THE AUTHOR AND THE AGENT: WOMEN'S WRITING AND COMMERCIAL PUBLISHING IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

A Dissertation

by

KATE ELIZABETH OZMENT

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Chair of Committee, Margaret J.M. Ezell
Committee Members, Maura Ives
Mary Ann O'Farrell
James Rosenheim
Head of Department, Maura Ives

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ABSTRACT

Writing from the end of the seventeenth century through the mid-eighteenth century in England, the fair triumvirate of wit—consisting of Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood—are pivotal figures in the history of feminist literary recovery. What has been key to their contemporary popularity is that each used print to reach their audiences. Yet for women who consistently printed their work, little is known about their publishing practices: how they chose their booksellers, how much they were paid, or what input they may have had over design. My dissertation recovers this history and argues that a historically accurate account of women's publishing reshapes literary studies, economic history, bibliography, and book history.

Three chapters explore the relationship between authors and booksellers and the influence that tradesmen have on the development of women's writing. As financiers, booksellers had economic motivations for encouraging the feminine personas that Behn, Manley, and Haywood created to sell their work. These personas are often described as individual constructions, but booksellers provided the paratextual space and augmented authors' textual choices through graphic design and advertising. This conclusion emphasizes that female professional authors were as equally influenced by their economic status as their gender, and I determine that a nuanced interpretation of the intersections of class and gender is necessary for authors who inhabit the literary marketplace.

I conclude that feminist recovery work was essential for bringing Behn, Manley,

and Haywood back into the academy, but it operates with what Kathryn R. King describes as “feminist models of marginalisation.” These models are useful in discursive and social settings, but they do not translate to a book market that valued and courted women’s efforts. Discursive models also participate in their own form of marginalization by neglecting to explore the non-textual material work of the book trade that these authors engaged in. This project demonstrates how a broader view of women’s authorship that accounts for the rhetoric of print, what Lisa Maruca calls “text work,” recasts them as actively engaged with the business of books.

DEDICATION

For my father, who gave me a love of reading, a tenacity for going after what I want, and love and support (and free food) through ten years of school.

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NOMENCLATURE

BBTI	British Book Trade Index
ECCO	Eighteenth-Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
Plomer	Henry Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*
Term Catalogues	Edward Arbor's *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on three women professional authors who wrote after the Restoration in England as case studies that interrogate the relationship between feminist literary studies and book history. Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood formed the core of women's literary recovery efforts in the 1970s and 1980s. The three were linked together in one of the dedications to Haywood's *Love in Excess* (1720) that deemed her the completion of the "fair triumvirate of wit." Ros Balaster, Catherine Gallagher, Jane Spencer, and Janet Todd not only brought their texts back into the critical conversation but created a literary history with these women at its core. Behn, Manley and Haywood were models of feminine authorship because of their impressive number of imprints, as well as their explicitly gendered authorial methods. As a consequence of their early prominence, scholarship on these authors is steeped in the discursive ideology of early feminist literary studies. With key texts like Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic*, feminist literary recovery re-established the "lost" voices of women authors and created an alternative narrative of women's literary history. With time, Behn, Manley, and Haywood transitioned from being the precursors to Jane Austen and the Brontës to dominant literary figures in their own right.

While this narrative has recovered Behn, Manley, and Haywood from relative obscurity, it has relied on a singular approach: the discursive history of women's writing.

Discursive literary studies focuses on textual developments, such as Behn's contribution to the novel and Manley's engagement with the secret history. Key are women's individual self-representations and engagement with restrictive and dominant male modes of expression. Discursive literary history's emphasis on feminist models of representation and transgressive authorship has only told half of the story, however. Its approach has a distinct ideological origin, and Kathryn R. King argues that the "feminocentric focus tends to restrict the range of questions we are prepared to ask about eighteenth-century women writers" and "stress[es] the individual woman writer in her quirky, often rebellious singularity" (11). As King advocates, there is a need to move beyond this limited focus not only in the authors studied, but in the way they are approached.

This project expands those questions to include processes of material productions, relationships with the book trades, and print-focused authorial methods that ground the discursive history of women's writing in the "grossly material" world of the book (Helen Smith). I share feminist literary history's fascination with uncovering women writer's unique experiences and locating moments of agency, but I locate these concerns within a historically accurate dynamic of print publication. Doing so necessitates imagining a discourse mutually informed by feminist literary history and book history, because neither field adequately imagines subjects like Behn, Manley, and Haywood, who are both gendered subjects and economic beings.

The first chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological challenges with using book history methods to analyze women's literature and labor. Separate

ideological approaches and interests have historically separated book history's interests from that of feminist literary scholars. Book history is a relatively new field that has done its own recovery work on publishing history, trade practices, copyright law, and studies in material culture. It is built around objects and production methods, whereas women's literary history details rhetorical moves and maternal inheritances. The former is conceived as a genderless field, while the latter is a gendered response to men's history. Inspired by the small but powerful cohort of scholars who have begun the intellectual work of melding these discourses, I propose *feminist bibliography* as a way to revise book history's canonical historiography to be more reactive to the diverse histories of minority authors and figures. This philosophy also advocates for book historians to continue to recover the history of women's interactions with material culture. More narrowly, this project uses this philosophy to recover women authors' often-invisible labor in the book trades and restore a historically accurate picture of women's publishing history.

The following three chapters detect moments in Behn, Manley, and Haywood's careers that demonstrate how a gendered history of book production shifts narratives within the authors' own discourses, as well as more broadly. King identifies that the limits of the "feminocentric approach" are isolating women as "quirky" individuals or exceptions to the dominant narratives. Each of my authors is described as an individual figure, especially Behn, who is the maternal beginning of a new line of women's writing. This investment in the idea of individuals continues to put them in opposition to groups, especially those comprised of men like the book trades or other professional authors. Yet

Behn, Manley, and Haywood were all very much a part of groups and categories, socially, economically, politically, and yes, sexually. They were professional authors who relied on male and female partners to establish their careers. Since they all used print to reach their audience, their most important partners were members of the book trade (Dustin Griffin), who were not mere laborers but puissant collaborators. Uncovering these relationships reveals much about why women were able to sustain themselves by writing, as Paula McDowell and Betty A. Schellenberg have argued. When women publish in print, there is as much to learn about the format they choose and which firm they work with as what they write.

McDowell, Schellenberg, and others have established the precedent for studying book trade practices and women's literature as a material literary history. They also provide the grounding for challenging conceptions of Behn-Manley-Haywood narratives and women's literature that do not consider the mechanism of dissemination when analyzing literary choices. Feminist literary recovery was essential for recovering the authors' lives and work, but its ideological starting point is "feminist models of marginalization" (King 104). The jabs and slights to women writers printed in poems and appearing in works like *The Dunciad* or satires like *The Female Wits* form a picture of antagonism and Otherness. As Spencer wryly notes, "going on the record with a good insult to Aphra Behn could almost be taken as an entrance qualification to the eighteenth-century literary world" (3). The assumption of marginalization and Otherness is extended to all points of the production of literary texts. If Manley's literary methods are in conflict with those of Pope, then it is assumed that all of Manley's choices are

equally as transgressive of norms and standards. The issue with this approach is that it "ironically reinforce[s] many of the assumptions which had necessitated that recovery," Schellenberg argues (14). Schellenberg rationalizes that by assuming marginalization, feminist recovery efforts perpetuate the Otherness that the authors' antagonists were trying to create. Enmeshed in this dynamic, these studies have an "inability or unwillingness to imagine the woman writer as agent rather than as victim" (15). Schellenberg's issues with how women writers are characterized as eternally marginal are echoed by King's work on Haywood's pamphlet shop, Maureen Bell's study of Behn's posthumous publications, and Rachel Carnell's analysis of Manley's political career.

As Bell argues with Behn, the assumption that women were treated particularly unfairly by their booksellers "has little to do with any settled or modern view of authorship" (15). While it might be lamentable that Behn did not have more control over her work, she was in the same position as *all* authors who sold a copyright to a bookseller (or had the misfortune of their work finding its way to the press without consent). Being a professional woman author might have had unique challenges, but it is necessary to identify what they are without neglecting the history of publishing practices and authorship that has grown in the last few decades. Schellenberg provides an essential update that incorporates print culture and publishing norms, and I extend her methodology to include Behn, Manley, and Haywood and the culture of post-Restoration print publication. Scholars like Cheryl Turner and Margaret J.M. Ezell have moved beyond this small group of authors and emphasized that wide range of personas, styles,

and genres in which women wrote. Yet, Behn, Manley, and Haywood still hold an influential and important place in women's literary history. Refreshing this central narrative should forecast the many ways that women's writing can be resituated in light of developments not only in literary studies, but in book history and studies in material culture.

Since feminist narratives often advocate for women authors' agency, each chapter analyzes what control Behn, Manley, and Haywood had over their work as it went through material production. Rather than isolating textual labor as the only way they could assert agency, I use Lisa Maruca's concept of *text work* to advocate that women writers' labor needs to be catalogued more broadly beyond the text, that "the rhetoric of print be placed alongside the other discursive practices of the period" (5). Because none of these women took up occupations as printers or booksellers,[1] they all had to work with members of the book trade, and these tradesmen's text work melded with the authors'. Each imprint is collaborative and obscures the surrounding ephemeral labor of contracts and relationships. Harold Love usefully reminds that, "even when all phases and functions of composition are performed by a single author, we need to recognise that most novels are much more like films than we are prepared to acknowledge in deserving a long roll-out of credits at the end" (37). To extend this metaphor, commercial authors were often the scriptwriters to the booksellers' producers and directors. The writers' task is crucial, but when the book performs poorly it reflects on all parties involved in production and the producers, not the authors, lose money.[2] In the post-Restoration book trade, the "production team" would have included shops run

by printers, booksellers, and publishers. Printers would be responsible for physically printing the books, including such laborers as compositors and pressmen. Booksellers sold books and other stationer supplies, but in the Early Modern lexicon this term was also associated with the labor of what is now called publishing, or financing. They had the most control over what happened to books during production and coordinated with the other trades and firms involved. Publishers were distributors, and this irregular group included trade publishers, mercuries, hawkers, and ballad singers. There was a wide network and economy beyond this central group including bookbinders, patents and stock that were managed by the central authority of the Stationers' Company, and second-hand book auctions and sales.

While feminist literary history generally acknowledges that booksellers exist, it is rarely with the degree of attention that is necessary to unpack how many figures and trades were responsible for materializing books as they passed from author to reader. Accordingly, the dynamic is often a less nuanced version of what likely happened when a woman author published a book. In the case of Haywood, Catherine Ingrassia argues that she "was under the (primarily) male control of booksellers who recognized her ability to 'please' her audience" (83). The dynamic is the woman author either having to subvert or circumvent a male tradesman who is antagonistic toward her work, and this expectation is repeated throughout scholarship on Behn and Manley.

However, it was unlikely that this was their experience for two significant reasons. First, booksellers were invested financially in the success of women writers, and this investment extends to extra money and labor spent on paratextual addresses.

Analysis of paratextual addresses has been key to understanding the women's motivations for writing, and Gallagher emphasizes that these addresses are also their method for selling their work. My chapters show how the book trades' development of paratextual spaces, such as printing prefaces with drama, enabled writers like Behn to develop their authorial personas. Instead of being at odds with the authors, booksellers augmented their methods through the graphic design of the volumes and targeted advertising that created brand identity and a curated literary community for readers. Booksellers were responsible for designing title pages with appropriate selling points, like "comedy" or "novel." They likely made final decisions on how the book was attributed: anonymously, pseudonymously, with a gendered honorific, or even by connecting the author to previous works. The shared desire for profit connects writers to booksellers, and I suggest that beyond any marginalizing difference of gender was the mutual collaboration toward this goal.

As the author-bookseller relationship is formed on the bonds of financial contracts and labor, these chapters demonstrate the ways that economic position and class influenced women writers' decisions without assuming a gendered Otherness. Women authors were under the control of booksellers as much as any author by profession would be, in that the legal status of the period favored ownership of the financiers (Griffin). Laws protected property and sources of income for the booksellers, who held the copyright and risked their capital. In 1710, the Statute of Anne began to shift control slowly toward intellectual creation and authors, but even after, it was far from being privileged over that of the booksellers. Given this state of affairs, economic

station was overwhelmingly the largest concern for authors. If an author was independently wealthy like Mary Chudleigh or had a patron, the book trade's small, one-time payments were incidental. They had more material weight for women like Behn, Manley, and Haywood because they seem to have been relying on writing as a significant part of how they earned their livings.[3]

Booksellers' "control" over their careers was systemic, not individual. The women changed booksellers as it suited them, and the significant widening of the market after the Restoration meant that there were always booksellers willing to front money for potentially profitable works—much to the chagrin of other professional authors like Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding who were working to differentiate themselves and their work as intellectually superior. There is no evidence any of them were forced to produce at the rate they did other than by necessity, and stories of booksellers like Edmund Curll keeping hack writers chained in the basement is more hyperbolic legend than the typical business practices. The few receipts that exist indicate they were fairly and regularly paid.[4] Yet the narrative persists that the cultural transgression of public speaking and publishing extends to their relationships with booksellers, where women are the transgressors in a male domain.

Secondly, it is unlikely that the dynamic of woman author and male bookseller depicts an accurate assessment of Behn, Manley, and Haywood's experiences because the book trade was not, in fact, a male domain. While the dynamics of the woman author in a public economy are important, that economy is not necessarily gendered in opposition to women. More specifically, not all members of the book trade were male.

The myth of the male trade has led to arguments that a "very small proportion of women … were involved in the book trade in any manner" despite significant documentary evidence to the contrary (Hollis 54). Women's roles tend to be more ephemeral and hard to capture, as McDowell and Maruca detail. It is true that most of the names on imprints are male but this is because men tended to front the financing of literature. The name on the imprint is a company name that represents a number of laborers who contribute to the production of the book. As Cait Coker and Helen Smith have argued, the print house was both a domestic and public space, and many laborers were women. A bookseller's shop was a "family business" and customers "expected to deal with either husband or wife and usually did not care which" (Mitchell 45). It is just as likely that Behn would have met Jacob Tonson or his mother or sister when she visited,[5] and Manley could have dealt with Edmund Curll or his wife or son. Women often ran the storefront or were responsible for bookkeeping, in addition to other tasks.[6] It could even be that these women's sustained presence in the book trades is why women authors were authorized to write at all (Maruca 125). While it is possible there were different negotiating dynamics for female authors and their booksellers, the dichotomy of woman author and male bookseller does not help illuminate what they might be.

These two interventions uncouple Behn, Manley, and Haywood from the dynamic of the woman author controlled by the male bookseller by contextualizing their experiences with revelations from publishing history in the last few decades. This brief summary gestures to the ways that class and economic systems had a distinct impact on women authors' choices and experiences while uncovering the often invisible ways that

booksellers influenced their work. While these chapters are organized around Behn, Manley, and Haywood, their primary task is to rehabilitate the role of booksellers in establishing women's writing. In addition to determining that it is equally true for women that, in Dustin Griffin's words, "[a] writer's most important collaborator was often a bookseller," these case studies emphasize the important yet unsung role booksellers played in creating space for women writers. Griffin continues that, "booksellers, prominent literary promoters and packagers, often bear major responsibility for the kinds of books that got commissioned and published" (55). These "promoters and packagers" each had to invest in the work of Behn, Manley, and Haywood, and their methods and motivations should be of equal interest to scholars as those of the writers. Since even before Virginia Woolf, we have asked what it was that made women like Behn start publishing successfully after the Restoration. The following chapters explore the equally perplexing, but ultimately more transformative question: why did booksellers publish women?

Each chapter begins to answer this question by detailing who Behn, Manley, and Haywood collaborated with alongside contextual information about booksellers' firms to hypothesize what advantages each offered the writer. Behn has the auspicious position of being "the first professional woman author" in England, which has engrained in studies of her life and work the gendered narrative of breaks and new beginnings with tradition. For an author famous for being the first woman to make her living through publication, surprisingly little is known about her actual publishing practices and manipulation of print. This chapter recovers this information and answers long-held questions about her

publishing practices. The first section details her work with firms run by Richard and Jacob Tonson, booksellers who published plays and other popular literature. Behn works with the Tonsons to establish herself as worthy of prestige and fame beyond simply writing for "bread," as she states in several prefaces. This section demonstrates how the Tonsons, especially Jacob, were invested in this project as much as Behn and connected her to the readers and collaborators she needed to achieve lasting fame. However, she is unable to maintain this goal because the imprints alone did not compensate her adequately in the years after the decline of the theatre. Her subsequent partnership with the Jacobite William Canning indicates a development in her authorial goals toward political goals and financial survival rather than fame. In addition to emphasizing that Behn's economic status influenced this decision more than any predatory practices from the Tonsons, Behn's experiences highlight the unique challenges that women writers did face. While her collaborators John Dryden or Nahum Tate could earn court appointments and more easily secure patronage through male homosocial relationships, Behn's gender brought significant hurdles in both areas.

Manley faced similar cultural hurdles as a professional author, and she used unconventional but effective methods of circumventing them. Her debut publications in 1696 emphasize the influence of Behn not only in her oft-studied paratext, but in her choice of bookseller. Richard Bentley was one of Behn's preferred partners, and it is highly possible that Manley's choice was influenced by her predecessor's successful relationship. Behn's influence can also be found in absence, specifically the absence of Manley relying on booksellers' payments to sustain herself. Rather than face the

challenges of self-financing or accepting small one-time payments, Manley teamed up with the Tory printer John Barber. She lived with him from around 1710 until her death, and they co-produced her best-selling *The New Atalantis* and several other texts. This domestic arrangement means there are no records of their transactions, but available evidence indicates that Manley is one of the only female professional authors to successfully and almost respectably support herself with her writing through atypical patronage. While her status as likely mistress brought certain social scorn, it protected her economically from standard practices that favored booksellers' interest above all else. The last section on Edmund Curll's publication of her *Adventures of Rivella* shows how Manley's savvy knowledge of the book trade, no doubt picked up from Barber, allowed her to circumvent a harmful publication and convince the notorious Curll to publish a more flattering one instead.

The final chapter details two moments of Haywood's career, which benefit from substantially more information about her publishing history than either Behn or Manley. This chapter argues that the multiplicity of ways Haywood engaged with the literary market breaks models of textual authorship which fail to account for her labor. Haywood participates in literature's production as much as its intellectual creation. She is a playwright and actress, a writer and owner of the shop that sells her work. The chapter covers her only sustained engagement with booksellers in the early 1720s, but considers the wider context of Haywood's labor as a trade publisher in the 1740s. I argue that she abandons limited bookseller relationships and instead develops a wide net of partners as the beginning of a network she would exploit. Her shop at the Sign of Fame relied on the

network Haywood was able to build and indicates her earlier choices could have been made with an eye toward non-writing literary labor. Haywood's model offers an alternative that was effective yet disrupts the idea of authors as indebted to booksellers. Instead, it emphasizes how producing literature had its own permeable and translatable economy of which writers were one part.

Behn, Manley, and Haywood each resist a narrative of Otherness through their sustained and successful relationships with the book trades. Their partners actively and assiduously published their writing, with Behn and Haywood contracting with a dozen firms each in their lifetimes. Manley used a personal relationship to circumvent the constant need to rely on professional partnerships, and why Barber has not been previously explored as a patron is probably due to sexual politics more than any substantive reason. In addition to rehabilitating the role of booksellers in establishing women's literary history, Behn, Manley, and Haywood's experiences force us to question to what degree women can be outsiders within a system that commodified and valued that Otherness.

CHAPTER II

TOWARD WOMEN'S BOOK HISTORY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

In 1998, Leslie Howsam published an article in *SHARP News* titled "In My View: Women and Book History" that, perhaps for the first time, began to think about how women's studies and book history engage on a theoretical level. Howsam argues that communications circuits from Robert Darnton, Nicholas Barker, and Thomas Adams are erroneously defaulted male. In reality "women can be identified at every node in the cycle and at all periods in history," and assuming men control the production and dissemination of text is ahistorical and limits the ways we can productively discuss gender and production (1). Despite this historical reality and the recovery work of scholars such as Maureen Bell and Paula McDowell, female subjects have remained as exceptions within the broader field. The history of the book as it has been defined is a largely male homosocial environment,[7] where female figures remain marginal or part of the invisible labor of hawking or as daughters and wives running shops with a male corporate name. Howsam concludes: "For the most part, what [Lucien] Febvre and [Henri-Jean] Martin called 'the little world of the book' has been a male domain" (1). In the twenty years since this letter was published, studies on women and material culture have flourished. However, Howsam's characterization of the study of the book as a "male domain" remains true.

Yet as this early example indicates, there has been push back against the male domain and complicating genderless narratives with the experience of female figures. For both fortuitous and practical reasons, the Early Modern period in England has been the site of some of the only theoretical work on women's book history.[8] Of the handful of times that the phrasing "women's book history" is used, all but Howsam's involve this

broad time period. Margaret J. M. Ezell argues that book history's early focus on the printed book over manuscript has helped marginalize women writers ("The Laughing Tortoise"). Michelle Levy uses women's publishing in the Romantic period as evidence to complicate narratives of author-publisher relationships where both parties are assumed male. Helen Smith argues that understanding the book as a collaborative production means not only "restoring early modern women to their place in [Darnton's] communication circuit" but exploring how books themselves are more "completely sexed than has been allowed" (7; 6). Lastly, Bell emphasizes recovery efforts must go beyond writers to all the ways women were "identifiably agents in textual production" (108). This group of scholarly texts comprises what I argue is the conceptual core of Early Modern women's book history in that they alight on similar conclusions. All touch on the same two aspects as key to understanding women's book history: recovering women's interactions with material production and addressing the broader methodological obstacles in book history that has hindered such work.

This chapter's goal is to lay out what women's book history looks like in Early Modern England and argue how these scholars' work imagines a model for a theoretically informed book history that has the potential to re-frame feminist literary studies and studies in material culture. To accomplish this objective, I characterize book history's current values and goals by taking a measure of its interests through companions and readers. Since book history is a relatively new field, significant work has been focused on its definition and identity, but practitioners have yet to take a measure of *how* this historiography has shaped the field in ways that may not be permeable by the work of minority authors. My survey tracks which articles are anthologized and who is indexed to get a necessary and illuminating picture of mainstream book history. The results are compelling: most items are overwhelmingly white and male and there is a distinct Anglo-American bias. I show there are significant

issues with methods and conclusions that are created from this narrow set of texts and authors.

The fact that the field as measured does not resemble the incredible breadth available should indicate that unspoken structures and gatekeeping are at work. Based on what kinds of sources are cited, my survey suggests that book history implicitly values the white male experience. Secondly, the survey indicates another potential issue: book history's historiography is constructed in such a way that it is ideologically separate from theoretical interventions that challenge normative assumptions of value and merit. By positioning itself as an object-oriented field, book history has evaded the theoretical critiques that have been prevalent in other disciplines to the detriment of diversity.

In response, I argue for a revision of book history's historiography that will address the unspoken structures that have prevented adequate consideration of non-white and non-male sources that I call *feminist bibliography*. This revision explicitly re-introduces theoretical discourses to book history by referencing the historical relationship of textual scholarship to feminism, critical race studies, and postcolonialism. My revision focuses on the role of feminist criticism, which has been similarly defined as separate from book history. Book history's development out of Anglo-American bibliography created an economically based discourse dependent on monetary exchanges and financial structures that have positioned class as the primary way the field considers the producers of literature. In contrast, feminist literary studies assumes a gender-first discourse, where the author's gender identity defines how they interact with social, cultural, and economic forces. A feminist approach to book history considers class and gender as equal identity markers that influence subjects and texts in distinct but interrelated and powerful ways. I use examples from feminist textual scholars like Ann Thompson, Martha Nell Smith, and Brenda R. Silver to demonstrate how theoretically informed approaches to authorship, editing, and material studies productively blend

discourses of economics and gender. These can re-shape book history as a discourse that is sensitive to diverse experience.

In the last section of the chapter, I exploit book history's reliance on Early Modern women, print culture, and material to demonstrate how adequately re-imagining even these examples of women authors can widen book history's scope and approaches to women and other minority demographics. Professional authorship has long been reliant on publishing history, as it is a narrative of how authors such as John Dryden, Alexander Pope, and John Milton worked with members of the book trade to identify their authorship as work worthy of cultural prestige. It has also been long understood that women entered into their ranks, to a different degree, beginning particularly with Aphra Behn. With figures like Behn, neither the class-first scholarship from book history, nor the gender-first theories from feminist literary studies adequately provides a model for understanding how they interacted with the book trades. They are equally identified with both discourses, as both essentially feminine and essentially identified with the publication of literature for monetary gain. This section argues that the deliberate attention to the intersection of class and gender is necessary to understand female commercial authors and points to how the following chapters will demonstrate that this model radically re-imagines women authors and professional authorship and book history more broadly.

Book Historiography

My call to reconsider gender as a part of material production stems from book history's reluctance to do so. While book history is a capacious field, it is surprisingly narrow in its self-definition. The beginnings of book history are cited in two different veins: the development of *l'histoire du livre* in history, represented by Febvre and Martin among

others, and debates in Anglo-American bibliography between G. Thomas Tanselle, D. F. McKenzie, and Jerome McGann. This historiography is almost canonical, as it appears in all the major book history companions and readers. The last two decades have produced a number of these volumes, including introductions from Cambridge, Wiley-Blackwell, and the behemoth Oxford volumes. Routledge and Broadview have both produced introductions with companion readers as well.[9] These readers and companions form what can be called "mainstream" book history—the broad version of the field represented in anthologies and teaching materials.

Mainstream book history defines itself as an object-oriented field, generally separate from critical theory. The story goes that Tanselle is the actor from the Greg-Bowers school of bibliography, which grew from the mid-twentieth century and focused on authorial intent in textual editing.[10] Tanselle, a student of Fredson Bowers, argued that the author's intentions should be paramount when preparing a scholarly edition of a text. To find an author's intent meant to consider "the intention of the author to have particular words and marks of punctuation constitute his text and the intention that such a text carry a particular meaning or meanings" and when it was not possible for the editor to make these decisions definitively, "his judgment about each element will ultimately rest on his interpretation of the author's intended meaning as he discovers it in the whole of the text itself" (*Textual Criticism*, 44). Through a long series of articles and books, Tanselle theorized the minutiae of how this editorial practice would function, using his work on Herman Melville as a testing ground at times.

Tanselle's work was opposed by another philosophy, one that argued that authority should not rest singularly with the author's intentions but plurally with those who produced the text printed onto the material object. The redefinition of the author through the "death of the author" articles from Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault prompted this shift on a theoretical level. Rather than the point of primary authority, the

author became a function, the creator of a work that was passed into the hands of readers who were the producers of meaning. Literary scholars began to focus on interpretation, a reader-centered activity. It was a radical inversion of hierarchy, and editors began to investigate what is the job of the textual editor when the author is supplanted or challenged by the reader's importance in creating meaning.

McGann began to answer this question, in turn reimagining textual studies. The singular author, he argued, was an anachronistic figure inherited from Romantic poets who imagined themselves as solitary geniuses and producers of text (*Romantic Ideology*). Other forms of authorship, especially those practiced in the Renaissance, were social productions, the result of the input and influence of multiple entities. His "socialized concept of authorship and textual authority" was an attempt to correct these anachronistic definitions of authorship and restore authority to "the dynamic social relations which always exist in literary production" (*Critique,* 8). McGann's contributions expanded beyond textual criticism into other aspects of bibliography. McKenzie furthered the concept of the social text to a discourse called the sociology of the text, which

> directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption. It alerts us to the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affecting the forms of social discourse, past and present. Those are the realities which bibliographers and textual critics as such have, until very recently, either neglected or, by defining them as strictly non-bibliographical, have felt unable to denominate, logically and coherently, as central to what we do. (15)

As previously discussed, in prompting a consideration of the social production of texts, McGann and McKenzie were part of articulating what would become book history. At

the time in textual criticism, it represented a means of opening up concepts of authority to influence from history, sociology, and literary studies.

If this story is familiar, it is because it is often told, in book history, textual studies, and digital humanities—the interrelated fields that have all developed from this moment. Every general book history companion, including Cambridge, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, and Routledge, begins here.[11] Both the Broadview and Routledge readers include articles from these men. Even other related books follow this pattern, such as Howsam's *Old Books and New Histories* and aspects of *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, edited by Craig S. Abbott and William Proctor. It has, effectively, become canon. New students coming to the field and scholars who begin looking at material culture are greeted with these foundational texts, shaping a generation who interacts with books through a distinct and impactful set of values.

These values also translate to the way that book history talks about its subjects and texts. The majority of companions and readers divide their chapters and sections into three kinds of approaches: kinds of books, methods of production, and reading and literacy. That is: objects for study, ways of making them, and ways of interacting with them. The first is almost ubiquitous. The massive two-volume Oxford companion dedicates more than half of its length to term definitions and encyclopedia entries. Another common approach is to list kinds of books by chapter, including legal, liturgical, religious, literary, and medicinal. Sometimes parts of the books are explained, featuring sections on illustrations, paratext, bindings, and typefaces. These approaches often interact with the members of the trade who were responsible, blending a study of form with that of process. Rarely do we see individual examples of libraries, authors, printers, or other human figures, but they do exist. Most volumes will offer at least one case study of a print shop, collector, or author, using a figure like John Donne to detail manuscript circulation or *Paradise* Lost and Shakespeare's works to explore the

machinations of the book trade. The intended result of an object-oriented approach is that it puts the book and its process center stage. Tanselle, McGann, McKenzie and the *l'histoire du livre* studies were designed to relocate attention to "the material object and its production and reception, rather than solely … its contents" (Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction*, 11).

While the field has been successful in shifting dialogues from the book's content to the object and its "production and reception," there has been another incidental effect of this move—emphasis on mechanical processes over the human aspect of production. The human hands that made and consumed these objects support the main focus of technology. When they are discussed, it is through the business logs of a bookbinder, the inventory of a library, or marginalia tracing reading practices. This approach means that the large majority of content in companions and introductions do not indicate from whom, or occasionally where, the objects of study originated. When one skims the tables of contents for these volumes, they seem almost raceless and genderless. The chapters are on "Bookbinding" or "Library Catalogues and Indexes," which implies that the topics are universal.

Systematically examining these chapters uncovers that the subjects are not, in fact, universal at all but particular in ways that have not been fully explored and have led to a limited approach to book history scholarship. Appendix A lists an analysis of all current book history readers and introductions, which comprise 625 sections across 22 volumes.[12] They are all published in the last twenty years, with the earliest being the third volume of the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* published in 1999, and the most recent the 2017 *Broadview Introduction to Book History*. There have been a substantial increase in these publications, with 17 out of the 22 volumes, or 77%, published in the last ten years. Across these 625 sections, there are a total of 12 that explicitly cover women and 25 that explicitly feature men. From titles, about 94% of chapters do not

indicate the gender of the subject. When the historical subject is mentioned, it is twice as likely to be male.

This alone is a significant disparity, but there are further implications to the lion's share of the chapters that have general and universal titles. Indexes give a much more precise account of what actually happens within the chapters, while there are of course as many limits to this kind of analysis as only looking at chapter titles.[13] When human subjects are mentioned in the indexes, they are male with an overwhelming frequency. Several indexes run as low as 1.5–2% of entries as identifiably female.[14] None exceed 8%. Only a few include an additional entry for "women" or "gender" that allows scholars interested in women's work to find examples in the volume. In a perhaps not that surprising trend, most index entries on women are within chapters explicitly titled as about women. There are a few exceptions from unsurprising sources, such as Ezell's chapter on "Handwriting and the Book" in the Cambridge companion. The chapter is generically titled, but nonetheless the author includes multiple female figures alongside men in her analysis. This choice is atypical. The way that women are best represented in these volumes is in contemporary scholarship as authors, not as historical subjects. Female-presenting contributors to the introductions exceed 50% in a few cases and sit reliably above 30% across the board. The only two readers, Broadview and Routledge, feature between 20–24% of chapters or sections written by women.[15] There are only two female-presenting editors of general companions[16] in Howsam and Levy, and both have higher percentages of female contributors than their colleagues.

Even this surface-level analysis reveals several worrying trends in book history scholarship as it is defined and anthologized. Unless the title explicitly states that the subject is about women, the contents are overwhelmingly about men. This is challenging for scholars looking for examinations of women's contributions to the world of the book, as we often find our interests are not reflected in scholarship. Experience has shown that

gender can be a significant influence on how historical subjects realize economic opportunities, so male experiences do not reliably map on female subjects. While it is true that women are in the minority in some records such as booksellers listed in the *Term Catalogues*, the 2% of chapters that do exist on women do not reflect historical reality when one considers the many ways women interacted with the world of books. Recovery work from Bell, Smith, Lisa Maruca, and Paula McDowell demonstrates the many ways that women participated in the business of books; the chapter on Eliza Haywood in this dissertation will go into this narrative in more depth. Beyond simply the book trade in England, the paucity of chapters that do exist on women is in stark contrast to the wealth of information available, especially when one considers the breadth offered from Colonial America's early presses to the Victorians' mass production to modernist feminist presses.

This reality is further complicated by the generalist nature of book history language and categorizations. While titles like "Liturgical Books" intend to convey the history and production of a genre of book, what is actually being conveyed is the history of men and their books. In this example, which is from the *Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* volume 1, the author limits the discussion to monastic books and their male makers and readers. It is a descriptive and thorough history of *monastic* liturgical books, but because it lacks any mention of convents and the female scribes and illuminators who also worked on and read such books it is not a general history of "Liturgical Books." As just part of an alternative history, Marilyn Dunn details how convents also created books of hours and liturgical books, including acting as scribes and illuminators. Historians like George Haven Putnam have long detailed the role of nuns in scriptoriums in England and the relationship of female education and religious life. Despite what the chapter suggests, women and nuns certainly did make and consume liturgical books. This chapter on "Liturgical Books" is not particularly

egregious and far from the only time that monks are featured rather than nuns. I use this as an illuminating example of a trend that the generalized language of 94% of book history companions normalizes the history of men as a general history. And although it is outside the scope of the analysis I performed for this chapter, it is also true that the vast majority of the cited subjects are white. Non-white sources play a much bigger role in American book history scholarship than British, which mirrors the general lack of non-white literary subjects before Olaudah Equiano and Phillis Wheatley.[17]

This discussion is limited, as it does not include an analysis of all journals, monographs, and collected editions; such a study would be massive but illuminating if performed. However, companions and readers—especially this group of relatively recent texts—are useful as a reflection of the field. The editors alone do not bear the responsibility for the critiques I have levied here, as the almost universal nature of what I have identified means that such issues go beyond introductory volumes. In particular, the generalist language that obscures an overwhelmingly white, male bias has meant that book history has developed into a discourse that *values* its genderless and raceless veneer.

This ideological stance is apparent in a recent contribution from Jonathan Rose, who proposed *book studies* as a discipline on the horizon, as book history with its potential contributions fully realized. Rose is somewhat anomalous in that he does not explicitly cite McKenzie and McGann, but rather locates the origin of the field in the work of Darnton, Febvre Martin, and Elizabeth Eisenstein (12). Rose's *book studies* correctly attempts to re-situate the name of the field around a culture, intersection, or discourse rather than a specific field (history), and it also helpfully looks forward rather than re-telling the past. However, as a product of its generic lineage, Rose's characterization draws the same boundary lines as discussions of social textual criticism, historical bibliography, and sociology of the text. That is, while Rose's term is arguably

a better representation of the field, the divide between theory and object-oriented studies is maintained. He argues:

> It is perfectly legitimate to ask how literature has shaped history and made revolutions, how it has socially constructed race, class, gender, and so on. But we cannot begin to answer any of these questions until we know how books (not texts) have been created, reproduced, disseminated and read, preserved and suppressed. (13)

Rose advocates that the physical transmission of knowledge fundamentally matters and must be considered, but in doing so he also argues that issues such as race, class, and gender are secondary to the study of the book. Or, perhaps more accurately, he argues that *books themselves* cannot be gendered, raced, queered, or seen as the products of class distinctions. By separating process from content, Rose reiterates the common, core thread of book history scholarship. However, this quote illustrates that in this separation, critical engagements of race, class, gender, etc. are assigned to *contents* rather than materiality. The implication is that there is such thing as objectivity, that it is possible to divorce ideology and identity from ourselves as well as those who created, reproduced, disseminated, red, preserved, and suppressed the objects we study. There is danger in this normative structuring of the field, as it works to obscure not only the complex cultural production of material objects, but it allows current practitioners to escape self-analysis and critical reviews of methodologies.

In sum, I argue that it is this state of the field that prevents the kinds of theoretically minded and interventionist studies that do exist in book history from influencing the core, mainstream conception of the field. To return to how this chapter began, there is actually a good deal of scholarship on women's experiences in book history. Beyond the Early Modern period in England, there are also substantive discourses on black bibliography, the postcolonial book, and queering the book. These

are outside of the scope of this chapter, but nevertheless they demonstrate how much there still is to uncover about how normative values can be unpacked and problematized. Given the tensions between work on diverse subjects and the ways it is valued, it is not surprising that work on gender and material culture would be interventionist. Bell, Ezell, Howsam, Levy, and Smith each turns her historical arguments toward this quandary—that for all of the examples they have found of women's writing, labor, and lives, women are underrepresented within the wider field. These scholars are joined by many more, who have provided a wealth of recovered information about women's interactions with material production; important additions are work from Paula McDowell, Isobel Grundy, Lisa Maruca, A.E.B. Caldiron, and Catherine Ingrassia. To look even more broadly, the online resource *Women in Book History Bibliography* demonstrates that there are hundreds of other secondary sources that exist on women's writing and labor in the Early Modern period alone. Scholarship on women's book history has rightly identified the issues with the field's representation of women, but it has not gone far enough to address the systemic issues that perpetuate this inequality.

The *Women in Book History Bibliography* and its currently 1,000 sources demonstrate that book history is not currently raceless or genderless but built on narratives untroubled by postcolonialism, feminism, or critical race studies. These values are inherited, from book history's canon where sources were so homogenous that things like racial and gendered differences did not present themselves. Tanselle's subject was Herman Melville; McKenzie's famous essay highlights Jacob Tonson and William Congreve; McGann worked on Lord Byron, Dante Rossetti, and William Blake. Textual scholarship itself grew out of studies on the Bible and Shakespeare. But, just as bibliography prompted the growth of book history, it also provides a method of revision and substantial opportunities for book historians looking to rebuild book history as a feminist discourse (among others). The remaining sections detail how bibliographers and

textual scholars have successfully theorized the intersection of class and gender and use it as inspiration to imagine women's book history.

Theorizing Feminist Bibliography

There is substantial work on women and material culture, yet little of it makes its way into book history scholarship. I believe this is because the concepts of "women's book history" or even book history intersecting with other norm-critical discourses like queer studies, critical race studies, and postcolonialism have not yet gained enough traction. The solution is not necessarily a matter of scholars simply including more data on women in their works (although that certainly cannot hurt). Rather we should also consider how factors such as gender influence the production of books—as both Bell and Smith have demonstrated—or explore how books themselves may be be sexed, as Howsam proposes. Both of these narratives extend the influence of gender to the material object and process beyond contents. The data I have gathered also suggests that the reason these interests are additional and marginalized instead of central is because of unspoken values and practices in the field that need to be articulated in order to be critiqued. The last section handled the gender-based disparities in the field, and this section will in turn attempt to create a new framework for women's book history that I call *feminist bibliography*.

Feminist bibliography is a revision of bibliography's methodologies and current practices that both promotes continuing work on women's lives and labor and creates a framework that allows such work to flourish. Book history has relied on bibliographic methods and values to pursue its interventions, and I argue that it is through addressing these core ideologies that book historians will be able to frame women's work not as additional but rather as necessary data in narratives of book production. This philosophy

is partially interventionist and partially political. It is the former in that it re-imagines book history's canon from a more equitable standpoint, paying particular attention to the way that feminist editors and textual scholars approached the key issues of authority from a gendered perspective. It is political in that it is an attempt to create a narrative around a curated set of texts and to use them to push the discussion toward feminist ideals of gender parity in representation. By fashioning not necessarily a new canon but an alternative feminist one, I hope to create space for diverse texts by arguing that book history's capacious potential is current limited by divorcing itself from theoretical interventions. The inspiration for the revisions I offer are pulled from book history's related fields: digital humanities and textual studies. All three have grappled with issues of diversity, but while digital humanists and textual scholars have articulated meaningful interventions, such work is only just beginning in book history.

As I argued in the last section, the canon's reliance on a few key issues and general language has created value-based gatekeeping that inhibits book history's embracing of wider subjects and disciplines. The canon-building process is a natural outcome of scholarly work, especially for a field that has struggled with finding its limits as it intersects with multiple competing fields and interests. However, one of the consequences of repetition is exclusion. To delineate a field's interests, values, and goals can also work to exclude what does not fit these parameters. The texts that most closely fit the mold are promoted as case studies, offered as examples of methods, and work to perpetuate more work within this vein. When methods involve a foundation that is limited, what may follow is that the texts to which scholars are drawn may be limited as well. The danger of this practice is that a relative hegemony of sources has been isolated from the diverse discourses in which they were written.

In particular, explanations of the origins of book history do not do what they could to contextualize these discourses with the theoretical critiques that were leveled at

them at the time. Exchanges between McGann and Tanselle had been ongoing for more than a decade, and the examples cited here are from the 1980s to early 1990s when both had distilled their competing philosophies into well-articulated studies. What is not represented in the canonical Tanselle-McGann conversation is that concurrent to these debates was a multiplicity of theoretical interventions in the academy in addition to those sparked by the linguistic post-structuralism. Challenges to Western-centric ideologies from Gayatri Spivak and Edward Said joined racial critiques from bell hooks and the Civil Rights movement. Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* had long given voice to a surge in women's and gender studies that was being dramatically forwarded by Judith Butler. Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* along with work from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, David Halperin, and Leo Bersani articulated theories of non-heteronormative sexualities. Such theories questioned normativity in all its iterations, interrogating the unspoken ideologies that dictate values, categories, and hierarchies.

This characterization of theory in the academy is rudimentary, but it demonstrates the issues with the current narrative of bibliography. Despite book history's understandable interest in compelling debates in textual studies from McKenzie and McGann, the field as it has been described is curiously insulated from critical interventions that were assailing literary studies, history, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and even bibliography itself. The argument that book history is separate from theory is rarely explicitly stated, but even in sections titled "Theorizing Book History" non-linguistic theory is nowhere to be found.[18] The theory of book history is the canon: McKenzie, McGann, and Febvre. Limited references are necessitated by the broad scope of introductory texts and brief literature reviews that must acknowledge this history before moving forward. However, in service to brevity, limited discussions of intentionality, authority, and authorship in textual criticism are privileged without considering the theoretical space of these discourses.

To re-imagine this discourse and create a framework where studies on women's experiences are central, I first explicitly engage feminist criticism with book history's roots in textual studies. Although it is rarely anthologized or cited in book history volumes, feminism and textual scholarship has a rich history. This discourse dates back to the McGann-Tanselle debates and continues in contemporary work on scholarly editing from Martha Nell Smith, Julia Flanders, and Amanda Gailey. Women can present tricky subjects for their editors, especially when their texts do not fit the molds cast from the experience of male authors. Ezell demonstrates the limitations of current editorial theories when confronted with authors whose experiences do not translate:

> The challenges faced by the teams of editors producing the definitive multi-volume editions of the works of Mark Twain or Herman Melville, the layers upon layers of cross-checking with multiple sources and versions, were impressive. Given that I was working on early modern women writers for whom in many cases only a single text, either printed or handwritten, was known, such activities also seemed at one level remote and alien. ("Editing Early Modern Women's Manuscripts" 103)

In response to experiences such as Ezell's, editors and scholars working in different fields have reconsidered the basics of editorial practice to avoid normalizing the voices they are attempting to bring to the scholarly community. It is practicing what Martha Nell Smith encourages: to "take into account the 'messy' facts of authorship, production, and reception: race, class, gender, and sexuality" when developing an editorial apparatus (2).

Book history's ideological debt to textual studies means that the field must be wary the same pitfalls that scholars like Martha Nell Smith have tried to avoid.[19] In particular, similarly normalizing perspectives can reduce diverse experiences into a seemingly objective or scientific methodology that was not designed to accommodate

difference. Being wary of the lure of objectivity is not to avoid it altogether. On the contrary, it is, as Martha Nell Smith argues, to imagine how rigor can be adapted based on "principled flexibility" (2). That is, book history can retain the "rigor and sharp discipline required of principled methodologies" while also exploring areas of subjectivity, underlying ideologies, and the importance diversity more broadly. Smith is one example of diversity-aware bibliographic scholarship that can reshape the way book history thinks about its origins. She confronts similar issues as Tanselle, McGann, and McKenzie, but through a lens that sharpens differences rather than obscures them. Including sources such as Smith, Gailey, Flanders, and Ezell in companions and readers would position book history as a field that confronts its own limitations while also creating space for additional work. But this would be only the first step for what is truly needed: a broad reconceptualization of basic methods that would classify studies on minority voices as germane and essential.

While there are many ways that being sensitive to issues of gender can reshape book history, scholarly judgement in particular emphasizes the non-empirical aspect of bibliography where Smith's "principled flexibility" can be expanded and re-imagined as part of material culture as well as textual studies. Scholarly judgment is as an example of subjective intervention that highlights the moments where scholars must make educated decisions that are not based entirely on data. Isolating these moments of subjectivity and analyzing philosophies about how to approach them brings to the center that bibliography has always had inborn ideological values built in. By articulating where these values lie, a feminist revision of book history's canon can re-work its core narrative to include interventions from a variety of critical discourses.

First, D. C. Greetham's work on the intersections of theory and textual studies provides an important bridge between book history's canon and wider theoretical discourses. While Tanselle and McGann debated authorial intentionality, Greetham

simultaneously explored how theoretical approaches to the author and authority could change bibliographic studies. He would later dedicate an entire monograph titled *Theories of the Text* to the topic. Working from a theoretical approach, Greetham is wary of bibliography's empirical history and sees the potential for theory to "[provide] a matrix for the plotting of the 'certainties', small or otherwise, since it delineates a schema for the measurement of editorial attitudes and 'reflections" ("Textual and Literary Criticism," 3). In other words, Greetham argues that theory can help inform the necessarily subjective parts of textual editing, where scholars are forced to make informed judgments. Greetham is not alone in conceptualizing when the "scientific" process of editing blends into the subjective. Even the more conservative Tanselle argued that editorial theory would have to, at times, rely on the judgment of the editor.[20] Greetham extends this to say that when human judgment intervenes, it is a point where "theoretical philosophy" can take over and critical theories hold weight.

Greetham's arguments about the inherent subjectivity of editorial decisions provide an important intersection for a feminist revision of bibliography. The separation that Greetham identified between empirical methods and judgment is less a gap and more of an uncovering of the inherent abstraction that governs editorial theory. The judgment of the scholar determines not just what decisions are made when no empirical method will suffice, but extends to the entirety of the editorial matrix, text, and author the scholar has chosen. In deciding which author to focus on, McKenzie made a subjective decision when he picked up William Congreve—one based on personal preference, access, and intellectual curiosity. Feminist bibliographers can intervene in two ways—in exploiting the need for scholarly judgment as a method of breaking open editorial's empirical shell and, secondly, by extending a limited view of judgment to a more accurate representation of how and why scholars make choices about their objects of study.

But, again, a true feminist revision of book history's canon must address the values that have been inherited from a canon that centralizes male experiences. Scholarly judgment provides the opening for this concern. Judgment is a place where one's ideology is made bare, and naturally it has been a site of anxiety for bibliographers whose modern field was constructed as a reaction against less structured nineteenth-century editorial practices. In a 1971 article, Tanselle characterized the current climate as a "middle position which gives literary judgment, when carefully applied, its proper place in editorial decisions" ("Textual Study and Literary Judgment" 110). In this middle position, Tanselle goes on to debate against both those who are "exaggerating the scientific nature of [bibliography]" and McKenzie, who wanted a bigger allowance for the hypothetical and thus represented a dangerous alignment with unsystematic nineteenth-century editors (110–111). Although textual editors have individually shifted along this spectrum in the following decades, the field still very much sits in this "middle position" as a space where system, transparency, and methods are in place to discourage overbearing editorial practices.

Given the sustained importance of scholarly judgment, feminist editorial theory developed in the late 1980s and 1990s as a way of critiquing the ideologies inherent in what decisions are made outside, and within, the editorial matrix. Feminist bibliographers can use this point as an intersection and expand it to consider scholarly judgment on a larger scale and the importance of articulating a philosophy about this judgment. There will continue to be moments where editors are asked to judge between textual discrepancies and philosophies about what kind of texts one should produce, be it the author-centered "pure" text from Bowers and Tanselle or the reader-focused reception method that has grown in the last thirty years. In these moments, gendered philosophies can and should intervene into the "male editorial tradition," as Ann Thompson has argued in her approach to Shakespeare (85). Thompson elaborates:

> Editors of Shakespearean texts have always had to choose between possible readings, and it is arguable that a feminist editor might make a different set of choices. In the case of plays that survive in two or more early printed versions, editors have to choose which version they see as more "authoritative." This choice will depend on a number of factors including of course an argument about the provenance of each text, but an awareness of gender issues can contribute to such a choice in the present and help explain the reasons behind editorial decisions made in the past. (88)

Thompson's work on Shakespeare grapples with an author who has been at the center of bibliographic scholarship for decades. She consequently sees her task as unraveling not only the different iterations of the text but problematic editorial apparatuses that could have framed the author, individual characters, or plays in problematic ways. Thompson's reimagining of Shakespeare is concurrent with other feminist scholars—especially Brenda R. Silver and Katie King—as well other scholars whose work is friendly to feminist intervention, such as Morris Eaves, Gerald MacLean, and Jeffrey Masten.

Closely following McKenzie's articulation of the *sociology of the text* and its subsequent critiques, Silver and King forwarded an alternative editorial narrative that exploited the concept of a social text to interrogate gendered ideologies and perceptions. Working on Virginia Woolf, Silver studies how feminist editing has revealed to what extent we as editors construct the author and how unstable the stable text is when these ideologies are laid bare. For her part, King argues that bibliography's shift from "the world in the text to the text in the world" allows feminist recovery to "[open] up enormous questions which explicitly challenge assumptions about literary value and implicitly challenge assumptions about the nature and ontology of the text" (96). These questions are indeed "enormous" when one explicitly challenges literary values and, implicitly, scholarly judgment. King's construction of an alternative, feminist apparatus

for approaching literary texts sits in the gap of empirical and abstract, taking a critical philosophy and from it imagining a systemic approach. Thompson, Silver, and King represent the ways that feminist theories have uncovered the ideologies that govern seemingly neutral textual theories and successfully characterizing them as limited histories.

By representing their work as interventionist, these editors have also uncovered the ways that editing is "a social act with political implications," as Morris Eaves has characterized it (91). Diverse theories of textual studies intervene politically, as one cannot have an editorial theory without values and scholarly judgment informing its approach. Other similarly alternative theoretical approaches follow this same track, with MacLean's construction of a Marxist editorial theory and Masten exploring the intersection of text and sex in Renaissance literature. Taken collectively, this discourse explores "the extent to which those cultural conditions [of textual production] are crosshatched by the complex articulation of class, gender, sexuality, and national or racial identity" (MacLean 35).

When alternatives are paired with more mainstream editorial theory from Tanselle, McGann, and McKenzie, one is able to see to what extent the latter discourse is dependent on valuing white masculinity for its methods and philosophical approaches. These additions remove the veneer of objectivity and illuminate, perhaps, how book history's key texts fall short of being able to conceptualize diverse authors and texts. Correctly characterizing book history's key texts as the history of men should at the minimum require book historians to articulate a transparent response to issues of diversity as much as they carefully construct philosophies of textual authority. One such articulation could be borrowed from Thompson, who states "we cannot stand outside the ideological baggage we carry, though we can at least attempt to be aware of the preconceptions and prejudices that may affect our interpretations" (89). In other words,

book historians do not need to wholly abandon the important and influential work of these scholars but rather limit conclusions appropriately and actively seek to create a more inclusive framework. Thompson's philosophy also considers the subjective place from which scholarly judgment arises and understands the limits of conclusions, lest this work actively colonize the voices who do not fit the narrative. Feminist bibliographers can use philosophies of valuing rather than categorizing diversity, of accepting differences without abandoning method, to urge appropriate critiques and questions in book history.

My survey of the field and characterization of book history's "mainstream" or canon through companions and readers was purposeful as both an effective method of gauging current discourses and as a means of addressing the inclusion and exclusion of certain kinds of authors and literatures. These volumes naturally seek cohesion with head notes, sections, and editorial apparatuses. A feminist rereading could include critiques of mainstream methods as well as refraining from attempting to bring order to authors and genres to which order is not native.[21] Further, anthologies and volumes could abandon the generalized language of chapter titles and instead explore the intricacies of individual examples without creating broad generalizations. Such case studies are invaluable, but especially when they are all pulled from only one set of subjects and experiences, they cannot speak for all. Rather than excluding what does not fit or is not easily categorized, book history readers and companions can embrace the odd, the individual, and the unique just as they appreciate such characteristics in physical objects.

Based on this philosophy, a feminist retelling of book history's origins in bibliography would interrogate the foundation of the social text and exploit scholarly judgment to counter empirical holdovers from textual scholarship. Feminist bibliographers can begin with Tanselle, McGann, and McKenzie as essential aspects of the discourse. But it is also necessary to use Greetham, who was a member of this small

group of editorial theorists, as a means of widening the scope to include alternative editorial theories. Greetham's work is a bridge to an important conversation about how a social textual editorial practice developed in the last twenty years and can be used as a signpost to a more nuanced understanding of an important moment in bibliography. This critique can incorporate a vast array of feminist editors (only briefly sampled here) who make visible the ways in which traditional narratives take limited experiences and apply them universally. It shows not only that the conversation has developed, but that it was never completely isolated, even in its infancy.

The revision offered here is a first step in the process of creating a more inclusive discipline that values oddity and diversity rather than normalizing texts and voices. For each critique I have offered, there are several more outside of the scope of my analysis, including how bibliography is also a white imperialist field, often as blind to issues of sexuality and race as it is to those of gender.[22] Taken collectively, it is clear that bibliography must adapt in a variety of ways to think about authorship as the product of complicated human agents instead of passive books. There is also significant potential, as both Helen Smith and Howsam argued, for exploring books as sexed objects and reading as a gendered activity.

For Early Modern feminist scholars, there is another onus: to advocate more actively for our own inclusion. Many of the scholars that are included in book history companions and readers work on subjects from this time period, perhaps a consequence of the recovery work on women's professional authorship and the development of a literary marketplace. As scholars continue to complete recovery work and push at restricting boundaries, the goal should also be to create a narrative of book history as a feminist space to secure the longevity of this relatively new discourse.

Class, Gender, and Women's Professional Authorship

In this last section, I explore one aspect of feminist bibliography's new space by focusing specifically on women's professional authorship after the Restoration. Professional authorship and women's studies have intersected since feminist literary recovery in the 1970s, which happens to overlap with the core texts that re-imagined bibliography as book history. However, as the introduction indicated, women's professional authorship is separate from narratives of men's professional authorship both ideologically and in practice. This section will explore the boundaries of this discourse and isolate some of the limiting ways that both sides have discussed professional women authors like Behn, Manley, and Haywood. Further, this discourse allows me to explore the specifics of how women's book history can alter narratives within book history more broadly by offering another fruitful characterization of book history as its own theory.

I have analyzed how book history is a discourse growing out of textual studies, however, especially within discussions of authorship, production, and the book trade, there are other aspects to how the field is practiced. While the object-oriented description of the field has attempted to separate itself from theory, book history's materially-focused and historically-situated approach to literature and the production of books is, in itself, a theory. It is not a theory that is within the bubble of poststructuralist crises of authority and the text that is constructed by some early bibliographers. It is the historical approach to economic and class struggles, especially in some of the earliest historical bibliography studies where scholars traced how authors attempted to control production or gain authority with the booksellers. Historians who have uncovered the history of the Stationers' Company relate how the guild attempted to control the production of literature as a valuable commodity. These scholars reconstruct ownership and authority, not only in the textual sense but through legal and material methods that

are linked to cultural struggles outside of the book trades. The power dynamics of the Stationers and authors—such as Jacob Tonson and John Dryden—are at home in several theoretical conversations, including Marxism and Hegelian criticism. While book historians may not frame their discourses within Marxist terms, the impetus for authors, at the lower end of the labor hierarchy, to gain autonomy and control over intellectual property is certainly the history of class and power.

I characterize book history as a class- and economics-based approach to material culture not simply to establish its links with Marxist criticism, as Marxism does not wholly map onto the varied and almost immeasurable ways that scholars analyze material culture and literature.[23] Instead, this demonstrates how understanding book history as explicitly engaging with class issues creates opportunities for imagining how it intersects with issues such as gender. As a class-based discourse, book history shares a common thread with Marxism and similar economic theories in that they are accused of being simultaneously sex-less and sexist.[24] So, too, does book history fall into the trap of neglecting to discuss sex while sexing its discussions as masculine without making these choices visible. When one is discussing women's professional authorship, it is essential to attend to the intersections of economics and gender as these women are equally defined by their gendered identities and economic positions. Thus, this dissertation's reconceptualization of women's professional authorship is a microcosm of how combining historical bibliography, economic history, and women's studies can help reimagine how book history's structure can account for the experience of women authors.

The general narrative of professional authorship has two aspects to it—the act of writing for financial compensation and the attempt to elevate this act beyond simple labor. For the first, Betty Schellenberg explains that writing for money is "in opposition to the sorts of cultural and material awards offered by coterie writing for manuscript

circulation and publishing as part of a patronage system" (13). The narrative of change is key, one that Dustin Griffin characterizes as "transformation and modernization" where authors found new partners in the book trade rather than patrons and began to use new technologies.[25] The shift from patrons to printers also involves re-establishing the site of literary production from the courts to the book trades. As professional authors rely more and more on tradesmen to support themselves and reach their audiences, it becomes a truism that "a writer's most important collaborator was often a bookseller" (Griffin, *Authorship*, 55). As a consequence, discussions of professional authorship are as much histories of the book trade and the development of copyright as that of literary trends. As publishing historians have uncovered more about the book trades, how scholars understand authors' interactions has dramatically shifted.

The second point of this narrative is that commercial authors were advocating for professionalization. Schellenberg articulates this as "the professional's claim to offer a specialized set of skills to meet a defined need of society at large, and to be deserving of certain status and economic reward as a result" (13). She continues that these authors were not able to achieve this with any kind of organization approaching that of lawyers or clergy, but "what is most important here is its aspiration in the latter half of the eighteenth century toward these defining characteristics" (13). Mark Rose and Harold Love explore how authors like John Dryden, Alexander Pope, and Samuel Johnson built authoritative personas and differentiated their work as high class, prestigious, and scholarly. Dryden's prefaces comment on the nature of drama and the role of the author, and in addition to popular literature he participated in high-class projects like a translation of Ovid, for which he was paid a substantial sum. Central to professional authorship is the history of how copyright shifted from stationers to authors, begun in 1710 with the Statute of Anne and slowly developed over the course of the century. Pope's legal wrangling and assertions for the rights of authors as producers of

intellectual labor are often invoked in this history, especially his suing of Edmund Curll that will be detailed in chapter three.

Women's professional authorship is closely related to this discourse, but as the authors I pulled out as examples indicate, professional authorship often tends to focus on male interactions. Women's professional authorship explores women as simultaneously gendered and economic beings with varying levels of emphasis placed on either part of that identity. While it is not a new field, it is only more recently through the work of Schellenberg, Brean S. Hammond, Catherine Ingrassia, and Cheryl Turner that narratives have engaged productively with the economic side of women's authorship as well as narrative developments. Ingrassia's work on Haywood as an economic entity forwards her relationships with the book trades as an essential method of understanding her authorial choices, as chapter four explores. Hammond and Turner's data-driven recovery efforts provide bibliographies and studies on how women published in print.

As both men's and women's narratives of professional authorship rely on the interplay between author and bookseller, paratext has become key as the site of where this collaboration is materialized. The professionalization of the author is linked to authors forwarding their personas along with their work, transitioning from anonymous producers of text to cultural personalities that capitalized on the growing celebrity culture and the commodification of literature. Broadly, authorial personas were one of the factors of post-Restoration authorship that contributed to the conceptualization of the professional author as a public figure. There were extra-textual performances of the authorial persona, which survive in anecdotes[26] that indicate that thse invented masks were much broader than accounts from material artifacts. Authorial personas were cultural performances of which texts played an essential part. Dryden assiduously uses prologues, epilogues, and prefaces to position himself as a commentator on the nature of drama and print publication; John Milton's *Eikonoklastes* was styled in a way to visually

mimic *Eikon Basilike* as it rhetorically confronted its contents; and printing Shakespeare's plays in folio made a material and economic statement about the prestige of the contents. In each case, those with a claim to authorship or ownership of a text worked to frame such texts in ways that would give the correct impression of the author, contents, or genre to the audience for both economic and social reasons. In addition, each example, especially that of Shakespeare who was deceased when the First Folio was printed, also underscores the book trades' influence on the creation of these personae. Publishers had to agree to print the prologue and epilogues, design Milton's text as a mimic of *Eikon Basilike*, and take the financial chance that a folio edition of common plays would sell.

That each decision about what is included in the book and its presentation is mediated and approved by booksellers is a consequence of the book trade after the Restoration and emphasizes how much the figure of the professional author relied on collaboration with the trades. The bookseller would legally own the book through the rights to its printing, or "rights in copies." The author's ownership of the text would end when the contract was signed, with only some extant anecdotes of authors collaborating on design, presentation, and illustration showing that their control may have persisted in select circumstances. Judith Milhous and Robert Hume have emphasized that the transfer of ownership between author and publisher was more of an exchange of commodities than an artistic collaboration (57). This reality of publication is distinctly separate from the artistic and inventive history of writing, of writers as geniuses and owners of works inherited from the Romantics.[27] In some situations, the author would have a say in the physical appearance of the book, especially if they chose to self-finance and employ their own printer and thus become their own financier. Even in the latter circumstance, unless the author also wholly independently set and printed their own work,[28] there was still mediation by members of the book trade in what was created.

That the booksellers had such control over the text means that the continued appearance of the author's voice in paratext had to have been motivated by the booksellers as much as authors like Dryden and Behn. Especially with genres like drama, print practices created the space for authorial voices through the proliferation of printed paratext. Diana Solomon estimates that between 1660 and 1714, "There are 1,570 extant prologues and epilogues," a significant increase from the Renaissance (2). Since Restoration editions "consistently" appear with these apparatuses (4), it seems publishers and booksellers considered them a necessary addition to the play. If several anecdotes are to be believed, they became necessary to the extent that publishers began driving their inclusion. David Roberts demonstrates this from Abraham Bailey in 1667: 'Epistles and Prologues,' [Bailey] observed, were 'for the most part skipped over without reading', and he addressed the reader only to spare his stationer the embarrassment of charging for 'a blank page'" (205). Behn adds as much with her preface in *The Dutch Lover* in 1673, when she includes an indifferent epilogue for her reader "to make your pennyworth." So, while it is certainly true that paratext had economic advantage for the playwrights and contributed to the concept of the author as a professional and public figure, it is just as true that booksellers and publishers seemed to think them preferable (if not necessary) for the printing of plays.

The following three chapters all use paratextual analysis to explore how booksellers and authors jointly worked together to create the idea of the professional author. They also explore how both the narrative of professional authorship detailed above needs to be complicated by considering women's paratext and women authors' interactions with their publishers. As the introduction details, it can be difficult where to locate agency over paratextual choices—with the booksellers or authors. Narratives of men's professional authorship argue for a slow increase in authors' ability to have influence over the material production of their texts. In contrast, histories of women

authors highlight them as eternally marginal figures who are often victimized by predatory publishers. Both narratives of authorship informed by publishing history and women's literary histories have ideologies that have made understanding professional women authors particularly challenging. When one forwards an economics-first view of them, as is common in bibliography, that these women were culturally transgressive and (usually) legally separate entities from men is not explored.[29] When one forwards a gender-first view of them, as is common in feminist literary studies, there is an assumption of victimization that does not always map onto economic partnerships.

I argue that in the case of women's professional authorship, we must imagine a discourse that melds class and gender without automatically privileging one identity over the other. I approach Behn, Manley, and Haywood without assuming a marginal status, nor do I ignore their gender when analyzing how they interacted with the book trades. Their identities as women are just as important as their economic positions as producers of literature in a system that did not privilege their labor over that of stationers. Further, their identities as women were intimately woven into their identities as authors. In some cases, such as Behn, it was an antagonistic relationship between her authorial self and her feminine identity. For others like Haywood, there was more of a deliberate synergy. In every case, articulating gendered authorship as both writers and booksellers imagined it isolates the ways women were able to command attention in the marketplace.

As the following chapters will show, this approach dramatically revises our narratives of Behn, Manley, and Haywood and offers the beginnings of a publishing history of women's writing after the Restoration. Simultaneously, it suggests how understanding book history as a field steeped in economic histories can fruitfully provide a method of articulating women's book history as the dialogue of class and gender.

CHAPTER III

BY MRS. A. BEHN: THE AUTHOR, THE BOOKSELLERS, AND THE BOOKS OF APHRA BEHN

It is a story long told that Aphra Behn was the "first professional female writer" in England. This auspicious position is most famously articulated by Virginia Woolf who declared, "All women together ought to let flowers fall upon the tomb of Aphra Behn … for it was she who earned them the right to speak their minds."[30] Woolf's identification of Behn as the beginning of a history of women's writing has taken a foothold in both Behn scholarship and more widely in women's literary history. In a history of Behn's reception, Janet Todd notes that because of Vita Sackville-West and Woolf, "From now on Behn would routinely be termed England's first professional woman writer" (*Critical Fortunes*, 65).

Todd, writing in 1998, is correct that this characterization of Behn is "routine," and it has not changed in the last two decades. Todd uses similar language herself in *The Sign of Angellica* and *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* and does not contradict the narrative in *The Critical Fortunes of Aphra Behn.* It is routine to the extent that arguments are rarely geared toward solidifying Behn's status or establishing it. She just *is.* Critical sanctioning of Behn's status is emphasized in syntax, as scholars refer to it in subordinate clauses building toward greater interventions. Such examples come from Frances M. Kavenik: "It is tempting to consider Britain's first professional woman playwright, Aphra Behn, a feminist" (7); Catherine Gallagher: "To understand the first female authorial success, we must enumerate the many cultural desires [Behn] satisfies" (7); and Emily Bowles Smith: "As the first woman to earn her living by the pen, Behn was peculiarly and particularly invested in defining the profession of authorship" (3). It

is the starting point for a vast array of arguments, including those that argue this position was not as "vulnerable and marginal" as one might think (Hughes, *Theatre of Aphra Behn*, 6).[31]

What underscores each characterization of Behn is this idea of the "first" within a gendered narrative of women's writing. Perhaps because of the influence of Sackville-West and Woolf, Behn has been surrounded by a discourse of "firsts" that set her up as a transgressively feminine figure of rebirth, rebellion, and beginnings. Occasionally, she is the maternal figure of a new line. Critiques of this positioning of "firsts" have come from both within and without Behn studies. In addition to Derek Hughes' re-assessment of Behn as a key figure in the theatre instead of an outsider, Ezell's work emphasizes the long history of women's writing that predates Behn.[32] Additionally, Turner correctly notes that women published in great numbers in technical writing and non-fiction prior to and concurrent with Restoration women writing literature (26–27). So, what exactly Behn accomplished is much more narrow than the grand ideological narrative of women spontaneously breaking cultural boundaries in the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, there is still a scholarly investment in the idea of Behn as a break with tradition, the start of something new that influences what is to come. By positioning Behn as the first, scholars set her up to be an exception and therefore pursue narratives of difference and divergence. Accordingly, the most prominent themes are those of gendered Otherness and an isolated figure against entrenched masculine forces. Similar values tend to permeate narratives of women's writing that stem from Behn, which also often discuss women's writing as radical breaks with tradition—descriptions that are applied to both Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood.

The challenge is that this gendered narrative of Behn's relationships often overflows into a picture of Behn versus *all* partners in the literary marketplace. It creates conflict between authors and booksellers along lines that should not be explicitly

gendered. When studying Behn as a commercial author, feminist narratives tend to assume that any struggles she faced were automatically because she was a woman. They do not consider the general place of writers as an economic class within the book trades, especially in writers' relationship to booksellers. Until much later in the eighteenth century, it was accepted and understood that the balance of power fell toward the stationers and that books were collaborative, even if authors would at times lament their lack of control over the quality of their works.

Behn was certainly lower in the hierarchy by being an author and not a bookseller, but Maureen Bell argues that scholars often assume a bit too much when characterizing her relationships with her booksellers as a gendered power structure. In particular, Bell takes issue with Germaine Greer's characterization of booksellers' "literary pimping" of Behn's work (Greer 34). Greer's description underscores the sexualized nature of the exchange, of the male pimp in Samuel Briscoe pushing his female "product" into the market with little to no agency of the woman in question. Since the majority of Greer's analysis is after Behn's death, one can understand this characterization of Behn's (lack of) agency, to a degree. However lamentable Briscoe's actions are for the stability of Behn's canon (which will be discussed in detail below), they are not out of character for Restoration publishers who would routinely repackage, reprint, and rebrand old stock and texts to make a profit on what they had already invested in. Jacob Tonson also did this with Behn's plays in the 1690s. It is common practice, and, as Bell argues, not something that only happened to Behn because of her gender:

> What Greer describes as the immoral exploitation by unscrupulous men of a poor dead female author has *absolutely nothing* to do with Behn's sex, or for that matter the sex of her publishers. Moreover, it has little to do with any settled or modern view of authorship amongst her contemporaries. Rather, it demonstrates

an absolutely usual operation of the book trade, whereby publishers sought where possible to avoid risk and to ensure good sales. (15; emphasis in original)

Behn's work suffered the same fate as a large amount of Restoration printing: it lived many lives, not always the one that the author had intended but those that emphasized booksellers had legal control over the texts. While Behn's gender did influence certain aspects of her authorship, such as through her feminine persona, how she was printed and reprinted is instead a common story, something "absolutely usual." This is true during her life as well. Her imprints come out as regularly as it seems she was able to write, and from the scant available data it seems she was paid on par with others of her station (poorly). She works with largely well-established printers and booksellers. If we look at Behn in this way, there are few "firsts" to locate and instead quite a few continuations of standard practices.

Bell's repositioning of Behn's experiences as within the norms of the book trade points to the crucial ways that the female commercial author was influenced by her economic class and the legal and material realities of the trade in which she worked. It also highlights how her gender perhaps did not play the marginalizing role in the book trades that the narrative of Behn's authorship has assumed. By interpreting the class-based challenges that Behn experienced as gendered barriers, scholars have overreached by representing the book trades as sexist predators[33] and consequently have overlooked the ways that writing as a woman does seem to have influenced the creation of her books. I use Bell's contextually-grounded approach to Behn's posthumous career to resituate how she contracted with booksellers when she was alive, presupposing that she was always at a financial disadvantage and working within an economic system that was not otherwise hostile toward her presence. On the contrary, this chapter will show how the trade welcomed her. Removing the assumption that Behn's struggles as a writer were because of her gender clarifies how she and her booksellers collectively commodified

her Otherness by highlighting her socially transgressive feminine writing. This recasts Behn's rebellious authorial persona as a collaboration where booksellers authorize her approach and augment it through paratext, advertising, and graphic design. Their methods capitalize on Behn's identity as a woman writer and her authorial persona, sanctioning her choices as both parties work toward a collectively advantageous goal.

The following sections focus on two different goals that Behn and her booksellers pursued: one for fame and prestige and the other for financial compensation and political gain. The first is during her partnership with firms run by Richard and Jacob Tonson, with whom she published from roughly 1678–1684. The Tonsons were young but established booksellers who had familial connections in the trade and were actively interested in publishing popular and polite literature for a growing audience. The Tonsons established Behn's works as worthy of prestige, and her paratextual addresses and genre choices adjusted accordingly. Since most of the writers successful with the Tonsons were men, Behn's experience demonstrates how the intersection of class and gender inhibited her ability to establish herself within a publishing-patronage system that doubly punished her financial position. In contrast, the last section examines the years 1686–1689 when she worked with the Jacobite William Canning. These years are where her paratextual addresses are some of the most incendiary, including her infamous preface to *The Luckey Chance* in 1687 that declared "I am not content to write for a Third day only. I value Fame as much as if I had been born a Hero." The Canning years emphasize her inability to survive in a publishing system that privileged those with alternative incomes or literary appointments. Her struggles were certainly influenced by her gender, which inhibited her from gaining the kinds of posts that were open to Dryden, Thomas Shadwell, and her friend Nahum Tate.

This chapter positions Behn's experiences as a product of her economic class and the norms of book trade labor in order to clarify how her gender did influence her career.

Behn's identity as a woman professional author, beyond just a professional author, did not limit her ability to get published nor increase her vulnerability to predatory booksellers. Behn's challenges are at the intersection of economics and social identity, where being a woman prevents her from attaining political and institutional posts that would have replaced quickly dying patronage and supported her career. This reframing of Behn's career indicates that her most powerful disadvantages are not within a gendered dynamic of the book trade. Instead, these discussions situate Behn as an agent contracting with whomever she found to be the best partner for her changing goals. It also emphasizes how key booksellers were for establishing the space for women literary writers, financing their works and investing in the space for paratextual addresses that created marketable feminine identities. In sum, Behn's experiences should lead us to question to what degree women were Othered in the book trades and instead explore how a carefully crafted authorial identity positions them to be successful in ways that challenge the narrative of women as vulnerable.

Behn's Canon and Bibliographic History

Before being able to discuss Behn's collaborations with her booksellers, I must first outline which works I characterize as written by Aphra Behn, which is a harder task than it may first seem to be. As represented in Mary Ann O'Donnell's bibliography, Behn's canon is representative of all the ways that writers found their work into print. Her texts vary from a lack of evidence of her intention to print to situations where her solicitation of a bookseller is relatively certain. She worked collaboratively, solicited endorsements from colleagues, and contributed her own work both willingly and through happenstance or theft to a variety of different projects. She published anonymously and signed her own name; it is possible she used her initials. Taken collectively, all these factors indicate

that Behn's relationship to print is expectedly complex, and isolating moments of authorial intention is difficult. This is a particularly thorny topic when discussing author-publisher relationships, as creating a narrative means that one has to be reasonably sure that Behn was involved in the transaction.

To that end, the chapter follows a conservative set of parameters to pinpoint when Behn's involvement is likely. Fortunately, O'Donnell's bibliography traces dozens of instances of Behn's writing (or at the least writing linked to Behn) that has found its way into print. Using the second edition of this text as a reference, I isolated sixty-nine imprints between when it is believed she started publishing, with *The Amorous Prince* in 1671, and her death in 1689. This does not include any subsequent editions, as once Behn sold the copyright she would have no other say in how it was used afterward. From these sixty-nine imprints, the texts were included only if they fulfilled two criteria: published during her life or immediately after her death and signed by her or acknowledged through concrete information provided largely by Leah Orr. A significant amount—nearly half—of what is normally assigned to Behn was excluded, resulting in a drastic reduction in the number of texts. While Orr has provided a very useful chart as an update on the attribution of Eliza Haywood's works, no such succinct or extensive update yet exists for Behn.

Of the sixty-nine works, forty have potential for exploring Behn's relationships with her booksellers. These forty still have tricky attribution and contribution issues. The list includes works like *Young Jemmy* in 1681, where it is certain that the first four stanzas match with those in another signed Behn work. However, it is not certain if Behn is the author of *Young Jemmy,* if another author borrowed her lines, or if she borrowed from another's lines.[34] Thus they are considered but with reservations. The twenty-nine excluded works fall into four categories: booksellers' repackaging of existing imprints, texts where Behn is a contributor, posthumous work, and works with dubious attribution.

For the first, the individual imprints are included, but not when the bookseller re-packages them into a new collection. This excludes William Canning's *Three Histories* and Henry Playford's volume of poetry.[35] Behn contributes rather often to larger works, sometimes intentionally, such as her paraphrase in Dryden's translation of Ovid, and sometimes incidentally as when her songs and verses from plays are picked up by enterprising stationers and reprinted in works like *Windsor Drollery* and *Methinks the Poor Town.* Most of these are not in my analysis because Behn would have had no say over other booksellers pirating or cannibalizing parts of her texts, but because of the other figures involved, the Ovid translation plays a role in the Tonson section.

The last two excluded categories, posthumous works and dubious attribution, are the most controversial. As background, this part of Behn's canon is notoriously untrustworthy, in part as a consequence of the commonness of anonymous publication, in part because of her initials, and in part due to the opportunistic use of her name after her death. The exclusion of posthumous works is not remarkable, as it was not possible for her to negotiate contracts when she was not alive. There are also attribution issues with most of her posthumous works that help frame my omission of several others. All of the novels attributed to Behn in the 1690s were published by Briscoe and in Greer's words are "spurious" (41). Greer argues that Briscoe's eight novels are him attempting "to trade his way out of the wreck of his fortunes by exploiting the name and reputation of Aphra Behn" (41). It is indeed highly unlikely that Behn wrote them and did not publish them during her lifetime given her financial need. There are two other posthumous works. I include *The Widdow Ranter* as it was published in 1690, and it is possible she had already sold the copyright before her death. I exclude *The Younger Brother* for many of the same reasons as the other posthumous works. Its 1696 publication is many years after Behn's death, there is probably no relationship between

her and the bookseller to investigate, and Todd surmises that Charles Gildon, who "edited" the Briscoe novels, altered and published it himself (*Secret Life*, 336–7).

As this brief history of issues with Behn's attribution indicates, there is still some controversy over isolating with a satisfactory amount of certainty what she wrote. Greer's condemnation of the Briscoe novels has largely taken hold, but Orr meticulously argues more scrutiny is necessary. In response, I exclude five works based on unstable attribution. *Covent Garden Drollery* and *The Debauchee* are already considered as only possibly written by Behn.[36] A third is based on Orr's arguments, and I extend her reasoning to exclude two more. Orr argues that scholars have not taken seriously enough the likelihood that Behn did not write *Love-Letters Between a Noble-man and His Sister*, one of the most popular prose works of this period. Orr continues that this work is attributed to Behn because of the author initials provided, A.B., as well as that it fills a convenient gap in Behn's career. She summarizes:

> Circumstantial evidence for *Love-Letters* might include the fact that Behn was having money difficulties and was having trouble selling her plays by the mid-1680s, as evidenced from her letter borrowing money from [Jacob] Tonson, and that her previous plays and poems indicate that she might have the literary skill to execute *Love-Letters*. (43)

Looking at Behn's publication patterns affirms Orr's conclusions. The stationer behind *Love-Letters* was Joseph Hindmarsh, and there is no indication Behn would have been working with other booksellers in the mid-1680s. If Jacob Tonson was one of the original financiers—which is possible but if so he is unlisted on the first volume—it is unclear why he would not add her name after her death. He was simultaneously reprinting many of her plays and clearly knew her commercial capabilities.

The initials "A.B." as an erroneous indicator for "Aphra Behn" is why I also propose we look at two of Behn's imprints with the same level of heightened scrutiny

that Orr has used for Haywood and Behn's prose fiction. These are *The History of Oracles* and *Poet Bavius,* both 1688 publications. It is a wonderful bit of bad luck that Aphra Behn's initials are A.B., as Todd explains that, similarly to Anon., "A. B. is precisely what anyone might call him or herself when not wanting to be recognized or when insisting on standing for a group or for everyone" (*Editing Aphra Behn,* 313). A similar practice has been noted by Michael Treadwell, who detailed how A.B. is often used by trade publishers (124). Orr demonstrates how scholars including O'Donnell and Jane Spencer use the A.B. initials to connect Behn to titles that may not be hers. While we do not have complete evidence Behn did *not* write these texts, we do not have any evidence she did, either. Similarly to *Love-Letters*, *History of Oracles* and *Poet Bavius* have been attributed to Behn because of the use of A.B. *Poet Bavius* is a royalist political text and thus within Behn's ideology, but there are no other indicators she wrote the poem. In fact, the designation "Published for the Author" is a factor against her authorship, as it is well known that in 1688 she was in dire financial straits and unlikely to have been able to self-publish her work.

History of Oracles also has no markers of Behn's name during her life. It is a translation of Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's work, a task Behn had undertaken that same year when she produced *A Discovery of New Worlds.* No doubt a translation of the same author makes some suggestions of Behn's authorship, coupled with the A.B. on the dedication and that Briscoe published a reprint in 1699 with the designation "Made English by Mrs. Behn." However, as we have seen, any authorship solely resting on Briscoe's attributions is suspicious at best. There are material differences between *Discovery* and *Oracles* that cast doubt on the attribution as well. *Discovery* has Behn's name on the title page, uses a bookseller with whom she had a documented relationship, and includes a lengthy, signed preface that commented on the contents and the nature of translation. *History of Oracles* is an anonymously published and printed work and

nothing more than an A.B. on the dedication. In addition, there were several different translations of Fontenelle coming out at the time,[37] so Behn was not the only author interested in translating his work. While one could argue that there is no evidence that Behn did *not* translate this work, collectively there is not enough information to solidly say that she did, either. As this overview of Behn's imprints indicates, there are significant areas of publishing history and attribution practices that need further analysis. Despite Todd's early identification that texts such as *Love-Letters* are likely not written by Behn, she and many others still regularly connect the books to Behn without caveats or qualifications. The result is that the impact of many articles and studies is reduced when they center on Behn as the author of works she probably had no hand in.

In the following sections, I explore how a reduced canon eliminates some of the "noise" around Behn's authorship and publication practices. Figure 1 shows the global view of her choices. The smaller set of forty imprints that I consider represents only one way that Behn's writing found its way into print, but it is nevertheless illuminating for locating her intentions and comparing her works to other imprints with an increased level of security that they are hers.

Building Prestige: Publishing with the Tonsons

From 1678–84, Aphra Behn's primary publishers were Richard and Jacob Tonson, booksellers and brothers who ran separate shops at Gray's Inn Gate and the Judge's Head, respectively. For four years, until 1682, they were her only booksellers. It marked a rare period in Behn's career where she did not seek out multiple booksellers but stayed relatively monogamous within a stable partnership. The Tonsons were responsible for five of Behn's single-author imprints, with Richard appearing on four and Jacob on five. She also contributed to John Dryden's translation of *Ovid's Epistles*, which both brot

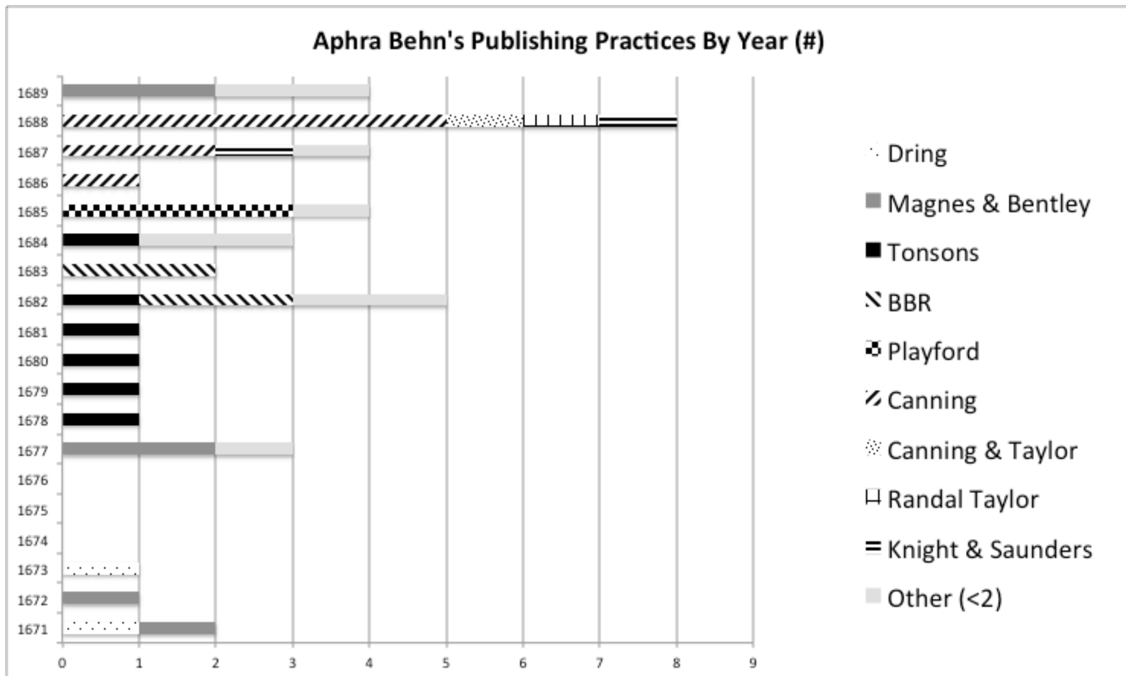

Figure 1: Graph of Aphra Behn's publishing practices organized by year

hers financed. Richard's relatively early death (1700) and Jacob's influence on the professionalization of literary publishing more widely means that the younger brother's legacy has far eclipsed the elder's. Accordingly, this section focuses more specifically on Jacob's influence on Behn's reputation and legacy, as he held the copyright of several of her works and was more actively involved with building a literary reputation than his brother. Jacob is commonly referred to as Jacob the Elder or Jacob I, as his nephew and nephew's son both shared his given name and later his business practice.[38] Jacob was a bookseller, printer, and publisher who dabbled widely but is known for his work in literary publishing.

Although Jacob has been studied for his impressive reputation in the eighteenth century, when he worked with Behn he was just freed from his apprenticeship and opening a new shop at the Judge's Head. Behn was one of his first literary imprints, predating his 1679 publication of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida,* which marked the

beginning of their much-studied relationship. Given that much of the scholarship on Jacob is occupied with either his publication of Shakespeare or relationship with Dryden, what is known about him forms an interesting backdrop against his relationship with Behn. In this section, I examine the Tonsons' impact on the up-and-coming Behn's imprints, which include four plays and her first volume of collected poetry. Considering Jacob's letters with Dryden as a way to understand the bookseller's philosophy about literary publishing more broadly, I argue that Jacob represented a socially legitimizing partnership for both he and Behn. Jacob gave Behn a (assumedly) fair-paying partnership with a bookseller who valued her output. For Richard and Jacob, Behn was the kind of successful and marketable playwright they could make a profit off of. She also fit within Jacob's wider goals of establishing his literary reputation and building a canon of great English literature. The kinds of imprints Behn produces with the Tonsons are unique in her career and more directly play at the kind of polite, elite literature that would give her the fame she claimed was her ultimate goal.

Jacob ran a unique business in the sense that we know much more about him than the vast majority of his contemporaries. His papers and letters have been carefully preserved in archives, primarily the British Library, Bodleian Library, and the Folger Shakespeare Library. He kept meticulous records with a relatively clean hand, copying responses from correspondence together and follow-up payments on contracts are added and dated with regularity. Personally, he has been the subject of an impressive number of studies that include two book-length biographies. This interest is partially because he made quite an impression: it is said that he was a "grotesque person whose appearance is said to have resembled that of a deformed bullfrog" (Geduld 3). He is also engaging because he was a founding member of the Whig Kit-Kat Club and a financially successful bookseller. He made a good deal of important connections and friends that would solidify his reputation. Fellow stationer John Dunton reports that he was, "a very

good judge of persons and authors; and as there is nobody more competently qualified to give their opinion of another, so there is none who does it with a more severe exactness or with less partiality; for, to do Mr. Tonson justice, he speaks his mind upon all occasions, and will flatter nobody" (216).

Dunton's picture of Jacob's personality and business practices has persisted—he is explored as one of the most "competently qualified" booksellers and judges of character, as well as someone a bit stingy, or by another expression, exact and fair. He famously quarreled with Dryden about the number of lines the poet was producing, and one of the only surviving letters from Behn's publishing years is a plea to Jacob to ask Richard for an extra £5.[39] For all the occasional grumbling of Behn and Dryden, Jacob maintained a long series of profitable relationships for both author and bookseller. He was, indeed, a good judge of literary merit and potential profit. This attitude grew what Stephen Bernard has called "one of the most significant publishing houses of the eighteenth century" ("Establishing a Publishing Dynasty," 157). As just one indicator, when Jacob's copyrights were eventually sold in 1767, they fetched £10,000.[40] He published a significant number of prominent literary authors, both male and female, as well as foundational figures from the Renaissance. Bernard, who is completing a bibliography of his entire firm's imprints,[41] lists Jacob's authors as Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton along with: "Joseph Addison, Aphra Behn, [William] Congreve, [John] Dryden, John Hughes, [Katherine] Phillips, [Alexander] Pope, Matthew Prior, Richard Steele, George Stepney, and John Vanbrugh" ("Herringman, Tonson, Dryden," 276). This impressive list has garnered a similarly impressive number of laurels for the stationer. Harry M. Geduld characterizes Jacob as the "Prince of Publishers;" Bernard credits him with "Establishing a Publishing Dynasty;" and Ophelia Field credits the Kit-Kat Club as those who "Imagined a Nation." His prominence as the literary publisher to

the elite was known in his own time as well. In 1709, Wycherley famously wrote to Pope that "Jacob's ladder" could "raise you to immortality" (Pope 40).

Wycherley's promise to Pope follows because of the success Jacob had with his Restoration playwrights, particularly Dryden and Congreve. Much has been said about the collaboration between Dryden and Jacob, and this is because it was indeed an extraordinary relationship. Both men made a significant amount of money and had a similar philosophy about how the press could be used to create "great" literature. It is also remarkable that so much of their correspondence survives, as it gives one of the most in-depth looks at the relationship between bookseller and author. What we see from the Jacob imprints of Dryden and their correspondence was that Jacob positions himself as a different kind of bookseller. Bernard explains that "Tonson can be seen to be the first modern publisher in the sense of a publisher not only being a traditional bookseller publishing books, but also being a literary agent, promoting a literary *oeuvre*" ("Herringman, Tonson, Dryden," 274). Bernard isolates that Jacob accomplished this feat through edited collections, miscellanies, and published volumes of an author's works. The Tonson-Dryden miscellanies have been isolated as early canon building, the start of "national" literature (McKenzie 229). Jacob also produced collections of Congreve's work while the author was still living, which was the subject of some of D. F. McKenzie's most famous essays on the genesis of book history from historical bibliography. McKenzie argues that the Congreve/Tonson relationship was "a new and intimate form of teamwork between author and editor, bookseller and printer" where Jacob's use of typography, page design, and illustrations in a four volume collected works highlighted Congreve's attempts to elevate his writing (227).

What is particularly interesting about this history is that Jacob published Behn before Dryden and Congreve. Though she was one of his first imprints, and scholars have yet to examine the possible effect this could have on building the kind of business

that would have attached Dryden or Congreve to Jacob's firm. Behn's early imprints give us evidence for how Jacob, usually working with his brother Richard, began forming what would become his public identity and brand. Much of our picture of Jacob that has endured is what he purposefully constructed over the course of his career. However, when he was publishing Behn he was just starting out in the trade. While there may have been glimmers of the ideology he would cultivate, he did not yet command the respect of literary authors, nor can we definitively say he approached publishing from the beginning with the idea of creating the great English canon. He could have had some inklings of this idea in the 1670s,[42] but all we know for sure is that he was trying to create his brand, and Behn was one of the authors that helped him establish himself as a bookseller of popular playwrights and poets.

Behn's first imprint with the Tonsons is *Sir Patient Fancy* in 1678. Before this, she had been publishing with a smattering of different firms and had just come off the very successful *The Rover* in 1677. *The Rover* was published with John Amery, which was his only Behn imprint. She had also produced plays with Thomas Dring and James Magnes and his partner Richard Bentley, a firm that often printed plays and novels. Amery, Dring, and Magnes were all well-known and established publishers, and through them Behn had produced a total of six plays. She was, as Deborah C. Payne has characterized it, "a proven box office hit by the end of the seventies" (109). With the newly minted success of *The Rover,* she would have "secured her theatrical reputation" (O'Donnell, "Documentary Record," 6), and it seems she also secured ready booksellers in the Tonsons, who were interested in both cheap literature and more expensive fine volumes.

We do not know who courted whom in the relationship, but it seems it would have been mutually beneficial. Payne theorizes that "such a connection may have been far more lucrative than previous ones" (109). Considering anecdotal and recorded

evidence, it is possible but not necessarily a given. Dunton's characterization of Tonson's "severe exactness" seems to indicate he was a liberal man. Most evidence suggests he was unerringly fair in his payments and would not increase them because of an author's personal reputation, which has proven true for both Dryden and Behn.[43] Behn would have been sure of a supply of money for her plays but not one that was substantially greater than others. What both Richard and Jacob did offer was working with a firm that approached drama publication with a contemporary view of marketing tactics and an appreciation of how to capitalize on what individual authors brought to their work.

Although most of the scholarship on Behn's imprints emphasizes Jacob—a move that I also make in this chapter—since Jacob was freed at the end of 1677, it is likely Richard was the primary partner, and indeed his name always appears before his brother's on shared imprints. The order could have been anything from denoting who put up more of the financial backing to a simple nod to familial hierarchy. What is certain is that Richard was more prominent in the 1670s. Geduld argues that it was Richard, not Jacob, who initially pulled in Behn and many of her contemporaries as "[a]t the outset, Richard was more fortunate than his brother; he was more prosperous and evidently more attractive in person and manner than Jacob" (7). Richard's familiarity with popular drama, including Sir William Davenant and Thomas Otway, is evident on the design of Behn's title page. *Sir Patient Fancy* bears the marks of an author who was beginning to build a following based on her work and a publisher who was eager to capitalize on her current moment. The title page reads, "Written by Mrs. A. Behn, the Author of the Rover" which is the only time during her life that Behn's author line invokes a past work. Capital italics are used for both "Behn" and "Rover" which draw the eye to Behn and her work—a deliberate choice as the original play was published anonymously.

The other paratext of *Sir Patient Fancy* also bears the marks of booksellers familiar with the selling points of popular drama. Restoration booksellers would often have significant paratext with quarto drama by including prologues, epilogues, cast lists, dedications, and authorial addresses. Diana Solomon notes that there were specific trends within this broader shift, as well. She argues that booksellers "most often reprinted the prologues and epilogues delivered at the play premiere, thus giving readers the option to interpret the play alongside them as initial theater audiences might have done" (5). The Tonsons were some of the firms that habitually included prologues and epilogues, and often they read as if the play is being first introduced. They extended the practice even further by including the names of the actors who delivered the dialogue with these printed addresses. Only two of Behn's previous imprints had the speakers assigned to the prologue and epilogue, with both featuring the play's character as the speaker rather than the actor.[44] The Tonsons include actors' names in some fashion on all four plays: each includes at least one prologue or epilogue with the actor's name instead of either using the character's name or leaving the speaker blank. Two have both prologue and epilogue marked by their speakers. For *Sir Patient Fancy*, this meant that "Spoken by Mr. Betterton" accompanied the prologue, even though readers would have to turn the page to see who Thomas Betterton was in the play (the aptly named Wittmore). The Tonsons' decisions indicate that they believed privileging the actors above the characters was good business. Just as playwrights designed roles for their celebrity actors, most prologues and epilogues were designed for specific speakers and would playfully interact with the actor's public persona and gossip (Solomon 4). Tonson and other publishers quickly learned that the same economic motivations of playwrights could work for print publications, and by the end of the century including speakers was more common than not and even persisted on reprints for decades after the initial performance.

The Tonsons were also part of a general movement toward attaching cast lists and the names of the actors at the theatre's production. It was booksellers' way of accessing celebrity culture and further creating the picture of what happened when the play was acted at the theatre. All of Behn's early imprints include cast lists, but many of her first publications did not feature the names of actors.[45] In contrast, all of the Tonson publications include these names next to their assigned roles, which the Tonsons maintained on reprints. Their decision to highlight Betterton over Wittmore is effective because they use a cast list to explain who Betterton is.[46] It is also worth noting that instead of *Dramatis Personae* or another variant during this time period the Tonsons favored "Actors Names" as the title of the cast list, emphasizing that they were explaining not the characters of the play, but who was playing them.[47] Through the stratagems of the Tonsons, *Sir Patient Fancy* was significantly intertextual and referential and indicates the kind of modern play publication that the Tonsons employed. It connected the author to her successful work and the play to its marketable performers and contexts.

It is not surprising that Behn and the Tonsons also choose to include an authorial address on *Sir Patient Fancy* that addresses the play's reception at the theatre and creates another textual connection between the play and its performance. The epistle titled "To the Reader" was Behn's third such address, the second of any significant length. Similarly to the strategy she used in her "Good, Sweet, Honey, Sugar-candied Reader" preface from *The Dutch Lover* in 1673, Behn addresses audience critiques related to the play's performance and connects their negative reactions to her gender. She criticizes that "from a Woman it was unnaturall" to write bawdy plays when the same content is "the least and most Excusable fault in the Men writers." She ends with her characteristic brashness, declaring that "The Play had no other Misfortune but that of coming out for a Womans" and putting in bare terms the reality of her career: "forced to write for Bread

and not ashamed to own it, and consequently ought to write to please (if she can) an Age which has given several proofs it was by the way of writing to be obliged."

The rhetorical power of this preface has been the subject of much scholarship on Behn's authorship and women's writing more generally. As Catherine Gallagher argues, this preface is an indication of a larger trend where women "relentlessly embraced and feminized" authorship rather than "disavowing remunerative authorship as unfeminine" (xiii). In addition to any ideological motivations for such strategies, they did so because it helped them "gain financial advantage" (xiii). Gallagher's characterization of the similarities between authorship and the feminine for Behn is the author-whore (14), which Behn invokes when she writes that she ought to please if she can. The general argument is that Behn knew that providing pleasure for her audiences meant it associated her with prostitution, the profession of pleasure, and highlighted rather than avoided this relationship. This narrative has become centralized through Gallagher, Todd, Spencer, and Jacqueline Pearson. Each firmly locates the whore figure as Behn employing a tool, a rhetorical position, and a cultural figure.

The "whorish" quality of Behn's preface must also be understood as a function of her booksellers. Although they are not often depicted as such, booksellers who printed popular literature like drama were also in the business of providing pleasure to their customers. They could produce literature from a variety of motivations, but ultimately if it did not sell, they would go out of business. Under the guise of a defense of her work and her profession, the preface is also a powerful marketing tool that emphasizes the uniqueness of the play—that it comes from a woman's hand. That is, it was in Behn's economic interest to articulate her feelings about women's authorship in a way that creates space for her work. Simultaneously, it was in the booksellers' interest to publish this preface because it may help the printed work sell better as the author's personality and reputation differentiates the work in a crowded market. Even as Behn couches her

arguments in personal terms, they are always authorized by her booksellers and mutually economically motivated. She declares that writing for bread is "below me," but she also includes this statement in a preface that is designed to make her work more successful. She is, as Danielle Bobker has characterized, "a writer who is at once socially constructed, and aware and in control of her own construction" (33). This awareness and control is not only Behn's, but also the Tonsons', who design complementary paratextual references.

The other three play imprints with the Tonsons adopt similar methods as *Sir Patient Fancy*. Shortly after, the brothers produced *The Feign'd Curtizans* in 1679, followed by *The Second Part of the Rover*. The latter had a second edition the same year. Their last play with Behn was *A Farce Call'd the False Count* in 1682, which only Jacob produced. The Tonson imprints saw Behn's first authorial dedication—to Nell Gwynn with *The Feign'd Curtizans*—and consistent references to the context of the play on the title page, as above noted. Behn evidently found this relationship suitable, as she did not seek another publisher until 1682. The Tonsons must have seen the appeal as well, as Behn was one of several prominent playwrights they courted and published as they built their brand as the printers of English literature, both popular and polite.

Polite literature is closer to the non-dramatic publications that round out Behn's Tonson imprints. In particular with the last two titles, Jacob's role in creating Behn's career comes to the fore in ways more attuned to the ways that he would become famous later in his career. The Tonsons produced a poetic translation and a volume of poetry for Behn in the 1680s, the former by Jacob alone and the latter collectively. The first was a collaboration with Dryden and indicated Behn's first entrance into the world of "polite" literature that was more akin to writing for glory rather than bread even as she was most certainly paid for her work. Here she enters into Dryden's philosophy about professional writing, which was to embrace rather than eschew the press for its ability to reach the

masses. The second imprint of poems cements of this new aspect of her persona, the classical Astrea, that persisted even as she was forced later to slip back into "A. Behn."

The translation of Ovid's epistles was spearheaded by Dryden and published in 1680. It was one of the miscellanies and translations that Dryden and Jacob would become famous for, and for which Dryden would be paid handsomely in the 1690s after they had built a reputation and following. The epistles were "Translated by Several Hands" with a preface written by Dryden that discusses the content of the letters, the history of Ovid, and the nature of Latin translation. Near the end, he comments, "I was desired to say that the Authour who is of the Fair Sex, understood not Latine, but if she does not, I am afraid she has given us occasion to be asham'd who do" ("The Preface"). Behn was the only female author and, as far as we know, did not know Latin, so the qualification that hers was an "Imitation" instead of a translation was understandable. In addition, Behn's character of Oenone is one of the "lower" characters, which Dryden argues that Ovid creates in the image of "a Country Life" ("The Preface"). Despite this note, it seems that Behn's translation needed additional qualifications, as the second edition changed the title and added another "far more faithful" translation of the same letter (Heavey 314). The title in the table had been unmarked in the first edition, but in the second it is listed as "A Paraphrase on *Oenone to Paris*." Behn is the only author besides Dryden himself that is singled out in the preface, giving her contribution additional praise while also qualifying its form.

Behn's inclusion in the epistles is curious, considering that she did not know the language of translation, was a woman, and had not attempted translation previously that we are aware. Katherine Heavey observes that "Female translators of classical works, let alone of Ovid, were scarce indeed, even into the eighteenth century" (315), which makes Behn's translation remarkable. Heavey argues that Behn's inclusion could be because "having a well-known female author contribute to the collection might underscore its

respectability (even if Dryden is not entirely serious in this focus on the female reader, and even if Behn's own sexual reputation was somewhat dubious)" (315). That is, Dryden argued his collection was appropriate for female readers, and a female writer would help him access that market even if only in name. Jane Spencer suggests that her inclusion was at the prompting of Dryden and "an indication she had gained some recognition among those she liked to think of as her brother poets" (24–25). While either of these are probable reasons as to why Behn was included in the work, I would like to offer another alternative—that Jacob prompted the decision. At the least, Jacob would have had to approve Behn's contribution, but the contradictions between Dryden's treatise on translation and Behn's own approach suggests that Jacob was the primary instigator.

Dryden's preface argues for a style of translation that is opposed to the one Behn adopts. Imitation is characterized as separate from the original author, something that can "no longer be call'd their work, when neither the thought nor the words are drawn from the Original: but instead of them there is something new produc'd, which is almost the creation of another hand" ("The Preface"). Behn's epistle, under this definition, would be her work rather than a true translation. Although the evidence is slight, Dryden's language in the preface also seems to be reluctantly adding his notes about Behn. Before his compliments, he notes that "I was desir'd to say," which implies another requested this information be added into the preface. It could have been Behn, who only agreed to the translation if it was characterized in terms she was comfortable with. Or, just as likely, it could have been Tonson who wanted to include Behn but was aware of her linguistic limitations. This moment of obscured authority is slight, but added to the fact that Dryden and Behn are at odds on their methodology for translation, it is clear that something must have prompted her inclusion that was not Dryden's classical sensibilities. This "something" could certainly be Heavey's argument that Behn

allowed Dryden to specifically play at a female readership, something he does note at the beginning of his preface. Another possibility is that Behn was one of Jacob's successful authors who was capable of writing pleasing verse and would give him another uncommon hand to include in the volume. While Behn's contribution may have been at odds with Dryden's philosophy about translations, it would not have been in conflict with Jacob's desire to make the volume profitable and interesting to his customers. Dustin Griffin argues that having more authors appealed to booksellers like Jacob who could "receive copy faster if many hands were at work simultaneously" (54). In addition to expediency, Behn would have added a particular layer of novelty given the rarity of female translations of classical editions. Her popularity was at its peak during her life, and her "brand" that Jacob had helped develop would have been a factor as well.

That the prompting of Behn's inclusion was Jacob, not Dryden, is given further weight by the fact that this was the only time Behn would attempt such work. Behn did other translations, discussed as part of her work with Canning, but they were from the French, which it seems she did know. She and Dryden seemed to remain friendly, as they had occasional minor collaborations, such as when Dryden wrote the prologue and epilogue for *The Widdow Ranter* in 1689. They did not enter into another extensive project again, which could be because Behn stopped publishing with the Tonsons in 1684. Without their mutual connection, Behn slipped away from such publishing and took a different route.

As for why Behn participated when it would have opened her up to some censure, I believe that this was part of a larger desire for lasting fame and an audience for the kind of polite literature that had before remained separate from her style of writing. As she argues in the preface to *The Dutch Lover*, her education was not equal to that of her male peers ("Epistle to the Readers"). In the same piece, she declares the art of "pleasing" within the bounds of women as well as men, something even better

accomplished by those who were not dulled by “that which bears the name of Learning” (“Epistle to the Reader”). Her persona was a mixture of the transgressive assertion that pleasing was not the realm of men and envy for the “gentlemen amateurs” who had the luxury of writing for glory (Hughes, *Theatre of Aphra Behn*, 6). She emphasized this aspect of her persona again in *Sir Patient Fancy* and would continue to do so for the duration of her career. Participating in the Dryden translation, then, could be her opportunity to attach herself to the kind of prestigious volume that was normally outside of her reach due to education and status.

The argument that Jacob was helping Behn with her quest for a lasting legacy prompts us to look in a new light at their last confirmed collaboration *Poems Upon Several Occasions: With a Voyage to the Island of Love*. The collection was published in 1684 by both Richard and Jacob and was the most expensive volume Behn had yet produced in her career. Rather than the cheap quarto plays the Tonsons had done for her previously, this was designed as an object of significance and importance. Such volumes were what Jacob produced regularly, as his work with Dryden and Congreve emphasizes. Jacob’s persistence in producing these volumes of single-authored poetry is atypical, for while booksellers were responsible for instigating “most of the original poetry of the period,” it was usually through miscellany (Griffin 63). Several factors suggest it was Jacob who prompted Behn in this endeavor. It is Behn’s first volume of poetry, which is a notable shift for an author who had primarily relied on drama for her living. Although she had provided dedications and verses regularly, this collection was designed to elevate her work and implicitly invoked Katherine Philips. Multiple dedications refer to Orinda, Philips’s classical pseudonym, as they invoke Behn’s Astrea. This is far from the first or only time that Astrea would be placed alongside Orinda (or Sappho), but invoking Orinda while Behn is styling herself as a classical muse is an effective marketing technique. The Tonsons include several of the mainstays

of single-author poetry volumes, including 12 pages of dedicatory poems and a frontispiece on the title page—a luxurious use of paper and commissioned artwork. The portrait was "quite sober," a picture of Behn as the thoughtful and pensive poet (Salzman 206). This prefatory material would increase the price of the volume. While quarto plays were typically a shilling, this volume is listed in the *Term Catalogues* as 2s 6d bound. The readers of fine poetry would be a different kind of audience than Behn was used to, but one that Tonson was assiduously courting through such books as Dryden's translation of Ovid.

Although the Tonsons were helping position the book as a prestigious volume of poetry, Behn's previous authorial persona is not wholly abandoned. Even with a volume of amorous poetry, Behn's persona engages with the political debates of the time. She includes a dedication, offering the volume to James Cecil, Fourth Earl of Salisbury, who was a young royalist peer. Salisbury was a Tory who would eventually be imprisoned for treason for siding with James II after the Glorious Revolution. In addition to her typical invocation of the royalist cause, the dedication also persists in the narrative of her writing as modest work that she is forced to print due to her economic circumstances. She begs Salisbury to "accept this Little Piece, which lazy Minutes begot and hard Fate has oblig'd me to bring forth into the censuring World" ("Epistle Dedicatory"). Even when publishing a fine volume, Behn characteristically claims that "hard Fate" or her having to write for bread force her to publish her work. This assertion takes on new meaning within the Tonson poetry volume, which packages her plea with the same draping as her genteel feminine ancestry. As a useful foil, Philips only published her poetry once an unauthorized edition was produced—and even then, it was posthumously published, keeping her modest persona intact.[48] Here, Behn also keeps her persona intact, although it is somewhat at odds with the social situation her collaboration with Tonson aspired to.

This last volume of the Tonsons has provoked a good deal of speculation in studies of Behn's publishing career about why this collaboration ceased. The mid-1680s are puzzling, because we are still unsure how she made her living given her scant publishing history. What anonymous writing she did or did not do keeps this answer a secret, for now. What is known is that Behn was probably disappointed by the payment she received from the Tonsons for the poetry. In an oft-quoted letter, Behn writes to Jacob:

> I shou'd really have though 'em worth thirty pound; and I hope you will find it worthy twenty-five; not that I shou'd dispute at any other time for 5 pound wher I am so obleeged; but you can not think what a preety thing the Island will be, and what a deal of labor I shall have yet with it… pray speak to your Brother to advance the price to one five pound more, 'twill at this time be more then given me, and I vow I wou'd not loose my time in such low gettings, but only since I am about it I am resolv'd to go throw with it tho I shou'd give it … good deare Mr. Tonson, let it be 5 pound more, for I may safely swere I have lost the getting of 50 pounds by it … but I have been without getting so long that I am just on the point of breaking, especially since a body has no credit as the Playhouse as we used to have, fifty or 60 deepe, or more; I want extremely or I wo'd not urge this. (qtd. in Todd, *Secret Life*, 315)

I have quoted this letter at length because, in light of the narrative I have built of the Tonsons elevating Behn's literature (as she writes that she wants), it reveals much about why Behn probably did leave them in 1684. The usual conclusion tends to focus on the pleas that Behn has in the letter, which emphasize her poverty and lack of agency in her career. Both Greer and Todd observe that it has the same notes of Behn's letters to Charles II when she was in debt from her spy days. Robert Markley characterizes Behn's pleading for money against the eventual Whig Tonson as parallel to Behn's plays when

she pits “attractive Tory rakes, desperately in need of money, against older, hypocritical, typically impotent, and invariably greedy Whigs” (147). In almost all characterizations, Jacob is the greedy male bookseller who unfairly withholds money from the poor female authoress, who claims she has “lost the getting of 50 pounds.”

While aspects of this narrative could be true, none correctly characterize the standard payments for such volumes. As a pointed example, Jacob paid Dryden a rather exorbitant £20 for *Troillus and Cressida,* and this sum is about four times what Judith Milhous and Hume estimate was the going rate for quarto plays. Twenty pounds was far more than Behn was probably paid by any bookseller for her work up to this point. The difference, as Behn emphasizes herself, is the change in the literary market by 1684. Bell proves this point when she argues that while the letter proves Behn’s financial difficulties, it “is not necessarily the fault of those to whom she turns for help or, in the altered conditions of the 1680s, necessarily anything to do with her being female” (14). The “altered conditions” of the 1680s are the uniting of the theatre companies in 1682, which contributed to a general poverty of the playwrights who were not Dryden. Without benefit nights, she was more reliant on booksellers’ payments: Behn acknowledges that she would not be asking for such “low gettings” except that her stature at the playhouse has diminished. Behn did not command the £50 for her volumes that Dryden did, but her authorial output was not the same type as Dryden’s either. Dryden’s case was extraordinary for both men and women, and he was by most records one of the best-compensated authors of the Restoration. Behn’s £20 or £25 pounds (we do not know if she was additionally compensated by Richard) may not have been what she desired, but it was a substantial and typical payment for a bookseller to give an author for a longer work.

Bell’s identification that Behn’s poverty was not the fault of her booksellers should shift our narrative to look more widely for why Behn left Tonson in the 1680s

and ended her career with William Canning. A quarrel seems unlikely, especially because Jacob would go on to co-produce volumes of Aphra Behn's plays after her death, publishing them in 1702 with Richard Wellington. Collected works of an author new-printed were rare, and as Maureen Bell argues, "it is a sign of Behn's marketability – the power of her brand name, if you like – that volumes of her 'collected works' not only appeared in the first place but also swelled in size in the years immediately following her death" (15). These works show how Tonson not only valued his work with Behn but reinvested in it. Therefore, it is possible to set aside the question of a disagreement, and when that is done a much simpler scenario emerges: Behn switched booksellers because she changed literary approaches, and Jacob was no longer the correct partner for the kind of career she was forced to pursue.

While Behn starts working with other booksellers before 1684 in partnerships that need further exploration,[49] I argue that the real "end" of her relationship with the Tonsons is the 1684 *Poems*. Given her marked change away from drama, it is possible to interpret her pleas to Jacob as not the berating of a spurned author, but the realization of a woman who is relying on print publishing for her income for the first time. The kind of publishing she was doing with the Tonsons was what she had written that she wanted: fine volumes, laurels, and classical framing. However, the stark reality of how little that lifestyle paid without a patron or an independent fortune became clear as Behn finished the volume (one could imagine a conversation between Behn and Dryden where the latter emphasized the importance of careful contracts *before* the writing was done). The result of this realization could be Behn's shift to short novels, French translations, and new booksellers. She would have needed a new publisher not just because the Tonsons did not pay Behn what she thought the volume was worth but because they were not known for novels. Geduld has argued that "after the Restoration, the Tonsons refused to publish prose fiction or works of religious import; moreover the social status and

plebeian interests of such writers were beneath the dignity of rising Whig publishers who identified themselves with the literary taste of the aristocracy" (10–11). This is not entirely true. Jacob's name is on the second and third volumes of *Love-Letters*, which is a notorious scandal fiction. In addition, the Tonsons demonstrably published popular literature of all kinds, not just ones that agreed with their Whig sensibilities or had the "dignity" worthy of the rising middle class. But it is true that the kinds of novels Behn would write were not conducive to the majority of the Tonsons' productions, and they were a stark change from the kind of polite literature she had been creating with Jacob. Given her new approach to the marketplace, a change in bookseller is also logical.

The next section will discuss with more length who Behn changes to and the career she pursued after the Tonsons, but before moving on, let us return to Dryden once more. While Behn was economically forced to abandon "Jacob's ladder" to fame in 1684, Dryden was not. Dryden maintained a relationship with the playhouses that assured him performances even after the consolidation of the companies, and he also had married into a small fortune. He benefited from subscription publishing, patronage, and royal appointments before the Glorious Revolution. In short, his financial situation was much more secure and stable than Behn's. He was also much more learned, a savvy negotiator with his publisher-patron, and had access to the kinds of social institutions that Behn did not. While I do not want to characterize Behn as the female Dryden (nor Dryden as the male Behn), it is highly suggestive that when beginning on the same footing, at the same time, with the same bookseller, only one was able to maintain the course to literary immortality and the other forced to bow to economic incentives. Behn did earn her own kind of fame, and her work is now appropriately considered in the Restoration. But, rather than characterizing the Tonsons as predatory publishers, we should instead consider the Tonson years as the closest Behn comes to achieving what she wrote that she desired. It may have been a failed experiment, but it was so because of

larger cultural and economic changes, not because of the failings of the writer or the bookseller.

<u>Radical Experimentation: Behn and William Canning</u>

The end of Behn's life was a period of "extraordinary output," one motivated not solely by artistic desire but "feverish literary efforts to stave off creditors" (Markley 144). This "feverish" attitude was not just literary but resonates with the physical ailments with which she was struggling. Her increased output coincided with experimentation in a wider variety of literary genres than she had previously attempted as she tried to open new markets and sources of income quickly. The consolidation of the theatre houses in 1682 had decreased the market for new plays,[50] and while she had continually staged them it was comparatively sporadic. Faced with primarily print publication to earn her income, Behn moves into a remarkably different approach to selling her work. Accordingly, this period of her publications is marked by fluidity and opportunism, as she switched booksellers often and dramatically increased her output and experimentation.

Her most sustained and steady relationship is with William Canning, a relatively obscure publisher who had a shop in the Middle Temple. The decision to publish with Canning is a curious one. As Bell notes, "the majority of her output while she was alive was published by mainstream booksellers with an established trade in literature" (12). Canning does not fall into this category. The twentieth-century print historian Henry R. Plomer characterizes him as a "publisher of law books" from 1686-90, a brief recorded career (63). His shop in the cloisters fit a profile as a lawyer's bookseller,[51] although it was of course not unlikely to have these shops also feature popular literature. In 1687, Plomer continues, he "was chiefly a publisher of plays and poems," but examining this

more closely reveals the vast majority of these were only Aphra Behn. His first imprint in the *English Short Title Catalogue* is in 1686 with Behn's translation of *La Montre*, indicating that she was more than likely his first substantive literary venture.

Canning is a very different kind of bookseller than she had been working with. While it is outside the scope of this chapter to detail how she jumped from Tonson to Canning, the intervening years and her work with John and Henry Playford leave much that can still be uncovered about her reliance on old connections and political writing to sustain herself in the mid-1680s. The change to the newly established Canning saw her progressing from a safer, established publication system to something riskier and politically radical. The Canning years span a brief period that simultaneously saw her most sustained engagement with a single firm and her most varied engagement with different genres, paratext, and authorial self-presentations. He accounts for nine of Behn's imprints, spanning from *La Montre* in 1686 to *A Congratulatory Poem to Her Sacred Majesty Queen Mary* in 1689. It is possible to extend this to ten if Canning financed *A Poem to Sir Roger L'Estrange*, which I argue is probable but not certain. In contrast, she produced six imprints with the Tonsons and seven with Richard Bentley and James Magnes, the latter separated by a break of many years.

The Canning years are somewhat of an arbitrary boundary, and this reality as well as Canning's obscurity has contributed to an almost complete lack of engagement with his influence on her work. Interrogating why Behn publishes with Canning and what kinds of books they produced reveals a different portrait of her than her work with the Tonsons. Canning's imprints emphasize Behn's increasing political anxiety, how her financial difficulties forced experimentation and changes in her commercial persona, and, perhaps paradoxically, how little she cared (or was able to care) about the quality and prestige of her printed works. Rather than a quest for prestige, the Canning imprints

emphasize variability and experimentation. As Behn is forced to rely more on print than at any other point in her career, she pursues multiple approaches to her audience.

In contrast to the wealth of information that has been collected on the Tonsons, what is known about William Canning can be summarized in a few sentences.[52] As this summary has yet to exist, I will provide it here. Canning was the son of a Charles Canning, not in the trade, with an unknown birth date. He was apprenticed to George Marriott in 1679 and freed by executors of Francis Tyton in 1686.[53] While an apprentice to Tyton, Canning signed for some financial support from the English Stock alongside Tyton and later Tyton's widow, but he never claimed any work for his own once he was freed. He had one, or perhaps two, shop locations: Vine-Court, Middle-Temple and in the Temple-Cloisters. The ambiguity of the names suggests he could have stayed at the same location and altered his description.[54]

Canning had several associates, one of which figures significantly into Behn's publishing history: Randall Taylor. Taylor was a trade publisher, which Treadwell explains as a distributor. Treadwell's figures indicate that while Taylor "entered only six works in the [Stationer's Company] registers," in the same time frame, he "put his name on more than five-hundred works which have survived" (116). Taylor has his name on two of Behn's imprints: *A Congratulatory Poem to the King's Most Sacred Majesty* and *A Poem to Sir Roger L'Estrange*, both in 1688. The former has Taylor's name on the front and Canning's name on the back, linking them as definitively as we can. The latter poem does not have another owner marked on it, and it is not one of the six works that Taylor entered into the Stationer's Company records. If we are to hypothesize who would have financed the work, the answer is perhaps Canning.

The remaining historical records about Canning reveal much about what is happening beneath the surface of what survives in verified imprints and relatively benign publishing. As England was rocked by the deposition of James II, a print war was being

waged with secret presses and cheap pamphlets reminiscent of the mid-seventeenth-century civil war. Canning was evidently a notorious Jacobite printer; Plomer adds that it was said he "kept a private press in Grocers' Alley" for printing broadsides in favor of James (64). In 1689, a warrant was issued for the arrest of "William Canny or Canninge of Middle Temple, stationer, for publishing seditious news about the King and government."[55] He was arrested several times, and eventually pilloried in 1693.[56] His publishing career was ended, then, not by choice but through legal repercussions, although it would be too credulous to completely trust Plomer's dates. From accounts of his widow, we can assume he died by 1714; what he was doing in the interim has not yet been uncovered. It seems much of Canning's printing was going on under the surface of records, and we cannot know when he actually began and ended his shadow printing business.

It is an interesting task to grasp the implications of our picture of late-career Aphra Behn as a partner to a dubious, thrice-arrested Catholic Jacobite printer. It is certainly a contrast to the relationship painted with the Tonsons. What drew Behn to Canning after a career of working with safe, established booksellers? I take as a baseline assumption that Behn worked with Canning by choice; she had other booksellers during this period, including Bentley, who she could have gotten to publish at least some of her work. Even if we assume her poetry was too political (which is circumspect), it is difficult to argue that *Agnes de Castro* would not have been appealing more generally and specifically to Bentley, who specialized in novels. Behn had a history of switching booksellers often, and yet here she maintained a relationship for nine or ten imprints. Canning must have had some kind of appeal, even if it was just simple convenience.

We cannot overlook the political implications. There is certainly some harmony between Canning's philosophical and political leanings and Behn's worldview, especially later in her career. When scholars discuss Behn's politics, it is with the

characterization that she was "a snobbish high Tory" who passionately defended James II in print throughout the exclusion crisis and up to the Glorious Revolution itself (Todd, *Secret Life*, 14). In the space of a few years, she published the seven individual royalist poems along with plays like *The Emperor of the Moon* that were politically charged. Dedications to Stuart royalists such as Richard Maitland, fourth Earl of Lauderdale, also emphasized her loyalty. Even after the Revolution, she produced *A Pindaric Poem to the Reverend Doctor Burnet*, which defended her royalist loyalty by refusing to be swayed by political change.

In addition to secure attributions and clear distinctions, there are some speculative theories and works that add to this narrative. Virginia Crompton argues that it is possible Behn was writing Stuart propaganda anonymously. If we follow this speculation, it is also possible such writing was done for Canning. Crompton continues that the Revolution was particularly tricky for Stuart loyalists because their "loyal personae would be compromised if they addressed verse to William and Mary" (144). Behn was certainly in this predicament briefly before she died. Her most anti-royalist piece is addressed to the newly crowned Queen Mary after James had fled to the continent; it conspicuously does not address her husband William of Orange, who was not a Stuart. Even here, her praise is limited and withdrawn and laments James's absence even as she praises Mary's honorable qualities. Another part of Behn's "authentic" self that we have imagined is that she could have been secretly a Catholic, or at least a Catholic sympathizer.[57] Canning was far from the only royalist printer in town, however, and it would be reductive to give purely ideological reasoning to an author who repeatedly asserts that her primary motive was economic.[58]

If we consider Behn's other more mercenary motivations, Canning must have offered her something that distinguished him from other booksellers. This could have come in the form of commissions, appealing payments for her publications, a job as an

anonymous pamphleteer, or extra attention to her work. Of course, no documentation has yet been found that definitively links any of these to Behn and Canning, but their imprints do offer some hints that let us characterize the relationship if not how it came to be.

Behn's first publication with Canning was with *La Montre: Or, the Lover's Watch* in 1686. It was a translation of prose and poetry from Balthazar de Bonnecourse's original in French, not Behn's first translation but certainly her most sustained and lengthy attempt by that point. Canning was just establishing his shop in the Middle Temple with Behn as one of his first literary undertakings. The volume is a shift from her earlier tactics with the Tonsons' amorous *Poems* to comparatively "chaste" *La Montre,* emphasized a different kind of love according to Todd (*Secret Life*, 379). The dedicatee, a young lawyer, was "a beautiful, witty, *modest* and *religious* youth" and the translation "presented a couple who did not end in bed" (379; emphasis in original). Todd argues that Behn published this translation as a way to redeem her reputation after the amorous volume of poetry from the Tonsons. Whether or not this is true, there are certainly parallels between the Tonson volume and Canning's translation: both are some of the only times that Behn actively seeks dedicatory poems, the publishers feature original engravings, and they invoke Behn's pastoral Astrea. *La Montre* has five dedications, three addressed to Astrea and two that invoke the image. Charles Cotton compares her to Sappho and Orinda, and George Jenkins references Astrea in the text. By using Astrea again, Behn was maintaining a persona separate from the neutral "A. Behn" of her plays and political poetry, linking this translation to her more classical work. As with Dryden and Tonson's translation of Ovid, through textual presentation Behn was continuing to try and access a highbrow market and clientele with the more respected tradition of translators that included Philips. Canning augments this in the use

of an engraving, a lover's clock with hours of the day marked by cupid's arrow and decorated around with ribbons.

Canning's first publication with Behn is on its surface more ambitious than one might expect from a printer just dipping into literary publication. The material composition bears the marks of experienced marketing in its use of dedications and engraving, which suggests that Behn may have influenced the composition and design of the work. Canning's *La Montre* certainly continues the tradition Behn was establishing in the mid-1680s of her work as more classical. It is not simply light amatory reading, but a translation of chaste and pure love with Astrea's garlands hung about it. It is unknown if this volume would have gone for the same price as *Poems,* however. The price of *La Montre* is not listed in any online database or the *Term Catalogues*, but another of their collaborations, *A Discovery of New Worlds*, was less than a shilling. This lower price point could be an indicator that either *La Montre* was more expensive and they backed off accessing that price point, or *La Montre* was actually inexpensive with the trappings of highbrow literature. The engraving and dedicatory poems seem like they would have substantially increased the price of the volume, but perhaps not. The engraving is not conceptually original, with Bonnecourse's *La Montre* featuring a similar image, but design changes indicate it was certainly new cut. However, the volume just as easily has the trappings of legitimacy without any of the financial choices behind them. While dedicatory poems could go for £10 apiece, they could just as easily have been favors given the relationships Behn maintained with the poets.

Most of Canning and Behn's other collaborations are decidedly on the cheaper end of the spectrum. While no financials survive between them, it is clear that Canning saw the value of continuing to produce Behn's texts. Another interesting progression is their production of a series of prose fictions: *Agnes de Castro, Oroonoko,* and *The Fair Jilt.* In all three, Behn attempts to convince the audience that they are "Reality, and

Matter of Fact, and acted in our latter Age" as she states in *The Fair Jilt* ("To Henry Pain"). While much has been made about the possibility of *Oroonoko* being fact or fiction, it is unlikely any of them detail a historically accurate truth. Rather she was using the common method of invoking historical fact as a marketing tactic. Canning's treatment of the three together augments Behn's rhetorical presentation. In the same year the three appear, 1688, Canning prints another title page and packages them as "Three Histories." Each maintains its own title page and dedication. Later, under the guardianship of Charles Gildon and Samuel Briscoe, these works and others would be called "Histories and Novels," the latter distinction only added after Behn's death. Behn never claimed she was writing novels, and, in fact, she insisted she was doing the opposite. There was certainly logic to Canning's use of "history" rather than novel. The description maintains the reality Behn was trying to create, that the events were true "histories" rather than fictive prose. It was certainly not an innovative marketing tactic, but it nevertheless was done to augment the literary methods Behn was using in the works themselves. Canning's editorial decision to market the texts as histories is maintained through time, as eventually *Oroonoko* is renamed to "The History of Oroonoko" in 1698.

For all three of these histories and novels, Behn's payment would have been lower than what she would make from the theatre.[59] She would have sold the manuscripts for a fixed price, no more than £10 each by a conservative estimate. Canning's decision to bind them together would have given her no extra income—it would be for his benefit, to see if he could sell out his copies and recoup his investment. The high volume of imprints she produces in these years is a direct consequence of her low pay for each individual title; it also may explain why she favored shorter work that could be written quickly. Although Behn's continued poverty is certainly lamentable, it was not directly because of Canning. That most of Canning's imprints are Behn's indicates that it was

more likely he had other income streams, such as payments for printing illicit pamphlets or selling unrecorded law books. If he was truly "living off Behn," then he was probably not making much more of a living than she was (Todd, *Secret Life*, 385).

In yet another example, Behn and Canning teamed up in a new genre with philosophical translation in *A Discovery of New Worlds.* The translation is a treatise on the plurality of worlds from Bernard le Bovier Fontenelle. It features Behn's lengthiest preface, where she uses a similar tactic to justify the translation—one of the voices is a woman—but comments on the nature of translation and philosophically on the contents within. She positions herself again as a feminine writer, but also as in a position to comment on translation and scientific writing more generally. This is not the first time Behn positions herself as literary commenter, although her role is not accorded as much weight as her contemporaries such as Dryden. Rebecka Groenstedt argues that this is because Behn did not write separate works of criticism but blended them into her paratext (21). At times, she comments on the nature of the theatre and the purpose of entertainment and diversions more widely (22). In *A Discovery of New Worlds*, Behn takes a similar tactic. She employs what Line Cottegnies calls a "devious strategy" by "distancing herself from Fontenelle's most contentious hypotheses (particularly in her preface), while making his most audacious statements sound even more daring in the course of the dialogues" (23). Cottegnies, who is one of the only critics to have written on this text at length, includes examples of changing references of "men" to "men and women" which meant that "probably for the first time in the seventeenth century, Behn was symbolically and effectively making women prominent in philosophical discourse" (26). That Behn defines herself as a literary critic and takes the liberty of translating through interpretation, instead of a more direct translation, has both economic and personal motivations. Economically, Behn appeals to her audience, distancing herself

from Fontenelle's more radical ideas and her own work. This distance she claims for her own right to comment on the work underscores her claims to literary authority.

Canning's publication of the work helps market this version of Behn's persona, adapting to the new material just as Behn adapts her own authorial voice. Canning includes more information on this title page than any other he produces for Behn, indicating not only the language of translation and the author, "Mrs. A. Behn," but a descriptive subtitle that clues the reader into the content. Further, there are two examples of this subtitle from two title pages from the 1688 edition, one a cancellans. The cancellans description reads "Together with a PREFACE by way of ESSAY upon translated PROSE, wholly New." In the new version, this was replaced with a more lengthy description:" To which is prefixed a PREFACE by way of ESSAY on Translated PROSE; wherein the Arguments of Father *Tacquet,* and others, against the System of *Copernicus* (as to the Motion of the Earth) are likewise considered, and answered: Wholly new." The additions are clearly meant to give more information not about the contents but about Behn's remarks and what specifically she is commenting on about the doctrine. It was true given the content of the text, but also largely more of a marketing tactic. Cottegnies notes that "there is very little of Tacquet in her preface" nor could most of it truly be called "wholly new" (29). Instead, Tacquet is cited as "an easy butt as a representative of the conservative Jesuits, [who] would probably have appealed to the learned reader with an interest in the debate about the historicity of the Bible, while flattering English anti-Catholic feelings" (29) Canning's decision to add this information onto the title page with a new title page augments Behn's content with buzz words that signaled to her audience about the content, helping her better display her work's marketable aspects.

There is also the implied contribution from Canning, which is that he allows Behn to include the preface at all. Neither *Agnes de Castro* or *La Montre* had prefaces

that provided commentary on the translation. *A Discovery of New Worlds* includes four pages of a dedication, twenty-six pages of preface, nine pages of the author's preface, and three pages of the author's dedication. It is a substantial introduction to a work of about 150 pages. The motivation for the preface could lie with either Behn or Canning—both could have seen the marketability of the commentary or seen it as necessary given the controversial content.

This relationship and its trust may be why Behn maintained her association with Canning for as long as she did. While any answers must be couched in terms of speculation, it is easy to see why she may have wanted to work with someone less entrenched in the established literary world than the Tonsons. The Tonsons certainly offered a degree of legitimacy, one that would benefit Behn's legacy as Tonson co-produced volumes of her work in the 1700s. But, perhaps paradoxically, I would like suggest that these examples show how using a less prestigious publisher allowed Behn to experience more of what Dryden cultivated with Jacob Tonson. To Tonson, Behn might always be one of many writers, never ascending to the intimacy shared between he and Dryden just as she would never ascend to court appointments or lucrative positions. There is value in good company, but there are also demands and restrictions. With Canning, there was little to no competition and what seems to be more leeway in experimenting and taking risks with her work. As his advertisement at the end of *A Discovery of New Worlds* indicates, she accounts for about half of his output in 1688. He had a vested interest in helping her produce writing, as he may have been partially relying on that income to support his own work.

It is also not a coincidence that Behn's most assertive paratextual addresses are printed by Canning. The preface to *A Discovery of New Worlds* is her only independent authorial address that is not attached to a play. The second Canning prints is in *The Luckey Chance*, the address that opened this chapter where she quotably demands the

rights to fame that have eluded her. This is the only play that Canning prints for Behn, and, as ever, she usually only provides an address where there is conflict to address, either manufactured or authentic. While both *The Dutch Lover* and *Sir Patient Fancy* were pointedly feminine addresses that critiqued her detractors, *The Luckey Chance* is more brazen and bare in its address of her critics. Todd argues that Behn's threat to leave the theatre if she is unable to achieve her desire for fame is the sign of an author "fatigued with pleasing and politics" (*Secret Life*, 19). This address could indeed be a writer fatigued with pleasantries, or it could have something to do with her late-1680s persona that was more direct, brazen, and politically motivated than she had been in 1678.

It seems clear Canning allowed more space for authorial experimentation and had greater leeway for style of address, adapting his own presentation style to Behn's multiple authorial personae instead of Behn having to respond to his brand as she probably did with the Tonsons. He clearly believed that her approach would sell her books, as he devoted the supplies and labor for printing them alongside an increase in her dedications.

Both Canning and the Tonsons shared an investment in creating space in their publications where the author's voice could be seen. But beyond that commonality, there is not much similar between them. In many ways, rectifying the Canning version of Behn's career with when she worked with the Tonsons is difficult. Other than that, she was working with booksellers for sustained periods, her approaches differ vastly and her texts vary. The consistency is that as Behn adapts to the demands of the literary market, she seeks partners who are tailored to the particular goals that she pursues. The mistake would be to assume Behn's goals are always the same, that her declaration that she writes for fame in 1678 is the same sentiment that she expresses in 1688. Rather her changes in booksellers are complements to her own change in tactics.

Placing her at the center of this narrative centers her choice of bookseller as a moment of agency and one that is crucial for future studies of Behn's authorship. My reading of Behn as an agent within book production and not a marginal figure battling against male booksellers more narrowly isolates moments where her gender affects the choices that she made. The only pointedly gendered moments of Behn's career have been textual, when she and her booksellers mark her texts as feminine through paratext and authorial addresses. But as this chapter has shown, this was a collaborative process where both parties worked together to create a literary object associated with Behn's feminine persona. Behn's economic relationships, then, do not seem to be negatively impacted by her gender. Rather, her identity as a woman writing popular literature may have opened doors for her such as with Jacob Tonson and Dryden's *Ovid.*

Beyond the specificities of Behn's career, this narrative shows how recovering a publishing history of women's writing that does not assume a gendered dynamic of marginalization can radically alter existing narratives. Much of eighteenth-century women's literary history is either devoted to Behn's influence or a reaction against this dominant narrative. By more carefully positioning Behn within her economic method of reaching her audiences, scholars may be able to reconceptualize women's writing as the product of consumer culture that facilitates their agency through material means even as it provokes them to situate themselves as social Others.

CHAPTER IV

PATRONAGE AND PUBLICATION IN DELARIVIER MANLEY'S CAREER

Delarivier Manley has been an ambiguous but intriguing figure on the fringes of the dominant narratives of eighteenth-century women's commercial authorship. Despite the broad and sustained lengths that scholars have gone to untangle Manley's life and works, in significant ways she is lagging behind her fellows. The only edited collection devoted to Manley, from Aleksondra Hultquist and Elizabeth J. Mathews, includes as its introduction the hope that "this edition inspires accessible editions of her works so that future students and scholars have the chance to break open the critical conversation as has happened in Aphra Behn and Eliza Haywood studies" (5). Unlike Behn and Haywood, she does not have a complete bibliography of her works, and monographs devoted to Manley scholarship just recently rose to three.[60]

Part of the reason for Manley's comparative neglect is the difficulty of her texts and an authorial persona that deliberately engaged in feints and disguise. Her most famous works are political satires that require keys to unlock, and while they were devastatingly effective when written, the passage of time has subjugated her beneath her contemporaries such as Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift (Carnell 12–13). Her secret histories were published anonymously and pseudonymously, and it is only through attribution chains and scant documentary evidence that Manley has been securely connected to her work. Similarly to Behn, Manley also obscured her authorial identity and developed personae that were tailored to the content of her works. She was known for personae as varied as "the innocent girl betrayed, the bold authoress, the noble patriot, the retired country woman writing for her own amusement, and the hack" (Buetner 162). Manley's personae also invoked her identity as a woman author, but its

personality delighted in the disguise of the author and the play between the authorial identity and the empirical, feminine body behind it. Manley's disguises were for her own protection as she skirted legal and political ramifications for her scandal fiction. Despite her anonymity, Manley's texts bear strong referents to their author. Within them are fictionalized autobiographies, handled in brief in *Secret Memoirs and Manners of Several Persons of Quality, of Both Sexes, from the New Atalantis* with Delia's story (1709) and at length in *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714). Still, arrest warrants and evidence of her stature among the Tory elite and her reputation as an author indicate that many knew her at least by reputation, even while her indirect methods have left misattribution, unauthorized spin-offs, and confusion commonplace.[61]

Much has been said about Manley's "rhetorical tools" in her prefaces and management of her reputation (Buetner 162), but of course her persona was equally dependent on her booksellers' material tools. Information about Manley's publishing career is almost as scarce as that of Behn, and accordingly very little has been done on how her booksellers marketed her commercial persona and augmented it through advertising. While Behn rarely stayed with a bookseller for a significant period of time, Manley's career is much easier to trace. The bulk of available information comes from Ruth Herman and Rachel Carnell, who detail her long history with the printer John Barber and brief conflict with Edmund Curll that resulted in the *Adventures of Rivella.* It is easier to locate which firms she worked with, but the obscurity surrounding her authorship largely extends to her business transactions. There are few records, and most of Carnell and Herman's information is extrapolated from her literary texts and personae. This chapter takes what is available and explores the motivations for Manley's publishing choices in light of common experiences of other professional authors of both genders. Whereas Behn's publishing history demonstrated an author working with the system of commercial authorship, Manley's choices suggest that her early identification

with Behn motivated her to pursue alternative and ultimately more stable methods of sustaining herself as she wrote. Both are women writers who mark their texts as feminine through paratext, but Manley's higher social status and fewer scruples about public scandal allowed her to circumvent book trade laws and practices that favored the rights of booksellers over authors.

Manley's long relationship with Barber was mutually beneficial: personally, financially, and politically. Barber was a Tory printer and her live-in partner from 1710 until the end of her life in 1724. The relationship was formed around the production of political literature and developed into a domestic partnership. Barber provided Manley with a secure and steady living arrangement for fourteen years where she was able to write some of her most financially successful works without scrounging for bread and lodging as Behn was repeatedly forced to. In return, Barber's financing of Manley's texts was handsomely rewarded by (reportedly) exceptional sales. Because of their domestic relationship, this arrangement has often been looked at askance, alternately described as unerringly chaste and explicitly sexual. They were unmarried and therefore socially taboo, and eighteenth-century values have pervaded the way that current scholars discuss their relationship. Further, since Barber was both the provider of her apartment and pecuniary beneficent of Manley's success, he has been cast as a predatory and capricious exploiter of Manley's labor. Just as with Behn and Samuel Briscoe, considering the norms of the book trade situate Manley and Barber within a dynamic less predatory along gender lines and more culturally resonant with typical author/bookseller power hierarchies. I argue that clarifying these dynamics emphasizes in what ways this partnership was actually empowering for Manley. It prevented her from experiencing the hardships that all professional authors faced, especially women where the intersections of class and gender limited access to financial support structures.

In contrast, Manley's brief collaboration with Curll demonstrates how working with Barber gave her the know-how to leverage her literary reputation into politically and personally advantageous relationships with booksellers. Curll's account of *The Adventures of Rivella*'s origins details that Charles Gildon was writing a damaging account of Manley's past. At Manley's request, Curll allowed her to write a replacement autobiography that allowed her to control the narrative and reveal her past in the same coded and politically loaded language she had used in *The New Atalantis.* Even filtered through Curll's admittedly biased lens, the exchange demonstrates Manley's knowledge of how to barter authorial labor and reputation. The exchange is both material, in pages, and abstract, in the use of a notorious pseudonym developed with *The New Atalantis.* The brief negotiation surrounding *Rivella* also sheds new light on Curll, whose less-than-ethical practices have framed him as a rather compelling antagonist in intellectual property lawsuits from Alexander Pope. He is no less Manley's antagonist, but she has a significantly different set of goals and moral code than Pope. Manley's ability to work productively with Curll provides an alternative reading of the bookseller that fills out the cartoonish villain archetype he usually plays.

Manley's navigation of the Barber and Curll partnerships clarifies how she adapts her approach based on the experience of Behn and other contemporary women writers and instead is able to forge beneficial partnerships that mutually exploit public interest in gossip and mystery for financial gain and social currency. This chapter argues that both the Barber and Curll collaborations illuminate Manley's ability to maneuver interpersonal relationships to counteract a lack of power over the material production of her books. In terms of the tradesmen, Manley's imprints provide additional data for how booksellers helped established women's authorship through paratext, graphic design, and advertising. Both her choices and her booksellers' production practices provide an important foil to that of other early eighteenth century political writers like Jonathan

Swift and Pope and demonstrates an alternative, perhaps feminine, method of professional authorship.

An Intimate Partnership: Manley and Barber, 1709-1714

The historical facts about Manley's life are notoriously hard to pin down. In her biography, Carnell reports that Manley bigamously married her cousin, John Manley, when she was very young, probably about 17. Manley's version of the story in *Rivella* and *The New Atalantis* is that she did not know he was still married at the time. They had a son by this union, and she was unable to recover in respectability, nor support herself afterward. Much of her motivations for printing her writing seem to be economic, and she began publishing in 1695. She wrote two plays, which were staged and printed in 1696 along with a volume of her letters that she may not have authorized. She then disappeared for about a decade, only surfacing to contribute to *The Nine Muses* in 1700. During most of this period, she lived with the governor of Fleet prison, John Tilly, and was engaged with various non-literary means of supporting herself (Carnell). She probably began publishing again in 1707, shortly turning her eye toward political satire.

Manley's canon is more limited than either Behn or Haywood, as much as can be assessed without a comprehensive bibliography. Thus the discussion of her canon is brief. I only exclude one text from this chapter that is generally attributed to Manley: *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians* (1705). A notice for Manley's death mentioned *Queen Zarah* as one of her works. Given the Tory slant of the text and Manley's taste for the secret history, it was not for some time that a thorough investigation of copycat texts has cast doubt.[62] Similarly to the ways that attribution has challenged Behn and Haywood's trajectories, the removal of *Queen Zarah* rendered a small chunk of scholarship if not irrelevant now tangential to the narrative of Manley's

growth as a political writer. It removed the link between her early career as a dramatist, ending as soon as it began in 1696, and her later one as a political satirist, picking up around 1708. The development of a full bibliography of Manley's writing may further challenge her attributions and give a much better picture of how her writing made its way into print.

From what is known about Manley's books and their iterations, it seems she was as invested in pursuing the right partners in the book trade as her predecessor Behn. Just as Behn worked with Jacob Tonson or William Canning depending on the kind of writing she pursued, Manley collaborated with distinct firms depending on her goals at the time. These firms would provide material context to the authors' goals and help them access their chosen audience. Manley's first choice of bookseller indicates she was aware of the importance of excellent partners in the book trade from the beginning of her career. For her brief foray into commercial drama in 1696, Manley's bookseller was Richard Bentley, a well-known tradesman who specialized in novels and plays. As I have argued elsewhere, Bentley was well positioned to augment Manley's choice of aligning herself with her predecessor. He was one of Behn's frequent collaborators, producing some of her early plays and her last novels in the late 1680s. Manley's early textual association with Behn was also a material collaboration with Behn's bookseller. But, just as Manley quickly moved beyond identifying a maternal line of women writers beginning with Behn, she found new partners in the trade who allowed her greater intimacy with the process of material production.

Shortly after she began publishing again in 1707, Manley met Barber and began a partnership that would last for the remainder of her life. Their enterprise encompasses the height of her career as a Tory satirist, from roughly 1709–14. They were moderately well known at the time, and Manley focuses on this relationship extensively in *Rivella*. As a consequence, it plays a major role in Carnell's biography and elsewhere. Barber

was himself a public figure, and on his death two memoirs emerged about his life that include Manley. There are surviving court documents about their arrest and the circumstances of publication for *The New Atalantis* and a rumored sequel. Lastly, stories of them appear in the papers of other writers such as Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison. All of this information paints the picture of a domestic partnership of significant length and importance for them both, and I argue that this extended to the primary reason they met—the production of Tory political satire. Barber had an important role in the development of Manley's persona and the material mediation of her work. Through form and content, Barber and Manley created and maintained Manley's pseudonymity. The books' paratextual format, graphic design, and exploitation of trade publishers all highlight Barber's investment in building Manley's authorial persona and consequently uncover the mutual economic and practical reasons for many of Manley's choices.

Manley and Barber's dynamic would have had most of the normal power structures of an author and a bookseller. Barber is usually described a printer, but he also financed the printing of works the way a bookseller tended to do. In the ESTC, when he prints under his own name, his imprints do not include the location of a shop and instead are listed as simply "printed by John Barber" or his name with the company he is printing for, such as "printer to the Honourable city of London" or the South Sea Company. As these imprints indicate, Barber received several printing contracts that brought him significant financial success during his time working with Manley (*ODNB*). He seems to not have run a shop, instead using trade publishers to distribute material when necessary. As when Canning used Randall Taylor to circulate Behn's poetry, Barber used John Woodward and John Morphew to obscure his ownership and ensure that his political tracts were read widely and quickly. These were the printers he almost always employed with Manley's work, as the only books that bear his imprint are

Lucius, The First Christian King of Britain (1717) and *The Power of Love in Seven Novels* (1720). Neither is satirically Tory, and they are published after the political winds had shifted and Manley had "retired" from her pamphleteering. Despite Barber's name never appearing on Manley's works before 1717, Carnell confirmed his connection to *The New Atalantis* in 1709 with an arrest record that "puts Barber and Manley together on the same order to arrest, suggests their joint participation in the work" (162). Manley was able to get them all off in a rather clever argument about her text being fiction, not fact.

The New Atalantis was a lengthy secret history that first appeared in two volumes, which depicted the monarchy after the death of Charles II and its corruption by Whig leaders such as Sarah Churchill, Lady Marlborough. Secret memoirs were designed not only to expose sexual scandal but to translate it as a metaphor for the political. Sex as a power exchange between man and woman was analogous to a king and his people, the powerful and those power is meant to protect (Kvande). Manley's secret history was distinct commercial success: *The New Atalantis* went through six editions in six years. As many scholars have noted, in its time *The New Atalantis* was ubiquitous, appearing as references in Pope's *The Dunciad* and Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator.* It also brought her a good deal of powerful friends and connections that promoted her work. Emboldened by this social, political, and (occasional) financial support, *The New Atalantis* was followed by two more volumes, titled *Memoirs of Europe* in 1710,[63] and then a reissue of *The Lady's Pacquet* in 1711 under another title. That same year as her older volumes were reprinted, she also took over as editor of the *Examiner* for Swift, editing issues 46–52[64], and likely produced four individual pamphlets.[65] Most of these texts saw multiple editions within the year.

Barber was financially responsible for most, if not all, of these works. What is unique about Barber and Manley's collaborations is that their relationship was both

personal and professional—they lived together from about 1711 forward. Their contemporaries usually identify it as romantically intimate as well. Swift's letters to Stella from the early 1710s and Curll's biography of Barber (1741) characterize Manley as his mistress. These descriptions are usually accompanied by an image of Manley as the whorish hanger-on of Barber, leaching off his friends and connections. The gendered critiques here are certainly not surprising, but they have resulted in a general view of Manley as a hack writer who relied on Barber and his connections like Swift for her living. There is an alternative viewpoint, however. Another of Barber's biographies, also printed in 1741 but by Thomas Cooper, characterizes her move into his apartment as: "and for the Sake, *only*, of being near the Press and more at hand, to see her Work done *correctly*, and better attended to than it had been; she had an Apartment fitted up for her, at the House of Mr *Barber*" (13). This version seems to go out of its way to argue their relationship was proper and based on the business transaction of printer and author; the emphasis on "only" and "correctly" place Manley as the over-bearing author rather than the mistress.

Whether or not Manley and Barber were romantically intimate, they certainly had a sustained intimacy built on mutual respect and collaboration. As they were both involved in the business of gaining powerful friends and engaging public speech, an ideal partnership would have been socially *and* economically advantageous. While Barber was the more economically privileged of the two, Carnell argues that socially it was Manley who had more to offer:

> Barber, a strikingly ambitious and successful printer, from a completely different social class than Manley, had aspirations to the social level into which Manley had been born (he would purchase a coat of arms with his South Sea profits) and was happy to publish works with enough references to the *beau monde* to guarantee large sales … Manley presumably wanted a secure place to live in London, good meals,

> enlivening companionship, and a room of her own (either literally or figuratively) in which to write. Barber seemed to have met her material needs … Her witty conversation, which had once charmed the Duchess of Cleveland, Sir Thomas Skipworth and possibly the Dukes of Devonshire and Montagu, among others, would have added a certain cachet to Barber's dining table; her appreciation of her 'Ancient' family and the royalist lineage she asserts so confidently in her published works would have complemented Barber's Tory circle. (166)

I have quoted Carnell at length to show what I would like to characterize as a true partnership, mutually beneficial in terms of economics, politics, and finances, and social mobility.

Although she does not use this phrasing, what Carnell describes is also Barber's patronage of Manley. Just as Jacob Tonson became John Dryden's bookseller-patron, Barber became Manley's easiest and most advantageous method of reaching her audience in print. From *The New Atalantis* forward, it seems Barber was responsible for all of Manley's work except *The Adventures of Rivella.* She also had a more traditional patron in Robert Harley, a Tory politician, but his payments to her were negligent, late, and seem to amount to a total of £50. In contrast, Barber supported Manley for fourteen years in his household and "met her material needs." During this time, she had none of the challenges that forced Behn to switch genres, find new booksellers, or plead with a bookseller for an extra £5. She contributed to their household in significant and monetary ways, but it was Barber who provided stability and the kind of reliable business that she was not able to access as a woman outside the trade. Theirs was certainly an atypical patronage, but nevertheless Manley had the means of pursuing her intellectual trade without scrounging for bread between imprints.

Carnell posits that they first met when she was publishing a second part of *The Lady's Pacquet* with Morphew and Woodward in 1708, since Barber often employed the

other two men as his trade publishers (155–156). She adds that it is difficult to parse exactly when Barber and Manley began working together, but it is likely that it was in 1709 when Manley was publishing the first volume of *The New Atalantis*. Manley was in dire financial straits and likely would not have been able to take on the financial responsibility of paying Morphew and Woodward for their work of printing the secret history. While she could have used some profit from the recent sale of a single poem, "it is also possible, given Manley's precarious financial circumstances at this time, that John Barber might have financed the publication of *The New Atalantis* (and possibly even supported Manley while she was writing the work), and then saw most of the profits from it" (163). The genre of the work adds to this likelihood: Morphew and Woodward would have done the labor and distributed it, but they would likely not have financed it, as that was not their primary business. Scandal fictions came with social and political risks, and all connected parties could and would be arrested if they printed things critical of those in power. It is likely, then, that even if Manley had wanted to sell her work outright for a one-time payment to a normal bookseller, she may not have been able to find a willing party who would take on the risk. So while there is no direct proof that Barber financed *The New Atalantis*, Carnell is correct that it is more likely than not, as there is no other way of determining how Manley would have been able to pay Woodward and Morphew while they worked. As the likely financier of the work and a printer himself, Barber would have had input on the design and format of the pages and could have helped Manley successfully build a persona not reliant on her actual identity.

The book was produced without an author indicated, continuing the anonymous publication practices she had adopted with *The Lady's Pacquet*. It is not immediately clear if it was Barber or Manley's decision to publish without the author's name. As Ezell argues, control over the text usually lies with the bookseller or publisher, and "the selection of anonymity, pseudonymity, or the author's name on this title page might well

have been the decision of not the individual writer, but of the manager of the commercial printed product" (70). However, both parties are invested in obscuring ownership, so it is possible that it was a mutual decision. Offset in dividing lines in the author's space was "Written Originally in *Italian*," followed by the imprint by Morphew and Woodward. By forgoing an authorial ownership, Manley adopts the mask of the translator, adding an air of legitimacy to her work: "The three editions and the two languages together emphasize both the antiquity of the nonexistent original and the considerable distance between the author and her text" (Mudge 137). While Manley paints her text with the colors of antiquity, she simultaneously refers to Atlantis, a fictional land, mixing reality and invention to create, as Bradford K. Mudge phrases it, "a factual fiction whose status as fiction is heightened by both careful denial and strategic clues" (137). This is further highlighted by the translator line, as translators do different work from authors, but they occupy the same space on the title page, signaling that the translation may be a front for the text.

This misdirection and masking is furthered by the dedication to Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, signed as "the unknown Translator" (iii). In the dedication, Manley spins a tale about the background of these memoirs, claiming that the original Italian was first translated in French and reprinted in Brussels before put into her hands. The second volume emphasizes this story by replacing the Italian designation with "Written Originally in *Italian,* and Translated from the Third Edition of the *French*." The intent of categorizing the work as a translation was both generic and practical: invented backstories were commonly used for prose fiction, and pretending to find and translate an older text can shift authority away from the author and onto unknown parties. These layers of textual disguise were not particularly innovative, although she used them to greater extent than most, and readers probably would have seen them for what they

were. They did leave her enough plausible deniability. When being an author of libel or politically heated texts can be dangerous, it can seem safer to be the simple translator.

The persona of the translator is at first genderless, a different character and approach than she used in her early career. She forgoes any markers of identity such as gender-specific pronoun usage in the paratext or even initials in the dedication's signing, which she used when she published as Mrs. Manley. With *The New Atalantis* she seems to find her gender as less of a necessary or beneficial selling point, instead using the translator pseudonym as an independent product line. This does not mean that she disconnects the text from her reputation entirely. Just as she used "careful denial and strategic clues" with the content, Manley does the same with the authorship. Paula McDowell argues that the book's narrators are "a sophisticated satire on emerging models of 'polite' female authorial self-representation," and that Manley uses the autobiographical Delia's story in the book to comment on the world's treatment of herself (235). Manley inhabits Delia and the book's translator, alternating sly references as she marks her text with signs that only readers "in the know" would be able to pick up.

Manley was counting on pseudonymity that limited her readers' ability to connect her person to her text but still was highly suggestive of the real author. That is, Manley's pseudonym is able to manipulate the "structural blank space" of the author function (Griffin 10). Robert J. Griffin argues that anonymous books still "project a 'presence'" of the author (10), which Manley is able to fill with a persona that suits the text. Anonymity would not have kept the volume from selling; it may have even heightened gossip and sales, an appealing prospect for Barber who would recoup most of the profits. The typical reader on the street would not have known who she was, but the elites and their Tory friends and connections evidently did. By 1714, she had enough of a public reputation that Charles Gildon began to produce an unauthorized biography of

her, discussed at length later. After the first volume of *The New Atalantis* was published, the dedicatee made the connection easily enough as well. Henry Sumerset, Duke of Beaufort was a royalist Tory, a friend of Swift's, and an acquaintance of Harley's with significant wealth. In Manley's second address to him, the tentative language is exchanged for self-assured compliments. Rather than "implore your Protection and for Ever Your Pardon, for an Attempt to daring as this" (vi), the reader sees "The First Volume of the *New Atalantis* flourish'd under your Grace's auspicious Sun-shine!" and "your Grace's unequal'd Goodness or my unequal'd Presumption!" (Dedication). The compliments paid Somerset in this very public forum indicate his approbation, and perhaps his financial support of the writer.

Manley's anonymity transitioned to pseudonymity as her fame increased. Barber's continued use of trade publishers augmented Manley's obscured authorship, adding another layer that would make it difficult for readers to trace the ownership of the text and presenting the book as the kind of clandestine text she intended it to be. The title page of *Memoirs of Europe*, marketed as a continuation of *The New Atalantis*, lists the author as "done into *English* by the Translator of the *New Atalantis*." The 1711 reissue of *The Lady's Pacquet* is renamed as "from the Island of the New Atalantis." Lastly, the autobiography she wrote for publisher Edmund Curll is marketed as "the History of the Author of the Four Volumes of the New *Atalantis*." The first two examples represent clever marketing on the part of the tradesmen, who was able to create a material connectivity between Manley's work as much as Manley was crafting an authorial persona to frame the texts. Even as Manley's true identity spread after her arrest, she and Barber continued to use the translator pseudonym in print so her audience would be able to identify the works. Morphew and Woodward helped this task along as well, using advertisements such as the one on *Memoirs of Europe* that lists the text along with Manley's other titles and the Tory newspaper *The Examiner*.

The new titles connected to the *Atalantis* had substantial competition from opportunistic imitators, and both the author and the publishers asserted the authenticity of Manley's works through paratextual addresses. Morphew writes a letter titled "The Publisher to the Reader" in *Court Intrigues* in 1711, which was the reissue of *The Lady's Pacquet* as the work of the author of *The New Atalantis.* It is unclear if the choice to produce a new edition was Morphew's or Manley's, as it is not known who initially financed d'Aulnoy's *Memoirs of the Court of England,* to which the first edition of Manley's letters was attached. Manley could have self-financed the work, publishing with d'Aulnoy to offset costs, in which case the second edition would have been her choice with or without Barber. Morphew could have also done the edition on his own, but it seems unlikely he would have taken that step without authorization and jeopardized his relationship with Manley and Barber. Morphew's letter explains that the book is a reissue based on popular demand: "The success of the several Volumes of the New Atalantis has given the world such as Esteem for the Author, as to raise their Curiosity of viewing every Thing, that comes from the same hand." Morphew does not gender Manley, instead referring to her as "the Author" throughout and listing "By the Author of those Memoirs" in the author slot on the first page. It is not as fine an edition as *The New Atalantis*, which included original engravings, but it was new-set with running titles and additions not in the original version of Manley's letters. This volume from Morphew (or perhaps Manley) is transparently presented as a re-issue but nonetheless is useful for how Manley's partners in the book trade continues to market her work and re-invest in her career. Morphew maintains Manley's persona of the translator, neither mentioning the author's real name or gender. While her publishers do not textually develop her reputation further, they expend the material effort to maintain what Manley has developed and invest in the extra pages and ink to connect more work to her growing persona.

When Manley is explicitly involved, she develops her pseudonym as needed to maintain public interest in her work. In *Memoirs of Europe*, which was packaged as a continuation of *The New Atalantis*, Manley reveals she is the author in the dedication, an open secret now that she had been arrested and unsuccessfully tried. Her choice to reveal her identity was also probably motivated as a way to authenticate her sequels. However, she does not abandon the translator, instead only using her name in the paratext in a way designed to poke fun at the other authorial disguises around her. She satirically dedicates *Memoirs of Europe* to Isaac Bickerstaff, Steele's persona in *The Tatler,* while maintaining the illusion that Steele and Bickerstaff are separate entities. She prints a letter from Steele claiming he holds Manley no grudge for her satire of him in *The New Atalantis* but then wryly notes that:

> Soon after, two most mighty *Tatlers* came out, levell'd directly at humble *Me* … Since Mr. Steele's reconcil'd Friendship … could never be guilty of so barbarous a Breach, since he could not commit the Treacherousest! the Basest! the most Abject thing upon Earth! so contrary to his Assurances! It must be you, Sir, to whom my Thanks are due; making me a Person of such Consideration, as to be worthy of your important War. ("The Dedication")

Manley, Steele, and her readers are all aware that Bickerstaff and Steele are the same person. *The Tatler* had been running for a year, and while several men contributed to the "Bickerstaff" identity, Steele was key to the process. He was also, as is evident from this dedication, the frequent object of Manley's satire for his Whig tendencies. Manley's dedication speaks in feints and winks, drawing the connection between her own obscured authorship and Steele's to playfully refute Steele's critiques of *The New Atalantis.* The "protection" she asks of the work is not reputation or financial compensation, but the fame and glory that Bickerstaff's satire brings her reputation: "A weak unlearned Woman's Writing, to employ so great a Pen! Heavens! how valuable am

I? How fond of that *Immortality*, even of *Infamy*, that you have promised!" ("The Dedication"). Her approach re-invokes her gender to her advantage, satirizing the power dynamic of the established male Whig against the "unlearned" woman writer and demonstrating her awareness of how to leverage persona and infamy into sales. This dedication also shows the latitude that Manley is able to work with because of her intimacy with Barber. In addition to Barber paying for the pages that do no more than poke fun at another writer, the only reason Manley could afford not to seek a real patron was because she was supported by one already. Not occupied by the overwhelming need to eat, as Behn's dedications seem to be, Manley's work is able to further develop the personality of her translator. She works toward less immediate concerns by engaging in the literary social currency and fame that would pay off with future publications and collaborations.

One such collaboration is with Swift and Barber as part of *The Examiner.* Barber's support of Manley was certainly financial, but it also opened new opportunities for her among other Tory satirists. Both were part of a network of propagandists that also included Swift and Harley, their patron. Harley was a politician who became Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer in 1711 and was promoted to the powerful position of Lord High Treasurer and one of Queen Anne's chief ministers. His rise marked the shift of the government influence from Whig to Tory, a move that has been credited partially to Harley's propagandists. Swift was the key figure in this group, and with Barber he produced *The Examiner* as the Tory answer to Whig periodicals like *The Tatler.* Manley took over as editor when Swift felt his authorship was too well known, and she edited six issues beginning in June 1711. With Harley financially and personally commissioning literature in support of the Tories, it is possible that Manley received orders from him directly or through Swift or Barber to publish the several pamphlets it is believed she also completed this year.[66] Swift's more intimate relationship with Harley has meant that

Manley often appears in literary work on Swift as a side character, the cook to Swift's chef. In contrast, Melinda Alliker Rabb argues that the continued presence of Manley's preferred style suggest that their arrangement was based on respect and mutual utility: "There really is no basis for believing that Manley was not given license to write as she pleased, to cook up things in her own style, as Swift says" (131). There is some truth in Swift directing Manley. He had independent means of supporting himself and reportedly refused direct payment (Carnell 161). Similarly to Behn's lament of the gentleman amateur, Manley was in no such position. She was secure of her everyday needs by Barber, but she was far from wealthy enough to not want payment for her work. In 1714, she writes several pleading letters before finally being sent £50 (Herman 259; 261).

Barber's patronage of Manley was rewarded with the profits of all the above works. If he was the financier of each, and there is no reason to assume he was not, then he was well compensated for the cost of supporting Manley while she wrote. They seem to have made an ideal team in writing and printing, with Manley writing quickly and sharply and Barber using clever page design and trade publishers to help Manley build a reputation as the pseudonymous author associated with the *Atlantis* product line. Cooper's biography of Barber details that it was Manley's introductions to which "he was obliged for becoming acquainted with most if not all of those Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction, by whose Means he raised an Estate, which made him much more their Equal, than ever he could have any Hopes" (13). Cooper's *Life* also notes that Manley profited greatly from this arrangement, which allowed her to sell the play *Lucius* to Steele in 1717 outright instead of gambling on an author's benefit night. Curll's competing version of events accuses Barber of taking an unfair share of the sum as payment for printing the play, among other accusations that include Barber ungraciously dumping Manley for her maid. As both of these accounts are from 1741, Carnell notes

that it is not possible to piece together exactly what happened, but, by all accounts, Manley and Barber were still on good terms when she died in 1724:

> Manley does not mention any other money or profits owed to her by Barber for her published works [in her will]. In fact, she refers to having 'received so many favours' from 'Alderman Barber' that she would not make 'any Claims from him' stemming from future profits of a printer's patent shared by Barber and the bookseller Benjamin Tooke (from which she was supposed to have been paid £50 per annum once the patent started turning a profit). (164)

Carnell's account is suggestive of another benefit between Manley and Barber—the mutual buying in on lucrative patents, where Manley could have supported herself past her writing days. We do not know of any other instances of this happening, and Carnell explains that Manley's fortune at her death was not large. However, she was not destitute as Behn was, nor was she embittered and taken advantage of by her printer partner. By all accounts, it seems that this atypical author-bookseller patronage allowed Manley to avoid all of the scrabbling for money that she endured in the early 1700s, as well as the constant negotiations that professional authors would have had to undergo with various booksellers. Her publication practices are accordingly less directed in a narrow way toward getting enough money to survive. Since she is not at a distinct class disadvantage, she is able to negotiate with partners like Steele to get the best profits for *Lucius*, or Curll to write a better *Rivella.* For everything she offered Barber, what he gave her was enough security to conduct herself in a way she would have found more appropriate for someone of her social status even if that status was not what was typical for a hack writer.

Before moving on to a much less congenial author-bookseller relationship, let me resurrect the image of Manley as the author who was so involved with the production of her book that Cooper's biography asserts she moved into Barber's apartment to oversee

it. This account is in conflict with those who derided Manley as Barber's whore and a lonely hack writer. Ultimately, of course, the sexual nature of Barber and Manley's relationship is not relevant in terms of the material production of her books. However, others' preoccupation with it does offer a glimpse into how Manley could have melded the traditional role of the author with an intimate relationship with her bookseller to gain more control over the printing of her work. It was certainly true that authors had control over the press in isolated situations, but rarely are there accounts of this with women authors. In this respect, Manley stands as a wonderfully fertile example of a woman using personal connections to gain a security of the material process. While at this point we are not capable of parsing which choices were Manley's and which were Barber's or his publishers, even with supposition we can conclude that the books' successes could be the product of not only her writing but also her eye on its production.

A Meeting of the Minds: Manley and Curll in 1714

This final vignette of Manley's authorial production is a rather different situation than her professional intimacy with Barber. It involved the bookseller Edmund Curll, who was notorious for his flexible ethics and brazen courtship of any kind of scandal he could use for his financial benefit. He operated *sub rosa* or "under the rose," which Pat Rogers and Paul Baines characterize as a phrase occasionally used by such pirates to describe publishing practices that worked to obscure the actual bookseller ("Attribution of Books," 34). Curll made quite a different sort from Barber, who was friends with high Tories, hosted fine dinners, and eventually became Alderman of London. Curll was on the lower end of the book trade, publicly derided for his trade practices, satirized in pamphlets, and had few friends in high places.

It seems Manley and Curll first crossed paths when Curll printed *The Adventures of Rivella: or, The History of the Author of the Four Volumes of the New Atalantis* in 1714. *Rivella* is different kind of author-bookseller collaboration, in which readers are told that Manley finds herself obliged to intervene when she discovers an unflattering biography about her is in Curll's press. There are many clear differences between this moment and how Barber and Manley interacted: she did not choose to write this text until self-interest made it the best option; she did not choose her bookseller, but rather ended up having to work with Curll; and she was a much more established writer capable of handling social scandal that bordered on the personal. This relationship is a different picture of the mid-eighteenth-century publishing industry and its norms. Once aligned with Barber, Manley was removed from the everyday grind of hack writers who churned text for bread, although that is often how she has been painted.[67] Her dealings with Curll represent a much more typical side of the publishing industry, its seediness and the scurrilous methods some booksellers used to produce any kind of text that would sell. Curll is a strong contrast to the aspirational firms of Barber or the Tonsons who used their wealth and connections to leverage a higher social status.[68] Curll's motivations were financial, and his morals and ethics revolved around what was possible rather than what was correct. How Manley adapts and manipulates this exchange demonstrates how much she had learned about the publishing industry and how to use her authorial celebrity to her advantage.

It also casts light on the similarities between Manley and Curll. As a writer, Manley certainly confronts social expectations about women, and her texts play rather loose with the bounds of appropriateness and fairness. In the name of satire, she draws brutal caricatures of her rivals, rendering even those whose slights were superficial like Catherine Trotter in an unflattering light. This section wonders, then, how we may understand *Rivella* as a text that was born out of fortuitousness rather than manipulation,

how we could see Manley and Curll as a meeting of worthy adversaries rather than contentious rivals who force an autobiography from Manley. Just as Manley's reputation has been "rehabilitated" by feminist scholars, Curll can be somewhat "rescued" from importunity, in just this one case, by considering the similarities of their values and goals rather than the morally deficient method by which they met.

Before moving to the specific circumstances of *Rivella*, a brief history of Curll is useful. Curll's scandalous reputation is well deserved, and he was so notorious that he appears with an impressive frequency as the object of satirical pamphlets, poems, and references in larger literary works. The most famous is Pope's extended campaign against Curll, appearing in several individual pamphlets and *The Dunciad* (1728). This feud was long ranging and, to be frank, rather petty. Pope took every opportunity to satirize Curll; Curll pirated many of Pope's works; and Pope sued Curll under the Statute of Queen Anne (1710), which gave authors the intellectual rights to their work for the first time in English law.[69] When Pope published *The Dunciad*, Curll quickly pirated it and rebutted with *The Popiad* (1728) and *The Curliad* (1729). Curll also briefly changed his shop's sign to "at Pope's head." The tenacity of this argument was partially manufactured by both men and auxiliary parties such as Thomas Cooper, who produced a significant number of sellable pamphlets.[70] It is not at all surprising that when Barber died in 1741 the two booksellers who immediately capitalized on his life and relationships were Curll and Cooper. Curll had a "flamboyant talent for misleading publicity" that he used to keep himself in the public consciousness (Rogers and Baines, "Prosecutions," 176). His business model was clearly actionable, and the ensuing legal repercussions and court cases have given historians several important data points about the legal and intellectual shifts surrounding copyright and intellectual property after 1710.[71]

The result is that Curll, perhaps more so than any other mid-eighteenth-century bookseller, has been the focus of quite a few contemporary studies. Most of these belong to Pat Rogers and Paul Baines, who have, respectively and collectively, written more than a dozen pieces on Curll's firm and his publication practices. One of these is a biography, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (2007), that refreshes a narrative solidified in a lengthy early twentieth-century tome titled *The Unspeakable Curll* by Ralph Strauss (1927). The presence of these two books alone gestures to Curll's ability to make himself known, both in his time and our own. So few tradesmen have received any kind of extended work, much less 90 years' worth, and usually the work of those who published Shakespeare (like Tonson) rises above the rest in our attention. Curll specialized in cheap popular plays and novels, biographies of newly deceased public figures, and anything he could print for cheap. What also helps his persistence as an example scurrilous mid-century publishing is that he antagonized some of the most dominant and most textually prolific writers of these decades in Pope, Swift, and Daniel Defoe. The consequence of these exchanges is that Curll's reputation has suffered significantly at the hand of brilliant satirists.

Similarly to the ways that Manley's reputation has been the site of debate, Curll has passed in and out of favor with critics. In an article covering these discussions, Rogers notes that he is sometimes branded "a rebel," and it is debated "whether he should be placed among the heroes or villains of Grub Street" ("Speaking the Unspeakable," 244-245). In response, Rogers resurrects many of the valid critiques against Curll, detailing his habit of informing on other booksellers and writers (including Samuel Richardson and Manley) and noting that for all the attention paid to him, very few of his books are actively collected (244–245). There are two separate lines of criticism: practice and ethics. In practice, Curll's publications are characterized as what they were: cheap, hastily made, and often poorly composed. Curll's business depended

on volume not quality, and it is not surprising that these are not the highly prized editions that come up for auction or have been carefully collected and catalogued over the years. They share a fate more analogous to ephemera than Shakespeare. This characterization actually speaks the values of collectors more than Curll. Ephemera studies and the new examination of cheap books has led to a significant widening of the canon and appreciation of the multiplicity of the print market. That Curll's role in this has been emphasized is a natural outcropping. Rogers laments that the "new history of the book" has elevated Curll (244), but the critique seems to be leveled at morals more than aesthetics once one moves beyond the first characterization. That is, it is lamentable that we have elevated Curll because of who he was and how he practiced rather than because of the books he produced. In addition to Curll's role as the informant, Rogers identifies the following as morally defunct: altering titles and dates; inventing fake authors whose names mimicked the well-known in order to possibly deceive buyers; printing illicitly and obscuring his ownership of texts so his reputation would not sully them; and hapless editing and repackaging of works to fit page counts and new volumes (246–247).

I have detailed these critiques at length because, as one of two primary scholars on Curll, Rogers comprehensively and succinctly summarizes many of Curll's more notorious business practices. It is Curll's ethics where Rogers, Baines, and others have found the most fault, although there is plenty of criticism for Curll's printing and editing practices as well. This is a fate that Manley (and many women) shared as well. In an early attempt to resurrect Manley's character in 1978, Dolores Poloma writes about "the twentieth-century preoccupation with the supposed prurience of Manley's work and the repeated fusion of judgments about the woman with judgments about the work" (38). This critique was echoed by Ros Ballaster, Janet Todd, Herman, and Carnell, among many others, as it is a common method of delegitimizing women's writing (Russ). The

faults of Manley's writing are its sexual nature and the impropriety of women writing such content. Similarly, there is a bleeding over with Curll and his works as subjective value systems taint readings of his methods as unethical rather than, say, inventive.

I refrain from weighing in on this debate other than to exploit the mutual connection of Curll and Manley to the shadier aspects of the publishing industry. When we consider Manley and Curll together, many conflicts between Curll and his authors are erased. Whereas Pope held himself to a very self-conscious position as an elevated writer, Manley's approach was much more akin to a means to an end, a rhetorical framing for an ideology or purpose. From her letters, paratextual presentation, and the size and value of the books she produced, it is likely that she did not see herself as a central figure to the development of English literature. In short, she has much more in common with Curll than Pope in her approach to her writing. Curll's tactics are similar to Barber and Manley, who employed trade publishers to obscure the ownership of Manley's work.

With this mutuality (rather than conflict) in mind, *Rivella* can be characterized as more than Curll's predatory printing of a famous author's work. The narrative of its origin belongs to paratextual addresses from Curll, who republished *Rivella* as *Mrs. Manley's History of Her Own Life and Times* in 1725. It is advertised as the fourth edition,[72] and Curll alters the book's title and adds in an address to the reader to capitalize on Manley's recent death. The title page advertises "with a preface concerning the present publication," and the reader is greeted to a lengthy preface written, supposedly, by Curll and interspersed with letters from Manley. Within it, Curll both explains the new title and a series of letters that are meant to add authenticity to the book. Curll often used this tactic, both honestly and dishonestly, in his publication of private correspondence as a means of refuting claims of theft and fiction. An abbreviated account is as follows:

> Mr. *Gildon* … wrote some Account of Mrs. *Manley*'[s] Life, under the Title of, *The History of* Rivella*,* Author of the *Atalantis*. Of this piece, Two sheets only were printed, when Mrs. Manley hearing it was in the Press, and suspecting it to be, what it really was, A Severe Inventive upon some Part of her Conduct, she sent me [a] … Letter; But, upon hearing her own Story, which no Pen, but her own, can relate in the agreeable Manner wherein she delivered it, I promised to write to Mr. *Gildon* the next Day; and not only obtained his Consent to let Mrs. *Manley* see what Sheets were printed, but also brought them to an Interview, by which Means, all Resentments between them were thoroughly reconciled. Mr *Gildon* was, likewise, so generous, as to order a Total Suppression of all his Papers; and Mrs. *Manley*, as generously resolved to write *The History of her own Life, and Times*, under the same Title which Mr. *Gildon* had made Choice of. (iii-v)

Mr. Gildon was Charles Gildon, a Whig writer of specious biographies of public figures living and dead, and thus an author whose work would be likely to appear through Curll.[73] He appears rather frequently in studies of Behn's posthumous works as the specious editor who worked with Samuel Briscoe and perhaps wrote the "life" of Behn that accompanies Briscoe's novels. Curll's goals with this preface are economic: to add interest by repackaging a text whose copyright he owned, and thus could print for free as much as he chose; to print new letters from Mrs. Manley, giving buyers new material to digest; and to validate this text as a true account of the author rather than a memoir from other hands.

The first two were methods he and other publishers would use to increase interest in their texts, hoping a new title or a good preface could improve sales. The last is what would largely drive his changing the title to indicate this was a "true history" rather than a literary work. This perhaps unfair characterization of the work is where several critics,

including Baines and Rogers, have taken umbrage on Manley's behalf. Manley did not choose that title, instead publishing under the pseudonym of Rivella and as the translator of *The New Atalantis.* She evidently did not agree to market the book as a *true* history when she had several other goals in mind. While changing the title after her death may seem fair, appending author's names to later editions was not a wholly uncommon practice, and Curll owned the copyright— not Manley. Curll also likely included these notes because Manley's book was a shade above in quality than his readers would have come to expect. Curll became famous for publishing memoirs of any marginally famous public figure, and they were not of the best quality in writing or content. Rogers characterizes Curll's habits of publishing these "memoirs" as "constantly riffling through the garbage cans of the great, to find stray droppings that had somehow escaped notice and could be published as the writer's 'Remains'" ("Pope, Curll, Anonymity," 240). In contrast, Manley's work was cleverly written and sourced from the author herself. He did not have to advertise for letters or works from an author, as he had for Pope—he already had them or the ability to invent them with credibility. Curll would have undoubtedly wanted to highlight the authenticity of this work, especially as her death may have increased public interest in her work as it did for Behn.

It is probably clear from my characterizations of Curll thus far, but there is significant area here to debate the accuracy of this exchange. It is suspicious that Curll would have kept her letters for ten years (the originals have not yet been recovered), as well as unlikely that his congenial account of events resemble reality. A few of the peculiarities of the exchange do make his version stand out as probable. It is easy to imagine Manley having offended someone enough to try to publish a scandal about her life, and it is hard to imagine why else Manley would have chosen to publish with Curll when she had an intimate relationship with Barber. They were not on the best of terms. Curll tried to capitalize off her fame by publishing several volumes with *Atalantis* in the

title, and he would later inform on Manley to the government as possibly having a sequel to the *Atalantis* being printed. Lastly, *Rivella* went through three or four editions in her lifetime, and Curll did stand to make a profit from the book. Why Manley would have let another publisher, and one unconnected to the Tory cause, profit when Barber was her landlord and partner is difficult to understand unless there were irregular circumstances around her writing the book. Thus, I ascribe a hesitant acceptance to this general series of events, but with the caveat that the areas that are most circumspect are the letters that Curll publishes as authentically from Manley. These are more than likely a fictionalization of what transpired or a way to put a nicety on the whole, but they do not seem to materially change the narrative.

The other important aspect of Curll's account of *Rivella* is how the authorship transferred from a Whig political hit piece on Manley to a Tory secret history disguised as an autobiography. Like much of Curll's papers, Gildon's manuscript no longer exists. But Manley was a target, and it is almost certain that the motivation to write the original text of *Rivella* was connected to Gildon's Whig patron. Carnell argues that part of the reason Manley had been able to avoid personal attacks to this point was by going on the offensive—including her story as Delia in *The New Atalantis* that addressed her being John Tilly's mistress after her bigamous marriage and resulting illegitimate child (131). Carnell hypothesizes that Gildon could have had other information that she omitted from Delia's story, such as being the mother of several children by Tilley (134–136). Whatever this information was, it was evidently not more salacious than Manley's reputation, as Carnell also argues that Manley was able to change Curll's mind because of her authorial fame (216).

The least believable aspect of Curll's story is that Gildon happily gave up his edition after absolving his personal "pique" with Manley. What is much more likely is that this was a decision Curll made, choosing to publish Manley's version of her life as it

was much more likely to sell and go through multiple editions. We can speculate what methods Curll or Manley used to convince Gildon not to publish the work, be it an exchange of money, favors, threats, or promises to publish his future works. Even with all Curll's feigned civility in his address, it would have been a serious decision to sacrifice the labor that had been done by if Gildon's version was actually in the press.

In this scenario, Curll's moral malleability worked to Manley's favor. From Charles Gildon's point of view, this discussion would have a very different intonation. From Manley's situation, Curll is a useful party to her adapting an unfortunate situation to her benefit. Curll's willingness to abandon those he had made deals with or change the terms of those deals is something scholars and his contemporaries would lament and criticize. There were no damaging revelations in *Rivella*, and instead Manley controls the narrative. What joined Manley and Curll was personal motivations—Manley wanted to avoid a destructive piece and Curll wanted to make money. Thus, they were able to come to an agreement that suited them both, using the other's strength to their individual advantages.

In both the original 1714 version and the updated version, Curll maintains Manley's preface, titled "The Translator's Preface." In an homage to the original *New Atalantis*, Manley publishes pseudonymously and maintains her disguise as the translator of French documents. Just as Manley added layers of distance between herself and the origin of the text with *The New Atalantis,* she translates a fictitious French publisher's preface that details the "found letters" origin of the papers. The translator reveals that after the conversation between the frame narrative, involving Chevalier D'Aumont and Sir Charles Lovemore, the former "laid a Discretion with Sir Charles Lovemore (who reproach'd him with not being attentive to his Relation) that he would recite to him upon Paper most of what he had discours'd with him that Evening" (ii-iii). The translator is a holdover from her *Atalantis* product line with Barber, so the motivation for such an

address probably lies with Manley more than Curll. The preface does not have as much of her characteristic wit, however, and it is possible to read some reticence about the situation by her lack of engagement.

Curll also used anonymity to his advantage, no doubt taking it as a warning that Manley was arrested for the *Atalantis* only a few years prior. That Curll is the bookseller is not revealed on the title page. Rather, no publisher is mentioned, and instead just the date and price are printed. Rogers and Baines note that is likely Curll "hid behind the identity of real individuals" like his trade publisher John Roberts, who handled the printing and advertising of this and other knock-off volumes such as *The New Atalantis for the Year 1713* ("Attribution of Books," 36). Curll used the same method as Barber, substituting Roberts where Barber would use Morphew and Woodward. This would have been something Manley would have related to, and it is not a stretch to imagine she would have approved of this method of protecting her pseudonymity. Of course, no one was safe for long with Curll. In 1717 Curll reissued the book with the title *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Manley Author of the Atalantis*, and, as previously discussed, further sold out Manley's correspondence in the fourth edition. For the first edition at least, *Rivella* is a collaboration that would have worked out best for both, as both were used to operating on the outskirts of legitimacy. Stripped away of the moral censures, it seems as equitable a partnership as Manley and Barber, if much shorter lived. That is, Manley made no material changes to her persona or methods when working with Curll and instead found a bookseller who had set up a system similar to her own. She was able to do this through the force of her own knowledge of the publishing system gained through her close relationship with Barber and her reputation gained through the machinations of them both.

I would like to posit, then, a further hypothesis as to why Curll was so willing to forgo his arrangement with Gildon in favor of one with Manley. In addition to all the

material benefits Curll would gain from a best-selling author writing scandal fiction about public figures, Curll could have imagined a congenial working relationship with Manley. She possessed few of the scruples that, say, Pope would have about the grubbier aspects of Grub Street printing. Gildon was a common writer for Curll, but Manley represented new territory. This is perhaps why he is comparatively kind to Manley and allows her to write the memoir herself.

Before ending, it is important to note that this is a singular example of congeniality between Curll and Manley. As I have noted, Curll not only published knock-offs of Manley's *The New Atalantis* but informed on her to the authorities that she may be writing a sequel. No copies were found, so we are left to wonder if it ever existed. Curll informed on Manley near the end of her life, after what I have characterized as a possibly useful relationship. I am not arguing, then, that they started to operate kindly and ethically toward one another and that their collaboration on *Rivella* changed their course. Rather, I am arguing that there was an accord of sorts, an agreement to work together for the benefit of both, that briefly brought their interests into alignment and created this book. This does not materially change the narrative of Curll as unethical, but it does question whether ethics were important to every person he worked with. Perhaps, in cases such as with Manley, neither party was too concerned with honest dealings and reputations as long as there was something to be gained. When we refrain from imposing such values on the relationship, we may learn that when two operate under the rose, it is possible that cooperation trumps hostility.

In addition to re-casting the dominant narrative of Curll, *Rivella* also brings into sharper contrast the enduring relationship between Manley and Barber. From her experiences in the 1690s, Manley showed she was able to navigate the book trade, but, similarly to other writers, she was bound within a system that did not prioritize her labor. She probably accepted standard payments for her plays from Bentley in 1696, and in the

early 1700s she was still working to establish herself with reliable tradesmen. Barber was a turning point, one that taught Manley about the material sides of the trade and gave her a negotiating advantage in multiple aspects of her career: negotiating with Steele for *Lucius*, writing a fake dedication with *Memoirs of Europe,* and convincing Curll to let her write *Rivella* instead of Gildon. While Barber may have made a portion of his fortune off Manley, it seems without a doubt that Manley was able to transcend the challenges faced by Behn and her contemporaries of both genders who did not have the advantage of economic freedom and stability.

Curll and Barber also emphasize that beyond Manley's singular desire to transgress feminine social boundaries are figures who are willing to financially back these choices. Manley's choices may be proto-feminist and political, but they are equally financial and collaborative with her booksellers who made these same choices. This narrative of author-bookseller relationships suggests that gender was a single possible factor in how books could be marketed and understood, and savvy commercial authors such as Manley were able to slip in and out of the mask of the feminine author as it suited their text and context. Thus, Manley's books, rather than Manley's texts, are cultural productions of gender that involve complex markings of economic, political, and social considerations.

CHAPTER V

"MISTRESS OF MULTIPLICITY": ELIZA HAYWOOD AND THE PRODUCTION OF LITERARY CAPITAL

Eliza Haywood is both known and unknown. She is the most prominent woman author in early eighteenth-century literary studies, eclipsing Catherine Trotter, Jane Barker, Susanna Centlivre, or Mary Montagu. She has been the subject of almost as many book-length works as Behn and populates numerous studies on Pope, Richardson, and Clara Reeve as a colorful anecdote. Yet, she is notoriously ambiguous both in her personal life and in what she actually wrote during her life. In her biography, Kathryn R. King is able to account for surviving documentary evidence on a page and a half. Paula Backscheider once aptly characterized her as a "shadow." Catherine Ingrassia details her ability to flow through multiple literary economies, both defying conventions and confronting to them. She was, as King ends her biography, a "mistress of multiplicity" (195). She resists every model of authorship literary scholars have developed, including the ones spun around her impressive output and adept managing of her literary products. Out of the authors in this dissertation, Haywood easily leaves behind the most bibliographic information, the result of an impressively productive career that included: writing, publishing, and acting; selling her own books and others; and subscription publishing, outright payments, barters, extended relationships with booksellers, and one-off titles we could imagine went to the highest bidder.

The sheer diversity of ways that Haywood interacted with the social, political, legal, economic, and cultural worlds of the time points toward how useful she is as a new model of commercial authorship as fundamentally, not incidentally, rooted in the production of literature. Her career encapsulates the way that writing was not "purely the

product of a disembodied intellect, but … always concrete and physical, mediated by technology, subject to market forces, and shaped by audience demand" (Maruca 4). This approach to Haywood's authorship, articulated in the introduction to this dissertation, is not alien to any of the chapters I have written. But more specifically here, than in any other, I position Haywood as engaging in what Lisa Maruca calls "text work" as opposed to literary work. Maruca proposes text work as a way to explore how "the rhetoric of print" equally informs studies of authorship alongside "other discursive practices" (5). I argue that Haywood's career should be correctly understood as text work, not simply literary work, because of her active and sustained engagement with forms of literary production and collaboration of which writing was only one.

There is a natural and understandable trend in Haywood studies to privilege her writing career over all other forms of literary engagement. As one example, in an article on Haywood's pamphlet shop, Patrick Spedding argues that any account of Haywood's publishing "needs to be supplemented with information on her *writing* (which, for Haywood, was probably her primary business activity)" ("Eliza Haywood," 43, emphasis in original). Spedding is correct in his broad view of Haywood's output, but his privileging of her writing is presented as a given rather than an argument. There is no evidence that she made more money from her writing than selling, and such implicit values for authorship need to be interrogated. It is the business of this chapter to make sense of all these forms of textual production but not to spin a satisfying literary narrative. Haywood's career demands the kind of interdisciplinary inquiry that has come to fruition in book history, for any kind of narrative that considers her literary texts alone will limit its usefulness. Haywood was not simply an author, nor even the kind of "author" intent on developing the English novel or forwarding women's literary position that literary scholars tend to privilege. Haywood was, as in Catherine Ingrassia's

characterization, the master of multiple literary economies, slipping into various positions without fully abandoning those she left behind.

The first section will address Haywood scholarship and put it in a dialogue with the bibliographic reality of her canon and the significant issues with attribution of some of her most famous works. I then consider two moments in Haywood's career in depth, using the limited canon and a publishing history of her career to explore how Haywood positions herself, from the beginning, as a *member* of the book trade and not an author working *for* the book trade. The second section analyses Haywood's career in the 1720s. She almost exclusively works with William Chetwood, Daniel Browne Jr., and Samuel Chapman initially, but in the second half of the decade she abandons sustained relationships with her booksellers. Instead she becomes a "free agent" and develops wide relationships within the trade. The last section connects Haywood's trade relationships to the 1740s when she ran her pamphlet shop at the Sign of Fame. I re-situate the common reading of this endeavor as socially rebellious as instead within the norms of women's roles in the book trade. Haywood was what Michael Treadwell calls a "trade publisher" and not a publisher in the modern sense, which aligns her with feminized distribution. Women often ran bookshops, and managing the shop front and bookkeeping were activities taken up by widows, wives, and daughters. By developing a wide-ranging network of booksellers in the 1720s, Haywood was always managing stock and working within the trade, and I argue this endeavor was an extension of that work.

In this chapter, more than any other, I am indebted to scholars who have recovered Haywood's interactions with the book trade and understood her work as essentially informed by her relationships with booksellers. The large amount of work that has been done on Haywood and her booksellers eclipses the other two figures in this dissertation and indeed, I argue, all women authors in the long eighteenth century save, perhaps, Jane Austen. What was recovery work for Behn and Manley is here a re-

situating and an update to the scholarship. With time and more attention, Behn, Manley, and dozens of other figures may challenge and reshape the material and gendered model of authorship that Haywood suggests, but for now Eliza Haywood stands as a promising example of the future possibilities of eighteenth-century women's authorship and book history scholarship.

Evaluating Haywood's Canon and Publishing Practices

Before analyzing how Haywood interacted with her booksellers, it is important to clarify what texts I categorize as likely having been written by Haywood. Similar to Behn's works, Haywood's canon has not received rigorous scrutiny until recently. Revisions from Leah Orr's evaluation of Haywood's canon and Patrick Spedding's 2004 bibliography has the potential to dramatically shift the literary history scholars have relied upon for her work, as it removes key texts from the Haywood canon because of unreliable attribution standards.

Spedding's bibliography has provided a framework to allow scholars like Orr and King to critique attribution and inclusion. The most important of these comes from Orr, who qualifies or advocates for skepticism of twenty-nine out of seventy-two imprints in Spedding's text.[74] Total, the qualified titles are 40% of what scholars often consider Haywood's work. Some of the texts that Orr isolates as unlikely to have been (but possibly) written by Haywood include staples such as *Betsy Thoughtless*, *Opera of Operas*, and *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia*. The last of which, in particular, breaks an attribution chain and severely re-categorizes Haywood's career as a writer of secret histories.[75] Orr's basis for re-evaluating Haywood's canon stems from skepticism of such attribution chains, examples of what she calls "dubious and unsubstantiated evidence" (357). She establishes the reliability of available evidence

through careful analysis in detailed appendices that should be mandatory reading alongside the Spedding bibliography for Haywood scholars.

Orr and Spedding's careful analysis of ownership and attribution also brings up significant questions about how to understand what choices Haywood could and could not make in regards to the physical creation of her books. Of the significant amount of literature on Haywood's interactions with the book trades, there are two main threads: either a model of marginalization or one of agency. Both are gendered, and neither adequately considers the book trades' culture and norms. For the first, one of its main voices is Ingrassia, who argues "Haywood was under the (primarily) male control of booksellers who recognized her ability to 'please' her audience and emphasized the cumulative weight of her literary production" (83). This model of gendered marginalization[76] has Haywood, as the female author, and the male booksellers in an uneasy union. But as the introduction detailed, it is reductive to assume that Haywood's experiences followed this gendered line since so many laborers were also women. As the previous two chapters have shown, the antagonism between Haywood and her booksellers is also harder to prove when examined within the symbiotic relationship of mutual financial goals. She was under their "control' as much as any professional author was reliant on booksellers. Haywood is no different than Behn and Manley in that the few receipts that exist indicate she was typically and regularly paid.[77] Yet the narrative persists that the cultural transgression of public speaking and publishing extends to her relationships with booksellers, where women are the transgressors in a male domain. For Haywood, this persistence is particularly perplexing given how much evidence exists that booksellers valued, promoted, and courted her output (as Ingrassia notes).

While it is not quite true that Haywood was completely controlled by her booksellers, neither is it accurate that she was able to fully circumvent the hierarchy that favored tradesmen over authors. Karen Hollis describes how Haywood's "manipulation

of publishing systems … challenged the gender- and class-marked literary practices through which male writers like [Richard] Savage and Pope sought to keep their scribbling hands free from the taint of commercial trade" (53). Haywood's manipulations are described as the use of her name on title pages and selectively using different booksellers for different product lines. King characterizes her choices as her "inborn business sense that she would need to rely upon what today we would call branding or product placement to survive in the burgeoning literary marketplace" (32). King's version of Haywood is a figure as invested in "brand identities" and "the creation of product lines" as any literary and narrative choices (32). Haywood's methods blend Behn's development of the radically feminine persona and Manley's deft use of the pseudonym, alternately deploying them in what King calls "clustered product lines" that both Haywood and her booksellers produced together (33). As King's analysis indicates, Haywood scholars foreground how publication and print were an essential part of this process, which was lacking with studies on Behn and Manley that focused on the authors' development of personae alone.

While these studies are accurate in their observation that Haywood works within the publishing system, the specific spaces where they identify Haywood's agency are not wholly logical. As was true with Manley, Ezell notes that it is not always clear if the choice to put a name on title page was the author's or the bookseller's ("By a Lady," 70). While it is highly likely Haywood was involved in her branding, it was not her *alone* who made these choices. Booksellers were her essential collaborator, authorizing her textual choices with financial backing and materializing them in books. With this in mind, it is neither that Haywood worked against tradesmen antagonistic to her cause, nor that she transgressively manipulated systems to her advantage despite their wishes. Social and rhetorical models of transgressive femininity do not map onto this relationship. Instead, Haywood actually relies on the production of literature to reach her

audience. She is not successful in spite of it. Her transgressions are social and cultural, disruptive the narrative of women's roles and the kinds of speech that were expected, allowed, or authorized. And while it is true that gender influences the majority of how Haywood interacted with the world through power dynamics and cultural expectations, her career demonstrates it is less of a disruptive factor in the book trade where booksellers marketed novelty and taboo. While her work had elements of social transgression, her patterns and publications are mundane by book trade standards.

Scholars have relied on discussions of transgressive agency without probing the implications of *what* was being transgressed and who was, simultaneously, helping her accomplish these goals. It was not the norms of the book trade that Haywood was defying. Rather her publishers and booksellers were active participants in the creation of Haywood's personae by giving them material form. Each of Haywood's cultural transgressions was a collaboratively produced argument for the importance and marketability of women's writing that would not have been possible without tradesmen's implicit authorization of her writing. Through the very existence of the books and the rhetoric of print, Haywood's booksellers repeatedly created the material space of women's writing in the market. Any discussion of Haywood's agency has to render these laborers as collaborators in the process, not invisible tradesmen who somehow represent both the method of success and antagonists.

Haywood's collaborations with her booksellers position her as a laborer in the book trade, one of many women who no doubt materialized and distributed her texts. She was certainly in a disadvantageous position as an author in a trade that did not particularly protect authorship. But rather than assume her gender made this situation worse because being a woman was socially precarious, Haywood's experiences should force us to ask what being a woman laborer would have meant within the trade. Her experiences and success, perhaps more than even Behn and Manley, emphasize the

intersections of class and gender and how women laborers were able to manipulate certain structures to their advantage within the economy in which they worked. Their identities were feminine, and their labor reflects and acknowledges this identification in both the texts they wrote and how they were marketed. However, the book trades operated on a currency where a feminine identity would be valuable.

Haywood's Network: Writing for Booksellers in the 1720s

The 1720s are when Haywood's collaborations are the most stable, and the books printed in this period establish the identity and relationships she maneuvered for the rest of her career. This brief period of relatively stability is characterized by the phrase that Haywood "wrote for the booksellers" (King 10). This phrase gestures to the reality that she wrote with the tastes of the literary market in mind to satisfy commercial goals. Her books seem to anticipate the kinds of necessities that would be synonymous with the profit-driven model of literature that booksellers symbolize. The implication is that she did not bother if it was *any good*, only if it could *sell.* Secondly, writing for the booksellers seems to mean that she wrote by request rather than writing from a kind of artistic inspiration. This narrative emphasizes that she responded to booksellers' desire for more novels within certain themes such as passion and danger, and she obliged as if fulfilling contracts that we must, sadly, only imagine, as most are lost to time. The last narrative thread is that her relationships with these tradesmen were a necessary part of her authorial career. A writer working with booksellers must have some booksellers in mind willing to financially back her work, market it effectively, and perhaps solicit more work.

There are both highly suggestive and worryingly reductive aspects to this thread, which has established itself as one of the dominant ways to understand Haywood's

literary career. It is indeed suggestive that of all the professional authors after the Restoration who wrote with the literary marketplace in mind, Haywood is emphasized as exceptional for this identity. Her active engagement with the book trades is set up as noteworthy, and across Behn and Manley scholarship no such phrasing appears. Yet, as the two previous chapters easily demonstrate, it is just as true that Behn "wrote for the booksellers" as Haywood. Given that many scholars work on Behn and Haywood, it stands to reason that something about Haywood's career has drawn scholars in this direction. For her more than the other two, and indeed more than even her contemporaries like Susanna Centlivre, she has been discussed through the lens of the book trade. This is both helpful and a hindrance. It is no doubt because of this focus that more is known about Haywood's publishing career than any other woman author in the time period. Her bibliography from Spedding details who owned the copyright, when it was sold and for how much, and when it was advertised and in what format. This is partially due to the depth of resources that survive from the eighteenth century, which are far greater in number than Restoration documents and make stringing together sales and ownership much easier. It could also be that Spedding's publishing-history-oriented study was informed by the values of what those who study Haywood are most interested in.

What has been a hindrance and worrying about this thread of inquiry is that it seems to rarely pull from the substantive publishing history scholarship found in studies of the book trades in the long eighteenth century. In this respect, both King and Spedding are exceptions, as well as several other scholars including Orr and Paula McDowell. A good chunk of Haywood scholarship was first published in the 1980s, and, admittedly, this was before the genre-shifting work of McDowell's *The Women of Grub Street,* which has become a significant history of the publishing industry. However, the repetition of foundational literature in citations and discursive boundaries have

prevented what should have been a widening of the scope of Haywood studies to account for the publishing practices that have been recovered and given a wider spotlight by the popularity of book history. The recovery of how Haywood might have written "for the booksellers" must be attentive to standard publication practices and remuneration, guild laws, copyright, and the book trade's wide-ranging treatment of women professional authors.

In addition to incorporating this viewpoint in the following pages, this section also probes beneath the surface of the monolithic designation of "the booksellers." Similar to the ways the term "women authors" is a useful but nondescript category for the diverse subjects who wrote and published literature, the "booksellers" elides the strikingly variable of methods, values, and practices of the tradesmen and women who produced Haywood's literature. Given the truism that Haywood wrote for the booksellers, one should immediately ask *which booksellers*? This is an unexpectedly complicated question, as Haywood's patterns are not what are typically expected of a professional author. As chapter one detailed, narratives of professional authorship detail the paper trails of Dryden, Swift, and Pope. Similarly to Behn and Manley, Haywood has much less information available about her practices. But, dissimilarly to the other two, Haywood abandons the long-term and fruitful collaborations with booksellers that have come to be considered standard practice. Instead, she becomes a "free agent" who moves from bookseller to bookseller. With little surviving paper trail, it is up for speculation why Haywood takes this tactic within the boundaries of professional authorship.

By considering Haywood's wider literary labor, or text work, her motivations may be clearer. I argue that she created a wide-ranging network by pursuing breadth instead of depth. Since Haywood's career has often been characterized as the purposeful manipulation of the book market, this can be extended and her publication patterns

understood as purposeful. It can illuminate how she pursues a different method of engaging with the book trades that ultimately opens more doors for her as an actress, trade publisher, and author by profession.

Haywood established herself in the early 1720s with three firms belonging to William Chetwood, Samuel Chapman, and Daniel Browne Jr., respectively.[78] Haywood's output for this period is substantial. Even using Orr's reduced canon, there are thirty-three individual works published from 1719–1729, with fourteen from 1719–1724 that include multi-volume works. As Figure 2 shows, of the fourteen titles, Chetwood, Browne, or Chapman overtly own eight. Spedding argues that it is likely Browne and Chapman, at least, were involved in the four belonging to James Roberts, a trade publisher who would not have owned any copyright. If this is true—and indeed there are no other contenders for ownership—then Browne and Chapman are connected to eleven imprints in three years.[79] As a visual, Figure 3 represents imprints that Browne and Chapman touched versus those that they did not, showing a clear period from 1722–1724 where Haywood was almost entirely dependent on this partnership as they account for 78.5% of her output.

Haywood's first publisher was Chetwood, who she met while acting in Dublin, and he was connected with the theatre at Drury Lane where Haywood began to act as well (Coppola 142). His business at Cato's Head was newly established, with the earliest ESTC entry dated as 1718 for Colley Cibber's *The Tragical History of King Richard III.* The 1719 publication of Haywood's *Love in Excess* was certainly at home within Chetwood's growing brand of popular literature and what Al Coppola identifies as "high-brow belles-lettres" (143). Chetwood's holdings do not seem only marketed toward a high-brow audience, with popular poems in broadside, plays, and ballads rounding out his collections. He does seem to be establishing himself as a bookseller

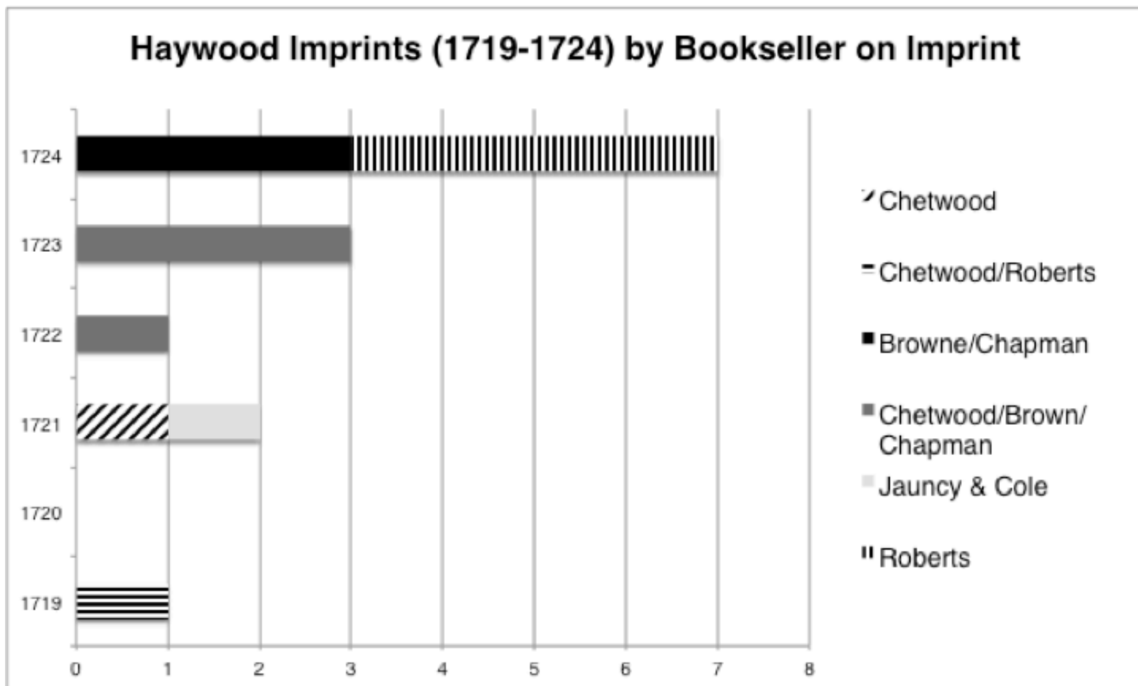

Figure 2: Eliza Haywood's imprints from 1720-1724 organized by bookseller

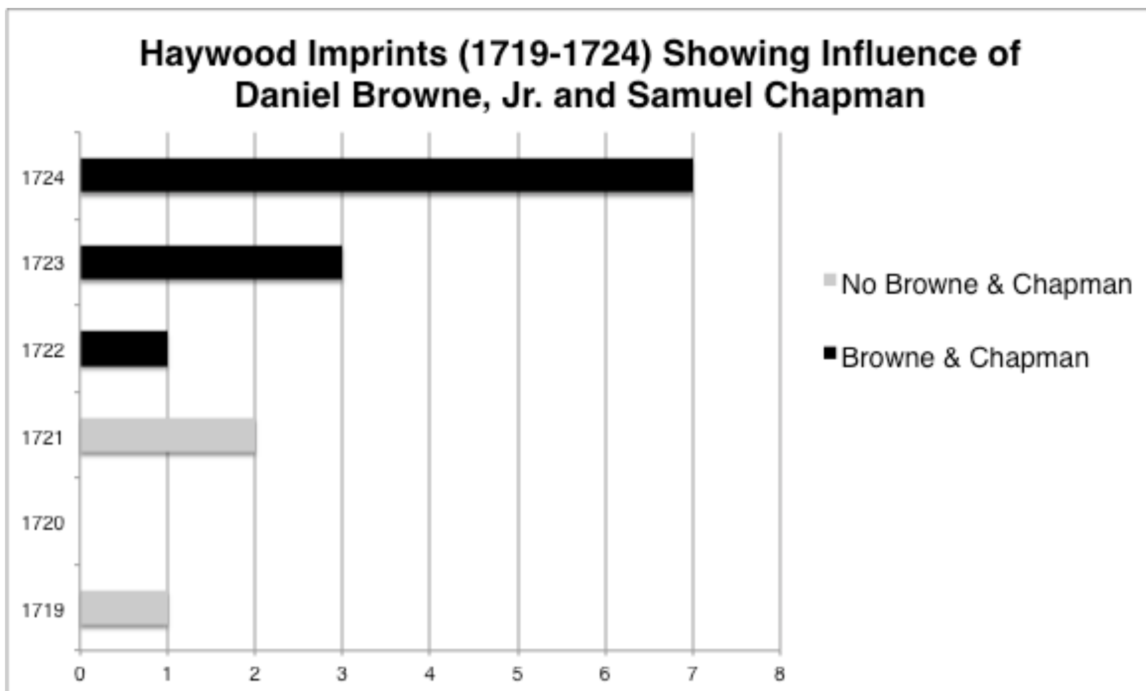

Figure 3: Eliza Haywood's imprints from 1720-1724 grouping the booksellers Daniel Browne Jr. and Samuel Chapman together versus other partners

in the sense that he was financing the printing of literary works like *Love in Excess*, not just interested in selling them or distribution.[80] Chetwood's early influence is certainly the sense that he was financing the printing of literary works like *Love in Excess*, not felt in the paratext, as the first volume of *Love in Excess* does not bear Haywood's name, but does feature a dedication to Anne Oldfield on the author's behalf, signed by Chetwood. This arrangement was Haywood's only moment of publicly feminine modesty. The dedication allowed Chetwood to "subtly place Haywood in a pre-established literary and theatrical network including the literary circle surrounding Aaron Hill" that she would work within for several years (Ingrassia 81).

Chetwood has two imprints that he produces for Haywood without Browne and Chapman, both in the period of 1719–1721. The first volume of *Love in Excess* has Chetwood listed with R. Franklin and Roberts as the distributor. Chetwood seems to finance the second two volumes on his own, and by the time they are in a second edition in 1722 Browne is listed first as presumably the primary partner, along with Chapman. From the second issue of the second edition forward, Chetwood is removed from the title page.[81] The other imprint is the 1721 *Letters from a Lady of Quality*, the only time Haywood attempts subscription publishing. It was a mixed success, and Spedding comments,

> If Haywood was hoping to make her fortune by using the subscription method of publication, she would have been sorely disappointed ... That *LLQ* was subsequently issued to the public at less than the price advertised on the *Proposals* indicates that the publisher was keen to recoup his costs and was not optimistic about the chances of doing so for the listed price ... Although it was not uncommon for subscribers to include a gratuity for the author with their subscription, Haywood appears not to have attracted many wealthy subscribers

and so she is unlikely to have benefitted much from this practice. (*Bibliography,* 101)

If *Letters from a Lady of Quality* was not the rousing success Haywood and Chetwood at hoped for (and, indeed, it seems not to have been), it could have precipitated the change from Chetwood to Browne and Chapman who begin appearing on imprints in 1722. Chetwood was on friendly terms with Haywood by all accounts, but he was a beginner at being a bookseller who could not have the distribution, capital, and connections that established booksellers would have had. Chetwood would have been more dependent on early speculative publishing titles to support his business than booksellers like Browne. The lack of a good return on *Letters from a Lady of Quality* could have been the only expensive volume Chetwood was able to finance at the time.

For being the most influential pair of booksellers in Haywood's career, little is known about Browne and Chapman's practices or history. For a brief period of time, they seemed to operate as a unit, where Browne's name was always first in a nod either to alphabetization or that he was the partner more actively involved in the production of the books. Both of their backgrounds indicate they had connections and training that Chetwood lacked, even though Browne was still apprenticed when he began producing Haywood's work. It also means they had the ability, through access to the English Stock and inherited partnerships, to complete the everyday jobbing printing that sustained them while holding out on long-term profits on riskier literary publications like novels.[82]

Their dynamic can be somewhat pieced together through records, which paint a picture of a young apprentice in Browne and the more established Chapman as a guiding or financing partner. Chapman was born into a printing family, first appearing in the ESTC in 1716 and probably taking over for his father, Thomas, at the Angel in Pall Mall. He was a freed member of the Stationer's Company who could enter and protect copyrights. In contrast, Browne was not freed when he began printing Haywood's

novels. He was the son of a prominent stationer, Daniel Browne Sr., who has a significant history in the trade that includes a kind mention from John Dunton and publishing some of Behn's works. Browne was bound to his father in 1716 and freed in 1725; since apprentices were freed at the age of 24, he was certainly young when he started printing Haywood's works in 1722. All of Browne Jr.'s imprints direct customers to his father's shop in Temple Bar. Browne Sr. died in 1727, so it is highly likely that this period is when the father was allowing his son to slowly take over the business. In 1726, Browne drops the "junior" from his name and also takes over a much wider array of printing responsibilities.

It is highly likely that the Browne and Chapman partnership was driven by Browne's desire to invest in Haywood's novels, with both partners buying in equally when copyright data is available (Spedding). The dates of their shared imprints begin and end with Haywood, and Browne's name always appears first. One of their first collaboration was buying into the second edition of Haywood's *Love in Excess* in 1722.[83] Their last was a 1727 re-issue of *La Belle Assemblée*. Within the pages of works they produced by Haywood are only a handful of novels and French translations including *The Lady's Philosopher's Stone*, *The Prude*, and *The Exiles of the Court of Augustus Caesar*. Orr rates the first as possibly by Haywood, and the booksellers certainly add circumstantial, but not concrete, evidence that this is possible. The other two are both within the same genre as Haywood—a French translation and a novel written "by a young lady" that was once erroneously linked to Haywood.

This context suggests that Haywood's first five years of publishing and her collected works were largely driven by Browne and were the early experimentation by an apprentice who made his first bet on Haywood. Browne was imagining a separate product line than his father's business, using a different partner and investing whole-heartedly into the works of one author.[84] Browne and Chapman's first collection of

Haywood's works built on an earlier attempt by Chetwood, who advertised *The Danger of Giving Way to Passion* from 1720–1723. Spedding argues that Chetwood was a trade publisher and that these novels would have been actually owned by Browne and Chapman, as they alone appear on the imprints when they were eventually produced (*Bibliography* 55). While I disagree with the assessment of Chetwood as a trade publisher given that he also financed work, Spedding's assessment proves that either Browne and Chapman were part of the initial plan or quickly bought into it. The copyright for all five works were sold later as a unit and probably commissioned together (55–56).

The five novels were rolled into the 1724 *The Works of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, which was a four-volume collection that grew as Haywood continued to publish. Spedding notes that while Chetwood was involved in both series, it was Browne and Chapman who really financed the second collection after abandoning the initial title that was advertised. The new title of *Works* was, Coppola argues, a re-branding in more than title. While the first was Chetwood's "attempt to market Haywood as a prestigious author of high-culture belles-lettres," the second was Browne and Chapman marketing "Haywood as a rather different kind of writer specializing in amatory intrigue and thinly veiled scandal" (137).

Their choice of *Works* was purposeful. In the years surrounding Haywood's *Works*, Jacob Tonson was producing a series for a variety of authors like John Milton, William Shakespeare, John Phillips, Thomas Shadwell, Virgil, Thomas Otway, Thomas Southerne, and George Etheredge. Tonson was famous for printing both the classics with Milton, Shakespeare, and Virgil alongside living authors, creating his own canon of English literature.[85] While Chetwood, Browne, and Chapman would not have been able to achieve the same kind of prestige as Tonson, they were familiar with his methods by having all collaborated on the *Works of Mr. Thomas Southerne* in 1721, which could

have likely served as a model for printing the works of a still-living author. Their conspicuous choice of *Works* tried to elevate her writing to the same level as the many authors that Tonson printed over the decades. It was “an attempt to authorize one’s self in the literary marketplace, to set the boundaries of one’s textual production and to encourage that they be read as parts of a unified, literary whole” (Coppola 149). The *Works* used Haywood’s portrait both as a generic convention and as a way to connect the literature to its the picture of a female author. As Sarah Creel argues, “Haywood’s public body and her private self are conflated. Less about accuracy or exact representation, this frontispiece symbolically establishes Haywood’s primacy both on the stage and in her authorial career” (34).

While Haywood’s collection may be positioning her as an author within the cultural line of Tonson’s other *Works*, one would be hard pressed to find Haywood’s deliberate choices within this collection. Beyond her image, Haywood does not explicitly develop an authorial persona, as she would with many of her other texts. If the individual works had a dedication or preface when they were printed, the *Works* maintains these addresses. There is no attempt at a collective dedication, and the individual title pages and non-matching paratext emphasize that these were printed and sold individually even while the title page declared their connection. The only text included newly written is *Poems on Several Occasions*, which does not have any additional paratext. The *Works,* for all of its attempts at legitimacy, reads like the booksellers’ attempts to re-package texts in a new format. It was, as Coppola describes,

> a stop-gap measure—a doubling down, so to speak, of an initial bet. Whereas the booksellers appear to have remained committed to marketing Haywood texts as highbrow belles-lettres for conspicuous consumption, they now believed that their best chance of doing so would be to reissue their old stock in the guise of a

prestigious collected edition of "Works," in the hope that this stratagem might succeed where a deluxe subscription project failed. (141)

While it was an edition designed around Haywood's writings, the construction of her persona was more the work of the booksellers than Haywood's intentional creation. It seems neither Haywood nor the publishers were willing to invest more time into creating a cohesive narrative, persona, or design the way that would be found in some of Tonsons' work.

The third collection was another re-branding of Haywood's work, this time only from Browne and Chapman and titled *Secret Histories, Novels and Poems.* It was printed in 1725, and Coppola details in a very useful chart what was included and what was excluded in this new collection. It was not a comprehensive account of Haywood's works, but another selective repackaging of the copyrights that Browne and Chapman owned, this time forwarding the idea of Haywood as the author of secret histories. The collection does not attempt the same kind legitimizing as *Works*, this time forgoing the frontispiece and using much more common and generic titles. This was fitting given its contents, which were much more specifically organized around popular literature rather than what could be called "polite" reading. The collection includes a new subset of three titles (in four volumes), linked by the title *The Masqueraders* and the trade publisher Roberts. Browne and Chapman probably used Roberts to obscure ownership, since the secret history was much more of a scandalous genre than even amorous novels. It is also possible that they wanted to avoid saturating the market with Haywood titles or that they used Roberts out of convention. Using a trade publisher was a convention of secret histories thanks to the popularity of titles like Manley's *The New Atalantis.*[86] Trade publishers could quickly get volumes to readers while the subject matter was still of interest.

Chapman and Browne's third re-branding of Haywood's works has often been read as a choice Haywood was actively involved in, but similarly to the second collected works, this volume seems to be the work of Chapman and Browne more than Haywood. While it is highly likely Haywood was aware of the publishers' plans for collected editions, the editions themselves do not bear significant marks of her involvement. They represent booksellers' attempts to brand Haywood appropriately for her audience and to find a way to effectively sell her work.

Perhaps the best way to understand these consecutive collections is a dialogue between how publishers influenced her writing and how she imagined her authorial identity. Spedding theorizes that she wrote the first five novels designed to be in *The Danger of Giving Way to Passion* on commission, and it is possible that such arrangements persisted as Browne and Chapman continued to market and sell these collected works. If so, then Haywood's authorial choices would have been interconnected with the booksellers who were producing her work. Within this context, her literary output cannot be understood without also linking it to the print-centered text work she was also engaged in. Her writing was motivated by the desires of Browne and Chapman whose vision of Haywood's career informed how she published, and beyond this their influence could have been felt in what paratext she used, to whom she addressed her dedications, and what distributors she used. Haywood's text work in this period would have been equally divided between writing and managing these connections, consulting with her trade-minded booksellers about long-term plans and producing different genres based on changing public interests and the generosity of her publishers. While she was incredibly productive in the sheer volume of text that she wrote, she was no less impressive in her sustained negotiations with the tradesmen who published that text. It is the latter labor, in particular, which seems to have been increasingly valuable to Haywood as she diversified her stake in the literary market.

This arrangement may have been very fruitful for Haywood, especially if split between working in the theatre and any other work she may have taken up. If she had continued in this fashion, hers may be a story similar to Dryden and Tonson where continued collaboration yielded success for all parties. However, that is not the case. As Figure 4 shows, after 1725, Haywood never works with a bookseller for more than three imprints.[87]

This break roughly overlaps with Browne being freed from his apprenticeship, so it is possible that the break was mutual. Browne took on the majority of his father's well-established printing business, and Haywood seems to have other plans in mind moving forward. What follows after 1725 is a significant change from an author who had largely stayed "monogamous" for the first six years of her career, enjoying not only distinct attention in multiple collected works, but booksellers willing to finance dozens of volumes in a short amount of time. This kind of relationship is what scholars of

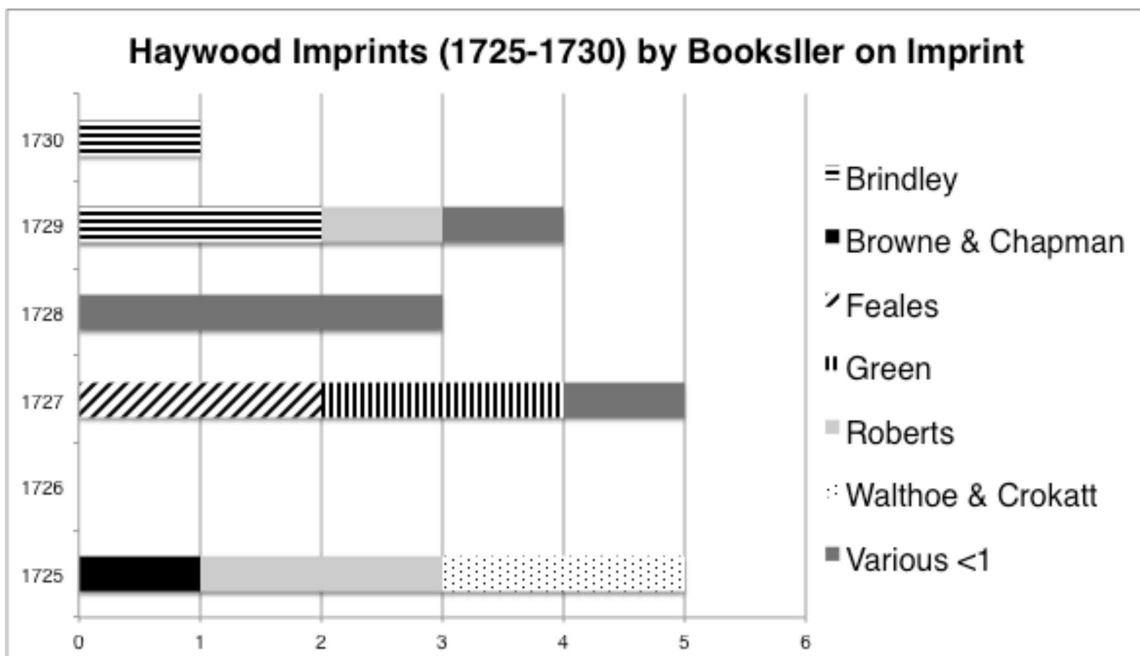

Figure 4: Eliza Haywood's imprints from 1725-1739 organized by bookseller

authorship are trained to look for—the sustained engagement with a single firm that allows an author to gain enough rapport and financial investment to develop a kind of authority with the pressmen and booksellers.

The knowledge of Browne's status as a very young apprentice suggests a new reason for why Haywood may have left her publishers in 1725, if she did indeed precipitate the change. The "try-and-try-again quality" of the collected editions could have underscored the inexperience of its main proprietors, especially the young Browne and recently established Chetwood (Coppola 137). Scholars have assumed that it was Haywood who published as haphazardly as she did in the beginning, with Spedding noting that her publisher was "indulgent" of her whims (*Bibliography* 57). It is equally as possible and perhaps even probable that, given the bookseller-centric aspect of these collected works, they were just as haphazard as Haywood. The continued re-packaging of her work was at best optimistic and at worst desperate, constantly and quickly re-trying efforts that seem to not be working. As Haywood became more acquainted with the book trade and its partners, it may be that she found the inexperience of Browne and co. grating on her attempts to create a cohesive brand and persona. King and others have emphasized Haywood's sophisticated marketing tactics, using alternate personas and publishers to suit her needs. The attempts of Browne and Chapman to establish her in the trade lack similar control and vision.

After 1725, it is possible to trace how Haywood chose her new partners, but it is not particularly illuminating to do so. There is not a cohesive narrative. Several of Haywood's booksellers only appear on a few imprints together in the ESTC, and their shops' physical locations do not provide any kind of illumination as to how she picked her partners.[88] It is possible that she simply sold her work to the "highest bidder," as Pope critiqued in the *Dunciad* (Pollak 10).[89] I would like to suggest that she began to work widely, rather than exclusively, as a reaction against the binding nature of her work with

Browne and Chapman. Engaged as she was in producing numerous multi-volume *Work,* she was probably limited from working in the theatre or pursuing other avenues of publishing, both of which she pursued in the following decades. That she abandons, rather than works toward, partnerships with a few booksellers is the opposite of what is expected from the professional authors who most often comprise literary histories, and Haywood's change in tactics in 1725 was long attributed to Pope's attack in the *Dunciad.* This myth in Haywood studies has been abandoned, but the narrative presented here provides another plausible and compelling reading of Haywood's activities that does not rely on Pope. Haywood's approach seems to be someone interested in maintaining control over what genre she produced, when, and with what kind of partner. There seems to be less interest in control over the material product, in the vein of Pope. Since Haywood's values are distinct from those that have been privileged, the assumption is that she is falling short of an ideal. However, that does not seem to be the case. Instead of looking to the *Works* as a pillar of the book trades' authorization of Haywood's immediate popularity, it could just as easily have been the haphazard and repetitive attempts of a young apprentice who used Haywood as his first attempt to trade in popular literature.

At the Sign of Fame: Eliza Haywood, Publisher?

Haywood's wide-ranging approach to working with booksellers also served another purpose: as a model for when she opened a pamphlet shop. She opened the shop in 1741, poetically addressed "at the Sign of Fame." This undertaking marked another shift in Haywood's career, as she transitioned from primarily acting in the 1730s back to the print side of the literary market. It was also, with the surest estimation, the most financially successful period of her life. But how she made this transition, what sort of

transition it was, and what kind of capacity she entered the book trade have been either neglected or misunderstood. Haywood is rarely, if ever, mentioned as a publisher in histories of the book trade, probably because her attempt was relatively brief and until recently has left few physical traces. In Haywood studies, she is often described as a bookseller, and this venture is when she attempts to "operate less as a woman writer dependent on male publishers and booksellers, and more as a literary entrepreneur acting with some agency within the marketplace" (Ingrassia 104). Hollis adds that Fame was where "She established an independence from the normal relations of the trade, which could have posed quite a threat to male authors as well as booksellers" (56).

Neither of these accounts is quite right, and both are enmeshed in assumptions about gender that limit the visibility of Haywood's labor while also forwarding an inaccurate picture of how Haywood could overcome gendered obstacles. In response, this section explores how correctly understanding Haywood's activities at Fame emphasizes her role as a laborer in the book trade that was indeed impacted by her gender, but not within the lens of authorship that has been assumed. Haywood's primary activity at Fame was not publishing in the contemporary sense of financing. She was not a bookseller but a distributor. Therefore her actions largely cannot be linked to a desire to assert agency over the production of her work or any other work. Instead, Haywood's shop is a significant moment in a career that has been largely, and perhaps erroneously, defined by her writing alone. It emphasizes writing as one aspect of literary production and demonstrates how Haywood's earlier career of working successfully with booksellers allowed her to transition to a new stage of the production process that was no less gendered than writing, but had significant financial advantages. Her transition to selling and distribution was less of an abandonment of writing and more of an opportunistic attempt to tap into the area of greater financial success and respectability.

There are few scholars who consider Haywood's participation in the book trade and correctly place her within the trade's hierarchy. Most available information on the Sign of Fame comes from familiar sources: Ingrassia, Spedding, and King. Only they have spent significant time uncovering what Haywood sold, who owned the copyrights, and in general her approach to the marketplace. Beyond Haywood studies, there are publishing historians who address women's participation in the book trades more widely who help fill out the picture of Haywood's shop. The work of Maureen Bell, Margaret Hunt, McDowell, and Mitchell has been worryingly absent from any account of Haywood's publishing career. At the same time, none of them explicitly discuss Haywood, which is not that surprising given her relative obscurity. But it does mean that a woman successfully moving in and out of multiple parts of the literary economy, in Ingrassia's characterization, has lamentably escaped notice.

The physical details of Haywood's shop have come to light recently through the digitization of the Burney Newspaper Archive. King details that it was a glass-fronted building in Covent Garden, near the theatre and associated with all the theatre's fashionable crowds and seedier occupations. Before Haywood's tenure, it was an apothecary; after it would be a coffee house. King argues that Covent Garden was a popular and hip area where people of all sorts would mingle. In the vicinity were coffee shops, markets, an auction room, the theatre, and taverns. Haywood's potential customers are "men of wit" and theatergoers (103). Spedding emphasizes the seedier aspects of Covent Garden as full of "actors, in and out of work, demi-reps, drunken resellers, desperate gamblers, prostitutes, pimps and thieves," alongside writers (375). Spedding's version of Fame is a hodgepodge resonant with stationer's shops at the time, including everything from books and pamphlets to contraceptives and pornography.

The area would have been ideal for the work Haywood was doing, but exactly what to call that is trickier than one might expect. King and Ingrassia place Haywood's

activities at fame as somewhere between a trade publisher and a mercury, and what is implicit is that they disagree on the cultural positions of these figures. Spedding seems to characterize Haywood as somewhat of a stationer and bookseller, the issues surrounding which will be discussed at greater length below. In brief, this characterization is largely incorrect and signals to some of the greater issues with Spedding's treatment of Fame. By most accounts, Haywood indeed lies closer to Ingrassia and King's accounts, but their divergence on terminology is as much material as political. Ingrassia describes Haywood as "something akin to a mercury at the peripheral, and certainly unprestigious, edges of the print trade" (108). Mercuries earned their name from walking the streets and distributing periodicals, and it was an increasingly feminized trade. While Ingrassia aligns Haywood with the common mercury-women, King asserts that she was a trade publisher who held a place of cultural relevance. Ingrassia's version of the Sign of Fame comes from, in King's words, "feminist models of marginalisation" that assume women were at a disadvantage (104). Instead, King argues that pamphlet shops like Fame "were the gathering places of choice during a time of political crisis," and she argues that such a choice is resonant with Haywood's authorial identity as a politically engaged writer (105). While King does not explicitly argue Haywood was *not* a mercury, she is certainly engaged with a project that re-positions Haywood culturally and explicitly labels her a trade publisher. The difference between these two is not just semantic, but does indeed have gendered cultural weight and implications within the book trade and in the products one could expect at the shop.

As I have previously indicated, trade publishers, in Michael Treadwell's definition, were distributors who sold the works of others and specialized in cheap, popular literature. They were particularly identified as useful for a certain kind of distribution. They "let their name be printed at the bottom of political and otherwise dangerous works for a small fee" (McDowell, *Women of Grub Street,* 54). All three

authors in this dissertation partner with booksellers who use trade publishers, but for Haywood the peculiarities of the role demand further explication. Trade publishers did not only handle the distribution of scandalous or potentially libelous material, however. They were just as often used for convenience as anonymity. It was a group that did prominently include women because distribution was outside the control of the Stationers' Company guild laws. No apprenticeship or tools were required, and they initially sold cheap ephemera on the streets without the cost of a shop front. Treadwell lists, among others, Sarah Popping, Rebecca Burleigh, Abigail Baldwin, and Elizabeth Whitlock. Access to this group was relatively open to Haywood, and it seems to be an accurate definition of her activities. King has uncovered the majority of what she advertised as for sale seems to be published (financed) by other members of the trades.

While Haywood could be a trade publisher, it is not necessarily true that her contemporaries would have seen her as such. Both Margaret Hunt and McDowell note all prominent trade publishers were born into the trade, and Mitchell adds that women were unable to enter most positions without familial connections even if it was legally possible: "Nor is there any case of a woman entering the trade from scratch, other than at the level of the mercuries and hawkers, and since their backgrounds are unknown, many or most may in fact have had parents or husbands in the book trades" (40). The designation as a mercury, also involved in distribution, was much more permeable to women.

It is with skepticism Haywood should be considered a trade publisher in the eyes of her contemporaries. It is much more likely that she was distributing on a lower cultural scale as a mercury. While this concept has cultural issues attached to it, they are largely gendered not economic. Fame was "an upmarket shop, glass-fronted and fitted out with two cloth-covered counters, and it was advantageously positioned at a commercially desirable corner location that had a history of prosperous undertakings

going back nearly a century" (100). That Haywood chose to invest the time and money into such a shop instead of a stall certainly says something about the economic position she was attempting to secure; it was on the higher end of what mercuries would do, if that was how she conceptualized her work. Many women tradesmen like Dodd and Nutt had nice shops and most sold more than newspapers and pamphlets, and both are referred to as mercuries. While this may challenge stereotypes of mercury-women, it was common for them to be well established and sell a variety of texts. Pamphlets were "precarious" and highly competitive; a limited focus would have been "financially disastrous," so they diversified (Hunt 49). Perhaps most importantly, for her gender alone Haywood would have been associated with the mercury-women like Dodd and Nutt.

What is certain is that Haywood's primary activity at the Sign of Fame was distribution, the key act that binds mercuries, trade publishers, hawkers, and the like together. In the economic hierarchy of the book trade, Lisa Maruca argues that distribution was gendered feminine in its subservient and property-less relationship to the copyright-owning booksellers. She explains:

> Feminizing features also include the fact that publishers, like mercuries and hawkers, required little immediate start-up capital and little if any formal or technical education. Their work did require a certain level of functional literacy and numeracy, but a bookseller might happily assume that the trade publisher or mercury he hired had only enough reading ability to manage title pages and enough math skills to keep accounts. (110-111)

We can easily imagine Haywood's literacy skills exceed that of title pages, but this may have been as much of a challenge for her as limited capabilities were for other mercuries. When the Jacobite pamphlet "A Letter from H—G—g, Esq.... To a Particular Friend" was distributed to shops in 1750, seemingly without their knowledge, Haywood

was arrested as the author. In a defense that will be discussed in more detail below, Haywood uses a tactic that was similar to that of Dodd or Nutt when they were arrested— she claimed she was merely the distributor and had not read the material. Despite these roadblocks, women did enter these fields and hold a place of cultural importance for their ability to disseminate topical print material. It is an example of what Maruca identifies as the complex relationship between class and gender. While a woman's gender may seem to indicate a place of marginalization, it also opens doors that point to how "workingwomen possess an agency that allowed them, albeit not freely, to negotiate between [constructions of femininity]" (119). For as much as they were on the social margins, there were simultaneously "textual agents, with the authority and the responsibility for the safe circulation of the printed word" (120).

One can start to get a picture of why Haywood decided to take up this role and open a shop that primarily focused on the distribution of other booksellers' texts. Other than providing copy, which she did for twenty years, this was one of the only doors open to her in the book trades. Becoming a bookseller, printer, or the like would require her to marry into a family in the trade or formally apprentice herself, which would be unlikely for her age and rare for her gender. This complicates readings of her as attempting to fight against the control of the book trades, as she was pursuing a track that would have been relatively inconspicuous. Marking her actions as conspicuous betrays the values of text-focused literary studies that assume her choices are in the service of resisting male control and facilitating easier publishing of her work. Neither seems to be true.

In addition to practical considerations, the shop traded in the cultural currency that a topical political writer like Haywood would have been familiar with. While distributors were at the lower end of the book trades' hierarchy, they had political and social immediacy that was valued. As McDowell eloquently phrases it, our current conceptions of the pamphlet as a "lesser" genre are anachronistic:

> These forms of writing are topical, cheaply produced, and small in scale. They are also often anonymous, and they do not conveniently fit into literary critical paradigms emphasizing authorial subjectivity. Yet newspapers and periodicals were a major growth area in the eighteenth-century press, and throughout the period, the pamphlet, not the book, was the dominant form of print publication. ("Women and Business of Print," 142)

The women, or "textual agents," who were tasked with their distribution were essential aspects of the success and impact of this genre. Some were incredibly successful: Dodd would buy pamphlets by the hundreds, and Nutt ran her shop for forty years (Mitchell 38-39). All were able to build a cultural relevance and trade on the public's interest in inexpensive gossip, scandal, news, and politics. It was also a business that had few more risks than writing and, in fact, may have been compatible.

There is only a limited list available of what Haywood sold, which has been cobbled together from a few imprints that bear her name and advertisements. If she did not advertise it, we do not know that she sold it. There are significant challenges to this state of affairs; mercuries distributed the kinds of ephemera that usually did not bear the markers of the hands that passed them around. Unless Haywood's account books are found, which so far is not the case, we do not know how many choirs of pamphlets she may have bought up, if she distributed to other mercury-women in parts of the city or hired hawkers, or if she had standing orders with members of the trade to swap stock of trendy material. Given the kind of work Haywood seems to have been doing, all of this can be deemed likely to plausible, but without documented evidence it remains purely hypothetical. Helpfully, Haywood's bibliography lists the imprints that she advertised, but both Spedding and King update this list in significant ways in 2011 and 2012, respectively. These updates stem from the digitization of the Burney newspaper archives, which Spedding notes provided access to periodicals that were not available in

microform previously. Although Spedding's article and King's book were published too close together to cite each other, they helpfully end up with the same list of imprints and note an important addition to Haywood's story with her advertisement for her household goods. Spedding lists works both "published" and "sold" by Haywood, separating these items into different categories that will be shortly addressed (*Bibliography*). The most up-to-date list, in short titles collated from King and Spedding without this separation, is as follows:

1. *The Sublime Character* (1741)
2. *Robert Walpole … Vindicated* (1742)
3. *Europe's Catechisms* (1742)
4. *The Virtuous Villager* (1742)
5. *Anti-Pamela* (1742)
6. *The Busy-Body* (1742)
7. *The Ghost of Eustace Budgel* (1742)
8. *A Remarkable Cause* (1742)
9. *The Humours of Whist* (1743)
10. *The Chinese Orphan* (1744)
11. *A Voyage to Lethe* (1744)
12. *The Equity of Parnassus* (1744)

Spedding goes into more depth with each title, listing them as "published" or "advertised," which I omit for clarity ("Sign of Fame," 42), and King lists more details about their advertisements (96-97). Even though it is, we must imagine, a heartily truncated list of titles, there are more than usual difficulties in analyzing this relatively small collection of books.

The largest problem is that Spedding incorrectly conflates Haywood's job of distribution with that of bookselling, which we would call publishing. That is, in both his language and his method of transcribing imprints, he assumes that if Haywood advertised a work, she would have put her name on the imprint. We see this, in particular, when Spedding asserts "no copies are known" for *Anti-Pamela, The Sublime Character*, and *The Busy-Body* ("Sign of Fame," 31). This is a quizzical assertion. Spedding's bibliography includes collations for *Anti-Pamela* in the author section; in the

publishing section, he includes the transcription of the advertisement with, again, "no copy known" as the title (675). This description seems to mean that no copy with Haywood's imprint has been found. Including this description with the edition number at the top of the advertisement certainly suggests that Spedding believes there would be a copy. However, there is no evidence there would be. As King argues, Haywood was a "distributor of printed matter," and "there is no reason to think she meant to identify herself as a publisher in the modern sense" (97). The only large-scale work King argues Haywood seems to have had a share in is *The Virtuous Villager*, which was a joint project with Cogan. Yet the bibliography and Spedding's 2012 update persist in the assumption that if Haywood advertised for a work, she must have printed her own title page for it. It could be true, of course, but it could just as easily be untrue. Given that so few titles do exist with a Haywood imprint, we should consider them the exception, not the rule.

There are similar issues with expectations of Haywood's imprints for the other two works listed as "no copies are known"—that is *The Sublime Character,* and *The Busy-Body*—that clarify what Haywood was interesting in selling and how she handled the titles in her shop. For the former, *The Sublime Character of his Excellency Somebody*, there is more of a case that the first edition is lost. Whether it did or did not bear Haywood's imprint, it does seem likely that standalone editions of the short poem existed. Spedding cites an advertisement in 1741 in *The Gentleman's Magazine* that lists this and two other works as "printed for *Eliza Haywood*, at the Fame" (*Bibliography,* 679). Given the standalone advertisement, it is certainly likely that Haywood sold some individual copies of the pamphlet, and as an inexpensive political satire of Walpole, it fit the kind of pamphlets she would be interested in.

The last text in this group, *The Busy-Body*, is also available on *ECCO* and was financed by Cogan. Neither Spedding nor King has found convincing evidence

Haywood financed the work as a bookseller, and again seems to be serving as a distributor for the text. Spedding, correctly, rejects the attribution of *The Busy-Body* as Haywood's authorial work. But in doing so, the collation is lacking from the bibliography. That Haywood may have written *Anti-Pamela* assures the text a secondary entry with a full collection. Since no individual copy of *The Sublime Character* has been found, the lack of a full collation makes sense and one for the "second" edition of *No Screen!* is provided. However, with *The Busy-Body*, readers are left without an accurate representation of the text that Haywood sold. The note to the entry that exists below the collated advertisement reads that "no copies of *The Busy-Body* are known with a Haywood imprint" but that such an iteration "is possible" (666–667). This is certainly true, but it does not mean that collating the imprint that *does* exist that Haywood seems to have sold in her shop would not be useful. The repeated characterization of "no copy known" once again is confusing and implies something is missing when there is no proof, as the note admits, that it ever did.

In a generally excellent bibliography of Haywood's authorial career, the details of Haywood's publishing career languish lamentably behind. The updates on this topic from Spedding and King helpfully round out the picture of Haywood's shop, but the continued misrepresentation of what she sold and how she positioned herself in the trade detract significantly from any future study of Haywood's publishing practices. That Haywood was interested in selling rather than financing is an important distinction not only for the sake of pedantic accuracy, but because by isolating Haywood's economic goals, we can understand how she maneuvered herself into this new market. Selling pamphlets and books was not Haywood's only interest, but it was interconnected to the many ways that she made a living during this period. As Spedding notes, one cannot get a full picture of Haywood's activities during this period without also tracking her output as an author. He lists four works that she wrote, three of which were printed under

imprints other than her own. He curiously omits *Anti-Pamela* from his list of Haywood-authored works, which Orr rates as "probably" written by Haywood and Spedding includes in his bibliography. It is added to my list, with the understanding this was probably in error. The updated list below marks each authored text:

1. *The Sublime Character* (1741)
2. *Robert Walpole … Vindicated* (1742)
3. *Europe's Catechisms* (1742)
4. *The Virtuous Villager* (1742, author)
5. *Anti-Pamela* (1742, author)
6. *The Busy-Body* (1742)
7. *The Ghost of Eustace Budgel* (1742)
8. *A Remarkable Cause* (1742)
9. *The Sopha* (1742, author)
10. *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman* (1743, author)
11. *A Present for a Serving Maid* (1743, disputed author)
12. *The Humours of Whist* (1743)
13. *The Chinese Orphan* (1744)
14. *A Voyage to Lethe* (1744)
15. *The Equity of Parnassus* (1744)

The designation "author" serves to indicate Haywood either wrote or translated the text at least in part. *The Sopha* was a joint effort between Haywood and her partner William Hatchett, and it is no doubt true there will be other collaborations listed in a way that "author" cannot fully encompass. The two underlined texts indicate she both authored the content and helped publish the works, either as a copyright owner or by listing the titles as for sale at her shop.

The last of the updated titles, *A Present for a Serving Maid*, is ranked as a "possible" Haywood text by Orr, who finds no evidence she did *not* write it but also no evidence she did. Accordingly, the attribution should be considered with reserve, and I limit its influence on the narrative that follows. An appropriate level of skepticism is also applied to *The Virtuous Villager* and *Anti-Pamela*, which Orr rates as probable. Both *The Virtuous Villager* and *Anti-Pamela* were brought out under Cogan, who also financed *The Busy-Body* (King 97). King argues that it is possible Haywood had a small

share of *The Virtuous Villager*, which was a multi-volume translation written by "the Author of *La Belle Assemblée*." Haywood's authorship of *La Belle Assemblée* is confident, and Orr's skepticism of *The Virtuous Villager* grows from a reticence to base authorship solely on the chains of attributions (353). That Haywood also sold the book in her shop and seems to have a partial share of the copyright is certainly suggestive of her authorship. *Anti-Pamela* has been long attributed to Haywood and frequently taught as part of the satirical backlash to Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*. There is no evidence Haywood owned a share of the copyright for either this or *The Busy-Body*, a translation of Charles de Fieux according to the ESTC.

The texts we are sure, or relatively sure, of her authorship suggest a picture of Haywood the author/bookseller bartering her varied skills to stock her shop and keep her authorial career alive. If one considers *Anti-Pamela* and *The Virtuous Villager* as written by Haywood, it seems likely she accepted payment in copies to sell rather than a one-time payment. Perhaps, this included copies of all three texts by Cogan, which is how Haywood came to have them in her shop. Such a deal would be financially risky, in that Haywood would have to wait to sell her copies before recouping her profits, but she would likely make much more from selling than from taking a payment outright. Booksellers always made the lion's share of profits, and took the majority of the risks. It was certainly not that uncommon for booksellers and their partners to spread the financial risks between them and take ownership of copies to sell as payment for labor. What is interesting about this possible exchange is that Haywood was not the typical bookseller. She is bartering with the labor of writing, not printing or fronting some of the finances.

Her capital is translating *The Virtuous Villager,* a text marked with a persona used sparingly but with significant success through single imprints in both 1724 and 1734. The 1724 *La Belle Assemblée* was, according to Spedding's accounting, one of

Haywood's most popular works. It remained in print for forty years and its copyright value was "the highest of any Haywood work for which we have records" (*Bibliography,* 162). The 1734 iteration, *L'Entrien des Beaux Espirits,* was produced with Cogan's imprint and re-branded as "The Sequel to *La Belle Assemblée.*" It was less success than its predecessor, and the re-branding was an "attempt to boost poor sales" (*Bibliography,* 329). In addition to renaming the text, Haywood's name was eliminated from the title page, which Spedding theorizes was an attempt to "lower her profile as an author" (*Bibliography,* 329). Despite the lackluster success of *L'Entrien des Beaux Espirits*, ten years later Cogan again worked with Haywood, who completed another French translation with *The Virtuous Villager* that aimed as a more polite audience than some of her more scandalous texts. At six shillings for two volumes, it was markedly more expensive than the typical price of a pamphlet. It did not feature her name on the title page or dedication, and she prominently advertised it as "by the Author of *La Belle Assemblée"* with her imprint below and no deliberate connections between the two. Astute readers would have, no doubt, made the connection, but the poor sales of the volume that was marked with Haywood's name, *L'Entrien des Beaux Espirits*, indicate that her persona may have stayed ambiguous enough if she wanted to maintain distance. It was, in both authorship and advertising, the "blend of anonymity and oblique self-reference" that King isolates as representative of Haywood's post-1725 behavior (*Political Biography*, 194).

In resurrecting the author of *La Belle Assemblée,* Haywood referencing a significant financial success and rekindling a relationship with Cogan who did the sequel. Cogan published Haywood's works in 1730 (as part of a large group of tradesmen), 1734, and 1735. While the gap between the 1735 publication of *The Dramatic Historiographer* and the 1742 *Virtuous Villager* may look substantial, there is only one text between the two that does not appear to be financed by Cogan: *The*

Adventures of Eovaai. The 1730s was a low period in output for Haywood as she was more preoccupied with dramatic pursuits.[90] It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Haywood chose to work with Cogan shortly after beginning her new venture at the Sign of Fame. Cogan was a known entity and who had already invested three titles worth of finances in Haywood's abilities. Haywood was able to translate this transaction from that of an author to a bookseller, brokering copies of books in exchange for the labor of writing. This deal was the melding of the author-distributor role, equivalent to printers being paid for their labor with copies of the work to sell. This transaction emphasizes Haywood's keen understanding of the relationship of author to bookseller, that of the producer of a commodity with translatable value. It also points to one of the reasons Haywood may have undertaken the Sign of Fame as a business venture rather than returning to writing alone. She was forgoing immediate payments for future rewards, using what she had already established in her name and persona as the grounding for advancing her trade. The transaction led to her being able to stock her shop with three new, higher priced imprints and indicates she was investing in her future as a high-end mercury.

The last bit of recently recovered information indicates the level of success we may theorize for Haywood's shop. With the digitization of the Burney newspaper archive, both King and Spedding uncovered a bill of sale for her shop and home. Among other items, Haywood offers for sale six beds and a good deal of fine furniture. This bill of sale is not, in King's words, "what one expects to find in the possession of someone thought to be chronically beset with pecuniary distress" (101). The large number of beds, perhaps for her children, and number of household goods "were fairly expensive items and suggest that during this period she was commodiously circumstanced and able to support quite a considerable household" (101). Whether or not she bought the furniture on credit or made enough money in the theatre in the 1730s is unknown, and we do not

know if she was selling the items to pay off creditor, because she was moving to a more sustainable household, or simply because she no longer needed that many beds. However, it is certainly suggestive that Haywood was not the destitute mercury that earlier accounts have made her out to be.

As the earlier part of this section lamented, there is much we do not know about what Haywood sold in her shop. Part of the business of the mercury is invisible labor, as ephemeral as the pamphlets they distributed. It could be that the advertised works were those that were more aberrations than normal, expensive volumes like *The Virtuous Villager* that merited repetitive advertising in a way most pamphlets did not. In this way and others, it is possible our current list is heavily skewed in ways we cannot fully grasp, although historical context does give us some idea of what Haywood would have been up to. For that reason alone, we should be wary about drawing conclusive pictures of Haywood's publishing endeavor. Even with this uncertainty, her time at the Sign of Fame nevertheless uncovers much about Haywood's attitudes about writing and the relationship of the producer of text to the producers of material objects. Her transactions with her fellow publishers emphasize the act of writing as the labor of production, with a currency mutually acknowledged and valued.

Haywood's Fame also illuminates how much her approach to writing in the 1720s was enmeshed with the norms of the book trade. Her ease of bartering her writing with physical copies of books uncovers a value system of labor rather than imaginative work as her underlying motivation for writing. The various ways that she participated in the labor of the book trades are put on display in the 1740s, as in addition to selling whatever pamphlets and texts she could she did paid translation work, wrote her own texts, and managed a domestic and professional household. The large number of booksellers that she worked with from 1725 forward suggests how she was able to achieve this feat. Such an approach to publishing would have been predicated on many

transactions, a familiarity to business practices and contracts, and the building of trust and reputation as a reliable contributor. When Haywood returned to the book trade from the theatre, she did so in a capacity that relied on the same skills and relationships. Providing text to publishers was a feminized trade, aligned with prostitution and hack writing by Pope and others who eagerly sought to differentiate their intellectual work as separate from the common and "easy" methods of producing literature that were driven by the market (Griffin 3-5). Distribution was also feminized, and Haywood's ability to participate in both simultaneously highlights the relationship between distribution and production. Rather than conceptualizing Fame as a failed and separate endeavor from Haywood's career, we should be exploring how her translatable labor points to the book trade's attitudes towards authorship in the mid eighteenth century.

What is striking is how much connecting Haywood's career to histories of the book trade illuminates what has been murky or misconceived despite the fact that that scholars have consistently referred to the book trade as an essential component of her career. It is surprising how little narratives of Haywood's relationships with her booksellers rely on bibliographic research and the histories of the book trades that have been appearing with increasingly frequency in the last twenty years. The reluctance to consider Haywood as a laborer in the book trade and less of an Author, understood as an intellectual creator, no doubt stems from the *Dunciad* values that marginalized her work before feminist recovery efforts. Authors who were not seen as contributing to the rise of the novel of the development of domestic literature were historically of less interest. Now, although these views have been contradicted, feminist recovery has instilled the goal of finding *value* in women's writing. While Haywood's writing is certainly valuable in the development of the novel, secret histories, and women's writing, Haywood's career is also valuable for its extended involvement in the material, textual, and cultural production of literature. Her sustained and varied interactions with her booksellers and

collaborators have resisted purely textual readings of her career, and in turn Haywood suggests fruitful methods of re-considering authorship within the material and economic boundaries of the literary market.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood each challenge the notion of women professional authors being marginalized figures in the book trade. The booksellers they work with comprise the variety of different figures who were publishing literature after the Restoration: from the highly prestigious Jacob Tonson to the scurrilous Edmund Curll to the politically motivated John Barber to the generally unremarkable but successful Samuel Chapman. Yet despite all the differences between these tradesmen and their firms' practices, each reliably and consistently invests in women's writing with labor, paper, and time. Their methods do not obscure the gender of the author, instead highlighting it in ways designed to augment the methods the authors were using within the literary texts. While the authors' experiences are highly individual, they all indicate that booksellers saw women's writing as a commodity that was worth selling because it was gendered in a commodifiable way.

These authors also each uncover the challenges of working on women whose texts are mediated by the book trades and critiqued by social structures that characterize their writing as transgressive. Even through feminist literary recovery, scholarship on Manley's life and works is plagued by assessments of her sexual decisions, her relationship with Barber, and her secondary position in relation to more prominent male authors like Swift and Pope. Without Rachel Carnell's biography, little would be known about Manley's work with Barber. Yet Manley is unique in being one of the only prominent authors who uses an intimate, domestic relationship with a printer as one way of cultivating authority over the production of her texts. Manley's patronage is atypical in that it is socially taboo, but it nevertheless empowered her to develop a persona and

public profile without scrounging for small payments in a market that did not favor the labor of authors.

Further, the vast difference between scholarship on Behn and that on Haywood should prompt us to question why so much attention has been paid to Haywood's interactions with the book trade but not Behn's. The reason for this seems to be that Haywood's *Works* were published while she was alive and therefore represent a moment of easily identifiable collaboration from the beginning of her career. All of Behn's collections were posthumous, and as Chapter 2 details, weighted toward the interests of the booksellers' rather than any of the author's. Yet as Chapter 4 argues, Haywood's collections seem to be largely the productions of Daniel Browne Jr. and Chapman and there are few moments Haywood's input can be traced.

The divide between scholarship on Behn and Haywood may actually be the same that has hindered assessments of women's professional authorship in general—that unless the author is deceased, the work of the book trade is always deemed invisible labor and authors always assumed to be making marketing and literary decisions. In the rare occasions that the work of booksellers and printers is discussed, it is through the lens of antagonism that assumes women's cultural transgressions were also economic transgressions. Behn, Manley, and Haywood each demonstrate how this divide is not tenable in a dynamic where women's writing is consistently authorized and printed.

The last three chapters have also emphasized how women's professional authorship demonstrates the necessity for gendered book history scholarship. As it is currently practiced, narratives of the book trade and copyright do not fully account for how women's experiences might be distinct from men's. As just one example, while Pope could sue Curll for copyright infringement whenever he wished, such a decision is much more complicated for a woman whose legal autonomy was determined by her marital status and complicated by what control over her property she could command.

Women's interactions with the book trade demand a nuanced understanding of how class and gender influence not only the women writers, but the booksellers whose shops and trades were not male-only spaces. In sum, an accurate assessment of gender is needed more broadly, to account for what aspects of book history's primary values may be implicitly masculine and therefore Othering to non-male experiences.

ENDNOTES

[1] Chapter 4 will argue why neither of these descriptors is adequate for Haywood's work at the Sign of Fame. She is described as a "publisher" which is sometimes incorrectly identified as the financier, as a bookseller would be.

[2] There are some exceptions to this, such as subscription publishing. There are also loses in fame, prestige, etc. that would be felt by all parties. But, usually, the author's one-time payment from booksellers meant they were paid regardless of the book's success.

[3] Almost all had methods of earning money outside of the trade. Behn and Haywood could rely on the theatre's benefit nights, and Manley had a patron in John Barber.

[4] Patrick Spedding's *Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* details Haywood's recorded payments. They are also in the British Library's Add MS f.112 and f.113. Little is known about the other two, which will be discussed in individual chapters.

[5] Tonson's surviving papers in the British Library (MS 28276) list receipts from Mary, his mother, and Eliza, his sister.

[6] In *The Women of Grub Street*, McDowell details the kind of domestic labor that women would complete, which includes running the shop fronts (33–37).

[7] See Helen Smith and Cait Coker.

[8] This is a broad understanding of the Early Modern period, defined as 1500-1800. These dates are chosen for both thematic reasons and as a rough approximately of the hand-press period.

[9] See works cited for full list of citations.

[10] For a good overview of the Greg-Bowers approach to bibliography, see D.C. Greetham's *Textual Criticism: An Introduction*.

[11] This excludes the Britain-specific series by Cambridge and the *History of the Book in America*, both of which will be discussed later.

[12] All general introductions were omitted, along with appendixes and other paratext. All other sections were counted, including subsections of larger chapters that had individual authors attached. This list includes the both editions of the only book to, so far, have a second run—Finkelstein and McCleery's introductions and readers. A comparison of the two editions can be seen on the chart.

[13] Indexing is as human an operation as any other part of the authorship process, and there could be more beneath the surface of these texts than is possible by only looking at paratext. A future project could include OCR and full-text searches, which would give a more accurate picture of the subjects and themes.

[14] I am speaking of women as a historical category in ways that fall short of our current language's facility for explaining the complexities of gender and gender presentation. Current scholars, especially, may identify as non-binary or transgender, and in these cases I use "female-presenting" to indicate that my surface-level analysis is flawed and reads based on superficial naming practices and language conventions. I apologize for misgendering any subject.

[15] An interesting point is that between the two editions of the Routledge, the number of entries increased from twenty-five to forty. Originally, five entries were authored by female-presenting scholars, and in the second edition this increased to nine. This increase is of course encouraging, but male-presenting authors increased by eleven, from twenty to thirty one. Similarly to what Laura Mandell has noted about Norton's anthologizing practices, the increase in real estate for women is positive but is not at the expense of masculine space.

[16] This designation excludes the British- and American-specific series, which it should be noted feature another five women editors including Bell. Among all volumes considered here, male editors are the significant majority.

[17] Recent necessary complications to this trend in England are Onyeka's *Blackamoores: Africans in Tudor England, Their Presence, Status and Origins,* Simon Gikandi's *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, and Miranda Kaufman's soon-to-be-released *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*.

[18] See Finkelstein and McCleery's *Introduction to Book History*.

[19] For a similar argument about bibliography's influence on digital humanities, see Amy E. Earhart.

[20] See *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*.

[21] See Carol Wigginton for key examples of texts that resist categorization.

[22] Although it is outside the scope of this chapter, excellent work has been done on bibliography and critical race studies. See Earhart, John K. Young, Leon Jackson, Julie R. Enser, and George Hutchinson.

[23] As the most obvious example, manuscript culture through private or domestic writing would not fit within this dynamic as I have traced it here.

[24] See Batya Weinbaum.

[25] See "Rise of the Professional Author?" page 132. Both Griffin's book and chapter cited here complicate the clear transition narrative, arguing that "older" systems of patronage persisted past the rise of the book trades, similarly to the ways studies in manuscript culture have explore the persistence of handwritten texts past the revolution of print.

[26] Although it is late for a comparison to the Restoration, it is impossible to not mention Samuel Johnson when one analyzes the invention of literary persona. Other examples include Alexander Pope and Edmund Curll, who both feature in the following chapter on Delarivier Manley. In the seventeenth century, an excellent analogue for Behn is Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. For more, see Laura Dodds, *The Literary Invention of Margaret Cavendish*. Duquesne University Press, 2013.

[27] Jerome J. McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation*. The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

[28] The most notable example of an author going to such extremes is William Blake. He was an oddity.

[29] Married women were not able to act with legal authority without their husbands' consent. Widows and single women had much more legal agency. With authors who were estranged from their husbands, like Eliza Haywood, or acting without their consent, like Charlotte Smith, this was a very complicated scenario. Naturally, such a situation was not a factor with men who could act with legal autonomy in almost all situations.

[30] *A Room of One's Own*, chapter four.

[31] Warning against Behn's presumed vulnerability is repeated in Hughes' chapter "Aphra Behn and Restoration Theatre." *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, edited by Derek Hughes and Janet Todd, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 29–45.

[32] See *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family*. The University of North Carolina Press, 1987 and "Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing." *Genre and Women's Writing in Early Modern England*, edited by Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle, Routledge, 2007, pp. 33–48.

[33] Booksellers could certainly be predatory, but they tended to be predatory to *all* writers.

[34] O'Donnell provides a good overview of all of these trickier pieces.

[35] While Playford advertises for this collection on Behn's individual poems (and others around the same time), no copy has ever been found. It may have been bound together without a separate title page.

[36] This is largely true, but Amy Scott-Douglass explores the possibilities of Behn's editorship of *Covent Garden Drollery* if it is true.

[37] See Line Cottegnies, "The Translator as Critic: Aphra Behn's Translation of Fontenelle's Discovery of New Worlds (1688)." *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, vol. 27, no. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 23–38.

[38] I am primarily interested in Jacob the Elder's practices, so I will be omitting "the Elder" unless it is necessary for clarity. The scholarship I have cited also refers to Jacob the Elder unless otherwise specified.

[39] Discussed at length later.

[40] See Terry Belanger.

[41] Bernard's faculty page lists this book as coming in 2022 from Cambridge.

[42] Both of Jacob's biographers, Geduld and Kathleen M. Lynch, conclude it is possible he was already thinking this way. They argue he must have had some kind of classical education given his knowledge of Latin (Lynch argues some of it could have come from his apprenticeship with Thomas Basset) that would have motivated this desire.

[43] See John Barnard's account of Dryden and Jacob's letters from 1695–97, where Dryden and Tonson quarrel over Tonson's payments and expectations of length from Dryden for his translation of Virgil.

[44] The epilogue of *The Town-Fopp* is spoken by the protagonist, Sir Timothy Tawdrey, and the epilogue to *The Amorous Prince* is spoken by Cloris. Neither of these plays includes the actors' names on the cast list, so there is logical symmetry to the way the paratext is printed—which is not always the case with play publication.

[45] Of her six plays previous to the Tonsons, three do not include names: *The Dutch Lover, The Amorous Prince,* and *The Town-Fopp*.

[46] Other publishing firms, including James Magnes and Richard Bentley, would also use the actors' name on the prologue and epilogue but would not universally also include the actors' names on the cast list, leading to a somewhat confusing situation. I have not yet found a case where the Tonsons did this, but it is certainly possible. This reality underscores both that there are few standards to Restoration play publishing and that the Tonsons' inclusions had to be deliberate and purposeful.

[47] As a caveat to this point, a larger survey of Restoration publication revealed that what cast lists are titled does not always indicate its contents. Publishers and printers did title pages "Actors Names" and then, quizzically, did not include the actors' names on the page. As with most things with Restoration play publication, it is highly variable and hard to pin down. In general, the Tonsons were more attuned to careful inclusion of such details, but not universally or absolutely. A safe conclusion would be that they found these details marketable and included them where they could.

[48] See Elaine Hobby for how Philips' modesty must be interrogated with as much attention as Behn's transgressions.

[49] As one example, Daniel Brown and his colleagues, Thomas Benskin and Henry Rhodes, published *The Roundheads, The City-Heiress*, and *The Young King* collectively in 1682. Brown was probably the bookseller Behn was primarily working with, which will have some interesting resonances when his son Daniel Browne Jr. becomes Eliza Haywood's primary publisher in the 1720s.

[50] Some have suggested that Behn switched from relying on drama to other forms of publication because of a warrant issued for her arrest for offending the Whigs with an epilogue to *Romulus and Hersilia* the same year. As a counterpoint, O'Donnell argues, "There is, however, no evidence of the warrant's execution, and the offending epilogue was published virtually unchanged early in the following year with the play" ("The Documentary Record," 6).

[51] It is worth mentioning here that I have found next to no evidence that Canning printed or financed a significant number of law books, judging from the combined evidence of the Stationer's Company records, the *Term Catalogues*, and the *ESTC*. It is possible either these imprints are misplaced, or that he was primarily a bookseller who would have sold others' imprints in his shop. Given Canning's propensity to use less-than-typical printing methods, it is also possible that his financed imprints simply did not bear his name.

[52] And for even these few sentences I am indebted to O'Donnell Maureen Bell who generously shared their notes when I was beginning this project. My information on Canning's dates has been pulled from J. Michael Treadwell's research notes, which were hosted until recently at http://www.trentu.ca/english/treadwell/, and the Bodleian

Library's *British Book Trade Index*. I have independently verified Treadwell's dates, but they are correct as he wrote them with citations. I have cited interpretations of the dates where applicable.

[53] Going off the signatures in the Stationers Company records, Tyton was deceased by 1685 and his widow was at least partially running the firm.

[54] This observation belongs to Bell.

[55] See McKenzie and Bell's *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700* volume 1.

[56] See Paul Kleber Monod.

[57] See Hunter and Goreau

[58] In addition to Behn's prefaces, her poverty near the end of her life has been well established. See *Secret Life* pos. 351-352.

[59] For more about the comparative payments of dramatic versus novel writers, see Brean S. Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670-1740: Hackney for Bread*. Clarendon Press, 1997, especially pages 6–7.

[60] They include the monographs by Ruth Herman and Rachel Carnell and the edited collection by Hultquist and Mathews. I do not include Fidelis Morgan's *A Woman of No Character*, as it is largely excerpts of Manley's work, but no doubt this early volume has been influential on the growth of Manley studies. I will also note that all three texts include an up-to-date bibliography of Manley's works, which is essential as a stopgap until a more thorough volume is produced.

[61] Rachel Carnell and Ruth Herman both detail Manley's connections with the Tories and the tenuous nature of her anonymity. Carnell's biography will be my primary source for information about Manley's life, as its thoroughness and range supersede previous iterations that relied on *Adventures of Rivella* for much of her narrative. However, Fidelis Morgan's "autobiography" will also be referenced, as well as Herman's monograph, as it relies very heavily on Manley's friends, relationships, and biography to trace her political allegiances.

[62] See J. A. Downie. This is a relatively recent argument that has slowly been accepted as persuasive.

[63] These other volumes were often sold together with the initial two in *The New Atalantis* and sometimes characterized as volumes three and four of the whole.

[64] See Swift's *Journal to Stella*.

[65] Few of Manley's attributions are absolutely solid, since she was publishing anonymously and pseudonymously. I pull this list from the bibliography in *New Perspectives on Delarivier Manley*.

[66] The lack of a thorough analysis of attribution and a full bibliography means that the authorship for these cannot be wholly verified.

[67] See Brean S. Hammond an Cheryl Turner for this history and counterpoints.

[68] See Susan Fitzmaurice.

[69] See Mark Rose's *Authors and Owners.*

[70] In *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print*, Harry M. Soloman has an overview of this exchanges on pages 46-49. Cooper seems to have been a kind of rival to Curll, publishing a kinder version of Barber's memoirs than Curll's and a rebuttal to Curll's account of how he came to possess Pope's Letters. Curll's account can be found as addresses in the volumes of Pope's Letters, and Cooper's in *A Narrative of the Method by which the Private Letters of Mr. Pope have been procur'd and publish'd by Edmund Curll, Bookseller* with the handy note below the title reading: "The original Papers, in Curl's own Hand, may be seen at T. Cooper's."

[71] See Alexander Pettit and Rogers and Baines's "The Prosecutions of Edmund Curll, 1725-1728).

[72] As there is no complete bibliography of Manley's work, my knowledge of the printings are based on looking through the ESTC. It is possible, given these records, that this was the third printing and Curll used a faux title page advertising the second edition when that was not the case. Baines and Rogers cover many of Curll's obscuring publishing practices.

[73] Carnell details that Gildon's patron was Arthur Maynwaring, who was secretary to Duchess of Marlborough. Marlborough requested Manley's arrest after the publication of the *Atalantis*, so there is certainly much we could read into as to why Gildon would want to write a damaging biography of Manley (131).

[74] She categorizes 29 imprints as "doubtful" or "possible." The more concrete attributions in the 43 remaining titles are characterized as "probable" and "confident." See her Appendix 1 for more information.

[75] King disagrees this work should be removed.

[76] King makes this observation about how scholars approach Haywood's pamphlet shop, discussed later.

[77] See Spedding's *Bibliography*.

[78] Daniel Browne Jr. will be referred to as Browne unless unclear as his more established stationer father does not play a substantive role in this chapter.

[79] Spedding theorizes that the Chetwood imprints may have also been financed through Browne and Chapman, but no evidence is provided and I disagree with the characterization that Chetwood was only a trade publisher given the activities he is actively involved in.

[80] This distinction has two purposes. First, it was relatively rare for a person from outside of the trade to establish a booksellers' shop without any formal apprenticeship or training. As the next section will detail, no record exists of a woman doing this. That Chetwood took this route meant that he had to establish relationships with booksellers to help financing or he had significant capital of his own. Secondly, Chetwood has been called a "trade publisher" by Copolla and others, and this designation seems incorrect. The next section will dissect the term in more detail.

[81] The editions and issues are misleading. See Spedding for the differentiation provided here.

[82] For more on jobbing printing and its relationship to literary printing, see James Raven.

[83] The ESTC lists a collected works of Thomas Southerne in 1722 produced by Browne and Chapman, the copyright for which was largely in the hands of Jacob Tonson. The ESTC only notes one copy where the imprint reads for Browne and Chapman instead of Tonson, Benjamin Tooke, M. Wellington, and Chetwood, at the University of Arizona. WorldCat lists no other copies. I have confirmed this copy exists and have seen the title pages of both volumes, but it is too fragile to be scanned (my thanks to the librarians who helped!). A visual comparison between this copy and the *ECCO* version for Tonson and co. indicates that the only differences are in the imprint. The setting, style, content, etc. are all the same save for the bottom of the page. This suggests some kind of collaboration between Browne, Chapman, and the Tonson group; any pirated version from Browne and Chapman would have been swiftly and legally dealt with, given Tonson's track record. There are two interesting connections that this volume offers: it suggests one way that Browne, Chapman, and Chetwood could have met, and it shows that the three of them were all involved in the production of a collected work from a living author *before* collaborating on Haywood's.

[84] Either Daniel Browne Sr. was in fact doing this, or his age and health meant that Browne Jr. had differentiated his own name from the firm's name, as it would not be uncommon for apprentices or children to run the firm under the master's name during a time of transition, absence, or illness.

[85] For more on Tonson's creation of the English canon see Teresa Grant, "Tonson's Jonson: Making the 'Vernacular Canon' in the Early Eighteenth Century." The Oxford Handbook of Ben Jonson, edited by Eugene Giddens, Oxford University Press, 2013 and Thomas F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765-1810*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

[86] See Rachel Carnell, "Eliza Haywood and the Narratological Tropes of Secret History." *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, Fall 2014, pp. 101–121.

[87] This is, again, assuming Orr's version of the likely canon.

[88] See James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800*. The British Library, 2014.

[89] I have not considered the narrative of Pope's critiques in the *Dunciad*, as most Haywood scholarship has roundly disproved his attacks as the reason she changes her approach to publishing. To revive it here would not serve any particular purpose. I find Dustin Griffin's dissection of the "Dunciadic myth" useful in terms of Haywood and professional authorship in general.

[90] If we generously include *The Opera of Operas,* there are two. However, Orr rates this publication as doubtful.

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——. *The Fair Jilt: Or, the History of Prince Tarquin and Miranda*. Printed by R. Holt, for Will. Canning, at his Shop in the Temple-Cloysters, 1688.

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APPENDIX A

Title	Publisher	Edition	Year	Editors	Sections	Sections on Women*	Sections on Men*	Sections on Both	Sections Where Neither is Specified	% of Women	% of Men	% of Both	% Neither
A Companion to the History of the Book	Wiley-Blackwell	1	2009	Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose	40	0	0	0	40	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
The Oxford Compantion to the Book (2 Volumes)	Oxford University Press	1	2010	Michael Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen	50	0	0	0	50	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
The Book: A Global History	Oxford University Press	1	2013	Michael F. Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen	51	0	0	0	51	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book	Cambridge University Press	1	2014	Leslie Howsam	15	0	0	0	15	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Introduction to Book History	Routledge	1	2005	David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery	7	0	0	0	7	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Introduction to Book History	Routledge	2	2012	David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery	7	0	0	0	7	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
The Book History Reader	Routledge	1	2001	David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery	28	1	0	0	27	3.70%	0.00%	0.00%	96.43%
The Book History Reader	Routledge	2	2006	David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery	40	0	2	1	37	0.00%	5.00%	2.70%	92.50%
The Broadview Reader in Book History	Broadview	1	2014	Michelle Levy and Tom Mole	33	1	1	0	31	3.03%	3.03%	0.00%	93.94%
The Broadview Introduction to Book History	Broadview	1	2017	Michelle Levy and Tom Mole	24	0	0	0	24	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
A History of the Book in America Vol. 1	University of North Carolina Press	1	2007	David. D. Hall and Hugh Amory	20	1	1	0	18	5.00%	5.00%	0.00%	90.00%
A History of the Book in America Vol. 2	University of North Carolina Press	1	2010	Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley	30	2	1	0	27	6.67%	3.33%	0.00%	90.00%
A History of the Book in America Vol. 3	University of North Carolina Press	1	2007	Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship	19	0	0	0	19	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
A History of the Book in America Vol. 4	University of North Carolina Press	1	2009	Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway	26	3	0	0	23	11.54%	0.00%	0.00%	88.46%
A History of the Book in America Vol. 5	University of North Carolina Press	1	2009	David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson	31	1	0	0	30	3.23%	0.00%	0.00%	96.77%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 1	Cambridge University Press	1	2011	Richard Gameson	40	0	10	0	30	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	75.00%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 2	Cambridge University Press	1	2008	Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson	27	0	0	0	27	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 3	Cambridge University Press	1	1999	Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp	28	1	0	0	27	3.57%	0.00%	0.00%	96.43%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 4	Cambridge University Press	1	2002	John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell	42	1	5	0	36	2.38%	11.90%	0.00%	85.71%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 5	Cambridge University Press	1	2009	Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and Michael L. Turner	47	1	5	0	41	2.13%	10.64%	0.00%	87.23%
Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. 6	Cambridge University Press	1	2009	David McKitterick	20	0	0	0	20	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Totals					**625**	**12**	**25**	**1**	**587**	**1.96%**	**3.04%**	**0.13%**	**94.88%**