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 45, no. 3 (2005): 669–90.

Hill, Bridget. *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Hughes, Therle. *English Domestic Needlework 1660-1860*. London: Abbey Fine Arts, 1961.

Iannini, Christopher. *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Ingrassia, Catherine. *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Ingrassia, Catherine and Paula Backscheider, ed. *British Women Poets of the Long Eighteenth Century: An Anthology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Jarry, Madeleine. *Chinoiserie: Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art, 17th and 18th centuries*. New York: Vendome Press, 1981.

Justice, George. *The Manufacturers of Literature: Writing and the Literary Marketplace in Eighteenth-Century England*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002.

King, Kathryn R. *Jane Barker: Exile: A Literary Career 1675-1725*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

———. "Of Needles and Pens and Women's Work." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 77-93.

Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.

LaBouff, Nicole. "Embroidery and Information Management: The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick Reconsidered." *Hunington Library Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (2018): 316-358.

Lemire, Beverly. *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
———. *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Lord, Evelyn. *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites, 1689-1752*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004.

Macheski, Cecilia. "Penelope's Daughters: Images of Needlework in Eighteenth-Century Literature." In *Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815*, edited by Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986.

Mackie, Erin, ed. *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from* The Tatler *and* The Spectator. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
———. *Market à la Mode*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

McBurney, William H. "Mrs. Penelope Aubin and the Early Eighteenth-Century English Novel." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1957): 245–67.

Payne, Anthony. 2006 "Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616), geographer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 3 May. 2019. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11892.

Pollak, Ellen. "The Future of Feminist Theory in Eighteenth-Century Studies." *The Eighteenth Century* 50, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 13-20.

Prescott, Sarah. "The Debt to Pleasure: Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess* and Women's Fiction of the 1720s." *Women's Writing* 7, no. 3 (2000): 427–445.

Rogers, Pat. 2015 "Addison, Joseph (1672–1719), writer and politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 3 May. 2019. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-156.

Santesso, Aaron. "William Hogarth and the Tradition of Sexual Scissors." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 39, no. 3 (Summer, 1999): 499-521.

Scholes, Robert. *The Rise and Fall of English: Reconstructing English as a Discipline.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Smith, Chloe Wigston. "Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31, no. 2 (2007): 29-55.

———. *Women, Work and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Smyth, Adam. "Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682: 'Store-House[s] of Wit." *Criticism* 42, no. 2 (April 2000): 151-184.

Spedding, Patrick. *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*. London and Brookfield: Pickering and Chatto, 2003.

Styles, John. *The Dress of the People.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Swenson, Rivka. "Representing Modernity in Jane Barker's *Galesia Trilogy*: Jacobite Allegory and the Patch-Work Aesthetic." *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 34, no. 1 (2005): 55-80.

Wagner, Peter. *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Englightenment in England and America*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1988.

Watts, Melinda. "Whims and Fancies': Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East." In *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, edited by Amelia Peck. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Welham, Debbie. "The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (March 2008): 63-76.

Wheat, David. *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Winton, Calhoun. 2005 "Steele, Sir Richard (bap. 1672, d. 1729), writer and politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 3 May. 2019. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26347.

Yang, Chi-Ming. "Asia Out of Place: the Aesthetics of Incorruptibility in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 235-253.