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Women Translating Women: Resisting the Male Intellectual Canon in Eliza Hayley's *Essays on Friendship and Old-Age, by the Marchioness de Lambert* (1780)

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Abstract – In 1780 the English translator and essayist Eliza Ball Hayley (b.1750-1797) published *Essays on Friendship and Old-Age, by the Marchioness de Lambert*. The text was a translation of two of the many philosophical treatises written by the French philosopher Anne-Thérèse de Lambert (1647-1733). Addressing the chronological, linguistic, and geographical distance between the two authors and their philosophical thought, this article examines the motivations behind Hayley's translation, regarding them as an act of resistance to the predominant contemporary male intellectual discourse, dismissive of de Lambert's influence. Furthermore, it suggests that, through the act of translating, Hayley is in fact recovering de Lambert and her (gendered) contribution to the history of ideas, while in parallel she is asserting her own place within this intellectual continuum by benefiting from de Lambert's legacy, and thus contributing to, and sustaining, a female genealogy of thought.

Keywords – Eliza Hayley; Anne-Thérèse de Lambert; translation; eighteenth century; intellectual canon.

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Women Translating Women: Resisting the Male Intellectual Canon in Eliza Hayley's *Essays on Friendship and Old Age* by the Marchioness de Lambert (1780)

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1. Introduction

Essays on Friendship and Old-Age, by the Marchioness de Lambert was published in London in 1780. Its subtitle read “Translated from the French, BY A LADY”. Apart from conveying the anonymity of the translator, this tag relayed three key details to the contemporary reader: this was a) a translation b) from a text originally written by a woman, and c) translated by another woman. It also supplied information about their differing nationalities, languages, and periods, bridged by virtue of translation. This text was an example, then, of women translating women across linguistic and geographical boundaries (England and France) as well as across chronological ones (the late 17th century of their original composition and the late 18th century of their translation).

On the one side of the geographical and chronological divide was the translator, essayist, and letter writer, Eliza Ball Hayley (b.1750-1797). Hayley was born in Chichester to the archdeacon and dean of the cathedral, and she received the education pertinent to the daughters of the clergy. This education usually included embroidery, drawing, music, reading, and writing, as well as learning modern languages such as French (Barnard 36). In 1769, she married her life-long friend William Hayley (1745-1820), the poet, essayist, and biographer of William Cowper. She lived in the Hayley's family home at Eartham until 1789 (W. Hayley 339), when she was sent to live in Derby by her husband, allegedly on account of her mental health (W. Hayley). She also frequently visited the cultural and intellectual hubs of Bath and London, and hosted writers like Charlotte Smith or Anna Seward, and artists like George Romney, at Eartham.¹ Her separation, with its accompanying social and financial consequences, forcibly redefined Hayley's identity. Indeed, Seward, described her as “very accomplis'd; she has more wit than almost any body one knows;- extreme vivacity, the sweetest temper, & the best heart imaginable”, possessing “a fashionable non-chalance [sic] in her air & address, that quick sense of the ridiculous, with which she loves to divert herself, & those with whom she converses” (JBM, Seward to Powys, 17 August 1782), and a “rage for society, and excessive love of talking” (Seward 25). While to Seward these characteristics explain why she would have found it so difficult to adapt to her husband's reclusive lifestyle, they also reveal Hayley's need for intellectual and cultural stimulus. Interestingly, her letters and the publication of her work attest to the period following her move as one of intellectual awakening. It was during that period that Hayley published two works that were regarded as unexceptionable by the reviewers and have

¹ It is possible to partly reconstruct Hayley's biography from her husband's *Memoirs*, as well as from her correspondence, part of which has been recovered, transcribed, and annotated by the project *A Museum of Relationships: The correspondence of William Hayley (1745-1820)*. Furthermore, Lisa Gee, who is also a member of the team behind this project, has researched the particularities of Hayley's relationship with her husband through these texts.

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never received critical attention to this day: the translation *Traité de l'Amitié and Traité de la Vieillesse; Essays on Friendship and Old Age by the Marchioness de Lambert* (1780; *Essays* henceforth), printed in London by James Dodsley and in Dublin by S. Price; and her first and only surviving original work, *The Triumph of Acquaintance over Friendship: an Essay for the Times*, (1796; *Triumph* henceforth) printed in London for Thomas Cadell junior and William Davies. However, although “much addicted to literary pursuits” (Cary 348), Hayley was never recognised as an author outside of a select group of like-minded provincial poets and intellectuals. She seemingly had no desire to be known as such, as she wrote in 1782: “I have no genius of my own, only the power of admiring it in others, which I begin to consider *a sort of gift*” (W. Hayley, 254). This “gift”, the “power of admiring others” she refers to is no other than an acute and shrewd comprehensive and intellectual ability, and it is precisely this gift that she developed in her role as translator. It is what prompts her to champion de Lambert when one of her (male) contemporaries excludes the French philosopher from the intellectual canon, and it is also what transpires from her translation of her works.

On the other side was the author of the original texts, Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles (1647-1733) Madame de Lambert, Marquise de Saint-Bris upon marriage. She is best remembered for her role as salonnière, which she began to perform in her old age following the passing of her husband. De Lambert’s texts were embedded in the very specific context of 17th century Parisian intellectual culture, and they showcase her own and her circle’s philosophical principles. It was in the sociable, congenial, and semi-private context of the salon, which brought together scientists, philosophers, scholars, and socialites and combined intellectual discussion with worldly affairs where De Lambert developed her philosophical principles which have survived through her texts. De Lambert’s philosophy is heavily indebted to the French moralist tradition of the 16th and 17th centuries of Montaigne, Saint Évremond, La Rochefoucauld, Fontenelle, La Bruyère, Malebranche, and Fénelon (Bolufer 244), developed in the context of intellectual stimulus and decorum of the salon. Scholars working on her corpus (Bolufer, Craveri, Marchal, Waughn) agree in situating her influences at the intersection between classical philosophy, contemporary aristocratic principles, the ideas of “précieux feminism” and “honnêteté” (Craveri 270) and the tradition of Saint Augustin and Jeanne Guyon (Bolufer 244). Her philosophy delved on matters such as love, friendship, duty, reputation, virtue, and taste, with an emphasis on happiness understood as inseparable from altruism and friendship, also discussed by her friends and recurrent member of her salon Montesquieu, Madam du Châtelet, Helvétius and Diderot (Craveri 270-271). Significantly, it is precisely this formulation of happiness and friendship that is at the core of the two essays Hayley chose to translate, as well as in her only original publication, *The Triumph of Acquaintance over Friendship* (1796). Another common element between the two authors is the balance between personal consciousness and social opinion and decorum, urban life with solitude and meditation (Bolufer 244). The influence of the French philosopher on Hayley’s work is undeniable both implicitly and explicitly in her correspondence as well as in direct references in her texts. De Lambert’s texts were not intended for publication, and as it was common at the time, they only circulated in private circles. De Lambert envisioned her essays as a personal exercise in moral reflection, which fits neatly with the cultural practices of Parisian society during that period, when manuscript circulation restricted to a limited, select group a mark of distinction that signalled the author and reader’s aristocratic upbringing and education (Bolufer 244). While it was not until 1747 that they were compiled and printed in the original French as *Oeuvres de Madame la marquise de Lambert, avec un abrégé de sa vie* (Bolufer 244), from the 1720s onwards they enjoyed a significant circulation throughout the continent, both in their original and in translation. She was translated into German in 1731 (Press and Williams 15; Green

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:269); Russian in 1732 (Gretchanaia, 352) and into Italian². They may have circulated in the original in Spain, but were not translated into Spanish until 1774, when Fernando Zoraya requested (and was denied) permission to print *Consejos de una Madre a una Hija*; and again in 1781 when Cayetana de la Cerda's published her more comprehensive publication, which compiled a total of 12 essays (Bolufer 255). She was translated into English for the first time by John Lockman and William Hatchett in 1729 (*New Reflections on the Fair Sex* and *Advice from a mother to her son and her daughter*, respectively), and even used as reference in *Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son* (1774) (Bolufer, 252).

This article sets out to explore the intricacies, aims, and consequences involved in the act of translating de Lambert's essays from a specific place, time, and cultural context: the semi-urban genteel, polite, and intellectual society of eighteenth-century England. Addressing the chronological, linguistic, and geographical distance between the translated author and her translator as well as between their philosophical thought evinces a gap between source and translation that is nevertheless bridged. It is this bridge and what it reveals about the relationship that is established between both writers that is of particular interest in this analysis. With this in mind, this article examines the motivations behind Hayley's translation (supplying a reliable translated version in place of the existing one she judged substandard), regarding them as an act of resistance to the predominant eighteenth-century male intellectual discourse, which Hayley condemns on account of their dismissal of de Lambert's lasting intellectual influence. Furthermore, it also seeks to address the fact that by translating the French writer almost a century after the texts were produced, Hayley is recovering de Lambert and her (gendered) contribution to the history of ideas, a recovery that I contend comes from a place of feminist vindication and sorority. Finally, it suggests that Hayley is asserting her own place within the intellectual canon by benefiting from de Lambert's legacy, thus contributing to, and sustaining, a female genealogy of thought. In order to address of these aspects, this article will analyse *Essays on Friendship and Old-Age, by the Marchioness de Lambert's* text and its paratext, the thirty-four pages long "Introductory Letter to William Melmoth, Esq.," and its accompanying poem "To William Melmoth, Esq; On his omitting the name of the *Marchioness de Lambert*, in his account of the celebrated Modern Writers on Friendship", and compare Hayley's translation to de Lambert's original in its 1766 edition, and to Thomas Carte's version of the same essays, published in 1749. This comparison will highlight the stylistic choices that set Hayley's translation apart, in the context of the eighteenth-century debates on translation theory.

2. The paratext: Intellectual recovery through translation

2.1 "Introductory Letter to William Melmoth, Esq."

The translation is prefaced by "Introductory letter to William Melmoth, Esq". Hayley had met Melmoth (1710b-1799) in Bath in January 1781 (Hayley 1823:1:212), and a personal and literary friendship flourished between the two. He was a writer and translator himself, who had published, amongst others, Cicero's *Cato, or, Essay on Old Age* (1773) and *Laelius, or, Essay on Friendship* (1777). Both texts included "extensive and learned remarks" from the English author (Wilson, 2004), to which Hayley alludes in the letter, claiming that it was a fault in his remarks which led her into publishing her own translations—which is reminiscent to her reasons for

² According to OPAC, "*Avvertenze di una madre a sua figlia / A. Teresa Lambert ; traduzione con note di Francesco De Vita. Pubblicazione Cosenza : Per i Tipi di Raffaele Riccio*" was first published in 1895.

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translating de Lambert at all: righting a perceived wrong. In his appendix to his translation of *Laelius*, Melmoth lists who he deems greatest contributors to the theorisation of friendship up to the eighteenth century (Cudworth, Lock, Newton). Alluding to this specific remark in the letter, Hayley denounces Melmoth's oversight of de Lambert's writings on the topic and claims that this fault in his work was another of the reasons which led her into publishing her own translations. Hayley recalls being "mortified to find, that in speaking of the distinguished modern writers on Friendship" he had "omitted the name of the amiable Marchioness de Lambert, whose essay on the subject I had read with infinite pleasure, and perhaps with that partiality which women generally discover towards an author of their own sex" (6). This "partiality" Hayley refers to, alludes to an affinity from female readers to female authors, but also from female writers to other female writers. Hayley does not suggest at this point that de Lambert writes exclusively for women, she highlights that her texts offer a well needed woman's perspective that challenges the androcentrism and false universalism of the male authors Melmoth refers to. Hayley condemns Melmoth's omission and sets out to rectify it in order to integrate the French philosopher in the philosophical canon.

That the *Essays* are in direct conversation with Melmoth's translations of Cicero is evident from Hayley's choice to translate the essay on friendship and old age, out of all de Lambert's texts. This fact it translates into regarding the *Essays* an act of resistance to the predominant contemporary male intellectual discourse, dismissive of de Lambert's influence. Indeed, she declares in the letter "I not only engaged in a new version of the essays in question, because they appeared to me not so well translated as some of her other works, but from an ambition of placing her treaties on Friendship and Old-Age by the side of your Laelius and Cato" (7). Hayley's declaration that her aim was to "place" de Lambert beside Cicero is in itself very telling, as it makes a claim for de Lambert's critical relevance, placing her side by side with the classic philosopher. In terms of intellectual influences, de Lambert draws from Montaigne, La Fontaine and Mme de Rambouillet, who in turn were indebted to Seneca and Cicero (Bolufer 246). In fact, Troyanski claims she was "consciously imitating" the latter, especially in her essays to old age and to friendship, drawing from the classical author to approach the topic of women's old age (also in Blank 289, Hinde Stewart, and more generally in Yallop), whereas Blank has analysed them as a response to La Rochefoucauld. Be as it may, the French philosopher's treatment of the same themes was done through a specifically female and feminine lens. In *Traité de l'amitié* (1732), de Lambert reflects on friendship, conceived as "a link more serene and constant than that of love, which has to be cultivated with care" (Bolufer 246, my transl.). On the other hand, in *Traité de la Vieillesse* (1732)³, reflects on the onset of old age from her personal experience as a woman, providing advice to other women, especially younger ones, from the experience her age confers her. Although discussing different topics, both essays have the idea of happiness at their core: Happiness is understood as the aim, and it can be accomplished through the exercise of friendship, as well as in reaching advanced age, if both are experienced in a certain way. Friendship requires "faithfulness, generosity, attention and care to the needs of the other" (Bolufer 246, my transl.) whereas in old age one reaps the fruits of a life well lived in accordance with these philosophical principles (wisdom, reflection, serenity, generosity) in the freedom that retirement from social and obligations affords. In this sense, Bolufer has argued that "among women translators there was a special predilection for translating works by other women, particularly French women writing on pedagogical or moral themes" (Bolufer 334; my transl.). This, I contend, responds to a conscious will to vindicate

³ Bolufer provides 1732 as date of composition of the essays, although they were posthumously published in 1747 in *Oeuvres de Madame la marquise de Lambert, avec un abrégé de sa vie* (Bolufer 244).

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women's knowledge and intellectual contribution, not only in terms of female authorship but also methodology, style, and themes particular to women's writing⁴.

By critically engaging with Melmoth, Hayley is inserting herself in a public debate over the intellectual merits of female philosophers, uninvited and prompted by her own sense of intellectual value and even justice. With her translation, Hayley is not only commenting on Melmoth's critical oversight—which might correlate to mechanisms of cultural exclusion founded on misogynistic bias—but also actively contributing to the presence of female voices and their intellectual involvement in the history of ideas. Hayley is thus using the genre of translation as a sphere of collective transformation. Indeed, the main idea underpinning the “Introductory Letter” is Hayley's interest to recover de Lambert's intellectual contribution and to assert its value, hence promoting the French philosopher's place within the philosophical (all male) canon propounded by Melmoth. Furthermore, by translating de Lambert, Hayley is updating and reinforcing the value of said intellectual contribution. In her role as translator, she is also working as a fellow philosopher and as a scholar: she advocates for de Lambert's relevance, more than half a decade after the composition of her essays. In other words, through translation Hayley is, effectively, writing de Lambert back into the history of philosophy. There is further evidence of Hayley's intentionality in the biographical note on the French author that prefaces the texts. In this note, Hayley argues that, in her eighteenth-century point of view, it is “singular, that this lady, who in general possessed such solidity of judgment, should, in one instance, be under the influence of a vulgar prejudice, and consider it as unbecoming a woman of her rank to appear in the character of an author” (11). Hayley also refers to de Lambert's wishes to prevent the circulation of her writings, which she attributes to “natural modesty” (12) and compares hers to Shakespeare's immortal fame, quoting Pope “she grew immortal in her own despite” (12). Hayley also attributes de Lambert's reticence for publication to a fear of being mocked after the release of Molière's *Les Femmes Savantes* (1672), to which de Lambert replied with *Réflexions Nouvelles sur les Femmes* to “comba[t], with great vivacity and judgement, the dangerous ridicule” (13) of her contemporary. Still discussing Molière, Hayley quotes from another text by “a living French author, of considerable reputation” who “represented this comedy of Moliere in the same point of view”—that is, with feminist insight— “in a very entertaining essay concerning the character, manners, and understanding of women in different ages” (14). Hayley quotes from this text at length, at the same time supporting her argument for the vindication of de Lambert as well as once again, implicitly criticising Melmoth for his omission of the female philosopher: “In the most enlightened of ages, knowledge was deemed unpardonable in females. A taste of letters was considered as a kind of incongruity in the Great, and as pedantry in Women...” (15). In her paratext, Hayley cross-references, is familiar with de Lambert's context, quotes from letters (de Lambert's to St Hyacinthe, about her English translator Mr Lockman, Fénelon to Monsieur de Sacy about de Lambert), uses primary and secondary sources (Voltaire) to support her arguments, and her voice and opinion guide the reader throughout, which attests to the English writer's highly educated mind. Additionally, the paratext constantly refers to de Lambert's gender as an asset, and of amending her exclusion from Melmoth's text as a matter of justice: Hayley envisions herself as righting a historical wrong done to de Lambert: “I have still an earnest desire to see more justice done to her instructive character, by a much abler hand” (32).

⁴ In her book *Heroines and Local Girls: The Transnational Emergence of Women's Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Pamela L. Cheek has proposed that in the European context of that period, “women understood the meanings of other women, regardless of linguistic differences” and different geographical, political, and cultural contexts, quoting the writer Frances Brooke “Woman alone can paint with perfect exactness the sentiments of woman” (155). This argument suggests a trans-national network of women writers, translators, and readers whose common gender provided with shared experiences that allowed them to relate to each other.

2. 2 “To William Melmoth, Esq; On his omitting the name of the *Marchioness de Lambert*, in his account of the celebrated Modern Writers on Friendship”

The “Introductory Letter” is followed by a poem, also addressed to Melmoth, and entitled “To William Melmoth, Esq; On his omitting the name of the Marchioness de Lambert, in his account of the celebrated Modern Writers on Friendship”, that further emphasises the critique of Melmoth’s omission already expressed elsewhere in the paratext.

Hayley opens the poem gently chastising Melmoth, whom she describes as a friend of Beauty, a Beauty that “nobly scorns that Cynic pride,/Which oft to Woman has deny’d/The palm of letter’s praise” (Hayley 35). From the very first stanza, then, Hayley clearly positions her defence of women’s literary value, and her intention to denounce the predominant misogyny in literary criticism. She expresses, and later develops, the idea that women are not only deserving of praise, but more importantly, consistently denied the praise they are due, on account of their gender. She describes Melmoth’s dismissal of de Lambert “hard neglect”, and in line with her opening verses, poses that the muses cry “to think her page, to them so dear, is, by the critic they revere, contemptuously forgot” (36). However, Hayley offers Melmoth redemption: he can still amend his oversight, more so than it is in Hayley’s power do to, “for such offences to atone/Thou hast the happy power”, because, as she says, “this rhyme may perish, but thy praise is a perennial flower” (36). This idea is repeated a few lines below “whose beauties will outlive/ the ruder verse I vainly frame” (36). The poem praises Melmoth and his craft, chastising him for his omission in a soft, anti-belligerent tone, teasing and flattering, calling his writing “soft Virgilian prose/that with poetic sweetness flows” (36) and downplaying her own writing, which she describes as “ruder” and perishable. She implores him to make amends for his omission and, in an imperative tone, asks him “to lovely Lambert’s injur’d name/full retribution give!” (36). She returns to this imploration in a subsequent stanza, saying he “wilt not wrong” (38) de Lambert’s merit, and recommending that he will “open to Merit’s just complaint” and amend his mistake “Thou wilt in happier colour paint/ the subject of my song” (38).

While Hayley allows that the philosophers praised by Melmoth in his text are well-deserving, she also remarks de Lambert’s contribution is of similar value and should receive an equal treatment. Interestingly, Hayley argues her point by highlighting the femininity of said contribution: “Learning’s softer pride,/ her sex’s unassuming guide/ exerts a nicer art; her precept from Caprice withdraws,/ and forms to philosophic laws/ the lighter female heart” (37), using adjectives traditionally ascribed to the feminine such as “softer”, “unassuming”, “nicer”, or “lighter”. For Hayley de Lambert’s ideas are relatable to women in a way that Cicero’s, for example, cannot possibly be. It is de Lambert’s essays that can “teach the vain coquette” as well as the “cultur’d mind” (37) to come to terms with the onset of old age. The female and feminine experience the French philosopher draws from is, to Hayley, what makes her intellectual contribution so unique and valuable. All in all, Hayley’s vindication of de Lambert is also a vindication of the female experience, as well as of the value of women’s philosophical thought and intellectual contributions. In this sense, Hayley compares Cicero to de Lambert calling the first “the richest flower”, the “rose” and the latter “the lily of the valley” and asks herself “can we pass unheeding by the Lily of the vale?” (38). While she acknowledges Cicero’s prowess, she also remarks the value of the feminine viewpoint de Lambert’s offers, to all, but also, specifically to women, as she makes explicit in her text:

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“Every one [sic] loses in advancing in life, *and the women more than the men*. As all their merit consists in exterior graces, and as time destroys them, they are left entirely destitute; for there are very few women whose merit is more lasting than their beauty [...] let us endeavour to render the season of old-age profitable, by making it conducive to our happiness and perfection” (Hayley 95, my emphasis)

“*women* support themselves in youth by a vivacity of constitution, which hurries them towards such objects as gratify their senses, and which delivers them to the passions, either allowable or forbidden [...] for those who have beauty and attractions, they enjoy the advantage of their own figure, and the impression which they make on others.” (Hayley 103, my emphasis),

and,

“attention is directed to the improvement of men alone; *but as to women*, at all seasons of life they are left to themselves: their education is neglected in their youth; in the sequel they are deprived of consolation and support for their old age. Thus the greatest part of women live without thought, without self-examination: in youth they are vain and dissipated, in old-age weak and forsaken” (Hayley 94, my emphasis).

Redirecting our attention back to the poem, Hayley also reinforces the principles of de Lambert’s philosophy and her focus on the themes of friendship, happiness, education, and motherhood. She refers to the “true Friendship” (37) of Cicero, and of de Lambert’s “Friendship’s serener fires” (38). It is this serenity found in Friendship which, in her view, infuses “the spirit of maternal love” and “wisely molds [sic] the mind of youth” (38) with “soft Virtue’s sweetest tone” and “gentle grace” (39). Finally, Hayley addresses de Lambert’s reception, in what can also be construed as a political commentary on contemporary Anglo-French relations: “tho’ a rival coast,/ Gallia may this Lily boast” (38). To further support her argument in favour of de Lambert’s intellectual and literary value, she alludes to her status in the French canon: “France, exulting”, she writes, “ranks her [de Lambert’s] name/ with those who constitute the same/ of her Augustan age” (39). The poetic voice claims it is “Britain” herself, and not the poet, that cries “let Female worth [...] succeed,/ Where’er that worth may shine!”, and, in conversation with France, the English country concedes, in a magnanimous gesture, “Let France unenvy’d boast her share/ of glory from her letter’d Fair, since MONTAGU is mine!” (39), referring to the celebrated feminist English writer Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), author of the *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1763). Hayley is here using the precedent of Montagu’s incontestable reputation in her native shore to remark, once again, upon women’s literary and intellectual value as a whole, irrespective of the language or nationality of its authors, and understanding women’s writing globally.

3. Self-assertion within a Female Genealogy of Thought

Hayley’s *Essays* were only the second time de Lambert’s reflections on friendship and old age had been translated into English. The first was *The Works of the Marchioness de Lambert* (1749), which was translated by the English historian Thomas Carte (1686-1754), published in London by William Owen, and reprinted four times in England and Ireland. Hayley’s version differs from Carte’s in style as well as in content. Whereas Carte’s edition collects those and *Avis d’une mère à son fils*, *Avis d’une mère à sa fille*, *Réflexions nouvelles sur les femmes*, and her letters; Hayley’s

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only includes *Traité de l'Amitié* and *Traité de la Vieillesse*. Stylistically, Hayley's prose is lucid and engaging, more natural than Carte's, and closer to the original. The difference is notable, and this is not by chance—as she reveals in the preface, it was precisely the inferiority she perceived in Carte's work that prompted Hayley to produce her own version. In her book's dedication she explains that her interest in de Lambert, whom she had read in French, led her to investigate “in what dress she had been presented to our country” (6) only to discover that the only translation available was “unworthy of the original” and she “could not help feeling a desire to give the English reader a more adequate idea of their merit” (7).

In England, Hayley's translation was received with little acclaim. *The Monthly* described Hayley as an “ingenious lady” and the translation as “pleasing” and, in the same brief review, advertise the new edition of Mr Owen's translation, first published “some years ago”, but they do not consider the two versions in opposition or pay any attention to the superiority of either translation, as Hayley had done. (232). Indeed, Owen's version (Carte's translation, that is) was reprinted twice in England and twice in Ireland, and Hayley's was disregarded. If this was due to its more limited scope (as it collected only two of the essays), the gender of its author, or its style, it cannot be ascertained. On the other hand, *The Critical Review* deemed the translated essays “beautiful” and argued that they “discover an amiable sensibility of heart abound with such ingenious and philosophical reflections as might do honour to any writer” (480). There is no reference to Hayley other than “by a lady who has prefixed to the version a letter to William Melmoth esq accompanied with some poetical stanzas on his omitting the name of the Marchioness de Lambert in his account of the celebrated modern writers on friendship” (480). Hayley's contribution, according to this reviewer, is therefore limited to her preface, her translation is acknowledged but not valued or assessed, and consequently her role as translator goes unnoticed.

There are obvious differences between Carte's (1749) and Hayley's (1780) translations. Hayley's is both more faithful to the original, and her prose reads more natural and approachable, whereas the previous version is closer to the stylistic constraints popular in the 1740s. These differences further evince what can be deduced from Hayley's stylistic choices: a clear-cut division between different translating styles in the first and second halves of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, Carte represents an Enlightenment style that focuses on the relationship between the text with its reader rather than with its original author, and in which translation borders adaptation (de Luxán Hernández 31; my transl.). Indeed, as de Luxán has described, translations into English in the first half of the eighteenth century such as Carte's are “beautiful, but unfaithful” (de Luxán Hernández 24; my transl.) to the original, closer to an adaptation that to what the modern reader understands as translation. They prize the charged principles of taste, decorum, and morality above all (de Luxán Hernández 24; my transl.). Their paramount focus is the reader, not the original text, and in order to provide the reader with a text as familiar to them as possible, translators adapted the original to their sociocultural context, effectively “nationalising” it (de Luxán Hernández 24; my transl.). On the other hand, Hayley's Romantic style sought to “respect the personality of the author of the Original Text, their ideas, creativity, genius, and imagination” (de Luxán Hernández 31, my transl.). In his landmark treatise on translation theory *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791), the writer, historian, and professor of the University of Edinburgh Alexander Tytler (1747-1813) concluded that a good translation was one in which “the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language, as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work” (Tytler 14). According to Tytler, apart from supplying the reader with all the same ideas present in the original work, it was requisite for a translation that “the style and manner of writing” was “of the same character with that of the original” and that it maintained “the ease of [the] original composition” (Tytler 15), both at which Hayley succeeds. This is no

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easy feat, because in order to accomplish these conditions, the translator must have an excellent management of both the first and second languages (de Luxán Hernández, 31; my transl.) as well as of the topic at hand. Bearing this in mind, I contend that we can consider the *Essays* as evidence of Hayley's prowess as a reader and writer of French, but also, and more importantly, as a writer and as a philosopher. Taking a sample from the text in all three versions (the original by de Lambert, and Hayley and Carte's translations) showcases their remarkable differences in style as well as clearly showcasing Hayley and Carte as representatives of the two opposing factions in eighteenth-century translation.

In this sample, De Lambert's original in its 1766 edition reads "Dans tous le temps on a regardé l'amitié comme un des premiers biens de la vie. C'est un sentiment qui est né avec nous; le premier mouvement du coeur a été de s'unir a un autre coeur" (de Lambert, 118). This was translated by Carte as "In all ages of the world, Friendship has been esteemed one of the greatest Blessings of Life. 'Tis a sentiment that is born with us, and the first Emotion our hearts feel, is the Desire of attaching themselves to some other Heart," (Carte, 97), a more embroidered version in comparison to Hayley's simpler "in all ages friendship has been considered as one of the first blessings of life:—"Tis a sentiment which is born with us, and the first movement of every heart is to unite itself to some other;" (43). It is worth noting that Carte capitalises "Friendship", "Blessings", "Life", "Emotion", "Desire", and "Heart", in the fashion of the first half of the century, whereas Hayley respects the choice of de Lambert's French editor. In contrast, Hayley adds punctuation (a colon and a dash) to her version and uses a semicolon at the end of this sentence, whereas the original ends with a period. Both of these choices help her text gain fluidity. Further down in the same passage, de Lambert writes "Puisque tous les hommes conviennent des charmes de l'amitié" (118). This is translated by Carte as "Since the whole World is so sensibly convinced of the Charms of Friendship" (Carte, 97), once again capitalising what he deemed the key concepts in the sentence. Carte translates "conviennent" as "sensibly convinced" and "tous les hommes" (de Lambert 118), which could be understood as a gender neutral "all of mankind", as "the whole world", whereas Hayley uses the closer and more straight-forward "are agreed" and maintains de Lambert's "all men" (43).

On the other hand, Hayley makes certain stylistic choices in her translation in relation to de Lambert's original in its 1766 edition. She changes "esprit" (de Lambert 118) for "imagination" (47), or "délicatesse" (de Lambert 118) for "brilliance" (42); "plus habile" (de Lambert 118) becomes "more adroit and penetrating" (44); and "les doux plaisirs" receives the double adjectives "gentle and engaging pleasures" (44). There are also paraphrases such as "dans l'amitié" (de Lambert 120), which becomes "in the bosom of friendship" (45), and "you are hurried into love" (47) from "vous êtes entraîné dans l'amour" (de Lambert 120). In this case, "entraîné" means "dragged" or "trained", but "hurried" manages to convey its meaning much more successfully. Similarly, "manager ses goûts" becomes the simple and straight-forward "not be too lavish" (69), "devine" (guess) is "give them credit for" (48), and "connoît" (de Lambert 121) for "displayed" (48) which in context are very appropriate choices that convey the meaning successfully in a plain, yet adequate manner. Although she makes additions very seldom, she adds "and refined" (42) to the original "the heart becomes pure". A significant, or at least interesting, change is in "c'est un effet du dérèglement des hommes de s'aveugler sur leurs véritables intérêts" (de Lambert 118), which becomes "mankind, in growing depraved, become blind to their own advantage" (43). Naturally, de Lambert could have been using the masculine as a neutral⁵, which Hayley translates correctly; however, this is not a consistent

⁵ In French "Hommes", capitalised, refers to the whole of humanity, whereas when not capitalised it should be translated as "men". None of the printed editions from de Lambert have capitalised

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change, as in the first paragraph she translated “tous les hommes” as “all men” (as seen in its analysis above, 43), and later on in the same essay she translates “hommes” as “men” (46) in “load men with possessions, with riches”, when there is a clear gendered discourse from context.

These stylistic changes, paraphrases, additions, and gendered nuances are the choices of a linguist, but also of a philosopher. Hayley’s translation demonstrates that she understood de Lambert’s philosophical principles intimately and that it was both that knowledge and her own skill as a thinker that imbued her with the ability and the conviction to make these slight but meaningful changes. In this sense, I coincide with Bolufer’s argument on the roles that the genre allows women translators to fulfil, amongst which she lists “to express, through the voice of the original author, ideas in which she participated in some way [and] engaging in an intellectual work for which she felt capable and legitimated” (Bolufer, 260; my transl.). In Hayley’s case, as the analysis suggests, she clearly fulfils these first two roles. In addition, I submit that there was a third, implicit in the translation itself, and in the letter and poem that preface it: through the genre of translation, Hayley was inserting herself within a female genealogy of thought. This is further evinced sixteen years later with the publication of her first, and only, original work: *The Triumph of Acquaintance over Friendship* (1796). The *Triumph* and the *Essays* are not only thematically interrelated, but also, they exist in dialogue with each other. In the *Triumph*, Hayley carries forward de Lambert’s argument; and she both continues the conversation that began with the *Essays* with reader and author and turns it on its back. More importantly, in the *Triumph*, she is no longer working with de Lambert’s words, but her own, to engage with similar ideas from her unique point of view. Therefore, Hayley uses translation to become at ease with her own voice, to hone her skills and to, eventually, develop her own philosophical thought. She uses de Lambert’s ideas as a departure point, support in her argumentation, to contradict them, and to build on them. Indeed, in a letter written to her estranged husband written in 1792, Hayley referred to her project—which was to become *The Triumph*—that she wished to awake from her three-year doziness and “rise from the sea, tho not Venus like M.rs Keate yet a newborn Minerva & on my return to this Land of Philosophy, to become a philosopher hitherto my natural genius & habits of society have impeded my progress, but I expect in the Cauldron of Medea (as M.rs Smith⁶ calls it) to be regenerated” (“Hayley-XXI-64”).

5. Conclusions

To conclude, in her translation of Anne Thérèse de Lambert’s *Traité de l’Amitié and Traité de la Vieillesse*, the English essayist Eliza Hayley employs the art of translation as a space of feminist vindication and critical transformation. Firstly, Hayley emphatically declares the intellectual value and relevance of de Lambert’s philosophical ideas almost a century after their composition (between 70 and 60 years, according to Bolufer; much longer, according to Blank), effectively attempting to write her back into intellectual history. In doing so, she also remarks on the singularity and consequence of the female perspective embedded in the French writer’s treatises as an asset, and explicitly regards it as one of its strongest points of its intellectual

“hommes” in their transcription, but I have not been able to consult the original manuscript to ascertain this was the author’s choice. Nevertheless, Hayley’s choice to construe it as “men” or “humanity” according to her own interpretation of the context showcase, once again, her ease and skill as a translator.

⁶ Mrs. Smith is Charlotte Smith (1749-1806), English novelist and poet. Smith was a good friend of the Hayleys.

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value. Secondly, in the paratext to her translation as well as in the motivation behind the translation itself, she engages in conversation with her contemporary William Melmoth, who translated Cicero's essays on the same topic. By rectifying Melmoth's oversight in failing to credit de Lambert in his remarks of *Laelius*, Hayley is using translation as a critical tool to question and challenge the all-male philosophical canon—an exercise traditionally relegated to men, and to actively participate in its formation suggesting, or asserting the inclusion of female voices like de Lambert's. Furthermore, the aim of Hayley's translation is two-fold: in vindicating de Lambert's contribution, she also vindicates her own intellectual ability. Hayley's translation is stylistically embedded in the Romantic principles of the genre, which allow her to put into play her philosophical knowledge and her skills, and develop, departing from de Lambert's teachings, her own philosophy in her future original work, *The Triumph*, which is thematically inseparable from de Lambert's teachings. In her translation, Hayley hones her skills not only as a reader, linguist, and translator; but also, as a philosopher, setting the basis for her own philosophical essay. Hence, first in her role as translator and later in her own writing, Hayley is inserting herself within the (female) genealogy of thought.

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