TO BE AMIABLE AND ACCOMPLISHED:
PITTING YOUNG WOMEN FOR UPPER-CLASS VIRGINIA SOCIETY
1760 - 1810

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
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1982
APPROVAL SHEET

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Master of Arts

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With Special Thanks to Anne Blair
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I.  RUDIMENTS OF A POLITE EDUCATION</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II.  PROPER ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND ATTITUDES</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III.  ADVICE UPON MARRIAGE</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX I.  SAMPLE LETTER OF MARIA RIND</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX II.  JEFFERSON'S SUGGESTED WORKS FOR A YOUNG WOMAN'S EDUCATION</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX III.  NANCY SHIPPEN LIVINGSTON'S &quot;DIRECTIONS CONCERNING A DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION&quot;</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX IV.  SOCRATISSA'S REPORT IN THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX V.  LETTER FROM MARGARET DAVENPORT COALTER TO JOHN COALTER</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

Young women needed to be equipped with suitable skills and attitudes in order to assume their adult role in upper-class Virginia society (1760-1810). Prescriptive writings of parents, relatives, friends, and guidelines found in widely-published ladies morality books provided an outline of the ideal qualities a young woman should possess.

Literacy, particularly the ability to write well, was a vital part of a young woman's education. Although a young woman was supposed to study some academic subjects, such as geography and French, other areas of study were thought to be unsuitable. Musical training, dancing and drawing were widely encouraged accomplishments.

All endeavors were to be approached with diligence and application, however, a young woman was not supposed to boast of her superior skill or knowledge. Young women were urged to maintain a pleasing personal appearance. They were also required to adopt an unassuming and conciliatory behavior while avoiding affectation.

During courtship, a young woman was never supposed to take the initiative. Parents wanted their daughters to adjust their blissful marriage ideals to more realistic expectations. In marriage, the first aim of the wife was to please her husband and thereby insure domestic harmony.

Ideally, appropriate education and social training produced young women who were loved and admired in Virginia society.
TO BE AMIABLE AND ACCOMPLISHED:

FITTING YOUNG WOMEN FOR UPPER-CLASS VIRGINIA SOCIETY

1760-1810
Your "many amicable qualities of the mind, and charms of Person, are so endearing as to make me rejoice and thankful . . . ."

Joseph Nourse to Maria Bull
10 February, 1784
Nourse Family Papers
INTRODUCTION

Gentlemen and gentlewomen occupied distinct social, economic, and intellectual spheres in late eighteenth-century Virginia society. In this society, where most activities were sharply appropriated according to gender, young men and women were raised to assume well-defined masculine and feminine roles. These roles in Virginia were patterned after English precedents. To perpetuate polite society, as defined by English ideals, tastes, and fashions, Virginia parents needed to transmit educational and behavioral imperatives to their children. Upper-class Virginians (1760-1810) accordingly took great care to preserve what they viewed as the traditional, fashionable, and serviceable aspects of masculine and feminine roles.

Young men became respected adults by following the prescriptions found in the code of "gentlemanly behavior" so well articulated by Louis B. Wright in his First Gentlemen of Virginia. According to Wright, gentlemen should be shrewd, altruistic, well educated in the classics, hospitable, honest, and self-assured in the "habit of command." These qualities fitted men for their roles as political and economic leaders.

Young women became admired adults by following a complimentary set of imperatives which modulated
"gentlewomanly behavior." Appropriate feminine education and behavior was derived from the prevailing perception of women's roles in society. Although speaking of all the colonies in general, Mary Beth Norton correctly noted that "Eighteenth-century Americans proved to have very clear ideas of which tasks were properly 'feminine' and which were not; of what behavior was appropriate for females, especially white females; and of what functions 'the sex' was to perform." These clear perceptions provided an outline of the specific training needed for a young woman to assume her adult role equipped with appropriate skills and attitudes.

Contemporary prescriptive writings urged young women to conform to behavior thought most suitable and becoming to their niche in upper-class society. Writings of Virginia parents, peers, and guidelines found in widely-published ladies morality handbooks meshed well to describe the educational, artistic, and behavioral requirements thought to be conducive to producing "gentlewomanly behavior." The writings circumscribed the desired useful and ornamental branches of female education. They emphasized cultivation of an amiable personal character which combined softness and delicacy with well-bred good sense. The boundaries of feminine endeavor were restricted by these imperatives, which nonetheless urged industrious application to the areas of activity deemed suitable for young women. Mastering these prerequisites of feminine attainment meant that young women were ready to approach marriage. By cultivating the
conciliatory behavior required to insure domestic tranquility, young women assumed their roles as married women within upper-class Virginia society.

Any description and analysis of prescriptive writings must take several things into consideration. Prescriptive writings can focus the image of the ideal or desired qualities a young woman could possess, but they do not guarantee that young women possessed these qualities or behaved in a certain manner. Often a parent's comments of correction indicated the daughter was actually behaving in the wrong way. Advice and admonitions given by parents, peers, and handbooks give us a better understanding of eighteenth-century attitudes about young women. These attitudes changed little during the period under consideration, and it could be argued that remnants of most are still visible today.
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION


2 Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1940).

CHAPTER I
RUDIMENTS OF A POLITE EDUCATION

Upper-class parents in late eighteenth-century Virginia were responsible for the education of their children. Because there was no established system of public education, boys and girls were educated at their parents' expense. The knowledge children eventually acquired reflected their parents' ideas about what sort of instruction would be suitable to their station in society.

Parents, if they did not teach their children themselves, hired tutors, dancing instructors, music teachers, and made other arrangements to provide necessary training. Young men were often sent to the College of William and Mary and then to England for advanced study. Young women, however, received most of their education within the home where they were taught basic skills by their mothers, tutors and other instructors.

Education, in the broad sense of the term, was the vehicle for fitting young women to their adult roles. It guarded them against the pitfalls of ignorance, as the 1753 pamphlet "The Whole Duty of a Woman" cautioned: "the way of a virgin, just rising to the estate of a woman, is a path where the nicest foot will slip, if the hand beareth not on the staff of education."¹ In a similar vein, the
Countess Dowager of Carlisle stated that young women "are incited to mental attainments, but to render you still more valuable as women; and the better your minds are cultivated, the more you will see the propriety of attending to those minutiae which become the condition in which Providence has placed you."\(^2\)

Although shaping attitudes and behavior were part of a young woman's education in the general sense, literacy and achievement in certain scholastic subjects formed the rudiments of a polite education.\(^3\) Skill in writing alone was a vital indication of a woman's education. Educational aspirations for Virginia daughters stemmed from a long tradition of parental concern and feminine initiative. Colonel Daniel Parke admonished his daughter Frances in the 1690s to "Mind your writing and everything else you have learnt and do not learn to romp, but behave yourself soberly and like a gentlewoman."\(^4\) Forty years later, Bessy Pratt, aged eleven, wrote to her brother in England regretting that "I find you have got the start of me in learning very much, for you write better already than I expect to as long as I live . . . ."\(^5\) Later educators indicated that "Penning an epistle with Propriety and elegance" remained among the "useful attainments" because writing and accuracy in spelling were fundamental to any young woman's education. Parents and friends urged young female students to apply themselves in this area. "I am sorry," Mary Burwell Prescott wrote to her inattentive granddaughter in 1794, "to
hear the Acc^t your Mama gives of your hating writing."6 Tutor Philip Pithian described the educational progress of the Robert Carter daughters in 1773 solely in terms of reading and writing. "The oldest daughter is Reading the Spectator, Writing, and beginning to Cypher - The second is reading out of the Spelling-Book, and beginning to write - the next is reading in the Spelling-Book - And the last is beginning her letters . . . ."7 To further instruct Nancy Carter, Robert Carter gave Pithian the Ladies Compleat Letter Writer. In a letter to his eleven-year-old daughter Martha, Thomas Jefferson emphasized the basic skills of writing by cautioning "Take care you never spell a word wrong. Always before you write a word consider how it is spelt, and if you do not remember it, turn to a dictionary. It produces great praise in a lady to spell well."8

Letter writing was an important, measurable indicator of a young woman's literary and grammatical achievement. "Sweet remembrancers" passing between separated family members or friends gave the young students an opportunity to demonstrate their progress.9 Judith Randolph praised seven-year-old Frances Bland Tucker's progress in 1792 by writing "I am happy to find my Dear Fanny so much improved in her writing, by which I will judge that she is as much so, in everything else."10 These fledgling efforts at correspondence were often stiff and formal, yet grammatically correct and legibly written. Thirteen-year-old Betty Lewis's reply to her godmother was a good example
of this fledgling—and undoubtedly coached—writing attempt. "After thanking my Dear Aunt for her kind present of powder and cakes, I must let you know I esteem your offer of a correspondence a particular favor done me and shall keep it punctual," Betty wrote in 1777, "... as I expect a number of advantages arise from so doing."11

Recipients of these letters often took the opportunity to praise noticeable improvements or urge stronger application when the visible results were not commendable. Maria Rind's unschooled and unpracticed writing elicited unfavorable comments from her correspondents. An orphan, Maria was employed and educated in the St. George Tucker household. Letters to her future husband, John Coalter, are illegible and nearly incoherent. Letters to her brother James must have been of the same quality because he continually urged her to improve. "I will take the liberty too my dear Maria to mention your writing — " James Rind wrote from Kentucky in 1789, "Believe me my sister little pains will make anybody write well, and it is my first wish that you should do everything well ... you (will) perceive at each attempt that your writing mends ... ." Later in the letter James chided "believe me that next to the shortness of your letter I felt most pain from the badness of the writing because I am fully satisfied my dear Sister that you can write much better if you were not utterly careless whether you wrote legibly or not."12 (See Appendix I.) A sixteen-year-old woman of more fortunate circumstances, Eleanor Parke Custis,
received favorable comments from her adopted father George Washington, who wrote

Your letter, the receipt of which I am now acknowledging, is written correctly and in
fair characters, which is evidence that you command, when you please a fair hand. Pos-
sessed of these advantages, it will be your own fault if you do not avail yourself of
them, and attention being paid to the choice of your subjects, you can have nothing to
fear from the malignancy of criticism, as your ideas are lively and your descriptions
agreeable. ¹³

With more enthusiastic praise, Joseph Nourse complimented
his future wife's proficiency in 1784: "Let me then acquaint
you that your letter afforded me . . . pleasure, from the
purity and elegance of its style . . . how widely differ-
ent were my sensations from that of a person receiving a
Letter from his Love ill spelt, badly written, devoid of
Sentiment. Such advantages have you, my dear Maria, over
the major part of your sex, who have not wanted an Educa-
tion, but the application necessary to improvement." ¹⁴

In the long run, study proved worthwhile because the ability
to write well marked an accomplished woman. Even Landon
Carter, speaking of John Adams, conceded in 1774 "That his
lady had written him a most sensible letter . . . a fine
woman this, if the letter was not made for her." ¹⁵

Writing for such a sensitive and potentially critical
audience may have made some correspondence labored and
self-conscious. Such is the case with Maria Bull Nourse's
letters. Under such circumstances, it would be natural to
assume that letters between peers or siblings were less
self-conscious and more relaxed. Aside from Anne Blair's chit-chat to her sister at Newington in the 1760s, informality in letters between friends occurred more frequently in the 1790s. As a post-script in a letter to her brother Robert Beverley in 1798, Lucy Randolph added that "This is a correct epistle, but as I do not mind you, I always scribble on without feeling the least check." Margaret Davenport's correspondence during the early 1790s was flighty, gossipy, entertaining, and unrestrained. In a typically carefree style, she explained to her friend F. Currie "I write now in a kind of agitation which must apologize - but no apologies - let us agree to banish them from our future letters, and write in any manner whatever occurs." 

In addition to basic literary skills and the subsequent refinements of letter writing, other subjects were thought to be suitable for a young woman's edification. The Countess of Carlisle recommended grammar, geography, arithmetic, French and Italian, music, drawing and painting for a young woman's study. Poetry, natural and moral philosophy, and chronology were additional subjects listed by Hester M. Chapone in her popular guidebook Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Young Lady. Mrs. Chapone suggested that these topics should be appropriately scaled down to conform to the capacities of a young woman's understanding. Virginia parents recommended these same subjects for their daughters. Thomas Jefferson
outlined a suggested arrangement of subjects for his daughter Martha in 1783 by instructing that "from 8. to 10 o'clock practise music. from 10. to 1. dance one day and draw another. from 1. to 2. draw on the day you dance, and write a letter on the next day. from 3. to 4. read French. from 5. till bedtime read English, write, etc." He requested reports on Martha's progress by asking her to "Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn, and inclose me your best copy of every lesson in drawing." When Jefferson's younger daughter Mary joined him in France, he directed that she "shall be taught here to play on the harpsichord, to draw, to dance, to read and talk French and other things that you mark you more worthy of the love of your friends."  

In a letter to his nineteen-year-old daughter Anne upon her marriage in 1786, Patrick Henry advised that "History, geography, poetry, moral essays, biography, travels, sermons and other well-written religious productions will not fail to enlarge your understanding, to render you a more agreeable companion, and to exalt your virtue."  

Henry's suggested subjects were typical of the expanded curricula recommended for young ladies toward the end of the eighteenth century. Parents, like Patrick Henry, and educators in the new private academies for young ladies encouraged study of more diverse subjects.

An expanded curriculum was offered to young women at Maria Smith's school in Winchester in 1788 and the Norfolk Academy in 1795. As they noted expanded curricula in
their correspondence, young female students often rather self-consciously mentioned the benefits of the additional subjects. "Geography is very entertaining and improving," wrote Eliza Ashton Alexander to Eliza Whiting in the 1790s, "yet too much reading confuses the idea and numbs the brain." At Mrs. Cooke's school in Alexandria, Mary Walker Carter studied a wide variety of subjects. In 1802, she dutifully reported additions to her coursework to her parents in Williamsburg.

Cousin Fitzhugh who is ever anxious for our improvement, has persuaded on Mrs. Cooke, to let us employ some of (our) time in reading history, which is a very useful part of education, so she gave us on last Wednesday fifteen pages in the Grecian History . . . We shall soon go to drawing maps and I shall send the first one I draw to you and Mama, and perhaps about the last of this month, to writing exercises so that our school employments will be much more numerous than they have ever yet been, which I am sure will greatly please you, and Mama . . . .

While appropriate subjects were studied by young women, their brothers learned Latin, Greek, Logic, Astronomy and Navigation, subjects considered vital to a man's education. The intellectual capacities of a girl, it was generally believed, could not sustain study of these more difficult subjects. Elizabeth Parke Custis recalled that

... the first day he (the Instructor) gave me the dedication of the Spectator to read and I heard Dr. S (her stepfather) tell him "that (I) was an extraordinary child and would if a Boy make a Brilliant figure" - I told them to teach me what they pleased and observed to them I thought it hard they would not teach me Greek
and Latin because I was a girl—they laughed
and said women ought not to know those things,
and mending, writing, Arithmetic and Music
was all I could be permitted to acquire. I
thought of this often—with deep regret &
began to despise those acquirements which
were considered inferior to the others... 24

In her Letters, Mrs. Chapone asserted that there was no need
for women to learn the ancient languages because English,
French, and Italian "are much more than sufficient to store
your mind with as many ideas as you will know how to manage." 25

The Countess of Carlisle stated the situation most bluntly:
"The Greek and Latin tongues, form... no part of the
polite system of female education at present, nor certainly
ever can in the useful." 26

Instead of heavy readings in classical languages, other
reading material usually written specifically for females
was substituted. Most books for women fit the requirements
of Patrick Henry, who advised his daughter Anne to "Cultivi-
ate your mind by the perusal of those books which instruct
while they amuse." 27 Guidebooks and textbooks such as

The Ladies Calling, Newton's Ladies Philosophy, The Lady's
Geography, The Female Academy, The Ladies Compleat Letter
Writer, The Female Miscellany and the Ladies Library com-
bined moral and academic instruction in a form palatable
to young ladies. Philip Fithian assigned the Spectator to
his students as did Eliza Parke Custis's tutor. On her
own initiative, Frances Baylor Hill read from works such
as the Inquisitor, the Spectator, and the Oeconomy of Human
Life in 1797. The latter two, among many other works,
were recommended by Thomas Jefferson in 1818. (See Appendix II.)

In addition to the Bible and various sermons, Frances Hill read novels like *Evelina* and *Louisa the Lovely Orphan*. Novel-reading was often associated with emotional excess and unbridled passion.\(^{28}\) With great enthusiasm, a young woman wrote Mary Farquharson in 1808 "O! Polly such a treat I had yesterday, you know I said I was in hopes of getting the Novice of St. Dominick read, whell, yesterday I was lucky-enough-to-get-it-and-O! What a treat! such beautiful language, and so interesting a story, never in my life did I ever read anything in the novel way I liked as much, the Children of the Abbey does not come up to it."\(^{29}\) Anne Cary Randolph sheepishly confided to St. George Tucker in 1804 "You will certainly think my brain diseased when I tell you that I sat up a whole night, about a month ago reading a novel."\(^{30}\) Wary of such excess and reinforced by ladies morality books, parents viewed novel-reading as a foolish yet unpreventable pastime. "Do not devote much of your time to novels," Patrick Henry objected, "there are a few which may be useful and improving in giving a higher tone to our moral sensibility; but they tend to vitiate the taste, and to produce a disrelish for substantial intellectual food."\(^{31}\) In his comments on women's education, Jefferson wrote that "a great obstacle to good education is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels, and the time lost in that reading which should be
instructively employed . . . (contributes to) a bloated imagination, sickly judgment and disgust towards all the real business of life." Distaste for novel-reading was even used to promote "serious" and worthy books. The publishers of Alexander's *History of Women* in 1796 begged to inform their subscribers, including several Virginians, that

> We have not vanity enough to recommend our Work to the learned, they may have met with every anecdote related in it; but as the generality of the Fair Sex, whose reading is more confined, now spend many of their idle hours in poring over novels and romances, which greatly tend to mislead the understanding and corrupt the heart, we cannot help expressing a wish, that they would spare a part of this time to look into the History of their own Sex . . . .\(^33\)

Perhaps because of widespread disapproval of novel-reading, eighteen-year-old Lucinda Lee Orr realized that "Books of instruction will be a thousand times more pleasing (after a little while) than all the novels in the world. I own myself, I am too fond of novel reading . . . .\(^34\)

While adults concerned themselves with supervising the written aspects of a young woman's language, they also guided the development of verbal skills. While most spoken errors were probably corrected on the spot by parents or tutors, Mary Walker Carter described formal punishment for verbal mistakes during her schooling in Alexandria. In 1802, "Poll" reported to her stepfather, St. George Tucker

> On Friday evening we went to school, and I had never payed a fine, so the next morning was the one, on which Mrs. Cooke was to buy the sugar candy and she told us she had nearly four shillings, and there were, only four girls who were to have any, of whom Sukey and I made two of the number, so we began to exult over the
girls about it "well, says Sukey," (whose mouth already was set Sugar Candy fashion), "to morrow is Saturday", "Stop" (cried Mrs. C) "Miss Meade there is a fine, you ought to have said to morrow will be Saturday, when it comes it is Saturday." I began to laugh and said "so much the better for us as there are now only three of us, we shall have more," but Cousin Molly put me in mind that if I kept on talking I should probably have the same ill luck, but however I did not listen to her wise precepts and some of the girls sayd "why la, Polly, you are quite bald"----Ah (said I) "I am a poor old creature" "I am a poor old creature! (said Mrs. Cooke), if you please, to bring me to morrow a cent."

So you see Papa, Cousin Sukey and myself, both lost our Sugar Candy, and had to pay besides—Do-you-not-pity-us—but however I am sure it will have the good effect of making us speak properly and you know that I am in great need of being corrected in that . . .35

These small grammatical mistakes were minor complaints compared to more serious matters of incorrect vocabulary and accent. Any deviation from standard English revealed association with ill-chosen company. Scottish tutor John Harrower felt pressured to speak with as little accent as possible. He wrote in 1774 that "I am also obliged to talk english the best I can, for Lady Daingerfield speaks nothing but high english . . . ."36 William Beverley of Blandfield wrote in 1741 that a Scottish school master was desired for his offspring, "But they commonly teach the children the Scotch dialect, which they never can wear off."37 Robert Carter was also concerned that his tutor's English pronunciation met certain standards.38

Traveler Johann Schoepf's comments in 1783 were helpful in suggesting actual language patterns.
... the Virginians are very conversable. They boast that among all the American colonies the English language is with them preserved purest and most complete, and one cannot altogether deny them. But here and there a few negroisms have crept in, and the salmagundy of the English language has here been enriched even by words of African origin ... 39

Words of African origin were not a desirable part of a young lady's vocabulary. Anne Blair wrote "I do not observe her to be fond of Negroes Company nor have I heard lately of any bad words ...," which was a favorable report of her niece's progress in 1764. 40 Maria Byrd's complaint about her granddaughter's education was explicit: "I am greatly disturbed at the education of the little lady at Belvidere who's Mama Ly's in bed till noon and her chief time is spent with servants and Negro children her play fellows, from whom she has learnt a dreadful collection of words ...." 41

Vulgar language and name-calling were also thought to be outside the realm of a proper young woman's verbal repertoire. Josiah Flag, visiting Petersburg in 1786, recorded many unfavorable impressions of the area. "As to the language," he wrote of Petersburg's young ladies, "they have as many Barbarisms as our most Countryfied market girls." 42 According to Fithian, Priscilla Carter had a commendable vocabulary for she "never swears, which is here a distinguished virtue." 43 Elizabeth Foote Washington, who was greatly concerned with proper conduct with regard to servants or "domesticks" chided herself in her journal
"never to think they were given me to domineer over by treating them with harsh expressions, because they are in my power, —such as fool — Blockhead — vile wretches — and many other names that I hope I shall ever think myself above using . . . ."\textsuperscript{44} Although she was a young girl in 1772, Sally Cary Fairfax had mastered many undesirable harsh expressions. She recorded in her diary "that vile man Adam at night killed a poor cat, of rage, because she eat a bit of meat out of his hand and scratched it. A vile wretch of new negroes, if he was mine I would cut him to pieces. a son of a gun, a nice negrow, he should be kild himself by rites."\textsuperscript{45}

In spite of these unintentional diversions from the track of female education, other young women, like Eliza Parke Custis, wished to study beyond the prescribed areas. Ferdinand-Marie Bayard, a French traveler in Virginia in 1791, noted aspirations of some female friends in Winchester by relating that

Mrs. Smith's friend knew French well enough to read our writers in their language. She spoke to me of the works of Md. Genlis with much interest. The sex of the author tended also to make her love to read her works, and she assured me that if the education of women were less neglected, they would rival their husbands in fame as they do in love and goodness. Mrs. Smith listened with great pleasure to her eloquent friend defend the hopes of their sex, and I had no less pleasure in admitting everything that this pretty woman asserted.\textsuperscript{46}

Not only did society frown on female study of Latin and Greek, but many morality books warned that too great a show
of intelligence was unbecoming. A female scholar incurred social disapproval if she grew too proud of her knowledge. "Be ever cautious in displaying your good sense," warned Dr. Gregory, author of the popular handbook *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, "It will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company." 47 Mrs. Chapone clearly warned would-be scholars that "The danger of pedantry and presumption in a woman – of her exciting envy in one sex and jealousy in the other – of her exchanging the graces of imagination for the severity and preciseness of a scholar, would be, I own, sufficient to frighten me from the ambition of seeing my girl remarkable for learning. Such objections are perhaps still stronger with regard to the abstruse sciences." 48 A verse from a farcical poem written for St. George Tucker in 1781 suggests just such male jealousy:

To Patty Hall I must begin
Lament the great and crying sin
That Girls of this degenerate Age
Are not more stay'd discreet and sage;
That Men are Fops and Fools by nature,
And for superior Wisdom hate her. 49

In *A Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters*, Lady Sarah Pennington reasoned that "The great art of pleasing is to appear pleased with others; suffer not then an ill-bred absence of thought, or a contemptuous sneer, ever to betray a conscious superiority of understanding . . . ." 50 The whole issue was stated in "The Whole Duty of a Woman" which asked "Art though Letter'd, let not the difficulty of thy speech puzzle the ignorant; lest instead of admiring
thy knowledge, they condemn thee for pride and affecta-
tion." For "ignorance makes a female companion contempt-
tible, pedantry makes her ridiculous; nor is it easy to
say which of the two is most disgusting." This plain
speaking was the wisdom of William Alexander, author of
History of Women. Young women, bombarded with adages
like "Wit is the most dangerous talent you can possess" and
"Discover not the knowledge of things it is not expected
thou shouldst understand," were encouraged to study within
the circumscribed area of suitable subjects; to be pro-
cient but not outstanding in mastering them; and not to
disclose a superior knowledge of them.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I


Wright, First Gentlemen of Virginia, p. 80. Frances was married in 1707.


9 "Letters are sweet remembrancers, and when I am gradually, and almost imperceptibly stealing from your remembrance, an unexpected Epistle, will revive your recollection of me, and by this means I never shall be forgotten." P. (Margaret) Davenport to Elizabeth Pelham, 24 February 1791, in "Letters Addressed to Miss Elizabeth Pelham, William Blagrove and William Pelham," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d Ser., 9 (1929), p. 265.


12 James Rind to Maria Rind, 1 June 1789. Brown Coalter Tucker Papers.


14 Joseph Nourse to Maria Bull, 10 February 1784. Nourse Family Papers, Accession number 3490-a, University of Virginia Special Collections, Charlottesville, Virginia.

