

Abstract

This is a study of ‘female space’ in two eighteenth-century periodicals: *The Spectator* (1711-1712) and *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746). Its aim is to offer a new perspective on the gender politics of these periodicals by performing a close analysis and comparative reading of, firstly, their construction of ‘implied readers’, and, secondly, their incorporation of correspondence from readers (or ‘pseudo-readers’). The thesis is a response to earlier feminist studies which have focused on the excluding, masculine nature of *The Spectator*’s moral essays or presented *The Female Spectator* as the first essay-periodical written primarily for women by a woman which consequently strives to include and promote women as readers and writers. The thesis is based upon a reading of the full runs of the periodicals (which, in much scholarship, are read highly selectively) with a focus upon textual moments that construct a sense of an implied reader plus letters from readers subjected to taxonomical analysis so as to provide an overall correspondence ‘map’. Both reading strategies are used as ways of uncovering the communities the periodicals imaginatively create and of tracing the position of women within what I term the ‘literary public sphere’ of the periodicals. This study finds that *The Spectator* included more diverse female voices in its literary public sphere compared to *The Female Spectator* which instead dedicated a significant part of its content to male implied readers and implicitly sought to improve women’s conditions within the constraints of its patriarchal contemporary society.

Acknowledgements

As this thesis draws to an end, I find it necessary to thank the people who have inspired and helped me through the process of writing my thesis. Along the way, I have truly become fascinated by the voices I have found in eighteenth-century periodicals, and it is perhaps fitting to apologize to everyone who have as a consequence received multiple pictures of (sometimes unintelligible) quotes which I found terribly entertaining.

I would first and foremost like to thank my supervisor Paul Goring. I have truly appreciated your helpful comments and critical questions which have unquestionably pointed my thesis in the right direction from the beginning till the end. I especially wish to thank you for offering to read and comment on not only my conference paper, but also taking the time to read and edit the chapter I sent for publication in Germany! You have certainly gone above and beyond what I expected from a supervisor. Thank you!

I would also like to thank Aina Nøding for giving me the opportunity to attend and present my master project at the international conference ‘Spectators in Europe’ in Düsseldorf, December 2016. I am so grateful for the inspiring discussions and useful feedback I received from the international scholars attending the conference, which greatly influenced my thesis.

I owe my initial fascination for women in eighteenth-century periodicals to Johanne Kristiansen whose course ENG2302 Literature and History in the Fall 2015 opened my eyes to the potential of studying periodicals. I found your enthusiasm for the field truly inspirational!

I cannot end this acknowledgement without thanking the people nearest and dearest to me. I wish to thank my better half Jarl for the way his whimsical nature and uncanny ability to severely reduce my stress levels have helped me through the process of writing my thesis. I am also eternally grateful for my partner in crime Maria whose gentle spirit, northern humor and excellent taste in cocktails have made this process truly enjoyable. Special thanks are owed to the members of the monthly cousin club, Adine and Marita, who always lift my spirit with their plain speaking and wonderful personalities. I especially wish to thank Helga for volunteering to proof read my thesis and thus greatly improving it. I finally wish to thank my family for their unconditional love and support, and for nodding along and pretending to know what I was talking about!

Rebecca Røilid Vollan

Trondheim, May 2017

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abstract | i |
| Acknowledgements | iii |
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Topic & argument..... | 1 |
| 1.2 Critical field..... | 6 |
| 1.3 Method..... | 8 |
| 1.4 Thesis Outline..... | 12 |
| Chapter 1 The Implied Readers of <i>The Spectator</i> and <i>The Female Spectator</i> | 13 |
| 1.1 The Implied Readers of <i>The Spectator</i> | 13 |
| 1.2 The Implied Readers of <i>The Female Spectator</i> | 16 |
| Chapter 2 The Female Correspondence in <i>The Spectator</i> | 21 |
| 2.1 Female Correspondents as Moral Commentators..... | 21 |
| 2.2 Female Participants in <i>The Spectator</i> 's Literary Public Sphere..... | 24 |
| 2.3 Female Correspondents as a Defense against Critical Women..... | 27 |
| Chapter 3 The Position of Women in the Reader Correspondence of <i>The Female Spectator</i> and <i>The Spectator</i> | 29 |
| 3.1 Moral Letters Complementing <i>The Female Spectator</i> 's Moral Musings..... | 29 |
| 3.2 Defending the Periodical | 31 |
| 3.3 Writing as a Female Profession | 33 |
| 3.4 Female Diversity in the Literary Public Sphere | 35 |
| Conclusion..... | 37 |
| References | 39 |
| Appendices | 43 |
| A. Chart of the Categories of Female Correspondence in <i>The Spectator</i> | 43 |
| B. Chart of the Categories of Female Correspondence in <i>The Female Spectator</i> | 43 |
| C. List of the Female Correspondence in <i>The Female Spectator</i> | 44 |
| D. List of the Female Correspondence in <i>The Spectator</i> | 46 |
| E. The Study's Relevance to the Teaching Profession | 56 |

Introduction

1.1 Topic & argument

The aim of this thesis is to explore the extent of the female space within the essay-periodicals' 'literary public sphere' by performing a close analysis and an extensive comparative reading of *The Spectator* (1711-1712) and *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746). Studies of women in *The Spectator* conducted by feminist scholars have tended to focus on the periodical's "systematic naturalization of a normative, domestic figure" (Shevelov, 1989, p. 52) thus promoting the domestic sphere as women's natural space. *The Female Spectator*, on the contrary, has been interpreted by some feminist scholars as a reactionary response to *The Spectator*'s misogyny, as the periodical "unmasked and answered *The Spectator*'s gender politics and put men of letters ... in [the] secondary place"(Bannet, 2006, p. 83). This thesis, however, will attempt to offer a new perspective on women in essay-periodicals by determining the space allotted to implied female readers through a close reading of the periodicals' moral essays while also performing a comprehensive taxonomical analysis of the periodicals' reader correspondence. I will perform a close reading of the 120 female letters to the editor of *The Spectator* and the 14 female letters to the editor of *The Female Spectator* and divide them into categories based on the theme of the letter or its main characteristic. The categories will then be compared and discussed to establish the types of female voices that were allowed within each periodical. The argument of this thesis will be based upon the notion of the essay-periodical as a third space where the male and female sphere could interlock, which consequently enabled women to become readers of and participants in the essay-periodicals' 'literary public sphere'.

The term literary public sphere was first coined by Jürgen Habermas and was defined as the precursor to what he named the bourgeois public sphere. He argued in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* that the development of the eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere "provided an important intermediary body between the absolutist state and private individuals" (as cited in Cowan, 2001, p. 129). This intermediary body was present in the literary public sphere of essay-periodicals which served as a "training ground for critical public reflection" (Habermas, 1989, p. 29). The first essay-periodicals, *The Tatler* (1709-1711) and *The Spectator*, were closely linked to the popular coffee houses. Habermas argued that, when Addison's first periodical *The Tatler* was published, "the coffee houses were already so numerous and circles of their frequenters already so wide that contact among these thousand-fold circles could only be maintained through a journal" (1989, p. 42). The combination of

essay-periodicals and coffee houses thus constituted the driving force behind the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere. Even so, the literary public sphere did not cease to exist as the new bourgeois public sphere emerged.

Paula McDowell has claimed that “many historians and theorists now understand the origins of the public sphere as a matter of separate though overlapping publics”(1998, p. 8). There existed, in other words, and continued to exist a multitude of public spheres that could be separated by gender and class, or that could represent a space where the male and female sphere could interlock. The literary public sphere of essay-periodicals thus represented a separate public sphere that was constrained within the borders of the publication itself and was accessible only by its readers. Habermas, however, claimed that full participation in the bourgeois public sphere was limited to substantially propertied males (as cited in McDowell, 1998, p. 8). One may speculate that the association of the bourgeois public sphere and the male sphere has led to a perception of essay-periodical’s literary public sphere as a predominantly male space. Yet Brian Cowen has argued that

entirely separate spaces for men and women did not exist in post-Restoration London, but neither was there one gender-neutral social world in which both men and women had an equal space. Perhaps it would be better to imagine two interlocking spheres of masculine and feminine activity, rather than two separate ones (2001, p. 146).

Yet by giving women the opportunity to express themselves publicly as reader correspondents while remaining within their private sphere, the essay-periodicals created a third space where the male and female sphere could interlock. The essay-periodical’s literary public sphere was thus neither a predominantly male space or a gender-neutral space. Women became part of periodicals’ literary public sphere by reading the editorial persona’s essays or other readers’ letters to the editor. Moreover, Habermas has stated that “female readers ... often took a more active part in the literary public sphere than the owners of private property and the family heads themselves” (1989, p. 56), which implies that female readers actively contributed to essay-periodicals’ reader correspondence. As previous studies of eighteenth-century periodicals have focused on selections of their moral essays, the extent of periodicals’ female space may have been overlooked. A comprehensive mapping of the space allotted to female readers and participants in eighteenth-century essay-periodicals based on the reading and mapping of the full runs of periodicals might on the contrary prove a larger female presence than previously acknowledged.

There are, nonetheless, many essay-periodicals to choose from when investigating the

extent of the female space within eighteenth-century essay-periodicals. Robert D. Mayo has claimed that there existed approximately 120 essay-periodicals for the period 1740–1815 (2005, p. 9). Yet there is one essay-periodical whose undisputed influence on the periodical genre makes it a natural choice: *The Spectator*. Mayo has argued that few periodical writers for a generation after [*The Spectator*] ventured to introduce new narrative forms or extend the boundaries of the old ones (1963, p. 45). If later eighteenth-century periodical writers were not: “Spectators ... they were nothing at all” (Mayo, 1963, p. 73). Richard J. Squibbs confirms Mayo’s assertion by stating that “between 1709 and 1750, 33 essay-periodicals appeared who more or less directly imitated the *Spectator* model” (2007, p. 65). The imitators of the *Spectator* model can, for example, be identified by studying George S. Marr’s list of periodical publications in the eighteenth century. By quickly examining the list one can identify several periodicals that are reminiscent of *The Tatler* or *The Spectator*, as for example *The Censor* (1715), *The Wanderer* (1717) and *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) (1923, pp. 256-257). This thesis will consequently compare *The Spectator* with an essay-periodical of the *Spectator* model that was written for women by a woman, namely *The Female Spectator*, in order to determine whether a female editor would influence the extent of the periodical’s female space.

Having established the reasons for focusing on *The Spectator*, further explanation is needed regarding the main characteristics of *The Spectator* and how it influenced *The Female Spectator*. *The Spectator*, founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, set out to reform contemporary society through a series of short essays published six days a week. Addison and Steele did not write the essays in their names, but used a range of fictional characters as their voice. *The Spectator* was, in other words, not written by one single editorial persona, but supposedly by a society of readers and writers. Mr. Spectator may have been considered to be the editor of the paper, but he often allowed the members of the Spectator Club or correspondents to publish essays. It became a model for essay writing, but it was also a vehicle for the publication of letters, some written by genuine correspondents, others by the ‘editors’ themselves under the guise of correspondents. *The Female Spectator*, however, was an essay-periodical founded in 1744 and written by the well-known novelist, Eliza Haywood. The periodical was published anonymously by Thomas Gardner in twenty-four monthly “books” of about sixty-four octavo pages each between April 1744 and May 1746 (Spedding, 2006, p. 194). Each book was loosely structured as an essay centered on a topic which the editorial persona thought needed her moral attention. The topic of the essay was often exemplified by a longer fictional narrative which illustrated the editorial persona’s moral musings. *The Female Spectator* attempted to follow in *The Spectator*’s footsteps by incorporating the main elements

of *The Spectator* model while also establishing a bond between the two periodicals by alluding to *The Spectator* in its title.

The *Spectator* model consisted of several ‘elements’: its use of an editorial persona, its aim of moral reform, its use of a society of writers, and the inclusion of reader correspondence. The editorial persona of *The Female Spectator* wished to establish herself as an imitation of *The Spectator*’s editorial persona and as an advocate for moral reform in her contemporary society. The editorial persona states in the periodical’s first issue that she shall introduce her character “in imitation of [her] learned Brother” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol.1, p. 2) so that the reader may judge her worthy of further reading. By declaring herself to be the sister of Mr. Spectator, she implicitly states that her periodical will conform to the model set by *The Spectator* and thus that she has inherited the role as a moral commentator of contemporary society. *The Female Spectator* also imitates *The Spectator* in its use of a semi-fictional society of writers. The female society represented the different female social roles related to marital status, namely the spinster, the wife, the widow and the young maiden. The editorial persona declared herself to be an unmarried reformed coquette suggesting that she represents the role of the spinster. The first member of the club is a Lady married to a gentleman thus representing the wife. The second member is a “Widow of Quality” who had not buried her vivacity in the “Tomb of her Lord” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol.1, p. 5) which suggests that she represents the widow, and that she was of similar noble background as the wife. The last member of the female society was “the Daughter of a wealthy Merchant” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol.1, p. 5) which suggests that she represents the maiden. Her background differs from the upper-class background of the rest of the club. The inclusion of a female voice from the merchant class suggests that *The Female Spectator* attempts to mirror *The Spectator*’s Spectator club whose members reflect the different social layers of its contemporary society.

The six members of the Spectator Club were first introduced in *The Spectator*’s second issue. The gentry, the merchant class, the practitioners of law, the clergy and the military are all represented through the Club’s membership which suggests an attempt to create a type of literary-social microcosm where different interests are represented fairly and could thus add additional perspectives to editorial discussions. This is particularly visible in two of the Club’s members, namely Sir Roger de Coverly and Sir Andrew Freeport. Sir Roger de Coverly is a Baronet of ancient descent from Worcestershire. He represents the conservative landed gentry and is clearly a Tory. The name Freeport suggests an interest in trade policies that favors his business. His profession suggests that he is a member of the rising class of Whig merchants (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 10), whose interests stood in opposition to the Tories. The Spectator

Club thus provided Richard Steele with an opportunity, as a Whig politician, to write about Whig issues while also allowing room for dissenting views. *The Spectator* could thus avoid being accused of breaching its supposed political neutrality. The function of *The Female Spectator*'s society of women was in comparison not to comment on the different interests in the public sphere but rather to comment on the private roles women had within the family unit. The experiences of a wealthy merchant daughter are arguably more similar to that of upper-class women than those of women from the middling sorts, which would suggest that the members of *The Female Spectator*'s club only represent the higher levels of female society. The female society thus functions more as an example of sound moral behaviour than as a literary device whose purpose is to promote discussion across borders of class and business interests.

The final characteristic inspired by *The Spectator* was the inclusion of reader correspondence. My reading of *The Spectator* has found that nearly half of *The Spectator*'s 633 issues consist partly or completely of reader correspondence, suggesting that the periodical's reader correspondence was one of its most important features. *The Spectator* included a total of 505 letters written to the editor while *The Female Spectator* included 39 letters. I have identified that 120 out of 505 letters written to the editor of *The Spectator* are purportedly written by women while 14 out of 39 letters written to the editor of *The Female Spectator* were purportedly written by a woman (See Appendix C & D). The female letters are, in other words, not the reader correspondences' most predominant feature, but they constitute the space within the periodicals where female voices were allowed space and an extensive analysis will consequently be able to uncover the diverse female voices present within the literary public sphere of the periodicals.

It is, nevertheless, important to note that by the mid-eighteenth century, several Stamp Acts had been introduced making it more profitable to publish longer publications, which according to Paul Harris shifted the ownership of London papers away from individual printer entrepreneurs to large groups of shareholding booksellers (as cited in Italia, 2005, p. 12). The essay-periodical was thus replaced by the magazine genre, but the new genre kept many of the characteristics of the *Spectator* model. *The Female Spectator* shared features with the longer, bulkier magazine and the periodicals of the *Spectator* model. The monthly publication may have influenced the feeling of immediacy in *The Female Spectator*'s reader correspondence and may also have had an impact on the number of correspondents.

1.2 Critical field

My thesis places itself on the border of two scholarly fields, namely periodical studies and gender studies. Combining periodical studies with another field of study is common within scholarship. The earliest studies of periodicals rarely studied periodicals “as a formal genre of their own, but rather in connection to other genres” (Powell, 2011, p. 242). The authors of periodicals were often authors of novels as well, and their periodicals were consequently studied in relation to their work as novelists. Walter Graham claimed in his 1930 book, *English Literary Periodicals*, that “the history of modern scholars of the periodical during the last two centuries is the story of the English author” (as cited in Powell, 2011, p. 240). The story of periodicals has, in other words, been the story of the English author, rather than English journalism. There has also been a tendency within the field to focus on the most prominent and influential periodicals, namely *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*. This has partly been because of their immense influence on the periodical genre but also because edited editions are often available in university libraries.

There have been attempts at mapping previously overlooked or forgotten periodical publications in works like Alice Adburgham’s 1972 book: *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria*. Adburgham tries to map periodicals written by or for women chronologically. Many of the less well-known periodicals have nonetheless in the past been unavailable to most scholars. Recent developments in the digitalization of eighteenth-century periodicals, however, have enabled scholars to easily access and study periodicals independent of their physical university library and even across international borders¹. The aim of modern periodical studies seems consequently to be to study the periodical as a literary genre in its own right. This aim is illustrated in Iona Italia’s excellent book *The Rise of Journalism in the Eighteenth Century*. Her study is one of the few studies that attempts to expand the periodical canon by offering an extensive analysis of ten essay-periodicals and magazines and thus offers a historic account of the development of the periodical genre. My thesis, however, wishes to apply an extensive approach to the study of women in essay-periodicals by conducting a close analysis and a comparative reading of the full runs of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator*.

The debate concerning whether essay-periodicals promulgated an exclusion or inclusion

¹ I attended the international conference “Spectators in Europe” in Düsseldorf in 2016, which exemplified this development within the field of periodical studies. The international scholars attempted to pinpoint the genesis, development and long-term effects of the *Spectator* genre across historic borders by extensively mapping their countries’ periodicals of the *Spectator* model.

of women in the eighteenth-century public sphere has dominated much of the debate on women in eighteenth-century periodicals. According to Sarah Prescott and Jane Spencer, feminist work on eighteenth-century women has until recently been dominated by a narrative of their progressive exclusion from economic activity and their movement into a separate domestic realm (2000, pp. 45-46). Scholarship has thus traditionally focused on the exclusion of women from the public sphere rather than paying attention to the places where women were present or where the male and female sphere interlocked. One of the earliest contributors to the debate was Kathryn Shevelow, who argued that *The Spectator*'s popularization and celebration of the domestic woman "endowed this figure with a power and authority that resonated throughout the eighteenth century not only in periodicals but in novels and plays as well" (1989, p. 141). *The Spectator*'s representation of women as a domestic figure represented, as a result, a narrowing model of female domesticity that would consequently lead to the nineteenth-century notion of "The Angel in the House". To scholars such as Shevelow, *The Spectator* provides evidence of the emergence of the separate gender sphere.

The separation of the male public sphere and the female domestic sphere has been considered by feminist historians to be eighteenth-century processes (Cowan, 2001, p. 131). Amanda Vickery has, however, pointed out two ways in which the notion of this narrative of tightening domestic restriction is flawed

firstly, that the association of women with domestic life, and men's control of public institutions, was already of long standing by the eighteenth century, and secondly, that empirical studies on eighteenth-century women do not support the view that their public role was declining (as cited in Spencer and Prescott, 2000, p. 46).

Lawrence Klein also rejects what he calls the 'domestic thesis'. He acknowledges that

Most historians agree that over the course of the eighteenth century, and more insistently in the nineteenth, a private and public sphere were constructed ideologically and endowed with gender and class meaning (Klein, 1995, p. 101)

But women did appear in public and unless the women who did so identified themselves as transgressors there must arguably have been a discrepancy between theory and practice in the eighteenth century. The problem with many of these studies, including Habermas' initial theory, is that they fail to acknowledge what public and private meant to people in the eighteenth century. Brian Cowen argued that "the English public sphere ... was a variegated set of publics rather than a unitary one" (2001, p. 150) and that the principle of exclusion from these spheres "often varied along lines as diverse as class, status, political affiliation, regional identity, or

ethnicity as well” (2001, p. 146). Like them, I disagree with scholars like Shevelov who promote the notion of the separate gender thesis. Their approaches seem to focus merely on a close reading of the exclusive elements of the periodicals’ moral essays. Such approaches fail to address the historical female presence in the eighteenth-century public sphere and overlook the diverse female voices visible within periodicals’ reader correspondence when it is assessed as a whole. While many modern periodical studies conduct extensive mappings of the content of essay-periodicals, this thesis will attempt to map the space within essay-periodicals where women were present.

1.3 Method

The essay-periodical created a new type of reader that shifted away from being a passive receiver of its content into becoming an active participant engaging and responding to the periodical’s essays and the letters of other correspondents. This thesis will attempt to investigate who the readers of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* were and the types of female voices that were allowed to be a part of the periodicals’ literary public sphere. My method of research has consequently been two-fold. It has been necessary to determine the prevalence of female readers, while also determining the types of female voices allowed within the literary public sphere. I will first explain the method applied to establish the space allotted to female readers followed by the method used to establish the types of female voices present in the periodicals’ reader correspondence.

The best way to determine women’s role as contemporary readers of the periodicals would be to find sources related to contemporary subscription numbers. Patricia Ann Meyer Spacks, however, has claimed that “[f]acts about eighteenth-century readership remain hard to come by ... [and t]he readership of periodicals remains particularly obscure, since magazines not only appeared periodically but were also collected into annual volumes that libraries might circulate” (1999, p. xii). It is arguably easier to get an impression of the number of actual readers after a publication’s end by looking at the number of editions printed. But there is no available information on contemporary subscription numbers of *The Spectator* or *The Female Spectator*. Yet one of the few indicators we have of contemporary readership of *The Spectator* is found within its own pages. In its 10th issue, *The Spectator* claimed that

there are already Three Thousand [issues] distributed every Day: So that if I allow Twenty Readers to every Paper, which I look upon as a modest Computation, I may reckon about Threescore thousand Disciples in London and Westminster (Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 44).

60 000 daily readers may seem like an exaggeration in terms of the periodical's actual readership. Nevertheless, *The Spectator's* claim of 3000 printed copies per issue may not be as unlikely as one might think. Donald F. Bond has argued that *The Spectator* used two printing houses who alternated on printing *The Spectator's* issues. Each printer would have two days instead of one to print the next issue and would therefore be able to print at least 3000 copies or more per issue (D. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. xxvii). We may thus assume that *The Spectator* would have been able to print 3000 copies or more of each issue, but the proof of the ability to print a large amount of copies does not necessarily prove that a periodical had a large readership, if reliable contemporary literacy rates are unavailable.

According to John Brewer, the most certain numbers on eighteenth-century literacy rates, which are not so certain at all, was a male literacy rate of 45 percent in 1714 and 60 percent in the mid-eighteenth century. For women, the numbers were even lower. In 1714, it is estimated that 25 percent of women could read, while the number had risen to 40 percent in the mid-eighteenth century. These general numbers, however, hide the social and regional variations. It is estimated that in London, female literacy could have risen from 22 percent in the 1670s to 66 percent in the 1720s (1997, p. 167). Women had, in other words, a higher literacy rate in the same city as most essay-periodicals were published, which suggest that literate women in London had access and opportunity to read essay-periodicals such as *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator*. Jacqueline Pearson has, nevertheless, argued that reliable eighteenth-century literacy rates are unavailable partly because the concept of literacy has been shown to be more slippery than it once seemed. The traditional test, the ability to sign one's name, would fail to discover a number of fluent readers in the lower classes because reading was taught separately from writing. Literacy rates would also fail to account for readers who were able to be a part of a work's readership by having the literary work read out loud to them, which was especially important for female readers (1999, p. 11).

Due to the lack of creditable data on literacy rates and subscription numbers, arguments relating to actual readers of essay-periodicals based on these numbers may never be more than speculation. We must therefore use a different approach to establish the prevalence of female readers. We may not have reliable subscription numbers or literacy rates, but what we do have is the original text which the author had to write with its readership in mind. Since *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* were written as a dialogue between the editorial persona and the reader, one may thus be able to use the original text to determine the space allotted to female readers by looking at references made by the editorial persona towards *implied readers*. The implied reader is a term coined by Wolfgang Iser which is used to denote the hypothetical reader

of a certain work which the work is designed to address itself to. The implied reader is different from the actual reader who may have been unable or unwilling to occupy the position of the implied reader (Baldick, 2008). I have consequently conducted a reading of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* where the aim has been to identify references made towards implied readers to establish the presence and space allotted to implied female readers.

The second methodical approach I have applied in this thesis is of a taxonomical nature and relates to the periodicals' reader correspondence. Readers of a periodical could respond to the editorial persona's moral essays or other correspondents' letters. The reader correspondence is consequently the space that best represents the essay-periodicals' literary public sphere. My reading of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* has found that the female correspondence of *The Female Spectator* make up 36 percent of its reader correspondence while the female correspondence of *The Spectator* only make up 24 percent of its reader correspondence. They are, in other words, not a major participant in the periodicals' literary public sphere. Nevertheless, they are there, which is an important aspect of eighteenth-century periodical studies that deserve scholarly attention. The benefit of approaching the female reader correspondence taxonomically is that it enables us to establish the types of female voices admitted within the periodicals' literary public sphere without being able to leave out certain female voices that do not address the periodicals supposed aim of female exclusion. I have thus conducted an extensive reading of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* with the aim of mapping the number of female letters to the editor and consequently the types of female voices they represent.

The implication of attempting to analyze such a vast source material is that one needs to be able to map categorically the similarities between the letters and the two periodicals. I have for that reason divided the female reader correspondence into nine categories based on the letters' theme or main characteristic. Seven of the categories are based on the letters' theme or what they wish to convey to either the editorial persona or other reader correspondents. I have named these categories: "Moral Complaints", "Example of Poor Moral Behavior", "Love Advice", "Criticism of the Editorial Persona", "*The Spectator* as a Mediator", "General Advice and Questions" and "Letters of Encouragements to Mr. Spectator". The two last categories, "Essays" and "Fictional Narratives" are named according to the letters' most prominent feature, namely their genre. I have also included a list of all the letters to the editor of *The Spectator* (See Appendices D) and *The Female Spectator* (See Appendices C), which also includes the assigned category of the female reader correspondence.

If one could also prove the authenticity of letters to the editor, they might be able to shed

light on the characteristics of actual readers. There is significantly more evidence of the existence of authentic letters to the editor of *The Spectator* than to *The Female Spectator* in terms of the reader correspondence's authenticity. In 1725, several years after the end of *The Spectator*'s publication, the perfumer Charles Lillie, with the permission of Richard Steele, issued the book *Original and Genuine Letters Sent to the Tatler and Spectator During the Time those Works were publishing. None of which have been before printed*, which includes almost three hundred letters, most of them to *The Spectator* (R. P. Bond, 1959, p. 14). Even though these letters were not published, one may perhaps assume that with over 500 printed letters to the editor and approximately 300 unused letters, there may have been a significant number of real letters printed in *The Spectator*. Still, even though we might assume that *The Spectator* printed real letters, evidence suggests that Richard Steele and Joseph Addison edited many of the letters before they were printed. Donald F. Bond mentions an example of the editorial practice of rewriting the received letter before publication. A letter published in issue No. 520 is printed without editorial comment which suggests that the letter was received in this manner. The original letter has, however, been preserved at Blenheim Palace. The preserved letter suggests that the printed letter is a rewriting of the original letter and that the writer of the letter requested the editor of *The Spectator* to do so (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. xli). The letters printed in *The Spectator* are, as a result, most likely genuine, but that they may have been altered as Mr. Spectator declares in issue No. 442, to "adapt them to the character and Genius of [his] Paper" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 4, p. 52).

In terms of the authenticity of reader correspondence to *The Female Spectator*, any clear evidence is lacking. As I have conducted the research for my thesis, I have not come across any printed publications containing unused reader correspondence addressed to *The Female Spectator* or any original letters that were printed in *The Female Spectator*, which question the actual authorship of the reader correspondence in the periodical. But it does not prove that the letters were not written by actual readers. The authentic unused letters might not have been published in book form because the letters may have been destroyed or the publishers did not believe there was a market for them. Original letters printed in *The Female Spectator* may also have been destroyed. Even so, Earla A. Wilputte, argued that "some correspondents, especially the political ones whose letters are not printed, are entirely Haywood's own creations to serve her thematic and rhetorical purposes" (2006, p. 123). Whether the female correspondence to *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* was authentic, written by a man, woman or by the editor, the inclusion of purportedly female correspondents still signifies an allowance of female voices and female space within the periodicals' literary public sphere.

1.4 Thesis Outline

To determine the extent of the female space within essay-periodicals' literary public sphere I will first discuss the implied reader of *The Spectator* before comparing it to the implied reader of *The Female Spectator* in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 will be devoted to explaining and discussing the categories of female correspondence in *The Spectator*, in order to determine the different types of female voices allowed within the periodical's literary public sphere. Chapter 3 will firstly explain and discuss the categories of female correspondence in *The Female Spectator* before comparing the categories to the female correspondence in *The Spectator*. I will finally, in the conclusion, attempt to bring these strands together in a consideration of the extent of the periodicals' female space based on their implied readers and the reader correspondence to *The Spectator* and to *The Female Spectator*.

1. The Implied Readers of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator*

1.1 The Implied Readers of *The Spectator*

The Spectator's daily essays were written as a dialogue between the editorial persona and its implied readers, which enables us to establish their gender and characteristics based on the implicit and explicit references aimed towards its implied readers. It is important to note that periodicals would attempt to appeal to as many types of implied readers as possible to secure commercial success. This chapter will establish the gender of the implied readers while also determining the type of implied female readers the periodical wished to reach or to create based on the periodicals' moral essays. I will firstly analyze references aimed at the implied readers of *The Spectator* before comparing it with references aimed at the implied readers of *The Female Spectator*.

The editorial persona of *The Spectator* first reference towards an implied reader is made in the very first sentence of its first issue which underlines the reader's importance. The editorial persona of *The Spectator*, Mr. Spectator, stated that: "I have observed, that a Reader seldom peruses a Book with Pleasure 'till he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair Man" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 1). Mr. Spectator underlines the importance of an author's character in terms of the work of literature's readability while also implicitly stating that the implied readers of the periodical is male. The fourth issue, however, marks a shift away from the initial impression of the periodical's implied readers being exclusively male, by explicitly referring to women as possible readers. The editor states that he shall "dedicate a considerable share of [his] Speculations to their Service" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 21). He is, in other words, giving women a significant role as implied readers of the periodical while also encouraging women to partake in the periodical's discourse by stating that "I shall take it for the greatest Glory of my Work, if among reasonable Women this Paper may furnish Tea-Table talk" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 21).

The multiple references to an ideal female character in the periodical's moral essays, represent a female model of virtue which *The Spectator* wished to promote to its implied male and female readers. The purpose of *The Spectator*'s moral essays was "to refresh [the implied readers'] Memories from Day to Day, till [Mr. Spectator had] recovered them out of that desperate State of Vice and Folly, into which the Age is fallen" (D.F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 44). Mr. Spectator, would, in other words, point "out all those Imperfections that are the

Blemishes, as well as those Virtues which are the Embellishments of the Sex” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1 p. 47) so that implied readers of both genders would recognize the imperfection in their character and consequently reform. Mr. Spectator illustrated the periodical’s perspective on the difference between the male and female character in issue No. 128 by stating that

Vivacity is the Gift of Women, Gravity is that of Men. They should ... therefore keep a watch upon the particular Bias which Nature has fixed in their Mind, that it may not draw too much, and lead them out of Paths of Reason (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 8).

The nature of men and women are, in other words, inherently different and if they cultivate their gender-specific characteristic it will lead them away from a life governed by reason. The task of *The Spectator* is consequently to remind them of their character’s bias to save the implied readers from leading an unhappy life caused by their unchecked character. To illustrate his point, Mr. Spectator usually provides the implied readers with a story that describes the danger and implications of certain flaws connected to the male or female character which he then compares to the character of a virtuous opposite. In issue No. 128 Mr. Spectator told the story of a wife, an old coquette, who longs for the diversions of the city but whose husband “frowns and frets at the Name of it” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 11). The couple represent the worst of what is gender specific to the male and female character, which consequently results in an unhappy marriage. These characters are thus compared to the ideal marriage between Aristus and Aspatia which Mr. Spectator describes as:

The innocent Vivacity of the one is tempered and composed by the cheerful Gravity of the other. The Wife grows Wise by the discourses of the Husband, and the Husband good-humour’d by the Conversations of the Wife (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 11)

The issue thus illustrates how *The Spectator* promoted its aim of moral reform by first pointing out a gender-specific character flaw to its implied readers and thus suppling the implied readers with a story which illustrates the awful consequence of the flaw. Before finally providing the implied readers with the solution through a story that illustrates the ideal characteristic which caused happiness in the protagonist instead of unhappiness.

It is based on *The Spectator*’s assertions of what constitutes appropriate female behavior that the feminist scholar Eve Tavor Bannet has argued that *The Spectator* promulgated “an ideal of femininity based on patriarchal conceptions of women’s sphere and women’s nature” (2006, p. 85). To Tavor Bannet, *The Spectator* clearly promoted separate gender spheres. Although the idea of the woman as the ‘Angel in the House’ is a nineteenth-century concept, it is arguably in the eighteenth century that one sees signs of women’s movement into the domestic sphere, in

for example conduct literature and in periodicals like *The Spectator*. Many historians have, nevertheless, rejected the hypothesis of separate gender spheres as reflecting merely the dominant normative discourse about the public and private in the eighteenth century (Schaich, 2009, p. 132). The public normative debate in the eighteenth century were, in other words, promoting separate gender spheres simultaneously as there were several examples of women in the public sphere. The Duchess of Devonshire, for example, was criticized for supporting and hosting dinners for the Whig party, but it did not physically stop her from venturing into the public sphere. Women in the eighteenth-century would thus have acted differently in practice than the normative discourses would suggest that they did in theory. *The Spectator's* moral musings thus represent a reflection of the dominant public discourses but it does not necessarily mean that actual female readers of *The Spectator* stopped appearing in public because of its moral essays or that the periodical refused to include female correspondents in its literary public sphere. If *The Spectator* whole-heartedly promoted a patriarchal conception of the female sphere, would it not consequently wish to exclude women from the periodical's literary public sphere and rather confine them within their private sphere? Women were, on the contrary, included in the literary public sphere of *The Spectator*, which would suggest that the periodical mirrored eighteenth-century society's difference between theory and practice.

The Spectator was also a proponent of female education or the improvement of female knowledge. When Mr. Spectator visited Leonora's Lady's library in issue No. 37, he included a list of some of the works in her library which contained several romances, religious sermons, the works of Isaac Newton and John Locke, a book on midwifery, dictionaries and conduct books. The library is mentioned in positive terms throughout the issue, which suggests that the variety of books is a great attribute. Mr. Spectator also ponders on

What improvements would a Woman have made, who is so susceptible of Impression from what she reads, had she been guided to such Books as have a tendency to enlighten the Understanding and rectify the Passions, as well as to those which are a little more use than to divert the imagination? (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 158).

Mr. Spectator is thus emphasizing the transformative powers of female reading. Reading was considered to have a transformative effect on its readers which impacted men and women differently. Jaqueline Pearson has stated that

men's reading was shown to facilitate intellectual development while women's reading was represented as a physical not an intellectual act. Female reading did, in other words, not only have a direct effect on female morals, but also on the female body (1999, p. 4).

Reading could thus have a positive intellectual effect on both male and female readers, but if a piece of literature was immoral, it could potentially corrupt its female readers. *The Spectator* may have aimed itself towards women to divert them from potentially ‘dangerous’ reading that could have corrupted their morals. The periodical’s perceived moral superiority and female suitability is implicitly described by Jane Austen in her defense of *Northanger Abbey*:

Young girls, are generally ashamed to be caught reading a novel ... Now, had the same young lady been engaged with a volume of *The Spectator* ... how proudly would she have produced the book, and told its name (as cited in Italia, 2005, p. 15).

Austen’s comment suggests that her contemporary society perceived *The Spectator* to be suitable reading material for female readers which may arguably have been true in the eighteenth-century as well. An address to a female audience could also signal a disinterest in party politics as “discussing topics of traditionally feminine interests came to be viewed as a mark of literary and social cachet (Italia, 2005, p. 6). One may also argue that *The Spectator* was aiming itself towards a female audience not because of its moral agenda, but because female readers represented a somewhat unexploited portion of the literary market. What is certain, however, is that *The Spectator* considered women to a part of the essay-periodical’s implied readership which enabled them to become a part of the periodical’s literary public sphere.

1.2 The Implied Readers of *The Female Spectator*

Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman has claimed that there is a general consensus among scholars that Eliza Haywood wrote primarily for women and that *The Female Spectator* is as a consequence generally considered to be the first periodical written for women by a woman (2006, p. 17). One would therefore presume that the editorial persona would mainly address implied female readers. Yet the first reference towards an implied reader questions this assertion. At the very start of *The Female Spectator*’s first issue, the editorial persona hopes that “the Reader, on casting his Eye over the four or five first Pages, may judge how far the Book may, or may not be qualified to entertain him, and either accept, or throw it aside as he thinks proper” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 2). The editorial persona explicitly refers to a male implied reader by using male pronouns, which contradicts the notion of *The Female Spectator* being a periodical primarily written for women. The address may be interpreted as an attempt to be perceived by the male audience as a respectable publication. If male readers perceived the periodical to be a respectable publication that would not corrupt female morals,

they might purchase it for their wives. Nevertheless, the reference towards an implied male reader still suggests that male readers were regarded as a natural or even a significant part of *The Female Spectator*'s readership.

An initial address towards implied male readers is present in both periodicals which suggests that male readers were considered to either be the most important reader of periodicals or the most likely reader. While *The Spectator* only refers to implied male readers in its first issue, *The Female Spectator* has three different types of references to an implied reader in its first issue. The next address towards the implied reader of *The Female Spectator*, is made when the topic has shifted away from the editorial persona's character to the question of love. The editorial persona does not support "such definitions of the Passion as we generally find in Romances, novels and plays" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 8). The use of the pronoun 'we' suggests that it refers to the editorial persona and her implied female readers, but it could also refer to the editorial persona and readers of both genders. The ambiguous reference towards the implied reader fuels the question of whether *The Female Spectator* really is a periodical primarily written for female readers. The first explicit reference towards the implied female reader, however, is made a few pages later when the blame for young girls' readiness to fall in love is not "from that Inconstancy of Nature which the Men charge upon our Sex" but stems from their "romantic vein" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 11). The editorial persona thereby declares the implied reader to be of the same sex as her. Both essay-periodicals are thus aiming themselves towards implied readers of both genders.

While *The Spectator* uses an ideal model of female behavior aimed at its implied female readers, *The Female Spectator* does not seem to promote a clearly defined female ideal. The aim of the periodical's moral musings is instead "only to expose the Vice, not the Person" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 5). This assertion is reflected in the periodical's moral narratives by the notion that it is never inherently something in women or men's character that make them act immorally, but rather an unawareness of the potential danger of vice. This is often because the protagonist has been overprotected or neglected by their parents, as for example in the story of Panthea, the illegitimate daughter of a wealthy man. She is offered by her father as mistress to an influential businessman to save her father's fortune. Although Panthea allowed herself to be persuaded by her father and thus agreed to her ruin, the editorial persona states that

the World is too severe on poor Panthea; her Youth, and the Authority of a Father ... may plead some Excuse for her Want of that Fortitude and Resolution ... 'Tis on [her father] alone that the just Censures of her Fall should light (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 132).

Even though Panthea is living a life in sin, the cause of her misfortune is not found in her character, but in her father. The moral narratives are not asserting a set model of virtuous female behavior, but rather wish to expose the implied readers to the dangers of vice so that they will know how to act when encountering them in their life. As for example in the case of the innocent and virtuous Erminia, who attends a masquerade for the first time with her brother and is quickly separated from him. She mistakes a stranger for her brother, who takes her to his house and rapes her. She exemplifies *The Female Spectator's* point that vice does not care whether a person is virtuous or not because "the eternal Ruin of [the] poor Creature" was alone caused by her "Ignorance of the World" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 49), which coincides with *The Female Spectator's* statement that:

[Y]outh and Innocence cannot be too much upon its Guard, even against Dangers that seem most remote; the Snares laid for it are sometimes so well conceal'd, that the most penetrating Eye cannot discover them (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 56).

The Female Spectator implicitly argues that young ladies need her moral musings in order to expose vice when they encounter it so that their innocence and ignorance of the world may not be taken advantage of. *The Spectator*, on the contrary, seems to implicitly argue that vice and immoral behavior stems from sometimes unconscious aspects of a person's character which can only be eradicated when the person is made aware of the flaws of their character.

The Female Spectator's inclusion of several moral narratives where the main protagonist is male seem to suggest that the moral narratives were also aimed at male implied readers. The protagonists of the moral narrative mirror the implied readers of the periodical, because its moral effect depended on whether the reader could draw a line between the protagonist's situation and their own life and thus recognize the need to reform. It is particularly in book III, which deals with avarice, that male characters are particularly prominent in the moral narratives. A man is the protagonist in three out of the six stories. If an inclusion of implied female readers in *The Spectator* signifies an attempt to secure more readers, the same can also be said about *The Female Spectator's* focus on male implied readers. It may firstly signify an attempt to secure commercial success, but it also suggests that men were expected to be a part of the periodical's readership. The inclusion of protagonists of both genders as well as the reoccurring topic of parents as the cause of their children's misfortunes, may suggest that the *The Female Spectator* was expected to be read by each member of a family unit, perhaps even to be read out loud as a family activity. The moral narratives may for example have been used by the daughter in the family to show her parents the danger of being too overprotective.

The Spectator claims at several instances to be fair in his criticisms and satirize the male and female character equally, which suggests that both periodicals considered readers of both genders to be part of their implied readership. Still *The Female Spectator*, like *The Spectator*, does not limit her moral criticism to women but does occasionally focus her moral essays on men only. The explicit references towards male and female readers thus mirror the implicit references towards the implied readers represented in the periodicals' moral essays. The implied readers of *The Female Spectator* thus contradict the notion of the periodical being the first periodical written primarily for women by a woman.

2. The Female Correspondence in *The Spectator*

The reader correspondence represents the space within the essay-periodical that enabled the reader to transcend the role of a passive reader and instead become an active reader engaging and responding to the periodical's essays. 49 % of the female correspondence in *The Spectator* engages either with the editorial persona's previous essays or other correspondents' letters, which suggest that the female correspondents are using their letters to actively participate in the essay-periodical's literary public sphere. By studying the female reader correspondence in its entirety, we may determine the types of female voices that were able to become both readers of and participants in the essay-periodical's literary public sphere. Based on my close-analysis of *The Spectator*'s female reader correspondence, I have divided the letters into seven categories (See Appendices A). This chapter will first explain and discuss women as moral commentators in the three largest categories, "Moral Complaints", "Examples of Poor Moral Behavior and "Love Advice". This chapter will then discuss and explain the way female correspondents in the categories "Criticism of the Editorial Persona", "*The Spectator* as a Mediator" and "General Advice and Questions" engage and respond to the periodical's literary public sphere. I will end my discussion of *The Spectator*'s female correspondence by arguing that the final category, "Letters of Encouragement to Mr. Spectator", is used by the editorial persona as a defense against critical female correspondents.

2.1 Female Correspondents as Moral Commentators

"Moral Complaints", "Examples of Poor Moral Behavior and "Love Advice" mirror the periodical's moral aim and gender-specific ideals, by offering implicit advice to implied female readers. Female correspondents from different social layers were permitted to express their dissatisfaction with contemporary society in letters of moral complaints. The letters complained of different moral issues in contemporary society which Mr. Spectator had not yet elaborated on. The complaints consisted of a variety of topics as for example about impertinent seducing men (No. 182), female vice and immorality (No. 140) and the behavior of married couples (No. 300). The female correspondents were petitioning Mr. Spectator to use his moral influence to change the parts of contemporary society that vexed them. The prevalence of female moral complaints seems to suggest a willingness to let women express their dissatisfaction with contemporary society. Yet Mr. Spectator rarely commented on the suggested moral issue, which may suggest that the use of a female correspondent to voice a moral complaint was a literary device employed by the editors or other male correspondents. As Tedra Osell has stated

To contemporaries, essay-periodicals and women were both expected to provide pleasant companionship and a refuge from conflict, be morally earnest without pedantry, effect change through gentle persuasion or good-natured teasing, and treat even serious subjects with a light touch (2005, p. 288).

The gentle moral persuasion of a virtuous female may, in other words, have been perceived by contemporaries as a natural moral voice. *The Spectator*'s inclusion of women as implied readers and participants in the periodical's literary public sphere may have been a way to legitimize the essay-periodical's aim of moral reform.

The gentle moral persuasion was, however, not restricted to virtuous women from the upper-classes, but included female voices from different social backgrounds. In the periodical, servants are complaining of their mistresses who constantly change their minds (No. 137) and female shop-keepers are complaining of impertinent customers who stare and loiter without buying anything (No. 336). While a prostitute complains of impertinent coxcombs who enter brothels just to watch and mock (No. 190), a lady of condition complains that *The Spectator* is not severe enough in its criticism of prostitutes, and complains about prostitutes who send impertinent letters to gentlemen using the names of ladies of quality (No. 205). The inclusion of these diverse female voices gives an appearance of the essay-periodical's literary public sphere as a space where women of different social layers could interact. It does to a certain degree simulate the image of the city as compressed humanity, where different social classes exist side by side. The scholar Ronald Paulson has described the Spectator Club as a "social microcosm, an England in little, of which the reader is meant to think he is a part" (as cited in Italia, 2005, p. 68), but one may claim the same to be true in regards to *The Spectator*'s reader correspondence. Lawyers, shop-keepers, prostitutes and genteel ladies are given a voice. Even if the letters are not genuine, the diversity of female writers suggest that *The Spectator* is a social microcosm where women are given a space regardless of class and virtuousness.

"Examples of Poor Moral Behavior" are purportedly written by women of poor moral character or whose poor moral behavior has ruined their reputation. The stories' didactic purpose is clearly aimed towards the periodical's implied readers and thus conveys the periodical's moral aim through their examples. The letters often exemplify a gender-specific flaw before Mr. Spectator compares the correspondent to an ideal female model. Mr. Spectator uses the letter in issue No. 79 to extend upon the correspondent's vanity and thus as a caution against "loving by Sight" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 340). The correspondent is a wealthy young lady who is likely to receive a most fortunate marriage proposal. She is, nonetheless, "unwilling to resign the Pleasures of Distinction" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 338) and wishes

to put off the idea of marriage until the next season so that she can continue to enjoy the pleasures that society can offer. The letter exemplifies female vanity which Mr. Spectator has implicitly defined as a flaw. He consequently provides the implied readers with a model of virtuous behavior by stating “how far removed from a Woman of this light Imagination is Eudisia” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 339). The letters of examples thus mirror the didactic purpose of *The Spectator*’s moral essays aimed at implied female readers. Many of these letters consequently fall within the genre of conduct literature. Many female correspondents express a belief in the transformative power of the periodical due to Mr. Spectator’s moral authority. In issue No. 402, a young wife claims that her husband’s friend courts her and that her mother encourages him. She hopes that when her aggressors read the letter that “their Fear of Shame upon reading this in your Paper” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 504) will reform them and they will consequently end their schemes. *The Spectator* thus implicitly encourages female correspondents to publish their stories in the hopes that they will change their situation because their aggressors will realize the immorality of their behavior when reading the periodical. The actual editors of *The Spectator* could also have written these letters as convincing supplements to their moral discussions. The female correspondents are still implicitly used as moral commentators.

“Love Advice” consists of 17 letters written to Mr. Spectator seeking advice regarding either a courtship, marriage or an infatuation. Of all the categories of letters this is possibly the category where the authenticity is most dubious. The main function of most letters seems either to be to serve as a didactic example or as entertainment that correspond with the periodical’s moral aim. The question most female correspondents ask is whether they should marry a man of fortune or of good character (No. 149, No. 196, No. 278). These letters mostly revolve around the same dilemma, yet the editorial persona only prints a reply to the first letter. He may, however, not have replied in print to the other letters because the first reply was meant to be a model of female behavior in similar situations, thus creating a model or a standard for female virtuous behavior. The first letter is written by a widow with a large fortune who asks Mr. Spectator for advice on whether to marry her rich suitor or the suitor with a smaller estate. Mr. Spectator replies by stating that he shall answer “with the Tenderness of a Father, in Gratitude for your giving me the Authority of one” (D.F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 86). He is thereby implicitly stating that when he is answering the questions of female correspondents he is doing so with the authority of the father figure. He advises the correspondent to choose the man based on his character rather than his fortune or appearance.

The letters that were most likely written or printed as entertainment to the implied

readers of the periodical usually revolve around marital disputes. The female correspondent in issue No. 252 complains of her husband who wastes their money on drink and gambling without listening to her complaints. She wonders “whether in some Cases a Cudgel may not be allowed as a good Figure of Speech” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 480). These letters may implicitly serve as examples of the consequences of not following the model of courtship set by Mr. Spectator. As these three categories are the periodical’s largest, we may assume that the periodical perceived moral commentary to be female correspondents’ most important function within its literary public sphere.

2.2 Female Participants in *The Spectator*’s Literary Public Sphere

Female letters to the editor in the categories “Criticism of the Editorial Persona”, “*The Spectator* as a Mediator” and “General Questions and Advice” explicitly participate in a dialogue between the editorial persona or other correspondents to the periodical which consequently exemplifies women’s position in the periodical’s female space. “Criticism of the Editorial Persona” contains 15 letters explicitly criticizing the content or tone of the editorial persona, Mr. Spectator. The letters of criticism can be divided in to two different types of criticism. The letters are either reactions to allegedly unfair criticism of women in certain situations or criticizing Mr. Spectator’s lack of male criticism. In issue No. 573, *The Spectator* prints a letter from the president of the Widow club, who criticizes Mr. Spectator’s criticism of widows who allow male visitors soon after their husband’s death. The widow uses her story to explain and justify the reason behind such behavior. The editorial persona offers no reply or defense to the widow’s accusations which seems to suggest that the periodical’s public sphere allows women to explicitly criticize the editorial persona’s moral musings if they find them unfair (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 3, pp. 556-561). It is, moreover, important to note that the published letters of criticism are always written by the types of women that are criticized, which may suggest that a letter of criticism written for example by a married woman on behalf of widowed women may not have been published. However, by publishing the widow’s response, she is consequently made into an active reader who is able to participate in the moral discussion of the essay-periodical.

Most letters criticizing Mr. Spectator complain of the lack of male criticism on topics where the editorial persona has previously criticized women. In issue No. 319, a female correspondent criticizes Mr. Spectator for being “a little enclined to be partial towards [his] own sex” (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 3, p. 161). The letter comments on the characterization of women by complaining of its unfairness. She is more specifically dissatisfied with the way he

characterized women's headdress while not commenting on the way men wore their headdress. In modern terms, we might say that the female correspondent is complaining of a double standard. The editorial persona does not give his opinion on the letter, but by printing it he gives the female correspondent's opinion merit and a rightful place in the paper's public discourse. One might also add that the prevalence of female correspondence discussing contemporary society and criticizing unfair judgements in the essay-periodical's public sphere, goes against the image of female domesticity. Although the editor might disagree with their opinion, by printing the letter he declares them to be rightful participants in the literary public sphere of the paper.

"*The Spectator as a Mediator*" contains 19 letters from women who wished to use the periodical as a mediator that could communicate their thoughts, wishes or desired actions which they may not have been able to express in their own private or public sphere. *The Spectator* thus enabled female correspondents to communicate in a manner which may not have been possible to do outside the literary public sphere. As for example in issue No. 296 where Charity Frost urges Mr. Spectator to insert her letter so that the gentleman who reads the periodical in front of the fire in the house she lives in, can sit down so that she may also enjoy the heat from the fire (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 3, p. 57). The female writer expressed her wish within the constraints of the female space of the periodical's literary public sphere, but her request was addressed to a person within her own private sphere. Female correspondents could thus use the essay-periodical to communicate an opinion or an action which they would perhaps not have been able to do or express in their own public or private sphere. *The Spectator* was also used by female correspondents to communicate with a love interest.

In issue No. 199, a woman states that Mr. Spectator has not yet talked of the unfairness of women's inability to make advances towards the men they like. If Mr. Spectator had considered their misfortune he "would easily conceive the miserable Condition many of us are in, who not only from the Laws of Custom and Modesty are restrained from making any Advances towards our Wishes" (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 279). She wants him to print a letter to her love interest as a way of helping her. *The Spectator* willingly prints her letter which could suggest that he sympathizes for the writer's situation, or believes that the readers of the periodical will find the letter entertaining. In either case, it is implicitly giving women an opportunity to take the matter of courtship into their own hands. In her letter to her love interest, she also writes that after she has puzzled on how to express her feelings for him has "chosen this Way, by which means I can be at once revealed to you, or, if you please, lye concealed"(D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 280). The anonymity that the essay-periodical could provide seems to

be an enticing factor since it allowed the writer to stay hidden and keep a seemingly private matter away from her nearest acquaintances. These types of letters inspired other female correspondents to write similar love letters using *The Spectator* as a mediator.

The final category “General Advice and Questions” contains 12 letters with a large variety of requests aimed at Mr. Spectator. For example, asking for advice on how ‘dimple’ is spelt (No. 140) or advice on what to do as a chambermaid when your mistress gives away your things (No. 366). It is uncertain whether these letters are meant as entertainment or if the inclusion of these letters symbolize an allowance of female inquisitiveness. The variety of questions and requests of advice seem to suggest that the periodical strived after including a variety of female voices as long as the aim of the question was to improve their knowledge or their manners. Perhaps one may argue that asking how certain words are spelt indicates that the female correspondent is lacking a good education. It may also suggest that the periodical wished to include questions from both educated and less educated women which consequently suggests a willingness to include a variety of female correspondents or a willingness to improve women’s education.

Two of the letters stand out from the rest. They want Mr. Spectator’s opinion on what is appropriate female literature by requesting the list of recommended female literature (No. 79, No. 92) that he promised to print in issue No. 37. Mr. Spectator responds by printing three lists of books recommended by his booksellers, for example: Danton’s Country Justice and Bale’s dictionary, a list recommended by husbands that included devotionals and cooking books and finally a list recommended by women which mostly included romances, plays and history books. The lists contain several diverse genres which would not have been perceived by contemporary conservatives to be appropriate for female readers. According to Jaqueline Pearson

women’s reading of fiction, poetry and plays were criticized, science and the classics risked transgressive access to knowledge, history and travel writing while generally allowed posed their own problems, and even the Bible troubled female delicacy (1999, p. 86)

It was arguably not the genres themselves that conservative critics were worried about, but the hidden messages within the works of literature that could influence female morals. Kathryn Shevelow has claimed that *The Spectator* was promoting “an increasingly narrow and restrictive model of femininity” (as cited in Clery, 2004, pp. 44-45) which would suggest that *The Spectator* would most likely be quite conservative in terms of its opinion on what women should

and should not read. Mr. Spectator, however, does not seem to be concerned with this dilemma. On the contrary he flatters himself as he sees

the Sex daily improving by these my Speculations. My fair Readers are already deeper scholars than the Beaus, I could name some of them who talk much better than several gentlemen that make a Figure at *Will's* (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 1, p. 393)

Female education is, as a result considered to be an improvement to the female character. Although Mr. Spectator does not provide a list of the books that he himself would recommend, it is fair to assume that if he strongly disagreed with an item in the other lists, he would remove them before print. They are consequently books that Mr. Spectator would implicitly recommend. These categories seem to suggest that female correspondents of different social layers and of different intellectual capabilities were allowed space within the periodical's literary public sphere. Critical female correspondents were not mocked or silenced, but allowed to voice their opinion on the faults of Mr. Spectator, which suggests that female correspondents' opinion on *The Spectator's* moral agenda mattered. *The Spectator's* promotion of an ideal female characteristic did not result in exclusion of critical women who did not fit into the ideal model of female behavior, which suggests that the periodical included more diverse female voices in its reader correspondence compared to its moral essays.

2.3 Female Correspondents as a Defense against Critical Women

The smallest category "Letters of Encouragement" must be read in the context of previous female correspondence. The first letter of encouragement is printed in issue No. 217 by an old maid who claims that because of her age and station in life she is unconcerned with Mr. Spectator's criticism of her gender. She urges him to continue because he criticizes his own sex just as much, thus contradicting most of the female letters in the category "Criticism of the Editorial Persona". One might speculate that the letter of encouragement was in fact written by the editors as a defense from further female criticism or perhaps they chose to include this arguably genuine letter to prove that some women actually find their criticism fair. Regardless of the authenticity of the letter, the second letter of encouragement is inserted in the very same issue which seems to suggest that the editors wanted to emphasize their support from female readers. The second letter is a reference to issue No. 208 which describes the ten types of female souls and a previous correspondent. The female correspondent, Maria Tempest, is in issue No. 211 most dissatisfied with the satire because it has led to her husband constantly comparing her temper to the sea. She concludes her letter by stating that she supposes that Mr. Spectator

would make [women] a Parcel of poor-spirited tame insipid Creatures. But, Sir, I would have you to know, we have as good Passions in us as yourself, and that a Woman was never designed to be a Milk-Sop. (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 328)

Yet the second letter of encouragement states that since the correspondent identifies herself with the tenth characteristic, which is the only slightly positive characteristic, she has no quarrel with *The Spectator* for the nine remaining characteristics. The passionate outburst of Maria Tempest seems to contradict the gentle, virtuous character of Aspatia who Mr. Spectator uses as a female model of virtue in issue No. 128. Yet one may assume that the inclusion of Maria Tempest's letter may have been to use her as an example of poor female behavior. Yet the inclusion of her harsh letter also implicitly legitimizes female criticism of the editorial persona because it is allowed space within the periodical's literary public sphere and is printed without a comment or defense by Mr. Spectator.

The close-reading and taxonomical categorization of *The Spectator's* female correspondence suggest that the periodical's literary public sphere included more diverse female voices than one might expect from a periodical who has become known for its promotion of female domesticity. Still, if one consider that most female letters to the editor promoted *The Spectator's* moral agenda, one might argue that women were merely a literary device used to promote the periodical's moral reform. Yet one cannot ignore the diverse, critical female voices within *The Spectator's* literary public sphere. They clearly mattered to the editors of *The Spectator* since they chose to print the letters of criticism as well as print two possibly fake letters of female encouragement to defend their reputation as a fair moral commentator. Female correspondents were thus able to use the periodical to communicate with people in their own private or public sphere because the periodical created a space where they could express themselves publicly in private.

3. The Position of Women in the Reader Correspondence of *The Female Spectator* and *The Spectator*

This chapter will firstly explain the categories of female reader correspondence in *The Female Spectator* before comparing the periodical's categories with categories of female correspondence in *The Spectator*. I will conclude this chapter's discussion of the two periodicals' reader correspondence by comparing the social background of their correspondents. I have divided the female correspondence into six categories based on a close-reading of the letters to the editor of *The Female Spectator* (See Appendices B). *The Female Spectator* shares the first four categories with *The Spectator*. "Examples of Poor Moral Behavior" and "Moral Complaints" are the periodical's largest and their moral content seems as a result to suggest that the periodical wished to emphasize its moral importance. The two smallest categories, "Criticism of the Editorial Persona" and "Love Advice", may have been included by *The Female Spectator* to get an opportunity to distance the periodical from her previous reputation as a novelist and defend the periodical from female criticism. The two final categories, "Essays" and "Fictional Narratives", are letters whose main feature is their genre, which were two of the most common genres written by professional writers. Essays or fictional narratives written by women were not printed in *The Spectator* which may suggest that *The Female Spectator* implicitly promoted female professional writers,

3.1 Moral Letters Complementing *The Female Spectator*'s Moral Musings

The female correspondence exemplifying poor moral behavior and complaining of immorality serve as starting points for the editorial persona's moral musings, which suggests that the editorial persona wished to emphasize its moral authority. Yet the lack of male criticism present within the periodical's literary public sphere indicates a limitation of the periodical's female space. The largest category, "Examples of Poor Moral Behavior", consists of letters written by women who either wish to warn women of the dangers of vice or "warn other Girls of all ranks from being guilty of the [same] Fault" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 4, p. 283). The correspondent of the first letter in Book XII describes an encounter with a female acquaintance who arranges gambling parties every week. The second letter in Book XIII tells the stories of two acquaintances with unfaithful husbands. The correspondent of the third letter in Book XVI retells the story of her unhappy marriage due to her and her husband's different religions. The fourth letter in Book XX is written by the daughter of a merchant, whose father has promised

her to a business associate to secure a beneficial business deal. The correspondent of the last letter in Book XXIII tells the story of a secret courtship that was initiated when she was fourteen without the intention of marrying him. She ends up marrying someone else, but the scorned lover returns to ruin her present marriage. *The Female Spectator* use the five letters as starting points for a broader discussion on the issues of gambling, religion, infidelity, avarice and poor parenting. The correspondent is usually the one who has been wronged and is therefore not to blame which mirrors the periodical's moral narratives. As in *The Spectator*, these letters are clearly intended to have a didactic purpose aimed at its implied readers. Each letter receives a reply from the editorial persona, which elaborates on the letter's moral topic, unlike the approach of *The Spectator* in which many letters are presented without editorial comment. The examples are clearly used to convey the periodical's aim of moral reform.

The ways in which the two correspondents making moral complaints address the editorial persona questions the implied readers' perception of her moral authority. The first letter is from the mother, Sarah Oldfashion, who is worried that her daughter's frequent visits to Ranelagh Gardens will cause her to neglect her education and she wants *The Female Spectator* to print a public reproof that may convince her daughter not to attend the garden. It is worth noticing, however, that the correspondent states that she is dealing with the editorial persona as a friend and the editorial persona will therefore not mind that she will "play the Part of a Monitor, and remind [the editorial persona] both now, and as often as [she] shall find occasion, of any omissions" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 262). Sarah Oldfashion thus defines herself as an equal to the editorial persona. She also seems to be comparing *The Female Spectator* with *The Spectator* by stating that the periodical "has at least not been so particular as might have been expected from a Spectator" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 1, p. 263).

The correspondent of the second letter has, on the contrary, a gentler approach towards the editorial persona. She states that she has been "impatient for every new Publication of *The Female Spectator*" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 3, p. 190) hoping that it would touch upon the issue of cruel Step-mothers. The correspondent does not believe that *The Female Spectator* is unaware of this moral dilemma, but wishes merely to bring it to her attention. She does not wish to seek *The Female Spectator*'s public disapproval or hopes that reading the letter will reform the reader. Instead she applies herself to other female readers and says that cruel step-mothers should be

shun'd like a Serpent, by all those of her own Sex, who are of a different Disposition, till, [the step-mother] ashamed of what she has done, ... repairs the past by future Kindness (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 3, p. 197).

The correspondent uses the periodical as a platform to reach other female readers so that they might reform cruel step-mothers. There are no signs of a belief in the transformative powers of *The Female Spectator's* moral musings which is visible in *The Spectator*. Neither of the correspondents seem to believe that the act of reading their letter or what *The Female Spectator* has to add, will reform the morals of the reader.

Since these two categories are the most common types of letters within *The Female Spectator's* literary public sphere, we might assume that letters that suited a certain book's moral theme were more likely to be published. In other words, letters that did not suit *The Female Spectator's* moral agenda were probably not printed. As the authenticity of *The Female Spectator's* reader correspondence is much less certain than *The Spectator's*, there may be a possibility that the periodical's reader correspondence is written by Haywood which consequently would have enabled her to provide each issue with an 'authentic' example that would fit perfectly with her moral essay. It is also worth noticing that female correspondents in *The Female Spectator* are only complaining of specifically female issues unlike female correspondents in *The Spectator*. Rebecca Ridinghood complains in *The Spectator's* issue No. 242 of impertinent coxcombs who utter rude language in public assemblies so that women cannot avoid hearing it. The correspondent consequently appeals to Mr. Spectator to write an essay on the problem so that he may rid society of such immoral behavior (D. F. Bond, 1965, vol. 2, p. 440). The correspondent is firstly permitted to voice her dissatisfaction with male behavior and she secondly expresses confidence in Mr. Spectator's moral authority. None of the correspondents in *The Female Spectator* express a similar degree of confidence in the editorial persona's moral authority, which may suggest that they considered her to be an equal rather than a superior moral authority. It also suggests that *The Spectator* allowed women to voice their opinion on a broader range of issues within its literary public sphere than in *The Female Spectator*.

3.2 Defending the Periodical

This thesis interprets the inclusion of the letters in the smallest category of reader correspondence in *The Spectator* as a defense of the periodical, which may be true regarding the *The Female Spectator's* smallest categories as well. The letter requesting love advice

provides Eliza Haywood with an opportunity to distance the periodical's moral musings from her earlier romance novels because it is implicitly criticizing the way romance novels influenced women. The correspondent requesting love advice declares that she is currently being courted by 50 men, but only three of them have hopes of succeeding. She describes the three men in detail and hopes *The Female Spectator* may help her choose. All the men have estates, but it is their personalities that set them apart. The first man is respectable, but dull. The second man is so fond of her that she fears he might die if she rejects him and the last man is popular, but pays too much attention to other women. The tone of the letter seems to suggest that the correspondent has been influenced by romances. She finds the first man both dull and strange because as he is talking of the sea in front of them, he chooses to talk of dead admirals instead of comparing her "to the Venus rising out of [the sea]" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 106). The second man seems to be a parody of an infatuated romance hero who "when [she] smile upon him, he is all Extacy, and if [she] frown, his countenance becomes so meagre (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 107). The correspondent realizes, however, that "the passion the Man has for me makes him quite silly" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 107) thereby implicitly stating that when confronted by someone with the character of a romantic hero, his character is not as attractive as in the novel.

The last man seems to share features with the villainous character in a romance novel. On the surface "there is no one Perfection we Women admire in the Sex, that he does not possess in infinite Degree" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 108) yet the correspondent notices that he "is always telling [her] of the Great offers daily made to him" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 108) suggesting that once they are married he might be tempted to accept these offers and make the correspondent a miserable wife. Although *The Female Spectator* never mentions a possible influence by romances we may assume, especially if this letter is not authentic, that it is a criticism of the influence romance novels have on young ladies. Lynn Marie Wright and Donald J. Newman has stated that Eliza Haywood was best known to "her original reader ... as a writer of novellas that described in passionate detail the trials and tribulations of love in a patriarchal society" (2006, p. 19) which suggests that Haywood may have tried to distance *The Female Spectator* from her previous work as a writer.

The letter criticizing the editorial persona gives Haywood the opportunity to defend the periodical's lack of male criticism. The female correspondent states that she is

a little angry with [*The Female Spectator*], and so are several others of my acquaintance, that you confine all your Satire to our Sex, without giving One Fling at the Men, who, I am sure, deserve it as much to the full, if not more than we do (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 3, pp. 179-180).

The female correspondent is complaining of *The Female Spectator*'s one-sided focus on female flaws and immorality while ignoring the flaws of men. The printed letters concerning moral complaints and examples in *The Female Spectator* are all mainly directed towards women. One might speculate that the correspondent's idea of a spectator is derived from the *Spectator* model where the editorial persona claims to criticize both genders fairly. The editorial persona, nevertheless, defends her focus by stating that: "I had not a sufficient idea of my Capacity to imagine, that any Thing offered by a *Female Censor* would have so much Weight with the Men as is requisite to make that Change in their Conduct" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 3, p. 183). The editorial persona is thus declaring that female criticism of male immorality has little effect and is therefore not included in the literary public sphere.

The Spectator's percentage of printed female letters of criticism of the editorial persona and letters requesting love advice is nearly twice the size of the percentage in *The Female Spectator*. "Criticism of the Editorial Persona" represented 12 percent of *The Spectator*'s female reader correspondence compared to *The Female Spectator*'s 7 percent. "Love Advice" made up 14 percent of *The Spectator*'s female reader correspondence while it only made up 7 percent of *The Female Spectator*'s female reader correspondence. The numbers suggest that *The Spectator* included more critical women in its public sphere, but when considering the content of *The Spectator*'s letters of love advice, it seems that the prevalence of love advice is due to its entertaining features as well as the letters enabling Mr. Spectator to explicitly use his fatherly authority to promote the periodical's ideal male and female characteristics. Yet the large number of critical letters in *The Spectator* suggests that female letters were included even if they did not support the periodical's method of moral reform. The exclusion of male criticism represents a limitation to the extent of the female space within *The Female Spectator*.

3.3 Writing as a Female Profession

Unlike *The Spectator*, *The Female Spectator* printed female correspondents' fictional narratives and essays, which suggests that the periodical wished to legitimize female professional writers. The category "Fictional Narratives" contains three female letters where the female correspondent included a fictional narrative of their own creation. Two out of the three narratives are supposedly written by the same correspondent, Elismonda, and in her second

letter she states that “the obliging Reception [*The Female Spectator* was] pleased to give to a former Narrative I sent you, encourages me to approach you a second Time” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 4, p. 188). Elismonda’s statement and the inclusion of her second narrative suggest that Haywood wished to promote female writers. Yet the narratives are quite similar to the narratives Eliza Haywood used to illustrate her moral musings and the plots in her earlier novels. The three narratives all revolve around a young lady infatuated with a handsome gentleman who in two out of three cases tries to seduce her. The plots’ similarity to those of Haywood might suggest that Haywood is the author of these letters. Even so, the inclusion of the narratives purportedly written by women represents the possibility and legitimization of female writers.

Even though *The Spectator* published several essays written by correspondents, none can be identified as purportedly written by women. *The Female Spectator*’s publication of two essays written by women suggests that the periodical wished to legitimize and encourage women to become professional writers. The first essay is published in Book X and is written by Cleora. Cleora argues that the errors committed by women are occasioned by a lack of education and that men are partly to blame for not providing them with it. She declares that if fathers would teach their daughters that “true Beauty is seated in the Mind; how soon should we see our Sex retrieve the many Virtues which false Taste has bury'd in Oblivion!” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, pp. 231-232). A proper female education would consequently solve the problem of female vanity and women would in turn become better daughters, wives and mothers. The female correspondent’s essay seems to serve as a starting point on the topic of female education upon which Haywood elaborates further on in Book X. The second essay is published in Book XII and specifically refers to Cleora’s essay and *The Female Spectator*’s response to it. The correspondent declares that the two have convinced her that women are “capable of attaining a thorough Knowledge in the most abstruse Sciences” (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 2, p. 342) and she consequently elaborates on her experiences of learned women in France. She compares French and English women and finds the latter lacking in education. Her greatest wish is to see the French model of female education adopted in England. Both essays are quite critical of the role of women in English contemporary society and the inclusion of these essays suggests that female criticism of male patriarchal society is given space within *The Female Spectator*’s literary public sphere. This may, moreover, suggest that even though essays were considered to be a male genre, women could be permitted to write an essay on a female topic.

This supports Eve Tannor Bannet’s assertion that *The Female Spectator* responded and fought against *The Spectator*’s gender politics (2006, p. 83). However, when one examines *The*

Female Spectator's moral narratives and female correspondents more closely, a pattern emerges. In Dorinda's letter to the editor in Book XIII, she tells the story of two acquaintances who have reclaimed their husbands after they had been unfaithful as a response to *The Female Spectator*'s similar story of Dorimon and Alithea in Book VI. In each instance the wife regains her husband by forgiving and loving him unconditionally until he realizes what a fool he has been. *The Female Spectator*'s moral essays and female correspondence suggest that the periodical wished to promote female happiness and security within contemporary patriarchal society. Her focus on Vice instead of women's character serves the purpose of warning women of possible ways of ruining their situation in life. *The Female Spectator* is, in other words, not fiercely fighting against her contemporary patriarchal society, but rather attempts to improve women's situation within the boundaries set by eighteenth-century society.

3.4 Female Diversity in the Literary Public Sphere

When comparing the female letters to *The Spectator* with those presented in *The Female Spectator* it becomes clear that the periodicals allowed quite different types of female voices. Female correspondents in *The Female Spectator* included their address or place of residence in thirteen out of fourteen letters. The addresses of twelve out of those thirteen letters are wealthy areas near central London which are associated with the gentry and nobility, as for example: Pall Mall, Kensington and St. James. If, however, the letters were written by Eliza Haywood, then *The Female Spectator* is implicitly stating that their implied readers are genteel upper class women. If the letters are genuine, it may appear that the main female readership of the periodical belonged to the upper classes. One may thereby assume that if the letters were genuine, authentic letters from women of lower classes were not permitted within the periodical's literary public sphere. Yet the final letter is written by the daughter of a tradesman and is signed Cheapside.

The letter from a tradesman's daughter is categorized as an example of poor moral behavior, because its purpose seems to be to tell the writer's story so that others may not make the same mistakes. She also claims that she is "little qualified to write to a Person of so polite a Taste, much less to appear in Print" (Haywood, 1745-46, vol. 4, p. 98), which suggests that a person from her class is not suited to appear in print or does not share the editorial persona's polite taste. The correspondent's father does not want to provide his daughter with an appropriate dowry because he wants to keep the money in order to invest in his business. Without the dowry, the correspondent is unable to marry her gentleman suitor. The correspondent is consequently forced to marry one of her father's old business partners because

the match is beneficial to his business. The father's fondness of business and money is thus the cause of the female correspondent's misery. The letter is consequently a criticism of tradesmen. The female correspondents with noble or genteel backgrounds are not necessarily portrayed as being moral role models, but their background is always portrayed as a virtuous feature.

The female space in literary public sphere of *The Female Spectator* is as a result constricted to female members of the upper classes. In comparison, *The Spectator* included letters of moral complaints from women of various social layers. The inclusion of female working-class voices seems to give an appearance of *The Spectator*'s public sphere as a space where correspondents from the working-class and the middling sorts could interact. Even if the letters may not be genuine, the proclaimed diversity of writers suggest that *The Spectator* allowed a larger social diversity of female correspondents than *The Female Spectator*. The focus on female upper-class readers may also have been a deliberate strategy to secure the periodical's commercial success. The editorial persona and former coquette appears consequently not to be writing the periodical for financial gain, but for the benefit of women. This may have been a deliberate strategy to make the periodical appear respectable, which could consequently function as a model for future female periodical writers.

As the authenticity of *The Female Spectator*'s reader correspondence is more dubious than that of *The Spectator*, it is possible that the periodical's letters are authored by Eliza Haywood to serve as 'authentic' examples that complement her moral musings. *The Spectator*'s inclusion of nearly twice as many letters of criticism suggests that it accepted and included critical female voices as a part of its literary public sphere. The lack of female correspondents who criticize male behaviour suggests that women were only permitted to complain about female issues within *The Female Spectator*'s literary public sphere. Even so, the periodical implicitly attempted to legitimize female professional writers and encouraged female correspondents to become writers. *The Spectator* does not promote any other female role than one that exists within the home, yet it does encourage female intellectual development. *The Female Spectator* is not trying to change women's role in eighteenth-century society, but seeks to improve their conditions within the constraints of the British patriarchal society. The female correspondence of the two periodicals thus suggests that *The Spectator* included far more diverse female voices than *The Female Spectator*, which instead sought to legitimize female professional writers and improve their situation within the constraints of the patriarchal contemporary society.

Conclusion

The literary public sphere of essay-periodicals gave women the opportunity to participate in the periodical's public discourse. The extent of the female space, however, was not the same in every periodical. Based on previous feminist studies of *The Spectator*, one might expect that the periodical would portray a less diverse female voice and permit a smaller female presence than *The Female Spectator*, especially because most scholars define *The Female Spectator* as the first periodical written for women by a woman. Yet the analysis of the extent of the female space within *The Spectator's* and *The Female Spectator's* literary public sphere in terms of references to the implied reader and their reader correspondence show a different side to the periodicals. The references aimed towards the implied reader of *The Spectator* and *The Female Spectator* suggest that the periodicals regarded readers of both genders to be a part of their implied readership. The very first reference made towards the implied reader is made towards a male reader in both periodicals. It may for that reason not be entirely correct to consider *The Female Spectator* to be a periodical primarily written for women. The inclusion of male protagonists in the periodical's moral narratives and the fact that most of *The Female Spectator's* reader correspondents were male suggest that male implied readers were considered to be more significant or even more natural readers of the periodical than female implied readers. *The Spectator* promoted a model of ideal female behavior in its moral essays while *The Female Spectator* sought to warn its implied readers of the dangers of vice rather than criticize people's character.

This study's comprehensive taxonomical approach to the periodicals' reader correspondence has revealed several differences in their positioning of women within their literary public spheres. There is an apparent discrepancy between *The Spectator's* ideal of female behavior promoted in its moral essays aimed at its implied female readers and its inclusion of diverse female voices in its reader correspondence. The discrepancy mirrors the divide between eighteenth-century society's normative discourses and female participation in the public sphere. *The Spectator's* literary public sphere consequently included more diverse female voices than one might have expected from reading its moral essays. *The Female Spectator*, however, allowed a slightly larger percentage of female correspondents in its literary public sphere with 36 percent, compared to *The Spectator's* 24 percent. But *The Female Spectator* did not include any female correspondents from the lower social classes or female voices criticizing male immorality. The exclusion suggests that *The Female Spectator* allowed a less extensive female space than its predecessor.

Yet *The Female Spectator*'s inclusion of essays and narratives written by women suggests an intent to use the literary public sphere of the periodical to promote and legitimize female professional writers unlike *The Spectator*, which did not promote any female role outside the home. *The Spectator*, nevertheless, gave its female reader correspondents the opportunity to use the periodical as a tool of communication, which enabled them to express wishes, thoughts and actions which they may not have been able to express outside the restraints of the periodical's literary public sphere. Female correspondents in *The Female Spectator* did not use the periodical as a communication tool. This may have been because the books of *The Female Spectator* were only printed once a month compared to *The Spectator*'s six weekly issues, which must have had an impact on reader correspondence's feeling of immediacy. Although *The Spectator* included more diverse and critical female voices in its literary public sphere, *The Female Spectator*'s main aim seems to be to improve women's situation in society.

There is an underlying pattern within the content of *The Female Spectator*'s moral essays and the content of the female reader correspondence, which seems to wish to promote a happier way of life for women. Women are encouraged to remain faithful to unfaithful husbands because leaving their husband and living life outside marriage is much harder. The promotion and legitimization female writers could in the end help women secure an income and become more independent. *The Female Spectator* is, in other words, not fiercely fighting against her contemporary patriarchal society, but rather attempts to improve women's situation within the boundaries set by her eighteenth-century society. The position of women within *The Spectator*'s literary public sphere was greater than in *The Female Spectator* because it allowed more socially diverse and critical female voices. Yet the presence of female correspondence and the implicit aim of bettering women's lives gave women an important position within the periodical's literary public sphere.

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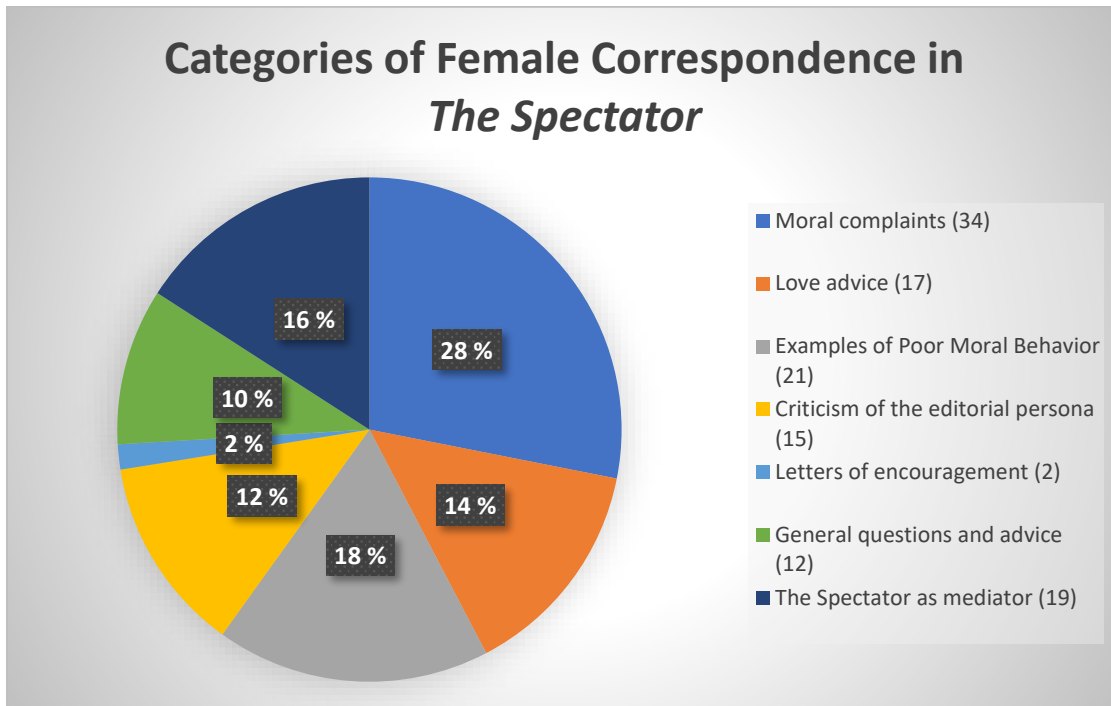
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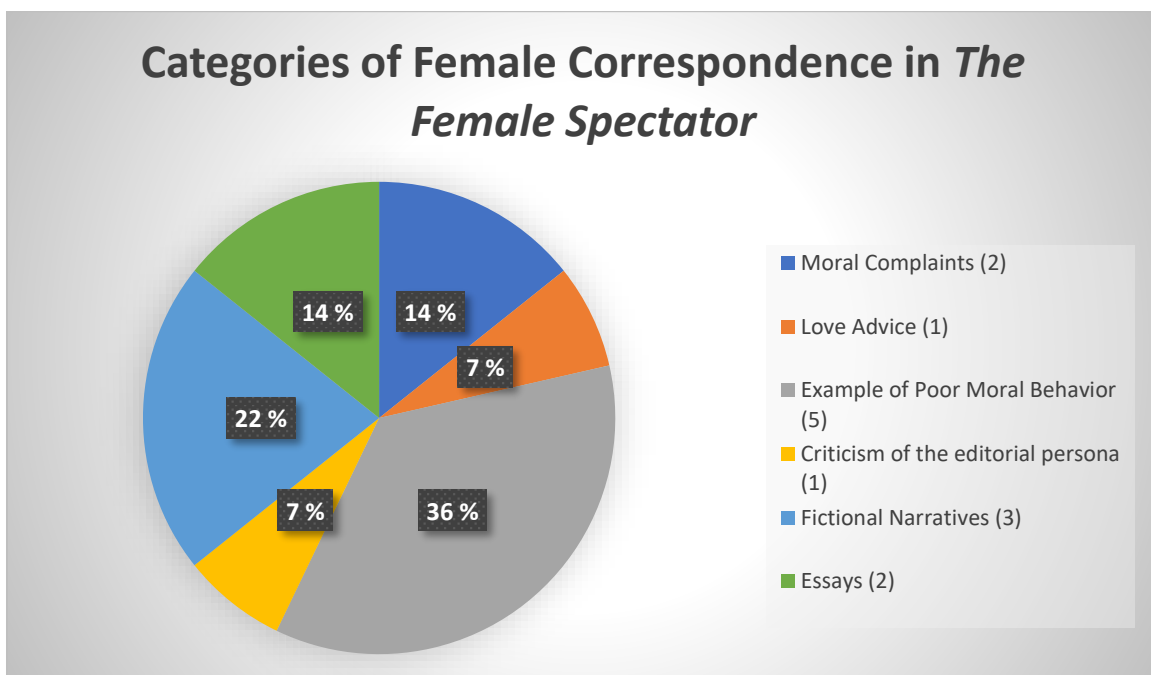
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Appendices

A. Chart of the Categories of Female Correspondence in *The Spectator*



B. Chart of the Categories of Female Correspondence in *The Female Spectator*



C. List of the Female Correspondence in *The Female Spectator*

This is a list of the letters to the editor of *The Female Spectator* which have been organized chronologically. As the aim of this thesis has been to investigate the position of women in *The Female Spectator*'s literary public sphere, the letters have therefore firstly been analyzed to assert the gender of the correspondent and secondly to define its theme or main characteristic. The male letters will consequently not have a category in the 'Category of Female correspondence' column below. The letters have been found in:

Letters to the editor of *The Female Spectator* in

Haywood, E. F.(1745-1746) *The Female Spectator*. (Vols. 1-4). London: England,

Retrieved from:

<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=ntnuu&tabID=T001&docId=CW107738152&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>

| Volume of Bound Edition | Book number Page number | Gender of Correspondent | Category of Female Correspondence |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Volume 1 | Book V, p. 261 | Female | Moral Complaint |
| Volume 2 | Book VII, p. 4 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book VIII, p. 69 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book VIII, p. 95 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book VIII, p. 105 | Female | Love Advice |
| Volume 2 | Book VIII, p. 117 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book IX, p. 132 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book IX, p. 173 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book IX, p. 184 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book X, p. 230 | Female | Essay |
| Volume 2 | Book XI, p. 256 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book XI, p. 269 | Male | |
| Volume 2 | Book XII, p. 325 | Female | Example |
| Volume 2 | Book XII, p. 341 | Female | Essay |
| Volume 2 | Book XII, p. 349 | Male | |
| Volume 3 | Book XIII, p. 28 | Female | Example |
| Volume 3 | Book XIII, p. 44 | Male | |

| | | | |
|----------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| Volume 3 | Book XIV, p. 65 | Female | Narrative |
| Volume 3 | Book XIV, p. 202 | Female | Narrative |
| Volume 3 | Book XV, p. 141 | Male | |
| Volume 3 | Book XV, p. 179 | Female | Criticism of the Editorial Persona |
| Volume 3 | Book XVI, p. 190 | Female | Moral Complaint |
| Volume 3 | Book XVI, p. 208 | Male | |
| Volume 3 | Book XVI, p. 223 | Male | |
| Volume 3 | Book XVI, p. 239 | Female | Example |
| Volume 3 | Book XVII, p. 271 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XIX, p. 4 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XIX, p. 32 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XX, p. 66 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XX, p. 77 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XX, p. 98 | Female | Example |
| Volume 4 | Book XX, p. 112 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XXII, p. 188 | Female | Narrative |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIII, p. 253 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIII, p. 260 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIII, p. 269 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIII, p. 284 | Female | Example |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIV, p. 324 | Male | |
| Volume 4 | Book XXIV, p. 351 | Male | |

D. List of the Female Correspondence in *The Spectator*

This is a list of the letters to the editor of *The Spectator* which have been organized chronologically. As the aim of this thesis has been to investigate the position of women in *The Spectator*'s literary public sphere, the letters have therefore firstly been analyzed to assert the gender of the correspondent and secondly to define its theme or main characteristic. The male letters will consequently not have a category in the 'Category of Female correspondence' column below.

Letters to the editor of *The Spectator* in

Bond, D. F (1965). *The Spectator*. (Vols. 1-5). Oxford: Clarendon

| Issue and Date | Number of letters | Gender(s) | Page number | Category of Female Correspondence |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| VOLUME 1 | | | | |
| No. 8, Friday, March 9, 1711 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 35 | |
| No. 14, Friday, March 16, 1711 | 4 | 3 Male 1 Lion | p. 60 | |
| No. 17, Thursday, March 20, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 74 | |
| No. 20, Friday, March 23, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 85 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 22, Monday, March 26, 1711 | 5 | 5 Male | p. 92 | |
| No. 24, Wednesday, March 28, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 100 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 25, Thursday, March 29, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 105 | |
| No. 27, Saturday, March 31, 1711 | 3 | 3 Male | p. 112 | |
| No. 28, Monday, April 2, 1711 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 115 | |
| No. 32, Friday, April 6, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 133 | |
| No. 33, Saturday, April 7, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 137 | |
| No. 36, Wednesday, April 11, 1711 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 149 | |
| No. 41, Tuesday, April 17, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 173 | |
| No. 46, Monday, April 23, 1711 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 195 | |
| No. 48, Wednesday, April 25, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 204 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 51, Saturday, April 28, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 215 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 52, Monday, April 30, 1711 | 3 | 3 Male | p. 220 | |
| No. 53, Tuesday, May 1, 1711 | 5 | 4 Male 1 Female | p. 224 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 54, Wednesday, May 2, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 229 | |
| No. 66, Wednesday, May 16, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 281 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 67, Thursday, May 17, 1711 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 284 | |
| No. 71, Tuesday, May 22, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 304 | |
| No. 78, Wednesday, May 30, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 334 | |
| No. 79, Thursday, May 31, 1711 | 2 | Female | p. 338 | Example of Poor Behavior |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--------|---|
| | | | | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 80, Friday, June 1, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 342 | |
| No. 87, Saturday, June 9, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 369 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 88, Monday June 11, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 372 | |
| No. 89, Tuesday, June 12, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 376 | |
| No. 92, Friday, June 15, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 389 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 95, Tuesday, June 19, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 402 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 96, Wednesday, June 20, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 405 | |
| No. 102, Wednesday, June 27, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 426 | |
| No. 104, Friday, June 29, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 432 | |
| No. 108, Wednesday, July 4, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 446 | |
| VOLUME II | | | | |
| No. 127, Thursday, July 26, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 4 | |
| No. 129, Saturday, July 28, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 12 | |
| No. 131, Tuesday, July 31, 1711 | 1 | Male | p.18 | |
| No. 134, Friday, August 3, 1711 | 3 | 3 Male | p. 28 | |
| No. 136, Monday, August 6, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 36 | |
| No. 137, Tuesday, August, 7, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 40 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 140, Friday, August 10, 1711 | 7 | 2 Unknown 5 Female | p. 51 | 1. Love Advice 2. General Advice and Questions 3. Criticism of Mr. Spectator 4. Moral Complaint 5. General Advice and Questions |
| No. 141, Saturday, August 11, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 56 | |
| No. 142, Monday, August 13, 1711 | 7 | 1 Female 6 Male letters | p. 60 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 145, Thursday, August 16, 1711 | 4 | 2 Male 2 Female | p. 71 | 1. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator 2. Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 147, Saturday, August 18, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 78 | |
| No. 148, Monday, August 20, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 81 | |
| No. 149, Tuesday, August 21, 1711 | 2 | Female Male | p. 85 | Love Advice |
| No. 154, Monday, August 27, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 103 | |
| No. 155, Tuesday, August 28, 1711 | 2 | Female | p. 107 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. Moral Complaint |
| No. 158, Friday, August 31, 1711 | 4 | 3 Male 1 Female | p. 118 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 161, Tuesday, September 4, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 130 | |
| No. 163, Thursday, September 6, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 139 | Love Advice |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------|--------|--|
| No. 165, Saturday, September 8, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 149 | |
| No. 167, Tuesday, September 11, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 157 | |
| No. 168, Wednesday, September 12, 1711 | 4 | 3 Male 1 Unknown | p. 160 | |
| No. 175, Thursday, September 20, 1711 | 3 | Male | p. 189 | |
| No. 176, Friday, September 21, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 192 | |
| No. 178, Monday, September 24, 1711 | 2 | Female | p. 201 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 179, Tuesday, September 25, 1711 | 1 | Unknown | p. 204 | |
| No. 180, Wednesday, September 26, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 208 | |
| No. 181, Thursday, September 27, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 212 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 182, Friday, September 28, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 216 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 184, Monday, October 1, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 224 | |
| No. 187, Thursday, October 4, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 234 | |
| No. 188, Friday, October 5, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 238 | |
| No. 189, Saturday, October 6, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 241 | |
| No. 190, Monday, October 8, 1711 | 3 | Female | p. 244 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 3. Moral Complaint |
| No. 191, Tuesday, October 9, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 248 | |
| No. 192, Wednesday, October 10, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 252 | |
| No. 194, Friday, October 12, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 260 | |
| No. 196, Monday, October 15, 1711 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 268 | Love Advice |
| No. 199, Thursday, October 18, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 279 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 202, Monday, October 22, 1711 | 3 | Male | p. 291 | |
| No. 203, Tuesday, October 23, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 295 | |
| No. 204, Wednesday, October 24, 1711 | 5 | 4 Female 1 Male | p. 299 | 1. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator 2. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator 3. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator 4. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 205, Thursday, October 25, 1711 | 3 | 1 Male 2 Female | p. 302 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. Moral Complaint |
| No. 208, Monday, October 29, 1711 | 3 | 1 Female 1 Male 1 Unknown | p. 314 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 210, Wednesday, October 31, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 321 | |
| No. 211, Thursday, November 1, 1711 | 4 | 2 Male 2 Female | p. 324 | 1. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 2. Criticism of Mr. Spectator |

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|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------|---|
| No. 212, Friday, November 2, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 328 | |
| No. 216, Wednesday, November 7, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 342 | |
| No. 217, Thursday, November 8, 1711 | 4 | 3 Female 1 Male | p. 345 | 1. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 2. Letter of Encouragement 3. Letter of Encouragement |
| No. 220, Monday, November 12, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 355 | Love Advice |
| No. 222, Wednesday, November 14, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 362 | |
| No. 227, Tuesday, November 20, 1711 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 382 | Love Advice |
| No. 228, Wednesday, November 21, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 386 | |
| No. 230, Friday, November 23, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 393 | |
| No. 231, Saturday, November 24, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 397 | |
| No. 234, Wednesday, November 28, 1711 | 1 | Male | p.409 | |
| No. 236, Friday, November 30, 1711 | 3 | 1 Male 1 Female 1 Unknown | p. 417 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 240, Wednesday, December 5, 1711 | 3 | Male | p. 432 | |
| No. 241, Thursday, December 6, 1711 | 1 | Female | p. 435 | Love Advice |
| No. 242, Friday, December 7, 1711 | 3 | 1 Female 1 Unknown 1 Male | p. 439 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 244, Monday, December 10, 1711 | 2 | 1 Female 1 Unknown | p. 446 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 245, Tuesday, December 11, 1711 | 3 | Male | p. 449 | |
| No. 246, Wednesday, December 12, 1711 | 1 | Unknown | p. 458 | |
| No. 248, Friday, December 14, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 462 | |
| No. 250, Monday, December 17, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 469 | |
| No. 251, Tuesday, December 18, 1711 | 1 | Male | p. 474 | |
| No. 252, Wednesday, December 19, 1711 | 3 | 2 Female 1 Male | p. 478 | 1. Criticism of Mr. Spectator 2. Love Advice |
| No. 254, Friday, December 21, 1711 | 3 | 2 Female 1 Male | p. 486 | 1. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 2. Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 258, Wednesday, December 26, 1711 | 2 | Male | p. 502 | |
| No. 260, Friday, December 28, 1711 | 4 | Male | p. 510 | |
| No. 263, Tuesday, January 1, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 521 | |
| No. 264, Wednesday, January 2, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 525 | |
| No. 268, Monday, January 7, 1712 | 6 | 4 Male 1 Female 1 Unknown | p. 544 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |

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|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------|---|
| No. 271, Thursday, January 10, 1712 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Unknown | p. 555 | |
| No. 272, Friday, January 11, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 558 | |
| No. 274, Monday, January 14, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 567 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 276, Wednesday, January 16, 1712 | 4 | 2 Male 2 Female | p. 574 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 277, Thursday, January 17, 1712 | 2 | Female | p. 577 | 1. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 2. Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 278, Friday, January 18, 1712 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 582 | Love Advice |
| No. 282, Wednesday, January 23, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 597 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| VOLUME III | | | | |
| No. 284, Friday, January 25, 1712 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 6 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 286, Monday, January 28, 1712 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 15 | |
| No. 288, Wednesday, January 30, 1712 | 2 | 1 Female 1 Male | p. 23 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 290, Friday, February 1, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 31 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 292, Monday, February 4, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 38 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 295, Thursday, February 7, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 50 | |
| No. 296, Friday, February 8, 1712 | 6 | 3 Male 3 Female | p. 54 | 1. General Advice and Question 2. Moral Complaint 3. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 298, Monday, February 11, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 64 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 299, Tuesday, February 12, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 67 | |
| No. 300, Wednesday, February 13, 1712 | 4 | 2 Male 2 Female | p. 71 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. General Advice and Questions |
| No. 302, Friday, February 15, 1712 | 1 | Unknown | p. 78 | |
| No. 304, Monday, February 18, 1712 | 3 | Male | p. 92 | |
| No. 306, Wednesday, February 20, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 100 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 307, Thursday, February 21, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 105 | |
| No. 308, Friday, February 22, 1712 | 4 | 3 Male 1 Female | p. 110 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 310, Monday, February 25, 1712 | 5 | 3 Male 1 Female 1 Unknown | p. 121 | Love Advice |
| No. 311, Tuesday, February 26, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 124 | |
| No. 312, Wednesday, February 27, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 128 | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| No. 313, Thursday, February 28, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 132 | |
| No. 314, Friday, February 29, 1712 | 5 | 3 Male 1 Female 1 Unknown | p. 136 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 316, Monday, March 3, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 148 | |
| No. 318, Wednesday, March 5, 1712 | 1 | 1 Male | p. 157 | |
| No. 319, Thursday, March 6, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 160 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 320, Friday, March 7, 1712 | 2 | 2 Male | p. 164 | |
| No. 322, Monday, March 10, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 178 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 323, Tuesday, March 11, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 181 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 324, Wednesday, March 12, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 186 | |
| No. 325, Thursday, March 13, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 190 | |
| No. 326, Friday, March 14, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 193 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 328, Monday, March 17, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 204 | |
| No. 330, Wednesday, March 19, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 216 | |
| No. 332, Friday, March 21, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 223 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 334, Monday, March 24, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 235 | |
| No. 336, Wednesday, March 26, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 243 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 337, Thursday, March 27, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 246 | |
| No. 338, Friday, March 28, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 250 | |
| No. 341, Tuesday, April 1, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 265 | |
| No. 342, Wednesday, April 2, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 269 | |
| No. 344, Friday, April 4, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Unknown | p. 277 | |
| No. 347, Tuesday, April 8, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 292 | |
| No. 348, Wednesday, April 9, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 296 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 353, Tuesday, April 15, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 316 | |
| No. 354, Wednesday, April 16, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 320 | |
| No. 360, Wednesday, April 23, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 346 | |
| No. 361, Thursday, April 24, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 349 | |
| No. 362, Friday, April 25, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 353 | |
| No. 364, Monday, April 28, 1712 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 366 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 366, Wednesday, April 30, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 375 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 368, Friday, May 2, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 382 | |
| No. 371, Tuesday, May 6, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 396 | |
| No. 372, Wednesday, May 7, 1712 | 3 | Male | p. 400 | |
| No. 376, Monday, May 12, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 413 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 380, Friday, May 16, 1712 | 5 | 2 Female 3 Male | p. 426 | 1. Love Advice |

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|--|---|--------------------|--------|--|
| | | | | 2. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 388, Monday, May 26, 1712 | 1 | Unknown | p. 455 | |
| No. 392, Friday, May 30, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 470 | |
| No. 393, Saturday, May 31, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 473 | |
| No. 396, Wednesday, June 4, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 483 | |
| No. 401, Tuesday, June 10, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 500 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 402, Wednesday, June 11, 1712 | 4 | 2 Female 2 Male | p. 503 | 1. Example of Poor Moral Behavior 2. Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 406, Monday, June 16, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 517 | |
| No. 408, Wednesday, June 18, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 523 | |
| No. 410, Friday, June 20, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 531 | |
| No. 423, Saturday, July 5, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 586 | |
| No. 424, Monday, July 7, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 589 | |
| No. 425, Tuesday, July 8, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 592 | |
| VOLUME IV | | | | |
| No. 430, Monday, July 14, 1712 | 3 | 3 Male | p. 11 | |
| No. 431, Tuesday, July 15, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 14 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 432, Wednesday, July 16, 1712 | 4 | Male | p. 17 | |
| No. 437, Tuesday, July 22, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 35 | |
| No. 438, Wednesday, July 23, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 39 | |
| No. 440, Friday, July 25, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 46 | |
| No. 443, Tuesday, July 29, 1712 | 3 | 1 Female 2 Male | p. 55 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 449, Tuesday, August 5, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 78 | |
| No. 450, Wednesday, August 6, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 81 | |
| No. 452, Friday, August 8, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 90 | |
| No. 455, Tuesday, August 12, 1712 | 4 | Male | p. 103 | |
| No. 456, Wednesday, August 13, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 107 | |
| No. 457, Thursday, August 14, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 111 | |
| No. 460, Monday, August 18, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 121 | |
| No. 461, Tuesday, August 19, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 126 | |
| No. 462, Wednesday, August 20, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 130 | |
| No. 466, Monday, August 25, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 145 | |
| No. 472, Monday, September 1, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 168 | |
| No. 473, Tuesday, September 2, 1712 | 3 | Male | p. 174 | |
| No. 474, Wednesday, September 3, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 177 | General Advice and Questions |
| No. 475, Thursday, September 4, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 182 | Love Advice |
| No. 477, Saturday, September 6, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 188 | |
| No. 478, Monday, September 8, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 192 | |
| No. 480, Wednesday, September 10, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 201 | |
| No. 482, Friday, September 12, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 208 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 484, Monday, September 15, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 215 | |

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|--|---|---------------------------------|--------|---|
| No. 485, Tuesday, September 16, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 219 | |
| No. 486, Wednesday, September 17, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 223 | |
| No. 489, Saturday, September 20, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 233 | |
| No. 492, Wednesday, September 24, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 244 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 496, Monday, September 29, 1712 | 5 | 1 Male 3 Female 1 Unknown | p. 258 | 1. Criticism of Mr. Spectator 2. Criticism of Mr. Spectator 3. Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 498, Wednesday, October 1, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 265 | |
| No. 499, Thursday, October 2, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 269 | |
| No. 500, Friday, October 3, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 272 | |
| No. 504, Wednesday, October 8, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 287 | |
| No. 505, Thursday, October 9, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 291 | |
| No. 508, Monday, October 13, 1712 | 2 | 1 Female 1 Male | p. 302 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 509, Tuesday, October 14, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 306 | |
| No. 511, Thursday, October 16, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 314 | |
| No. 513, Saturday, October 18, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 320 | |
| No. 514, Monday, October 20, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 324 | |
| No. 515, Tuesday, October 21, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 330 | Example of Poor Moral Behavior |
| No. 517, Thursday October 23, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 339 | |
| No. 518, Friday, October 24, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 342 | |
| No. 520, Monday, October 27, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 350 | |
| No. 521, Tuesday, October 28, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 353 | |
| No. 522, Wednesday, October 29, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 357 | |
| No. 524, Friday, October 31, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 364 | |
| No. 526, Monday, November 3, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 373 | |
| No. 527, Tuesday, November 4, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 377 | |
| No. 528, Wednesday, November 5, 1712 | 1 | Female | p. 382 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 530, Friday, November 7, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 389 | |
| No. 532, Monday, November 10, 1712 | 3 | Male | p. 395 | |
| No. 533, Tuesday, November 11, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 400 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 534, Wednesday, November 12, 1712 | 4 | 2 Female 2 Male | p. 405 | 1. Moral Complaint 2. <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 536, Friday, November 14, 1712 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 412 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 537, Saturday, November 15, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 416 | |
| No. 538, Monday, November 17, 1712 | 1 | Unknown | p. 420 | |
| No. 539, Tuesday, November 18, 1712 | 3 | 1 Female 1 Male 1 anon | p. 425 | Love Advice |
| No. 542, Friday, November 21, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 437 | |

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| No. 544, Monday, November 24, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 445 | |
| No. 546, Wednesday, November 26, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 453 | |
| No. 547, Thursday, November 27, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 457 | |
| No. 548, Friday, November 28, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 461 | |
| No. 549, Saturday, November 29, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 466 | |
| No. 551, Tuesday, December 2, 1712 | 2 | Male | p. 471 | |
| No. 553, Thursday, December 4, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 483 | |
| No. 555, Saturday, December 6, 1712 | 1 | Male | p. 491 | |
| No. 560, Monday, June 28, 1714 | 4 | 3 Male 1 Female | p. 512 | <i>The Spectator</i> as a Mediator |
| No. 561, Wednesday, June 30, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 515 | |
| No. 563, Monday, July 5, 1714 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 522 | Love Advice |
| No. 566, Monday, July 12, 1714 | 3 | Male | p. 533 | |
| No. 573, Wednesday, July 28, 1714 | 1 | Female | p.556 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 577, Friday, August 6, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 572 | |
| No. 580, Friday, August 13, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 582 | |
| No. 581, Monday, August 16, 1714 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 587 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| VOLUME V | | | | |
| No. 586, Friday, August 27, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 3 | |
| No. 587, Monday, August 30, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 7 | |
| No. 589, Friday, September 3, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 14 | |
| No. 593, Monday, September 13, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 29 | |
| No. 595, Friday, September 17, 1714 | 1 | Unknown | p. 34 | |
| No. 596, Monday, September 20, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 37 | |
| No. 602, Monday, October 4, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 58 | |
| No. 605, Monday, October 11, 1714 | 1 | Female | p. 67 | Love Advice |
| No. 606, Wednesday, October 13, 1714 | 1 | Female | p. 71 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 607, Friday, October 15, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 74 | |
| No. 608, Monday, October 18, 1714 | 1 | Unknown | p. 78 | |
| No. 609, Wednesday, October 20, 1714 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 81 | Criticism of Mr. Spectator |
| No. 611, Monday, October 25, 1714 | 1 | Female | p. 87 | Moral Complaint |
| No. 612, Wednesday, October 27, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 91 | |
| No. 613, Friday, October 29, 1714 | 3 | 2 Male 1 Female | p. 94 | Love Advice |
| No. 614, Monday, November 1, 1714 | 1 | Unknown | p. 98 | |
| No. 618, Wednesday, November 10, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 112 | |
| No. 621, Wednesday, November 17, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 123 | |
| No. 622, Friday, November 19, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 126 | |
| No. 623, Monday, November 22, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 129 | |
| No. 625, Friday, November 26, 1714 | 2 | 1 Male 1 Female | p. 134 | Love Advice |
| No. 626, Monday, November 29, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 138 | |

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| No. 627, Wednesday, December 1, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 142 | |
| No. 628, Friday, December 3, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 144 | |
| No. 630, Wednesday, December 8, 1714 | 2 | Male | p. 152 | |
| No. 632, Monday, December 13, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 159 | |
| No. 633, Wednesday, December 15, 1714 | 1 | Male | p. 162 | |

E. The Study's Relevance to the Teaching Profession

Writing this thesis has been relevant to my teaching profession in many ways. It has taught me several different reading and writing strategies which I will be able to teach my future students. If for example a student is complaining of having a writer's block, I have several strategies I can pass on. The topic of this study places itself on the border of literature and history which as a History and English teacher will enable me to apply elements from one subject into the other. Teaching the historical context of a fictional text in English will make the text more accessible for students while using fictional texts when teaching History will make the subject more vibrant as the students will understand that the study of History is more than remembering important dates. As this study investigates women in two eighteenth-century periodicals, I have had to be quite thorough and critical when I have chosen my primary sources. The care I have had to take in terms of the reliability of my primary and secondary sources is something I can apply in my future classroom when teaching students about academic writing, which is particularly relevant when teaching upper-secondary students. The academic literature which I have read as part of the research for my thesis and writing this thesis has also increased my confidence as an English teacher which will benefit my future students.