

Comparing Intellectual Poses

Public authority, actual and represented

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Introduction

- Early C18: writing for a public audience emerges
 - Habermas (1962/1989); Hirschman (1977); Blanning (2003)
- Different strategies for constructing public personas of authority
- Periodicals important in the development of the public sphere
 - Different authorial perspectives:
men writing as men, men writing as women, women writing as women, women writing as men
- This paper: **cross-gender comparisons of constructing intellectual authority** in the public sphere
 - Also intra-gender, focusing on women
 - 4 periodicals: *The Tatler*, *Female Tatler*, *The Spectator*, *Female Spectator*

Background

Gendered styles of writing

- Previous research has found differences between male and female writing styles
 - Lakoff (1975); Biber & Burges (2000); Palander-Collin (1999)
 - Remarkably consistent throughout centuries and across genres
- Men's style tends to be more **informational** (lots of nouns, adjectives), women's more **involved** (lots of *I*, *you*, private verbs, contractions, intensifiers, hedges)
 - Vartiainen et al. (2013): differences in use of personal pronouns become smaller in 18th-century English correspondence

Linguistic means of constructing intellectual authority

- Nevala (2009): **referential terms** (C18)
 - Self- and addressee-oriented 3rd-person reference used for distancing, to promote authority
- Claridge (2017): **personal pronouns** (C19)
 - Poor Man's Guardian journalists position themselves as an intellectual authority, political & moral compass, "strong authorial *We* persona" (154)
 - Refer to readers as *you* (much less frequent) and to opponents as *they*
- Alonso-Almeida & González-Cruz (2012): **epistemicity/evidentiality** (C19–20)
 - Travel writers express authority by indicating their evaluation/source of information (e.g. adverbs: *possibly, perhaps, certainly, evidently, obviously*)
 - Women use more epistemic/evidential devices than men, more of a need to show authority?
- Macaulay (1995, 2002): **adverbs** (C20)
 - Overuse of adverbs and adjectives by middle-class (male) Scottish speakers "reflects a self-confident and authoritarian attitude", imposing one's views on listeners

Women's intellectual authority in periodicals

- Shevelov (1989): women represented as readers, writers, editors – had authority but only within the realm constructed as feminine (love, marriage, family, domestic issues)
 - The Female Spectator's authority “was predicated upon her representation of herself as feminine, a pose that shaped her method of addressing her audience” (168–169)
- Powell (2012: 150):

“it is less clear to me than to Shevelov that this authority existed ‘within, and only within, a feminine province.’ In fact, when she felt it requisite, Haywood was perfectly able to address matters of a more masculine province (politics, coffee-house politicians, the behavior of her male readers)”

Material

and methods

Female



Tatler.

By Mrs. Crackenthorpe, a Lady that knows every thing.

From Monday August 29, to Wednesday August 31, 1709.

THE Pride o' the City has been always the Jest o' the Court, and nothing can be more diverting to those of Birth and Education, who are always Condescending, Pleasant and Affable, than to see a parcel of rough hewn Tradesmen swell at a little prosperous Knavery, set up Coaches upon being made Deputies o' the Ward, and put their Wives and Daughters into so strange a ferment, that they run into a Thousand monstrous Affections; are so divided between Heaven and Earth, that Servants approach 'em with fear and trembling, their old Acquaintance are infinitely below their Notice, and their Heads are so confounded with Airs and Equipage, that they cannot positively say, whether they are awake or not. The following Account proves this assertion with a witness. About a Fortnight ago the Serene Company of Cloath-workers mov'd in graceful Order to their Hall in *Mincing-Lane*, the Beadle shewing 'em the way, and the Clerk bringing up the Rear. Amongst whom Deputy *Buffle*, Cheesmonger, and Reformer of Manners, made no small Figure; their Business there was first to elect new Officers, that ev'ry Coxcomb might be distinguish'd in his turn, then to demolish several Ven'lon Pasties, and afterwards to puff out Politicks, depose the *French King*, commit Madam *Maintenon* to the Work-house, and send a Re-

Father being Head Warden, they were so crouded, that their Hips had n't room to play, and their double Ruffles were perfectly squeez'd to nothing; wonder'd how so much Mob got in, and there was not one at Table that they thought good enough to Drink to; they reflected upon People so loud, that they heard 'em, look'd scornfully around 'em, and when a Gentleman very civilly gave his Service to the Eldest, she burst out a Laughing in his Face; when the Company rose from Gormondizing, the Ladies were conducted up Stairs, the two Mrs *Buffle's* taking care to be foremost, for their Father was Head Warden; after Tea and Scandal, the Musick was summon'd for Dancing, Mrs. *Buffles* to be sure were the two uppermost Couple, for their Father was Head Warden, who, to show how well they understood fashionable Dances, call'd for *Damme*, and the Parson upon *Dorothy*, they stood as insensibly as a couple of Statues, till the Tune was half over, then Figur'd in when they should have Cross'd over, went Back to Back when they should have chang'd Places, and ran the Hay, instead of giving Right Hand and Left, yet these two Butter Firkins were so mightily disturb'd, that they had n't Room to show their Parts, that they made Complaint to the Deputy their Father, who being that Day to go out of his Office, resolv'd to do something to be talk'd of, he com-

Periodicals and their editorial personas

- ***The Tatler*** (1709–1711)

- Persona: Isaac Bickerstaff (M)
- Persona: Jenny Distaff (F)

Editor: Richard Steele, et al. (M)

265 issues

Editor: Richard Steele, et al. (M)

6 issues

- ***Female Tatler*** (1709–1710)

- Persona: Mrs. Crackenthorpe (F)
- Persona: Society of Ladies (F)

Editor: Delarivier Manley (F)?

51 issues

Editor: Bernard Mandeville (M), et al.?

61 issues

- ***The Spectator*** (1711–1714)

- Persona: Mr. Spectator, et al. (M)

Editor: Addison, Steele, et al. (M)

635 issues

- ***Female Spectator*** (1744–1746)

- Persona: Female Spectator, et al. (F)

Editor: Eliza Haywood (F)

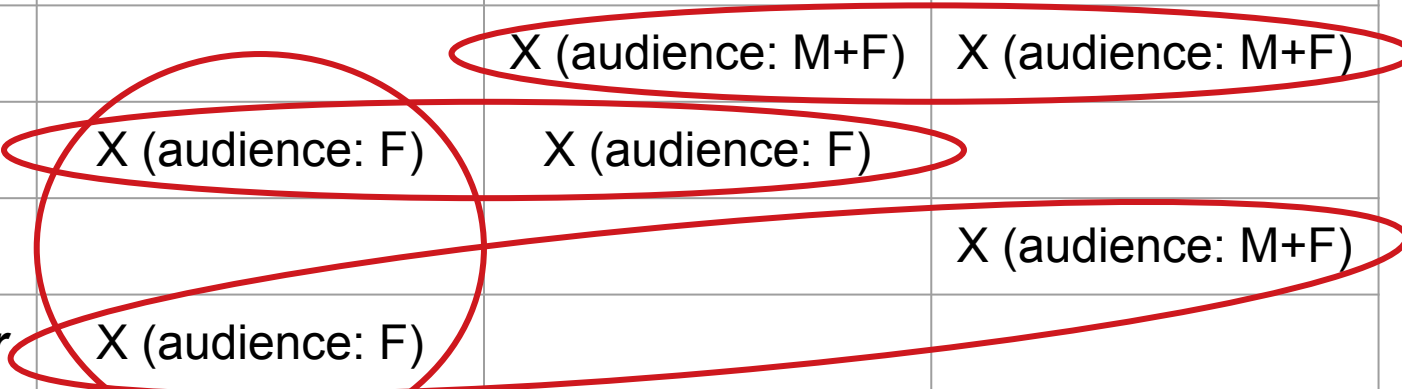
24 books

Gender and periodicals

	F as F	M as F	M as M
<i>The Tatler</i>		X (audience: M+F)	X (audience: M+F)
<i>Female Tatler</i>	X (audience: F)	X (audience: F)	
<i>The Spectator</i>			X (audience: M+F)
<i>Female Spectator</i>	X (audience: F)		

Gender and periodicals

	F as F	M as F	M as M
<i>The Tatler</i>		X (audience: M+F)	X (audience: M+F)
<i>Female Tatler</i>	X (audience: F)	X (audience: F)	
<i>The Spectator</i>			X (audience: M+F)
<i>Female Spectator</i>	X (audience: F)		

The table is annotated with red hand-drawn circles and lines. A large circle encloses the 'F as F' column for 'Female Tatler' and 'Female Spectator'. Another circle encloses the 'M as F' column for 'The Tatler' and 'Female Tatler'. A third circle encloses the 'M as M' column for 'The Tatler' and 'The Spectator'. A line connects the 'F as F' cell for 'The Spectator' to the 'M as M' cell for 'The Spectator'. Another line connects the 'F as F' cell for 'Female Spectator' to the 'M as M' cell for 'The Spectator'.

Methods

- Frequency comparisons
 - All words → visualization: word clouds
 - Personal pronouns, esp. human subject pronouns: *I, we, you, he, she, they*
 - Epistemic/evidential stance markers (Landert 2019): *believe, doubt, evident, (un)likely, certainly, perhaps, ...*
- Statistical comparisons
 - Relative Frequency Analysis (Keyness) (χ^2 , log-likelihood) → visualization: bar plots
 - Words which occur more frequently than statistically expected
 - Collocation analysis (MI)
 - Words which co-occur more frequently than statistically expected
 - Term similarity (weighted proportional, cosine)
 - Most (statistically) similar words
- Close reading

Analysis

The Tatler: Jenny Distaff vs. Isaac Bickerstaff

Isaac (Tatler)

- Jenny Distaff (Steele et al.);
M as F
 - Discusses (*my/our*) sex, acts as an authority in matters of love
 - Refers to her *brother* Isaac as an authority
 - Overuses -'d contraction

Isaac Bickerstaff (Steele et al.);

M as M

- Adverbs & adjectives: *so, very, only, great, good, little, young, old*
- Stance markers: *think, know*
- Uses more *I*
- Refers to outgroup: *they, them*



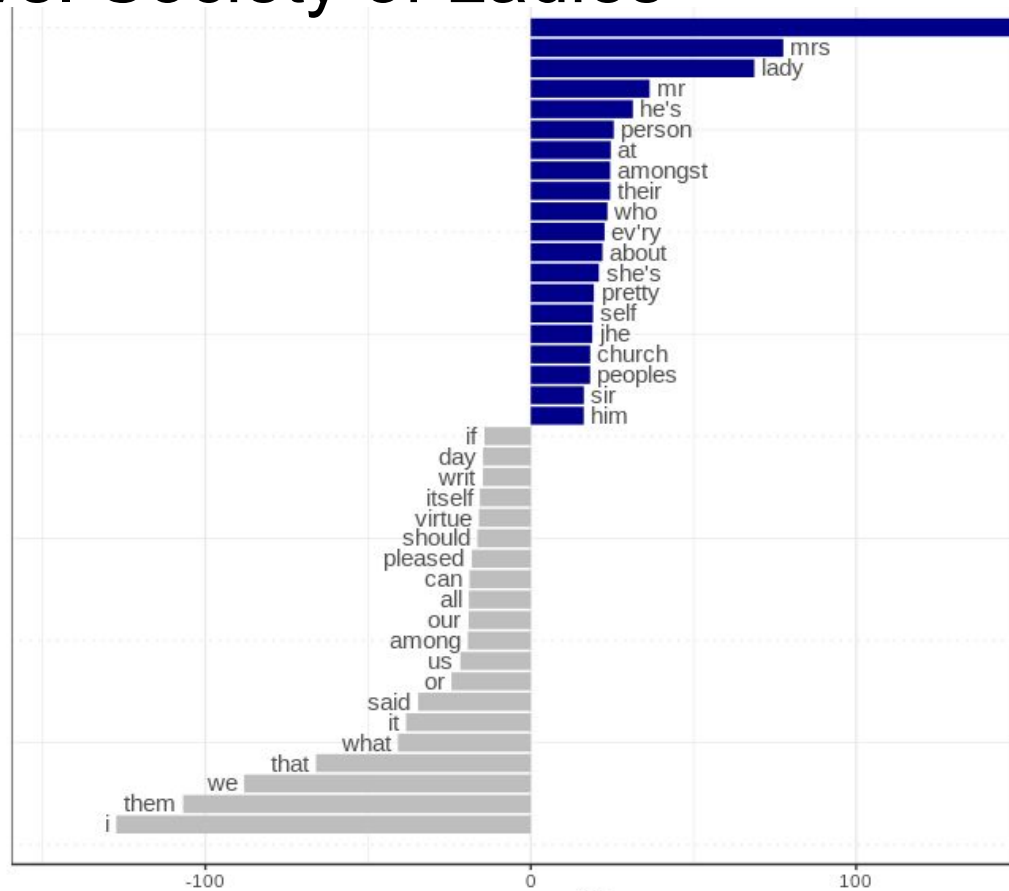
Jenny (Tatler)

The Tatler: Jenny Distaff vs. Isaac Bickerstaff

- Jenny Distaff (Steele et al.); M as F
 - This will be of great Service for us, and I have Authority to promise an exact Journal of their Deliberations; the Publication of which I am to be allow'd for Pin-Money. In the mean Time I cast my Eye upon a new Book ... which I find, by my **Brother's** Notes upon it, no way inferior to the other Volumes. There are, it seems, in this a Collection of the best Pastorals that have hitherto appear'd in England; but among them, none superior to that Dialogue between Sylvia and Dorinda, written by one of my own **Sex**; where all our little Weaknesses are laid open in a Manner more just, and with truer Raillery, than ever Man yet hit upon.
(Issue 10, 3 May 1709)
- Isaac Bickerstaff (Steele et al.); M as M
 - Were I at Liberty to discover **even** all the **Good I know** of many Men living at this Time, there would want nothing but a suitable Historian to make **them** appear as illustrious as any of the noblest of the **old** Greeks or Romans.
(Issue 261, 9 December 1710)

FT: Mrs. Crackenthorpe vs. Society of Ladies

- Mrs. Crackenthorpe (Manley);
F as F
 - Distancing 3rd-person self-reference as “Mrs. Crackenthorpe”
 - Focus on individuals (*lady*, *Mr*, *Sir*), esp. women (*her*)
 - More informal (contractions: *'em*, *ev'ry*)
- Society of Ladies (Mandeville et al.); M as F
 - Uses more *I*, *we*
 - Discusses *virtue* (implication: authority in such matters?)

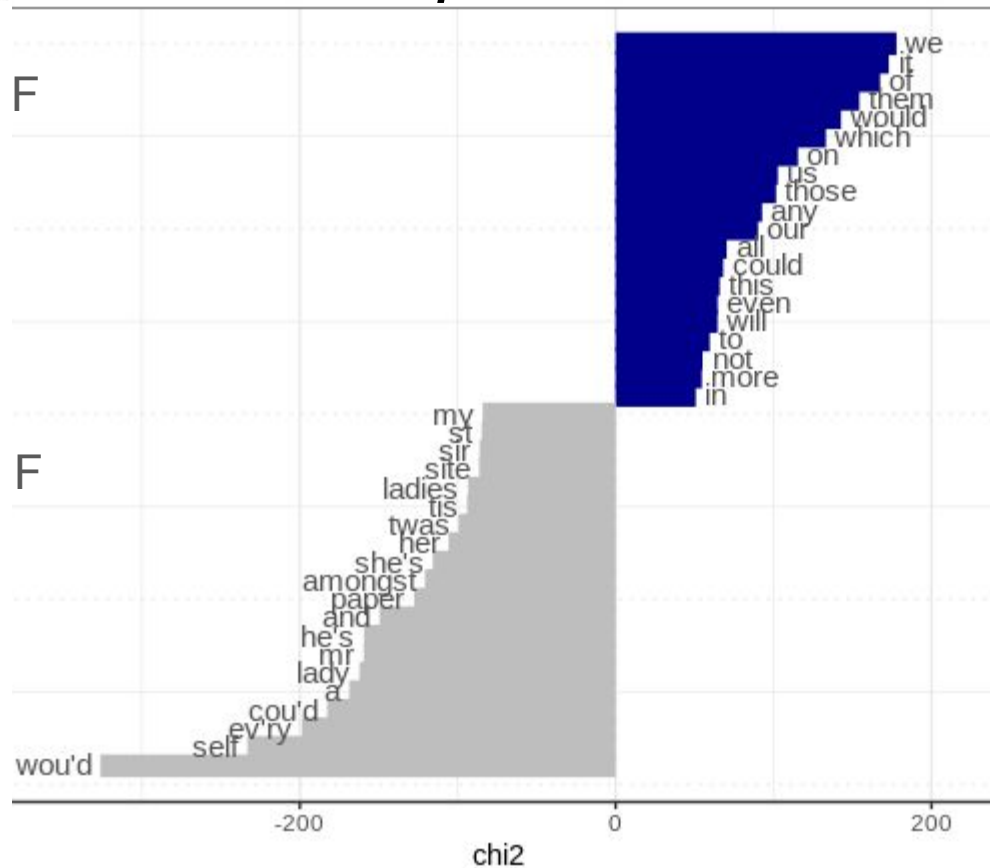


FT: Mrs. Crackenthorpe vs. Society of Ladies

- Mrs. Crackenthorpe (Manley); F as F
 - She had a Story which **Mrs. Crackenthorpe** must needs insert or she'd take it very ill, viz. That a young **Lady** of her Acquaintance took too much notice of the Men, which made the Men take a great deal of notice of **her**, and what might be the Issue of the matter she could not tell –
(Issue 12, 1–3 August 1709)
- Society of Ladies (Mandeville et al.); M as F
 - I shall content my self with only giving these few Instances of Female worth, in which **Virtue** and Goodness have been as Conspicuous as Fortitude and Magnanimity; not that there are not abundance more to be found in History of equal Deserts with the former, but because I would not be tedious by dwelling too long upon the same Subject.
(Issue 92, 8–10 February 1710)

FT's Mrs. Crackenthorpe vs. *Female Spectator*

- Mrs. Crackenthorpe (Manley); F as F
 - Distancing 3rd-person self-reference as “Mrs. Crackenthorpe”
 - Focus on individuals (*lady, ladies, Mr, Sir*), esp. women (*her*)
 - More informal (contractions: *wou’d, cou’d, ev’ry*)
- *Female Spectator* (Haywood); F as F
 - More general focus: *we, us, our* (self-reference), *human*
 - Discusses *power*
 - Appeals to *nature, reason, heaven*
 - Epistemic expressions: *indeed, perhaps, doubtless, find, may*

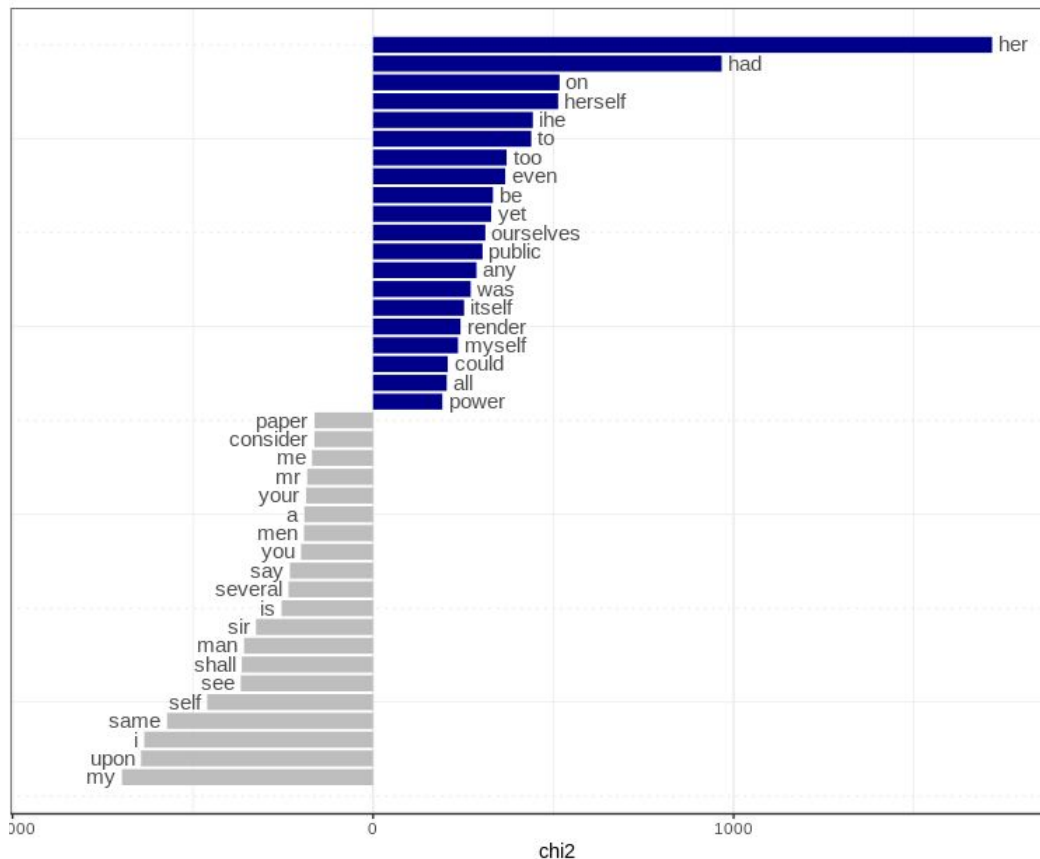


FT's Mrs. Crackenthorpe vs. Female Spectator

- Mrs. Crackenthorpe (Manley); F as F
 - She had a Story which **Mrs. Crackenthorpe** must needs insert or she'd take it very ill, viz. That a young **Lady** of her Acquaintance took too much notice of the Men, which made the Men take a great deal of notice of **her**, and what might be the Issue of the matter she could not tell –
(Issue 12, 1–3 August 1709)
- *Female Spectator* (Haywood); F as F
 - It is certain, that on any Menace of immediate Death, the Soul catches the Alarm; those Apprehensions which **Nature** has implanted in every one of **us**, in a more or less Degree, on the Score of Dissolution, puts all **our** Faculties in a Hurry, and **we** have not then the **Power** of exerting **our Reason** in such a Manner as is necessary for the dreadful Occasion:
(Book 14)

Female Spectator vs. The Spectator

- *Female Spectator* (Haywood); F as F
 - Female focus: *her, she*
 - Discusses *power*
 - Intensifying adverbs: *even, too*
- *The Spectator* (Addison, Steele et al.); M as M
 - Male focus: *man, men, Sir, Mr*
 - Involved style: 1st-person singular self-reference (*I, me, my*), 2nd-person *you*
 - Addresses the *reader*



Female Spectator vs. The Spectator

- *Female Spectator* (Haywood); F as F
 - Neither will **she** be content with knowing that such and such Things were done; **she** must also pry into the Motives by which they were brought about, and as far as is in **her Power** inform herself whether they were such as deserved Praise, or the contrary: And by this Means **She** will be enabled to judge of Affairs, not by their Success, but by the Intentions of those who conducted them.
(Book 15)
- *The Spectator* (Addison, Steele et al.); M as M
 - To justifie this Assertion, **I** shall put **my Reader** in mind of Horace, the greatest Wit and Critick in the Augustan Age; and of Boileau, the most correct Poet among the Moderns: Not to mention la Fontaine, who by this way of Writing is come more into Vogue than any other Author of our times.
(Issue 183, 29 September 1714)

Term similarities: *man* and *woman*

- Women as women

- **Man:** son, intelligence, sense, violent, opportunity, friends, judgment, friend, advice, bold
- **Woman:** fair, passion, confusion, lovers, indifferent, approbation, separate, companions, prudent, leisure

- Men as women

- **Man:** order'd, patience, temper, enemies, charms, force, rules, principles, freedom, desires, needs, innocent, careful, safety, contrary, victory, dull, triumph, reasonable
- **Woman:** manner, inclination, order, follies, acquainted, wit, marriage, imagine, silence, small, fancy, advice, noble, sense, thoughts, manners

- Men as men

- **Man:** friend, personal, reflecting, ordinary, self, mistress, thinks, infamy, bore, lying, caution, serious, determined, better, weary, mightily, noblest, vehemence, frivolous, british
- **Woman:** perswaded, unreasonable, house, correspondents, afflicted, unworthy, passion, quiet, afraid, cruelty, respect, aversion, imperfection, passionate, imperfections, polite, tears

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Discussion

Summary of results

- Men use more / than women (M as M > M as F > F as F)
 - Contrary to previous findings on gendered styles!
 - More content to put themselves out there in this genre in the public sphere?
- Women's strategies of authoritative self-reference:
 - 3rd person, title+name: Mrs. Crackenthorpe (Manley)
 - 1st-person plural *we*: *Female Spectator* (Haywood) – includes audience
- M as F: authority in feminine matters only (*my/our sex, virtue*)
- F as F (esp. Haywood): more varied topics discussed with authority
 - Discuss women more than men do, but not only women
 - Mrs. Crackenthorpe through the individual
 - *Female Spectator* in more general terms; preoccupied with *power*
 - Stance markers another way of expressing authority (uses these even more than men)

Conclusion

- Quantitative findings support previous historical/literary research
 - e.g. Powell (2012)
- New linguistic finding: a genre where male writing is more involved?
- Future research:
 - Analyse more data (both quantitatively and qualitatively)
 - Analyse references to external authorities (named entity recognition, text reuse detection)?
 - Separate reader letters from other content?



Joseph Addison and Eliza Haywood
(Wikimedia Commons)

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