

WOMEN WRITING

1550-1750

Edited by

Jo Wallwork and Paul Salzman

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140 Clucas, 'Atomism', p.263.

141 *Ibid.*, p.263.

142 See for example Elspeth Probyn, *Outside Belongings*, New York, Routledge, 1996, *passim*.

143 Binswanger, p.282.

144 *Ibid.*, p.282.

145 Deleuze, p.294.

146 Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p.203.

147 *Ibid.*, p.203.

148 *The Convent of Pleasure*, pp.37-38.

Shameless Scribbler or Votary of Virtue? Eliza Haywood, Writing (and) Pornography in 1742

Patrick Spedding

THE purpose of this article is to announce the discovery that Eliza Haywood and William Hatchett were responsible for the anonymous translation of Crébillon fils's erotic novel, *Le Sopha*, *contre moral*, and to discuss some of the implications of this addition to the Haywood canon.¹

The evidence for this new attribution exists in the form of a manuscript receipt listing the payments made to Haywood and Hatchett by the publisher John Nourse.² The receipt provides information about Haywood's rate of pay and the speed with which she worked (and so allows us to compare this with other writers of her time). It also provides information about Nourse and Haywood, (Nourse published a number of Haywood's books), and Nourse and Thomas Cooper (whose name appears in the imprint of the book). However, it is not these aspects that I intend to explore here. Instead, I want to discuss what this discovery can tell us about Haywood herself, because it calls into question some long-accepted critical opinions. In fact, for those who accept the view that there is a stark contrast between Haywood's early 'immoral' and late 'moral' works, the discovery that during her 'moral' period she translated one of the most famous erotic books of her time will come as a surprise.⁴ I hope to show that there is no call for surprise, and that this, rather dated, dichotomous view of Haywood's career is untenable.⁵ After a brief biographical review of Haywood and of the opinions expressed about her by her apologists, I will say something of *Le Sopha* and its reception, in order to make it clear how out of place this work is in the taxonomy of some of her critics. The discussion that follows, of the more recent additions to the Haywood canon, of Haywood's Covent Garden activities, and of her partner's authorship of the pornographic work *The Chinese Tale*, provide further background. Here I have tried to indicate something of Haywood's activities in the 1740s, as well as something of her milieu. This sketch gives quite a different view of Haywood: a view that is better able to account for her role as a translator

of *The Sopha* in 1742.

Haywood lived in London from 1693 to 1756. She is best known today for her periodical, *The Female Spectator* (which was one of the first written by a woman), and her novel, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (which has recently been reissued in the 'World's Classics' series and by Broadview Press); but she was a remarkably versatile writer, and wrote a great many more books than the two just mentioned.⁶ In fact, at least 71 more, and a further 40 have been attributed to her. These books are of many types: she wrote short erotic novellas, and long moral-novels; and there were many translations of the same from French beside *The Sopha*. She wrote book-length biographies, and gossip in the form of scandal 'histories'. She wrote advice books, and periodicals; she was an actress, a dramatist, and wrote dramatic criticism. She wrote poetry, and helped turn Henry Fielding's play *The Tragedy of Tragedies* into a very successful mock-opera. She wrote political works (and was arrested for it), and discussed the novel before it was supposedly born in 1740.

For all her industry, Haywood received the enmity of Pope, Swift, Fielding and Johnson, indeed the whole male writing establishment. Pope, who seems to have hated most literate women, made her the prize in a urinating competition between two booksellers in his *Dunciad*;⁷ Swift, who never met her, described her as 'a stupid, infamous, scribbling woman';⁸ Fielding satirized her as Mrs Novel in 'The Author's Farce'; and Johnson entirely ignored her in his biography of Richard Savage (who was Haywood's lover for some time, and the father of her first child). For the next two centuries most literary critics followed Johnson's example by ignoring her completely, and only in the last twenty years has there been a resurgence of interest in Haywood and other 'mothers of the novel'.

Most biographers, from Haywood's death until today, have seen a clear pattern in her life, a pattern which *The Sopha* disturbs. The pattern is simple: Haywood begins as a writer of immoral fiction (such as *Love in Excess*), and as a scandal-monger (in her *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to The Kingdom of Utopia*). She is chastised by Alexander Pope in his *Dunciad* of 1728, for her errors, and so her reputation is destroyed. Haywood is silenced for a decade; but eventually, seeing the error of her ways, takes up her pen again as a moral crusader, and so makes up for all her wrong-doing. In 1764, Haywood's first biographer put it this way:

And [this] much must be granted in her Favour, that whatever Liberty she might at first [have given] to her Pen, to the Offence either of Morality or Delicacy, she seemed to be soon convinced of her Error, and determined not only to reform, but even atone for it; since, in the numerous Volumes which she gave to the World toward the latter Part of her Life, no Author has appeared

more the Voynay of Virtue, nor are there any Novels in which a stricter Purity, or a greater Delicacy of Sentiment, has been preserved.⁹

In 1915, Haywood's most influential modern biographer, wrote:

A word of scorn from the literary dictator ... was enough to turn the taste of the town ... Eliza Haywood was no longer a name to conjure with; her reputation was irretrievably gone... The lesson of her hard usage at the hands of Pope and his allies, however, was not lost upon the adaptable dame. After her years of silence Mrs. Haywood seems to have returned to the production of perishable literature with less inclination to gallantry than she had evinced in her early romances.¹⁰

As recently as 1985, a modern critic wrote:

Apparently crushed by Pope's castigation, Haywood was silenced temporarily, and, after the 1736 publication of *The Adventures of Eouazai*, she published nothing for six years. When she did reappear, it was as the sober champion of the *status quo* and writer of domestic fiction. Gone are the racy heroine and the equally captivating author of the novels of the early period ... the reader gets tedious sermons and moral lessons ... Her later years were tinged with tones of quasi-repentance and moral instruction ... Haywood's career, [is] divided between her role as arbitress of passion' and that of stern moralizer.¹¹

This simplistic view of Haywood was finally answered in 1991 by Christine Blouch, in her study of Haywood's 'middle' years.¹² Blouch shows not only how far from being silenced Haywood was and how busy she was in the theatre and with writing; but also how a patriarchal-bias in criticism has been instrumental in inflating the importance of Pope in the lives of those he tried, and failed, to silence with his *Dunciad*. Also, it is clear from my 'Bibliography of Eliza Haywood' that the period of silence that these critics ascribe to Pope did not immediately follow his *Dunciad*, and the length of this silent period is shorter than is generally acknowledged.¹³

It is clear that the significance (and length), of this gap in the Haywood canon has been over-estimated. Not only has the gap been shortened by bibliographical research, many of the works that have been added to the canon this century do not fit into this early-bad, late-good, dichotomy. In particular, I am thinking of Haywood's *Anti-Pamela* of 1741 and her *Dalinda* of 1749. In the former, Richardson's virtuous maid is transformed into Syrena Trickys: a scheming trollop with a talent for acting the part of virtue; a character whose mother is seen performing the necessary abortions, and instructing her daughter how to swindle 'Mr L'.¹⁴ The latter is a 'passion-soaked' account of the bigamous affair of two of Haywood's contemporaries, full of romantic deception and suffering.¹⁵ *The Sopha* does not fit this pattern of reform either. In fact, it is even more risqué than either her *Anti-Pamela* or her *Dalinda*.

Le Sopha is an erotic novel in which the spirit of a fop is punished by Brähma, by being confined to a succession of sofa-beds. There the spirit must stay until 'two Lovers should yield [him] the first Fruits of a mutual Affection'.¹⁶ It is quite sometime before this event takes place, and so two volumes of 'pleasure and gallantry' are filled up with the amours of hypocritical prudes, flirts, and unfaithful lovers.¹⁷ An example will indicate the tone of the work. *The Sopha's* first notable passage concerns Fatme, the 'Patroness of Virtue', a woman who spends her days castigating the behaviour of those around her:

The Moment the Company was gone, *Fatme* fell into a profound Reflection, that was far from being melancholy. Her Eyes were all Tenderness — She threw them with the most languishing Cast round the Room, and seem'd with Transports to wish for something she had not, or what she was fearful of possessing — At last she call'd.

At her voice, a lusty young Slave enter'd the Cabinet. The Eyes of *Fatme* were eagerly fix'd upon him, where Love and Desire reign'd absolute, and yet she seem'd irresolute and timid — At last, she said, all trembling, Shut the Door — Come hither, *Dabis* — do not be afraid — we are now alone — I give you leave to remember how much I love you, and prove your Tenderness to me. *Dabis*, on this, quitted the Slave for the more pleasing Character of a Lover. He had little of the delicate or the tender, but was all brutal Vigour, voracious in his Desires, ignorant of the Art of protracting time, a Stranger to Gallantry, incapable of certain Sensations, unpractis'd in the soft Preludes of Enjoyment, but for the rest, essentially qualify'd for all the grosser purposes of Love. This was not being truly the Lover; but to *Fatme*, who look'd for more than Address it was something more necessary. *Dabis* was extremely coarse in his Praises; but while he continu'd to give such strong Proofs of the Power of her Beauty, these, to *Fatme*, were the finest Compliments in the World.

Fatme made herself ample Amends fo[r] the Reserve she had put on to her Husband. Being now free from cruel Restraint, her Eyes sparkled with the utmost Fire; she carress'd *Dabis* with all the Eagerness of an excessive Passion; lavish'd on him every endearing Expression in the Power of Fondness; and, far from endeavouring to conceal herself, she seem'd to take a Pride in opening her whole Soul to him. In the Interval of her Rapture, she made him survey the Beauties expos'd to him, and even insisted on fresh Proofs of his Affection, which of his simple self he would rather have been excus'd from.¹⁸

Although to the modern eye such passages appear erotic, rather than pornographic, *Le Sopha* has been described as 'one of the most obscene works that have seen the light of day'.¹⁹

Le Sopha contains satirical portraits of influential and powerful Parisians of Crébillon's time,²⁰ and so, as a caution, the book was published anonymously, and with a false imprint (it claims to have been printed in Gaznah, for the thrice-reverend, thrice-clement, and thrice-august, Sultan of the Indies, in the year 1120).²¹ The author was soon found out and, at the demand of Madame de Pompadour, Crébillon was exiled to a distance of fifty leagues from Paris.²² In his defence, the

author claimed that the book had been commissioned by Frederick of Prussia five years earlier, but the manuscript had been mysteriously leaked to a printer.²³ Unlikely as this sounds, at least one other erotic work by Crébillon, editions of which are kept in the British Library's Private Case, was thus commissioned, and thus printed; and so the authorities had some justification for accepting his story, and letting him return to Paris.²⁴

Le Sopha was eagerly anticipated in England. Early in February, 1742, almost as soon as it was printed, Horace Walpole wrote to his friend that 'We have at last got Crébillon's *Sofa* . . . [and] it is admirable!'. He mentions that Lord Chesterfield had taken the extraordinary measure of securing 300 copies of the book, perhaps a third of the whole edition, which were then sold at his club, effectively republishing the book in London.²⁵ On the same day, the publishers John Nourse and Thomas Cooper saw their opportunity, and advertised a translation under the title *The Settee; or Chevalier Commodo's Metamorphosis*; clearly with the intention of staving off competition while organizing a translation.²⁶ On 6 March, two days before Haywood collected her first payment from Nourse, he began advertizing copies of *Le Sopha* for sale 'at the Lamb, without Temple Bar'. A month later, when the Haywood and Hatchett translation was almost ready for release, the poet Thomas Gray described the 'paradisaical' pleasure of reading such new romances of Crébillon in a letter to his friend.²⁷

Such enthusiasm helped make the translation a success. Copies survive from editions of 1742, 1771, 1783 and 1801; the last of which claims to be the 'eighteenth' edition, a claim that is probably exaggerated (though it is possible that editions have been worn to pieces and lost, since the survival rate of erotica is generally low), but may indicate lost editions. In the 1780s it was also reprinted in *The Rambler's Magazine*, a journal devoted to erotica (which says, as much as anything else, how the book was classed by the bulk of its readers).²⁸

The Sopha became a symbol of immorality and decadence. It is enough for William Hogarth to have a copy sitting next to Counsellor Silvertongue, in the fourth plate of the *Marriage à la Mode* series, to indicate his depravity; and to foreshadow the Countess's meeting with him at a brothel in the next plate. It was almost two centuries before *The Sopha* was again translated and published in English.

Having said something of Haywood and *The Sopha* it ought to be clear that the dichotomy presented by the critics I quoted earlier is untenable. Indeed, the more closely we examine Haywood's activities at this time, the more absurd this dichotomy appears. For Haywood was involved with other immoralities in Covent

Garden in 1742.

Since the beginning of this century a few critics have noted and commented on an advertisement that appears in a book by Haywood, that describes her as a publisher of two titles 'at the Sign of Fame in Covent-Garden'.²⁹ Since there has been little more information available than this, and copies of works with her imprint have been slow to emerge, the subject has not generated much comment, beyond the question of whether she wrote all of the works thus advertised or published (she didn't).³⁰

The discovery, and publication in 1991, of the depositions of a number of booksellers, made after Haywood's arrest in 1749 for a political pamphlet, revealed that Haywood had written and self-published 'several' other works, and that she was accepted as a part of the book trade.³¹ More recently, I have been able to add a couple of pamphlets by Harchett to the list of those published by Haywood at the Sign of Fame, under the Great Piazza, Covent Garden.³² As a result, we now know of six works (advertised or extant) published between February, 1742 and February, 1744, with this imprint. There are also a number of anonymous pamphlets that were clearly being sold by her, without her imprint, and biographical information has emerged that reveals something of Haywood's day to day activities in this period.

Clearly, this was a serious undertaking of Haywood's and it reveals her making a considerable effort to achieve some independence for herself. The options that were open to a female 'outsider' in the book trade were limited. However, Haywood clearly used all the options that were available to her and had some measure of success.³³

Being a bookseller under the Great Piazza in Covent Garden entailed more than selling books. Bookselling in the eighteenth century also included many of the activities of a modern newsagent, stationer, even chemist, for a bookseller would sell paper, ink, note-books, pamphlets, broadsheets, newspapers, prints and quack medicines.³⁴ In Covent Garden, they would probably also be selling risqué pamphlets, erotica and pornographic prints, as well as 'cundums' and less effective contraceptives.³⁵ To give an idea of what it would be like to do business in the area, I want to consider the make-up of just that small part of the Piazza of Covent Garden where Haywood had her shop, which is currently the building site for the new Opera House.

First of all there was Covent Garden Theatre. Because of the low wages, and uncertain work, all but the best actors were 'in hopeless serfdom' to the managers, forcing many of the women into part-time prostitution in order to survive.³⁶

These demi-reps swelled the ranks of courtesans around Covent Garden, and frequented the coffee-houses, taverns, bagnios and houses of assignation to advertise themselves.³⁷ In the case of Haywood, she combined part-time acting with writing, and used occasional stage appearances to advertise herself as an author, and likewise, used her reputation as an author, to drum up interest in her play-writing and acting.³⁸

Next to the Theatre, at No.14, stood The 'Bedford Head', which was the haunt of actors and actresses, and demi-reps, as well as the prostitutes who rented out the rooms above.³⁹ At No.13 there was the infamous Shakespeare's Head tavern, famed for its marvellous cooking and for its head waiter, popularly known as 'the Pimpmaster-General' (he organised the Whores' Club, which met every Sunday evening in a private room to discuss their business).⁴⁰

At No. 12, the King's Head, was Mother Douglas's 'House of Civillitie', recently vacated by the famous Betsy Careless, a prostitute and madam, immortalized by Hogarth, Henry Fielding, and Haywood.⁴¹ Although none of the recent writers on the subject of Haywood's *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* have mentioned it, there is a tradition that Betsy Careless gave more than just her name to Haywood's most famous novel.⁴² That Haywood would have known her is clear. Betsy Careless was, on and off, a part-time actress, and would have moved in similar circles to Haywood for many years.⁴³ Haywood would undoubtedly have known her story, and could hardly have avoided seeing her almost daily under the Piazza.⁴⁴ And so it is possible that Haywood, the 'Votary of Virtue', wrote one of her 'tedious sermons' from intimate knowledge of one of London's most famous prostitutes.⁴⁵

But to finish with Haywood's neighbours, there was the long-established 'Lord Mordington's' gambling den,⁴⁶ and further along, at No.7, Callaghan's Coffee House, which was run as a bagnio, but was still known under its old name. Richard Haddock, the Whoremaster-General of Covent Garden, opened his first brothel in another part of the Piazza in 1742, but moved next door to Callaghan's Coffee House at No. 8, when it became vacant a couple of years later.⁴⁷

A picture of daily life surrounded by these brothels, coffee-shops and gambling dens, appears in the works of Hogarth.⁴⁸ At all times of the day there were actors, in and out of work, demi-reps, drunken revellers, desperate gamblers, prostitutes, pimps, thieves, as well as popular writers, would-be poets, playwrights, and down-at-heel aristocrats. This was Haywood's passing trade at the Sign of Fame, and their tastes would have determined the success or failure of her business.

Having said something of Haywood's immoral neighbours, I will say just a few words about her immoral partner, William Hatchett, and those few words will not be biography, for little is known about this seemingly quintessential Grub Street hack.⁴⁹ Instead, I want to discuss his *Chinese Tale*, a pornographic poem published in 1740.

The 375 lines of Hatchett's poem tell the tale of Chamyam, a young Chinese Maid of Honour who has rejected the advances of many suitors. The bulk of the poem is made up of a description of her chamber, and its many erotic pictures and books. Chamyam retires to this room, and meditating on what it is that men seek so ardently, undresses and inspects her 'graces' in a mirror. At which point Joseph, who has paid Chamyam's maid to be secreted in the room, leaps out of his hiding place: "He fiercely seiz'd her in surprize, / Regardless of her shrieks and cries: / For all his Plagues himself repaid" (ll. 371-73). The frontispiece to this poem, sold separately for 2s 6d, illustrates Chamyam with her leg upon a table, with Joseph watching from behind a curtain.

It is by chance that we know that Hatchett is responsible for this work, and that any copy of it survived. The printing ledgers of the publisher responsible for it survived into the nineteenth century, before disappearing. In 1855 an anonymous writer to *Notes & Queries* reproduced a few entries from this ledger, more or less at random, and so accidentally preserved the fact that Hatchett was responsible for *A Chinese Tale*.⁵⁰ If this anonymous mid-Victorian scholar had known that *A Chinese Tale* was a work of pornography he may have been less inclined to record its publishing history for us. Fortunately, he didn't.

A single copy of this edition survives in the British Library, but without its 'curious Frontispiece'. The only reason that we know what the frontispiece looks like is because the Kinsey Sex Institute Library holds the single surviving copy of a pirate-reprint of this work, which has its frontispiece intact. A third edition, again surviving in just a single copy was acquired by the British Library in the 1970s, and was put into the Private Case, though it too is without its frontispiece.⁵¹ How many other editions were printed in the early 1740s, and have been worn out of existence is impossible to know, but it seems pretty unlikely that only a single copy of every edition printed would survive.⁵² It may well be that copies of this third surviving edition (which was printed in 1741), or later, but lost, editions were being sold at the Sign of Fame by Haywood in 1742.

To conclude: while attending to the daily requirements of her shop in the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, and publishing works under the imprint of the Sign of Fame, Haywood was translating (with her pornography-writing partner)

The Sopha, a book which she undoubtedly knew would be popular with her clientele. For the last 250 years nobody suspected that the 'reformed', 'virtuous', 'honourable' Haywood of the 1740s and '50s, the woman who 'had the singular good fortune to recover a lost reputation, and the yet greater honour to atone for her errors', was responsible for translating this 'licentious' and 'profligate' 'trash'.⁵³ If it were not for the survival of the small scrap of paper recording the payments Cooper made to Haywood and Hatchett for the translation of this work, it is unlikely we would ever suspect their responsibility for it. Yet with what we know of Haywood (and Hatchett) it ought to come as no surprise that she was involved in such a project.

APPENDIX

A description of CLU-C [Temp. MS. Haywood, 1742]

Haywood and Hatchett received from John Nourse a total of £11.11s (or 11 guineas) between 8 March and 12 April, 1742, for their work. Hatchett translated the first part for four guineas. It would seem that the text was estimated to be eight sheets long (it was actually two pages short), and that he was paid at half a guinea per sheet. Haywood translated the second part for seven guineas. Here, it seems, the text was estimated to be seven sheets (it is actually 10 pages longer), and Haywood was paid a guinea per sheet.

That Thomas Cooper was also a copy holder is indicated both by his name on the imprint of the published volume, and from the record of his sale to Nourse of a one quarter share in the copyright at a sale of his copyrights in 1746.⁵⁴ It is not clear why Nourse kept his name out of the imprint, and why he continued to do so in later editions since he was happy to sell copies of the French original at his shop ('T. Cooper' remained the nominal publisher until at least 1801, long after Cooper had sold out his share in the enterprise; indeed, long after he was dead). From the receipt it would appear that, whatever Cooper's share in the expenses were, it was Nourse who paid the writers on their behalf.

The manuscript: The original is 97mm tall x 145mm wide, on watermarked paper. Text is on both sides; the paper having been turned along its horizontal axis when written.

The receipt has been tipped into a volume at an early stage, attached by a small dab of glue towards the top and centre, so that most of the verso text is visible by lifting the bottom edge of the receipt. The receipt might have been kept thus by Nourse as proof of his part of the expenses, in an account book, or as an

indication of ownership of copyright, in a volume of such copyright records.⁵⁴ It is not clear at what point the receipt was removed from the account/copyright book, and passed into private hands. The annotation to Hatchett's name was probably provided (post-1782) by an early collector.⁵⁵

Purchased by the Clark Library, University of California in 1993.

* * * * *

[Recto]

Received of Mr Nourse March ye 8: 1741-2

the sum of two pounds two shillings in part of seven
Guineas for ye Translation of the 2d part of the Sopha

by me,

Eliza Haywood

£2 - 2 - 0

Received of Mr Nourse March ye 20th 1741

ye sum of two Pounds two shillings in part for
ye Translation of ye Sopha

by me W: Hatchett

Recd of Mr Nourse March ye 20th 1741-2 the sum of three

Pounds three shillings in part for the translation of the Sopha
by me

Eliza Haywood

8-8-0

[verso]

March 30th 1742

Received of Mr Nourse ye sum of
two Pounds two shillings in full for ye

Translation of ye 1st Part of ye *Sopha*
by me W: Hatchett

Received April the 12th 1742 the sum of two pounds
two shillings of Mr Nourse, being the full of the

Translation of the second part of the Sopha by me,

Eliza Haywood.

Notes

- 1 The translation of *Le Sopha, conte moral* by Claude-Prospe Jolyot de Crébillon fils, Paris, 1742, as *The Sopha, a moral tale*, London, T. Cooper, 1742. The responsibility of Haywood and Hatchett for this translation has not been known or suspected before. Crébillon returned the favour in 1754 when he translated Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings* (1744). See my *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood*, London, Pickering and Chatto, 2002, for more details.
- 2 The receipt for payments made by John Nourse to Eliza Haywood and William Hatchett for this translation survives at CLU-C [Temp.MS. Haywood, 1742]. See the Appendix for details.
- 3 For information on these aspects, see my *Bibliography*.
- 4 The phrases in the title, 'Shameless scribbler' and 'Votary of Virtue', exemplify the extreme of each view. The former is used by Alexander Pope (*The Dunciad* (A), II, l.149 note), and the latter by David Erskine Baker, to describe Haywood. See Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, (ed.) James Sutherland, third edition, London, Methuen, 1963, p.119. Volume 5 of the Twickenham Edition. David Erskine Baker, *The Companion to the Play-House*, London, T. Becket [and 4 others], 1764, v.2, Q1r, col.2.
- 5 Paula A Backscheider has recently written of the failure of this 'common "plot" for Haywood's life' to account for opinions Haywood expressed in her later writings. Paula Backscheider, 'The Shadow of an Author: Eliza Haywood', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 11.1(Oct) 1998, pp.79-102.
- 6 Eliza Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, (ed.) Beth Fowkes Tobin, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997; Eliza Haywood, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*, (ed.) Christine Blouch, Peterborough, Ontario, Broadview Press, 1998.
- 7 *The Dunciad* (A), II, ll. 149-58; and *The Dunciad* (B), II, ll. 157-66, in Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, pp.119-20, 303.
- 8 Jonathan Swift wrote, 'Mrs. Heywood I have heard of as a stupid, infamous, scribbling woman, but have not seen any of her productions'. Letter to the Countess of Suffolk, [26 October, 1731], Jonathan Swift, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, (ed.) Harold Williams, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1963-65, v.3, p.501.

- 9 Baker (1764), v.2, Q1r, col.2.
- 10 George Frisbie Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs Eliza Haywood*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1915, pp.128, 130.
- 11 Mary Anne Schofield, *Eliza Haywood*, Boston, Twayne, 1985, pp.7-8.
- 12 Christine Blouch, 'Eliza Haywood: Questions in the Life and Works', Unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991, see especially chapters three and four.
- 13 The 'gap' in Haywood's biography is four years and one month from 23 May, 1737 to 20 June, 1741; The 'gap' in Haywood's production is four years eleven months from 17 June 1736 to 29 June 1741. One of the buttressing works was first attributed in 1936, a clear indication that one ought to be cautious about seeing this as a gap in Haywood's production, rather than a gap in our records or knowledge of her activities. See my *Bibliography*.
- 14 For an outline of the book see Bernard Kreissman, *Pamela-Shamela: A Study of the Criticisms, Burlesques, and Adaptions of Richardson's "Pamela"*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1960, pp.24-27.
- 15 For an outline of the book see Thomas Lockwood, 'Eliza Haywood in 1749: Dalinda, and her Pamphlet on the Pretender', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 234, no.4 (Dec) 1989, pp.475-77.
- 16 Crébillon fils, *The Sopha*, 1742 Ch.1, p.21.
- 17 Crébillon fils, *The Sopha, a moral tale*, translated by Bonamy Dobrée, London, George Routledge, 1927, Ch.6, p.74.
- 18 Crébillon fils, *The Sopha*, 1742, Ch.3, pp.39-40.
- 19 Frédéric Godefroi, cited by Ernest Sturm in his review 'Crébillon fils, *Le Sopha*, Preface par Raymond Trousson (1996); Colette Cazenobe, *Crébillon fils ou la politique dans le boudoir* (1997); Jean Sgard (ed), 'Songe, illusion, Égarement dans les romans de Crébillon (1996)' in *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 11 (Oct) 1998, pp.123-28. Sturm describes this influential nineteenth century literary historian as 'straight laced'.
- 20 Sturm, pp.125-26.
- 21 'A Gaznah, de l'Imprimerie du Très-Pieux, Très-Clément & Très-Auguste Sultan des Indes. L'an de l'Hégire M.C.XX.' The Islamic year 1120 corresponds to the Christian year 1708. For a facsimile of the title-page of the first French edition, see Avenir Tchemezine, *Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des XVe, XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Hermann, 1977, v.4, p.192.
- 22 Fifty leagues equals circa 250 kilometres. Bonamy Dobrée, 'Introduction', *The Sopha* (1927), p.10; Anthony Levi, *Guide to French Literature: Beginnings to 1789*, Detroit, St James Press, 1994, p.183.
- 23 Patrick J. Kearney, *A History of Erotic Literature*, London, Macmillan, 1982, p.60; Levi, p.183.
- 24 For a discussion of *Tableaux des Mœurs du Temps*, see Patrick J. Kearney, *The Private Case: An annotated bibliography of the private case erotica collection in the British (Museum) Library*, London, Jay Landesman, 1981, No. 506, pp.150-153; and Kearney, *ibid.*, pp.86-87; Levi, *op.cit.*, p.183.
- 25 Editions of 1000 copies being normal for fiction in the eighteenth century. Horace Walpole, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, (eds.) W. S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith and George I. Lam, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, p.334, [9 February, 1742].
- 26 'The London Evening-Post', 9-11 February, 1742; also 9-11 and 11-13 February, 1742. 'This Day is published, Price 1s, The Secret; or Chevalier Commodo's Metamorphosis. By M. Crébillon, Author of the *Stimmer*. Sold by T. Cooper, at the globe in Pater-noster-Row.'
- 27 Thomas Gray writes to Richard West [8 April, 1742]: 'as the paradisiacal pleasures of the Mahometans consist in playing upon the flute and lying with Hours, be mine to read eternal new romances of Marivaux and Crébillon.' In a footnote to this passage Toynbee tries to argue that Gray here refers to the less licentious novels of Crébillon, stating that 'The more licentious novels, *Les Amours de Zékinizul*, and *Le Sopha*, were not published until after this date'. Clearly, this is not the case with *Le Sopha*, and given Gray's contact with Walpole and Chesterfield, it is quite likely that Gray would have had *Le Sopha* prominently in mind. *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton*, (ed.) Paget Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1915, v.1, p.26, and n.6.
- 28 See my *Bibliography* for more details.
- 29 Whicher, pp.22-23, is the first to mention it, but says little. The Jerrolds state that they were unable to find any books with her imprint, but that 'it is possible that Mrs. Haywood was living in Covent-Garden, and that she acted as an agent for the sale of her own books'. Walter and Clare Jerrold, *Five Queer Women*, New York, Breniano's Ltd., 1929, pp.257-58.
- 30 Whicher uses 'may have been' and 'certainly savours of a typical Haywoodian production' for the two works advertised, *Anti-Pamela* and *The Busy Body*; the Jerrolds write that 'it is probable that for both of the works in question she was herself responsible'. Whicher, p.22; Jerrold, p.258. Blouch mistakenly claims that *The Equity of Parnassus*, was identified by Foxon as being by Haywood. See Blouch, p.150, n.4; D. F. Foxon, *English Verse 1701-1750: A catalogue of separately printed poems with notes on contemporary collected editions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975, E449.
- 31 Lockwood, p.476. Catherine Ingrassia, 'Additional Information about Eliza Haywood's 1749 Arrest for Seditious Libel', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 44, no.2 (June, 1997), p.203. Ingrassia takes a less optimistic view of Haywood's role as a bookseller in 1749.
- 32 Eliza Haywood, *The Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, (now Earl of Orford) Vindicated*, London, 1742, and *A Remarkable Cause*, London, for the Author, 1742. See my *Bibliography* for more details.
- 33 It seems that Haywood was positioning herself as a bookseller-mercury, like the other mercuries listed on the imprint of *The Equity of Parnassus*. See C. J. Mitchell, 'Women in the Eighteenth-Century Book Trades', *Writers, Books, and Trade: An Eighteenth-Century English Miscellany for William B. Todd*, (ed.) O. M. Brack, Jr, New York, AMS Press, 1994, pp.38-40. This topic, the recently discovered pamphlets, and the biographical information mentioned, are discussed in greater detail in my *Bibliography*.
- 34 Mitchell, p.37.

35 E. J. Burford notes that in 1787 George III issued 'yet another' Proclamation, 'this time "Against Vice" with a call for the urgent suppression *inter alia* of "loose and licentious books and pictures"; and that 'in 1793 it was reported that "Rich shop-keepers in the Piazza exhibit obscene Prints, thus attracting the Idle"', E. J. Burford, *Wits, Wenches and Warriors, London Low Life: Covent Garden in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Robert Hale, 1986, p.227. Plate three of Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* series shows the Earl of Squanderfield reproving the quack doctor for such useless pills.

36 Burford, pp.171-72.

37 *Ibid.*, pp.171-72.

38 Haywood appeared in the leading role of her own play, 'A Wife to be Lett' (12 August, 1723), supposedly due to the 'indisposition' of an actress. Also, at the same time she was acting as Briseis Hatchett's 'The Rival Father' (8 April, 1730), she was being portrayed on alternate nights as 'Mrs Novel' in Fielding's 'The Author's Farce'. She appears as 'Madame de Gomez' in the advertisements for 'The Blazing Comet' (2 March, 1752), capitalizing on her fame as the translator of Madame de Gomez, *La Belle Assemblée* (1724-34), and is listed as 'Mrs Haywood ... Author of Love in Excess, and many other entertaining Pieces' in the advertisement for 'The Historical Register' (23 May, 1737). See *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces*, Carbondale, Ill., Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, 1961, Part 2, (ed.) Emmet L. Avery, Part 3, (ed.) Arthur H. Scouten.

39 Burford, p.109.

40 *Ibid.*, pp.97-98.

41 *Ibid.*, pp.97, 132. Henry Fielding, *Amelia*, (ed.) Marín C. Battersin, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983, Bk I, Ch.vi, pp.46-47. Hogarth *The Rake's Progress*, plate 8, Scene in a Madhouse. In the second state of the plate 'Charming Betsy Careless' is carved in the bannister beside a melancholy man. See plates 162 and 163, detail enlargements of the same, and notes in Joseph Burke and Colin Caldwell, Hogarth, *The Complete Engravings*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1968.

42 Not mentioned in the editions by Tobin (1997) or Blouch (1998) cited above. First mentioned by John Ireland and John Nicholas, *Hogarth's Works: With Life and Anecdotal Descriptions of His Pictures by J. I. and J. N. The Whole of the Plates reduced in exact fac-simile of the originals. Second Series*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1874, pp.31-32, where they state, without authority, that 'Mrs. Heywood's Betsy Thoughtless was in MS. entitled Betsy Careless'. Whicher (1915), says little, and that only in a footnote (p.158).

43 Fidelis Morgan and Charlotte Charke, *The Well Known Trouble Maker: A Life*, London, Faber and Faber, 1988, see all indexed entries.

44 Morgan and Charke, p.91: 'Mrs Careless was, in 1741-42, in close contact with the ladies who ran coffee houses in and around Covent Garden, and indeed a coffee-house proprietress herself.'

45 Baker (1764), v.2, Q1r, col.2, and Schofield, p.8, quoted above.

46 Burford, p.138.

47 *Ibid.*, pp.73-74.

48 Especially in 'The Rake's Progress' ('Tavern Scene' [Plate 3] and 'The Gaming House' [Plate 6]) in 'A Midnight Modern Conversation', and in 'Morning' from the 'Four Times of Day' series.

49 A full bibliography of Hatchett, with biographical notes, will appear in my *Bibliography*.

50 'P.T.P.', 'Woodfall's Ledger, 1734-47', *Notes & Queries*, Second series, No. 292 (June, 1855), p.420.

51 *British Library Catalogue of General Books, 5 year supplement, 1971-1975*, London, British Library, 1975, v.3, col. 1538. While there were certain restrictions on the use of books with the Cup, 400 series of press marks (such as this pamphlet has) they did not require a signature of the library superintendent to be seen (as was the case with Cup. 363-67, 800-04 etc). See Peter Fryer, *Private Case-Public Scandal*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1966, pp.22-23.

52 A paraphrase of Baker (1764), v.2, Q1r, col.2. Reeve writes that Haywood 'had the singular good fortune to recover a lost reputation and the yet greater honour to atone for her errors. She devoted the remainder of her life and labours to the service of virtue' and has one of her characters express the wish 'May her first writings be forgotten, and the last to do her honour!': Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, Colchester, W. Keymer, 1785, p.124. Lord Macaulay characterizes Crébillon, and *The Sopha*, thus. See his review, 'Horace Walpole', *Literary Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1913, p.259.

53 Cooper sold a quarter of the copyright to this translation, with some others, to Nourse 10 July, 1746 for a guinea. Ward 108 (Francis Cogan and César Ward sale, 10 July, 1746), p.3 [with 6 other copies] 'Sopha - a Fourth'. £1 is paid by [John]Nourse.

54 William Strahan kept a record of his ownership of copyrights and fractions of copyrights, and these volumes survive at the British Library (Add. MSS 48 804-806).

55 Recto, following line 5: 'William Hatchett was a performer on the Stage | and author of several plays. He lived upon terms of | friendship with Mrs Haywood & joined with her in converting Fielding's "Tom Thumb" | into an opera.' This note seems to post-date the 1782 revision of Baker. The phrase 'lived upon | terms of friendship' appearing there (to describe the relationship of Haywood and Hatchett) for the first time in any biographical account. David Erskine Baker, *Biographica Dramatica, or, A Companion to the Play House - a New Edition: Carefully corrected; greatly enlarged; and continued from 1764 to 1782*, Isaac Reed, London, Rivington [and 9 others], 1782, v.1, p.208.

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