Fair Philosopher
Eliza Haywood
and The Female Spectator

Edited by
Lynn Marie Wright and
Donald J. Newman

© 2006 by Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp.
All rights reserved. Authorization to photcopy items for internal or personal use, or
the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by the copyright owner, pro-
vided that a base fee of $10.00, plus eight cents per page, per copy is paid directly to
the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, Massachusetts 01923.
[0-8387-5636-0/06 $10.00 + $e pp. pc.]

Associated University Presses
2010 Eastpark Boulevard
Cranbury, NJ 08512

The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of the American National

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Fair philosopher : Eliza Haywood and The female spectator / edited by Lynn Marie
Wright and Donald J. Newman.
   p. cm. — (The Bucknell studies in eighteenth-century literature and culture)
   Includes index.
   ISBN-10: 0-8387-5636-0 (alk. paper)
1. Haywood, Eliza Fowler, 1693?-1756. Female spectator. 2. Feminism and
   literature—Great Britain—History—18th century. 3. Women and literature—Great
   Britain—History—18th century. I. Wright, Lynn Marie. II. Newman, Donald J.,
   1947- III. Title. IV. Series.
PR3506.H94Z66 2006
823'.5—dc22 2005050516
Measuring the Success of Haywood’s
Female Spectator (1744–46)
Patrick Spedding

Dale Spender claims in Mothers of the Novel (1980) that Eliza Haywood was a tremendously popular writer whose success and importance has been overlooked because of her sex.1 Though the critical neglect of Haywood before the 1980s has attracted considerable attention, little of substance has been written concerning her popularity or success as an author that would establish the validity of Spender’s claim. And many of the assessments made concerning the popularity of individual Haywood works have been wildly mistaken, as will become clear from the discussion below. This may be due partly to the difficulty critics have faced in establishing basic facts about Haywood such as the extent of her canon or the number of editions that have been printed of each of her works. This difficulty has now been substantially removed; at least, the present author’s bibliographical research into Haywood was undertaken in an attempt to overcome this difficulty.2

However, uncertainty remains concerning Haywood’s success as a writer even after much bibliographical research. This uncertainty is partly the result of a publication record that is probably incomplete. It is unlikely that every edition, issue, adaptation, and translation of every work by Haywood is recorded in the present author’s Bibliography of Eliza Haywood, nor has it been possible to date accurately all of the editions and issues recorded in it. Likewise, it is still not certain how many copies of each edition were printed, what price each was issued at, and how long it took for each edition to sell out. Nor is it known how much Haywood was paid for each of her works and what the copyright was worth to those who owned it.

Though a complete record of Haywood’s publications would tell us a great deal, much more information concerning the dissemination and reception of her works is required before sweeping statements such as Spender’s concerning Haywood’s contemporary popularity can be made. We need to know who owned and read Haywood’s works, where and when they read them, and what these readers thought of their read-
many other places across Europe, educated Europeans were able to buy and read The Female Spectator (or Die Zaehhauerin, La Spectatrice or La Spezzatrica). By the end of the eighteenth century, ten editions of The Female Spectator had been printed in English and five editions in other languages. This is the largest number of editions of any work by Haywood, if translations and adaptations are excluded, and the third largest number if they are included. The Female Spectator also ranks as the third most frequently reprinted work by Haywood in the eighteenth century beside A Present for a Servant-Maid (1743) and Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman (1743).

By Haywood’s own standards The Female Spectator was clearly a great success. But if we compare the number of editions this periodical went through or the frequency with which it was reprinted to other eighteenth-century literary journals recorded in the ESTC, it is apparent that The Female Spectator was only moderately successful. Such a comparison is not without its problems. One needs to be cautious about using figures based on ESTC listings because not all editions are recorded in the ESTC, and issues and editions are not always accurately distinguished. Moreover, not all editions of every work appear under a single title, nor are they likely to be captured by a single title search. However, since almost every group of ESTC records appears to be equally susceptible to error, the database remains one of the best tools available for making the broad comparison required here. Translations impose another limitation in the use of ESTC records. They must be excluded from any comparison of periodicals because translations are only included in the ESTC if they were printed in, or claimed to have been printed in, English-speaking countries.

The remaining difficulty is that of selecting titles against which to compare The Female Spectator. The method adopted here has been to compile a list of all of the eighteenth-century literary periodicals that were reprinted in library editions in the early nineteenth century. In 1805 Alexander Chalmers edited the first of many such collections under the title The British Essayists: With Prefaces; Historical and Biographical. This collection and others like it may be said to fairly represent the canonical works of the essay-periodical genre. To this list has been added only The Female Spectator and The Female Tatler, Haywood’s only competitor for the title of the earliest periodical written by a woman for women.
Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Editor(s)/Principal Writer(s): Title</th>
<th>No. Entries ESTC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Addison and Richard Steele: The Spectator (1711–12)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Steele: The Tatler (1709–11)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Steele: The Guardian (1709–11)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hawkesworth: The Adventurer (1752–54)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver Goldsmith: The Citizen of the World (1760–61)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Moore: The World (1755–56)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Mackenzie: The Mirror (1779–80)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicesimus Knox: Essays, Moral and Literary (1778)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Johnson: The Rambler (1750–52)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Johnson: The Idler (1758–60)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Mackenzie: The Lounger (1788–87)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Coleman and Bonnell Thornton: The Connoisseur (1754–56)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous: The Observer (1785)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza Haywood: The Female Spectator (1744–46)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delariviere Manley: The Female Tatler (1709)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Monro: Olla Podrida (1787–88)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Canning: Micromoments (1786–87)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicesimus Knox: Luscibractions, or Winter Evenings (1788)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Roberts: The Looker-on (1792–94)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a comparison is made of the frequency with which these periodicals were reprinted, The Female Spectator and The Female Tatler appear at the bottom of the table (see Table 2):

Though the figures from the ESTC can only offer a rough guide to the number of editions of each periodical, it is still clear, even if one tweaks the selection criteria, the period covered, and so on, that The Female Spectator was — relatively speaking — only moderately successful.

Criteria exist, other than the number of editions printed, that may be used to assess the success of The Female Spectator. As indicated above, two of these are the amount the author was paid and the value subsequently placed on the copyright. Concerning the first of these: no documentary evidence survives that indicates what the arrangements were between the author and publisher of The Female Spectator, but it seems likely that Haywood was paid about 120 guineas (or five guineas per
book) by Gardner for her efforts. This estimate is based on the fact that, although the part issues of The Female Spectator vary in length between fifty-eight and seventy pages, each volume is about 388 pages long when part titles, preliminaries, indexes, and so forth are excluded (as they would have been when payment was calculated). This suggests that Haywood’s contract was based on payment for four volumes of 24G sheets. In 1742 Haywood was paid a guinea per sheet to translate The Sophus, but eight years earlier she had been paid £1 6s per sheet for writing The Dramatic Historiographer. Since The Female Spectator is closer to The Dramatic Historiographer than The Sophus as a form of composition, it seems more likely that Haywood was paid the higher rate than the lower. At £1 6s per sheet, the total payment for The Female Spectator would have been £126 2s, or just over 120 guineas, a sum that divides neatly into months and years as well as books.11

The income of sixty guineas (or £63) per year that Haywood is likely to have received for writing The Female Spectator was undoubtedly one of the financial high points of her writing career. This is almost double the amount that Haywood averaged between 1719 and 1756 (about thirty-two guineas per year) and is a larger annual sum than Haywood received for any of her writings over any comparable period other than 1724–26.12 Although writing for the stage was certainly more profitable than writing for the press, it was also less dependable, sometimes bringing the author very little indeed.13 A regular income of sixty guineas is more than the amount (£50) that Samuel Johnson described in 1744 as “a salary which, by no means equal to the demands of vanity and luxury, is yet found sufficient to support families above want, and was undoubtedly more than the necessities of life require.”14

Though Haywood had reason to be pleased with an income of sixty guineas per year, this amount is less than that received by other essayists and periodical writers. In 1755 Edward Kimber was paid £24 per year for editing the London Magazine, in 1746 Mark Arkesden was paid £100 to write thirty-nine sheets per year for the Museum, and in 1749 Samuel Johnson was paid more than 200 guineas to write 104 papers (about eighty sheets) per year for The Rambler.15 The last of these examples makes the most useful comparison: The Rambler and The Female Spectator appeared within four years of each other, they had a similar moral purpose, and lasted the same period (two years).16 They are both the work of middle-aged professional writers—Haywood was fifty-one when she started her periodical and Johnson was forty-one when he started his—at the peak of their powers, and, consequently, The Rambler has a similar significance in the Johnsonian canon as The Female Spectator does in Haywood’s. However, Johnson was paid two hundred guin-

eas per year for two years, and this sum was not by any means the high point of his literary earnings.17

Unfortunately there is little evidence concerning the value placed on the copyright of The Female Spectator throughout the rest of the eighteenth century.18 Under the Copyright Act of 1709, the copyright to The Female Spectator expired fourteen years after its publication and returned to Haywood for another fourteen years. That is, Gardner’s exclusive right to publish The Female Spectator expired in 1760 and Haywood’s in 1774. Despite the Act of 1709, however, the book trade continued to act as if perpetual copyright existed, and the courts continued to support them in this belief until February 22, 1774. Since it was common throughout the eighteenth century for publishers to sell fractions of the copyrights they held, and records survive of such sales, it is sometimes possible to compare the value placed on different copyrights and on the same copyright over time.19 In a few cases it has been possible to assess the commercial value of Haywood’s copyrights in this way, but The Female Spectator is not one of them.20 The Female Spectator is not mentioned in any surviving auction catalog of copyrights, and only Thomas Gardner and his descendants appear in the imprint of the London editions of 1744–46, 1747–48, 1750, 1755, 1766, and 1771. From this it appears that Thomas Gardner and his descendants retained ownership of the full copyright until at least 1771.

Despite this dearth of information it is possible to make some assessment of the commercial value of the copyright to The Female Spectator in 1775. We are able to do so because, almost immediately after perpetual copyright was extinguished by the House of Lords in 1774, a “pirate” edition of The Female Spectator was published and issued simultaneously in London and Glasgow. The London imprint of this edition, “Printed for A. Millar, W. Law, & R. Cater,” is false. Neither W. Law nor R. Cater appear in either Henry R. Plomer’s or Ian Maxted’s dictionaries of eighteenth-century printers and publishers, and Andrew Millar was not only dead in 1775 (he died in 1768) but was, famously, a defender of perpetual copyright.21 It was Millar who, in 1766, brought a successful action for infringement of copyright against Robert Taylor after the latter published James Thomson’s Seasons in 1763. The case was decided in Millar’s favor in 1769 and established the precedent (Millar v. Taylor) that was used by the courts to maintain perpetual copyright until it was finally extinguished in 1774.

The names of the real publishers of this edition, Robert Chapman and Alexander Duncan, appear only in the Glasgow issue.22 It is telling that these publishers decided to bring out a new edition of The Female Spectator immediately after the copyright expired and immediately after perpetual copyright ceased to be defended by the courts. This is espe-
cially so since one of the other items that Chapman and Duncan published in 1775 was an edition of Thomson’s Seasons, the very book that Millar and his descendants had been defending against “pirates” since 1763. Therefore, the London imprint of The Female Spectator is not only false or misleading, it is also mocking. This was clearly Chapman and Duncan’s way of thumbling their noses at the London trade after the courts stopped supporting perpetual copyright. In fact, Chapman and Duncan seem to have set out to antagonize the Londoners, and did so immediately after the February 1774 decision, by publishing the works that they believed the Londoners most wanted to retain perpetual rights over. That Haywood’s Female Spectator was one such work suggests that Chapman and Duncan, at least, believed it was a particularly valuable copyright.

One indicator of the commercial value of a book is the price that was charged for it. In the eighteenth-century price was determined largely by the cost of production, but it was also influenced by the demand for the book and by the disposable income of its target audience. Therefore, the price that a book was issued at can tell us something of its intended audience. Certainly this is the case with The Female Spectator. Each sixty-four page octavo book of The Female Spectator sold for one shilling. This is the same price—and each book was the same length—as dozens of other Haywood items published between 1719 and 1750. However, the total cost for the twenty-four books was £1 4s., or six shillings per volume, before binding. This was a lot of money in the mid-eighteenth century. It is significantly more, both absolutely and on a per-volume basis, than any other multivolume work by Haywood. It is even more expensive than Haywood’s two scandal memoirs (four shillings each), though publishers traditionally charged higher prices for controversial books.

It seems that Gardner continued to reprint and reissue individual books of The Female Spectator rather than reprint the complete periodical in a cheaper format (duodecimo) because doing so was considerably more profitable for him. Gardner’s confidence that there was still a strong market for The Female Spectator at this higher price appears to be justified by the number of surviving copies of the first edition. Although such figures must be treated with caution, the number of copies of this edition recorded in A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood is more than double the number of any of the six subsequent editions. On the basis of this evidence, it seems safe to conclude that there was a strong and affluent market for The Female Spectator.

That this should be the case starkly contradicts the argument put forward by Edmund Gosse in 1891 that Haywood “was read by servants in the kitchen, by seamstresses, by basket-women, [and] by prentices of all sorts” and that Haywood’s novels were “very cheap.” Although Gosse clearly had Haywood’s early novels in mind when he made this statement, later commentators have been more generally interested in the social and financial status of Haywood’s readers. In 1915 George Whicher, while quoting Gosse on the subject of who actually read Haywood’s works, noted that “no one of scanty means could have afforded Mrs. Haywood’s slender octavos at the price of one to three shillings.” Consequently, Whicher suggested that Haywood’s audience also included “the more frothy minds of the polite world and the daughters of middle-class trading families.” In 1966 Robert Adam Day stated that “such people as servants would most naturally come by novels like Mrs. Haywood’s when they were discarded by the gentry, rather than by purchase.” Although Whicher recorded the fact that the British Library copy of Haywood’s Love-Letters on all Occasions (1730) comes from the library of Lady Elizabeth Germain, it was Day who made the connection between this fact and the question of who could afford Haywood’s works. In fact, though the octavo edition of The Female Spectator was particularly expensive and some of Haywood’s works were in the libraries of the aristocracy, as a rule Haywood’s works were no more or less expensive than other works of fiction in the period. This suggests, as would be expected, that Haywood’s audience did not normally differ greatly from that for fiction in general, whatever its social and economic makeup.

The competition of two Dublin piracies eventually forced Gardner to reprint The Female Spectator in four duodecimo volumes at twelve shillings, a price and format that remained the same for his editions of 1750, 1755, and 1766. Although the duodecimo edition was issued at twice the price of the octavo, there is little difference between the two beyond the page size and leading: the paper and printing quality are unchanged and the “Four neat Pocket Volumes” were also issued with “New-Engrav’d Frontispieces.” Even the advertisements changed little. In late February 1748 advertisements for the octavo edition stated “The great Encomiums bestowed on this Work by some of the most distinguished Judges, have been so frequently inserted in all the Public Papers, that it is presumed one no can be unacquainted with them, and therefore are thought needless to here be particularized: But that so useful a Work may be universally read, especially by the younger and politer sort of Ladies, for whom it is more peculiarly adapted) on the 3d of March last it began to be Re-published in single Books, in the same Manner and Size as at first.” When the duodecimo edition was published shortly thereafter, only the end of this statement was altered to read: “... more peculiarly adapted: it is now printed in the above-mentioned Size [duodecimo], which will be less cumbersome to them, and the expense being
reduced to One Half of what the Octavo Edition sells at, it may be more easily purchased." The physical form and the marketing of later editions of The Female Spectator suggest that, although the price had been reduced, the target audience for the periodical remained substantially unchanged.

The advertisements for, and the price and presentation of, The Female Spectator provide some information about its intended audience. Other indicators are the subject matter and language of the periodical. This will not be considered at length here since it has attracted considerable critical interest, and Gardner makes it clear in his advertisements that both were intended to appeal to the "younger and polite sort of Ladies," describing The Female Spectator as "well adapted for improving the Morals, and refining the Taste—a polite and elegant Advocate for private Virtue—an admirable Lesson for the Young and Unexperienced, &c." There remains the question of who was the actual audience for The Female Spectator: who bought or was given it, and who read it.

One source of information about who owned copies of The Female Spectator is contemporary ownership inscriptions. Though a systematic survey of such inscriptions in all surviving copies would provide little more information than the sex of a sample of owners, even this information would be quite welcome. Consequently the present author has recorded ownership inscriptions whenever possible. Only nine of the twenty-nine copies of The Female Spectator inspected contain inscriptions. The inscriptions indicate that seven of the nine copies belonged to women (Sarah Hays, Juliana Southwell, Mary Jones, Mary Don, Mary Peakham, Ann Sinderby, Mary Menzies), one to a man (James Oswald), and one to a couple ("Wm & Louisa Maymes"). These inscriptions suggest, as would be expected, that by far the greatest number of contemporary readers of The Female Spectator were women.

Another promising way of establishing who owned copies of The Female Spectator is through catalogs of books for sale from deceased estates. Numerous copies of The Female Spectator appear in such catalogs throughout the eighteenth century. Unfortunately these catalogs always contain books from more than one vendor. Consequently, it is rarely possible to identify the original owner of a particular book sold in this way. With The Female Spectator, only a single copy, once belonging to "Thomas Pearson Esq. (Deceased)," can be identified thus. When it is possible to identify a vendor like this, it is because the collection concerned was enormous. Few men, and far fewer women, could afford to accumulate tens of thousands of books in the eighteenth century; it is unlikely that those who did are representative of Haywood's readership.

There appears to be no statements about reading The Female Spectator in contemporary diaries, letters, or personal memoirs. Other sources tell us little more about who owned copies of The Female Spectator. One noteworthy—and very interesting—exception is the travel memoirs of Anna Riggs, Lady Miller. In 1770 Lady Miller saw a copy of the Italian translation of The Female Spectator in the private library of the Queen of Piedmont-Sardinia at the Royal Palace in Turin. Adjoining the Queen's cabinet de toilette, bedchamber, and "chamber of audience," Lady Miller describes "a small cabinet which leads to one still less; covered with curious woods inlaid, ivory and mother of pearl—Here are some shelves of books; my curiosity urged me to open two or three, amidst which I found the Female Spectator translated from the English." One last indication that individuals might have owned a copy of The Female Spectator is that they mention the periodical in print, either in creative fiction or in criticism. Unfortunately, such evidence does not tell us much about the target audience for The Female Spectator, though it does indicate that the periodical was well received (a subject that will be considered shortly).

The evidence offered thus far for the distribution of copies of The Female Spectator in private or public libraries has been compiled with the intention of illuminating Haywood's primary audience. Although this audience is not limited to those who bought or were given copies of Gardner's octavo and duodecimo editions, it seems unlikely that the audience for the Scottish and Irish editions, and European translations, of The Female Spectator differed markedly from Gardner's. In addition to this primary audience there is a secondary or unintended audience. This audience includes those who borrowed copies from public libraries, read excerpts that were reprinted in periodicals, or were able to buy copies secondhand long after The Female Spectator was out of print.

Although it is clear that the periodical was in many public libraries, we do not have borrowing records from these libraries. We know that The Female Spectator was in the Crane-Court circulating library, London (1748); Thomas Lowndes's circulating library, London (c. 1758); William Bathoe's "Original Circulating Library," London (1767); John Bell's circulating library, London (1776); Thomas Lockett's circulating library, Dorchester (1791); Heaviside's circulating library, Darlington, Durham (1791); R. Fisher's circulating library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1791); the Manchester circulating library (1794); Palmer and Merrick's circulating library, Oxford (1795); and Earle's circulating library, London (1799). It was also in major research collections such as the British Museum Library (1787) and the University of Glasgow Library (1791). However, we do not know if the copies of The Female Spectator that these libraries contained were ever read and, if so, by whom. Only
in the case of the Harboro Library, Pennsylvania, is this sort of information available. From 1762 to 1774 The Female Spectator actually surpassed Samuel Richardson’s Pamela in circulation (and The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless was almost as popular). It would be extremely interesting to know if this borrowing pattern was typical.

Some evidence for the wider distribution of the text of The Female Spectator is also available. By 1800 stories from The Female Spectator had been published in periodicals on at least thirty-eight occasions (Ad 15-5). Excerpts from it also appeared in The Matrimonial Preceptor in 1755, 1759, and 1765 (Ac 10-11) and in The Nunnery for Coquettes in 1771. It is likely that many more excerpts from The Female Spectator will be identified as critical interest in the contents of eighteenth-century periodicals increases and as a greater number of electronic resources become available that make it easier to conduct searches of periodicals and anthologies.

As has already been stated, numerous copies of The Female Spectator appear in booksellers’ catalogs throughout the eighteenth century. Most of these catalogs are from London booksellers, but The Female Spectator is also listed in catalogs of “useful and valuable books” in Oxford (1798), Chester (1792), Leeds (1797), Dublin (1784), Cork (1785), Boston (1773), and Philadelphia (1784). The prices charged for copies of The Female Spectator in these catalogs vary somewhat, as books do today, depending on condition. In London in 1773 an “elegantly bound” copy of the “Sixth” edition (1766) was listed at twelve shillings; in Chester in 1792 an odd volume, “soiled,” of a Dublin piracy (1746) was available for one shilling. In general, however, copies of The Female Spectator retained a value of between half and three-quarters of the “new” price (that is, between six and nine shillings) suggesting that demand for the periodical remained fairly consistent up until 1800.

Although The Female Spectator clearly continued to find buyers and readers throughout the second half of the eighteenth century as a result of its continuing critical reputation, the periodical is not often mentioned in print. The Female Spectator was not reviewed in England, and the author’s identity was not known until after the periodical was mentioned in Haywood’s obituary in 1756 as one of “those elegant Productions [which] will ever remain as living Monuments of her Merit.” Early biographers list the periodical among Haywood’s “latter and best writings,” writings in which she displayed “strict purity” and “delicacy of sentiment.” In 1785 Clara Reeve praises the work highly in The Progress of Romance, stating that the periodical is one of the two works “by which [Haywood] is most likely to be known to posterity.” In 1810 Nathan Drake praised it highly and at length: “The subjects are well chosen, and are rendered very interesting by a great variety of anecdotes, characters, and tales, which are usually related with vivacity and judgment, and in a style, if not elegant, yet easy and perspicuous.” Drake ends his three-page assessment of The Female Spectator with the statement that “it merits revival.”

The Female Spectator is also mentioned in a number of conduct books. In 1771 it is described in The Nunnery for Coquettes as “a performance which deserves a place in every lady’s library.” It is one of a number of “entertaining,” “religious and instructive” works recommended by Lady Sarah Pennington in the revised edition of An Unfortunate Mother’s Advice to HerAbsent Daughters. The work of lists of works, which varies slightly from edition to edition, was extended to forty-four titles in 1770. It includes classical works, histories, sermons, English essays, and poetry as well as The Female Spectator and Epistles for the Ladies (1748). Pennington’s Advice was popular, going through nine editions by 1800, and many more throughout the nineteenth century, when it was frequently reprinted with other works of moral guidance.

In Europe, G. T. F. Raynal dismissed the first French translation of The Female Spectator in 1751 as “misérablement” but concluded that “Son style, quoique médiocrepoint bon, l’est suffisamment pour la Spectatrice” (its style, though mediocre, is sufficient for the Spectatrice). One year later the Italian translator of The Female Spectator offered a more positive assessment, quoting glowing praise of the periodical from the “Biblioteca Britannica,” that the periodical is a worthy sister of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele’s Spectator.

These few references to The Female Spectator constitute all that has been found concerning it thus far. Whether or not Haywood’s periodical was a worthy sister to The Spectator, it is quite clear that it did not attract anything like the same interest in the eighteenth century. This is amply demonstrated by the hundreds of pages of texts selected by Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom to represent the response to Addison and Steele’s periodical writings for their volume in the “Critical Heritage” series.

The bibliographical and documentary evidence here presented has been assembled in an attempt to give a meaningful answer to the question “How successful was Haywood’s Female Spectator?”. It is an indication of the importance of establishing Haywood’s success that critics have regularly misinterpreted the data available on the popularity of her works. It has been regularly claimed, for instance, that Haywood’s Love in Excess (1719) is one of the most popular works of the early eighteenth century: it was no such thing. It has been also claimed that the popularity and influence of The Adventures of Eowaid (1736) was such that Walpole was unseated because of it. In fact, the book was one of Haywood’s slowest-selling titles. From the foregoing discussion, however,
it should be clear that critics have rightly considered The Female Spectator as one of Haywood's most successful works.

By Haywood's own standards The Female Spectator was undoubtedly a great success. It provided her with a substantial, steady income for two years; it went through ten editions in English and was translated into German, French, and Italian; copies were available—either for sale or in public libraries—throughout "town and country" in the United Kingdom, Europe, and North America. Toward the end of her life Haywood thanked her readers for their "many complimentary Letters" and for the "great reception" The Female Spectator had received.66 No doubt she would have been delighted with the praise her periodical was subsequently offered by Baker, Pennington, Reeve, and Drake. Nevertheless, The Female Spectator was only moderately successful when compared to many other eighteenth-century literary periodicals. It went through significantly fewer editions than The Spectator, and Haywood was paid significantly less than the author of The Rambler. Likewise, Haywood's periodical prompted far less discussion than the work of other periodical writers, especially Addison and Steele.

**NOTES**

1. Dale Spender, Makers of the Novel (London: Pandora Press, 1986), writes Spender: Haywood was "one of, if not the most versatile, prolific and popular writers of her day" (83). "Haywood was among the foremost writers of her time, not just in terms of her talent but also in terms of her sales" (83). "Haywood is one of the mothers of the novel but male critics have allowed her no part in the novel's growth and development" (86). "While much of Eliza Haywood must remain a mystery, there is no mystery about why she has been omitted from the world of letters and who is responsible for the omission" (107).


3. Item numbers are taken from Spedding, Bibliography, and are included parenthetically in the text.

4. The Female Spectator was available in Pater-Noster Row, Ludgate-Street, Temple Bar, the Strand, and Pall-Mall.

5. Mary Summer Benson reports that The Female Spectator was "frequently advertised in the New York, Philadelphia, Hartford and other papers after 1750." She cites advertisements in the Pennsylvania Gazette, February 6, 1753; New York Gazette, 1764; Connecticut Courant, August 10, 1767, etc. See Mary Summer Benson, Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 41 and n.31.

6. Spedding, Bibliography, 775–76.

7. Clearly some types of printed material are more or less likely to survive or be recorded in the ESTC. For instance, chapbooks and songbooks are less likely to survive than folios, and London publications appear to be better represented than regional ones. For a discussion of "lost books" see Edward Jacobs and Antonia Forster. "Lost

**MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF HAYWOOD'S FEMALE SPECTATOR**

Books' and Publishing History: Two Annotated Lists of Imprints for the Fiction Titles Listed in the Circulating Library Catalogs of Thomas Lowndes (1766) and M. Heavisides (1790), of which No Known Copies Survive." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 89 (1995): 260–75.


9. The Female Spectator remains at the bottom of the table even if one limits the periodicals to those issued before 1775 or those between 1725 and 1775. Likewise, there is little difference between the selection of titles used here and alternative lists of popular or important eighteenth-century periodicals that appear in literary guides and histories of the English literary essay.

10. The text of volume 1 occupies 390 pages. The text in volumes 2 through 4 occupies 388 pages each.

11. The sum of 120 guineas (or £126) divides into two years, four volumes or twenty-four books thus: sixty guineas every year or thirty guineas every six months (and, therefore, per volume), or five guineas every month (and, therefore, per book). Of course, it is possible that Haywood was paid more than £1 for a sheet. If so then this would only strengthen the argument offered here concerning the significance of the income generated by Haywood for writing The Female Spectator.

12. Haywood's output during the years 1724–26 was 223 sheets. The lowest rate of pay recorded for Haywood is one guinea per sheet in 1734. If she was paid this rate in 1724–26—which seems to be the case—her income for these three years averaged £78 1s (or 74 guineas 4s) per year. For a summary of the number of sheets published by Haywood in each year, see Spedding, Bibliography, 763–64, 769–70.

13. Receipts for authors' benefit nights are not always known, but Haywood had at least two successes: £46 16s 6d and £32 18s were taken on March 7 and November 16, 1721, for The Fair Captive and £79 was taken on March 8, 1729, for Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. It seems likely, by contrast, that Arcot of Penrith took little, and it is possible that another play, mentioned by "Ma. A.," was never produced. See Spedding (2004), headnotes to Ab.3, Ab.47, Ab.52, and Ca.56.


16. The Rambler was issued twice weekly in 208 numbers from March 20, 1750, to March 14, 1752.

17. J. D. Fleeman estimates that in "very rough terms" Johnson's income between 1762 and 1784 "was nominally in excess of £300 p.a." the sum he received a pension and "it was paid him as much as £400 for perhaps a quarter of that period." See Alvin Kernan, Printing Technology, Letters and Samuel Johnson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 103.


55. Whitcher, Romances, 191; Day, Told in Letters, 75.

56. The British Library copy of A Present for a Servant-Maid (1745) comes from the library of Lady Sarah Sophia Banks; the New York Public Library copy of Epistles for the Ladies (1748) comes from the library of George Washington; and William Musgrave, sixth baronet, owned seven of Haywood’s works, including Love-Letters on all Occasions (1750), The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless (1751), and The History of Jenny and Jenny Jemmy (1755).

57. See Spedding, Bibliography, 771.

58. Ibid., Ab.68.1, The History of Jenny and Jenny Jemmy, 1:2.


60. Ibid., March 17–19, 1748.


62. The fact that the text was published in Dublin, Glasgow, and across Europe in translation tells us more about Haywood’s publishers than her readers.

63. See Bibliotheca Pearsoniana, A catalogue of the library of Thomas Pearson, Which will be sold by auction by T. and J. Egerton, on Monday, the 14th of April, 1788 (London, 1788), 57, no. 1574.

64. Spedding, Bibliography, Ab.60.2 (1747), Rivera Library, University of California, Riverside, copy inscribed on the title page “Sarah Hays”, Ab.60.5 (1746), Cambridge University Library, copy inscribed on the title page “Juliana Southwell”; Ab.60.4 (1747), Columbia University Library, copy inscribed on the title page “Mary Jones New York”; Ab.60.5 (1748), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, copy inscribed on the title page “Mary Don”; Ab.60.6 (1750), Stanford University Library, copy inscribed on the title page “Mary Peckham”; Ab.60.9 (1771), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, copy inscribed on the title page “Susanna Jemima”; Ab.60.10b (1775), Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles Library, copy inscribed on the title page “Mary Mennies”; Ab.60.10b (1775), Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, copy with a bookplate “JAMES OSWALD | WRITER | IN GLASGOW”.

65. See Bibliotheca Pearsoniana, 57, no. 1574.

66. Letter IX, Tunis, October 16, 1770. Letters from Italy, describing the manners, customs, antiquities, paintings, etc. of that country, in the years MDCCCLXXX and MDCCCLXXI, to a friend residing in France. By an English woman. The second edition, revised and corrected (London, 1777), 1:80.

67. An alphabetical catalogue of books and pamphlets, in English, French, and Latin, belonging to the Circulating Library, in Crane-Court. With a copious index (London, 1748), 170, no. 1265; A new catalogue of Lownlè’s circulating library, consisting of above ten thousand volumes, by Thomas Lownle (London, 1758), 94, no. 5791–94; A new catalogue of the curious and valuable collection of books Which are lent to read, by the year, quarter, month, or single book, by William Bache . . . at the original circulating library (being the first of its kind) in London at the Blue-Bible in Exeter-Exchange, in the Strand (London, 1767), 110, no. 3064; A new catalogue of Bell’s circulating library, consisting of above fifty thousand volumes, which are lent to read, by John Bell (London, 1778), 121–22, no. 4246–49; A catalogue of novels, plays, etc. which will be lent to read, at 2s. per volume, by Leckett, at his print-office, High-street, Dor-

18. The copyright for each volume was registered with the Stationers Company by Thomas Gardner on April 5, 1745 (vols. 1–2), May 1, 1746 (vol. 5), and February 16, 1746 (vol. 4). In an attempt to forestall pirates, Gardner later took out a second copyright for the third volume of The Female Spectator, giving the individual book numbers. See “Entries of Copies April 28, 1710 to Sept 28, 1746,” 589, and “Entries of Copies 29 Sept 1746 to Dec 30, 1753,” 25, reproduced in Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, ed. Robin Myers (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), 13.

19. Long runs of annotated auction catalogs survive at the British Library and at the Bodleian Library. For a discussion of these records, see Terry Belanger. “Booksellers’ Trade Sales, 1718–1785,” The Library, 30th series (1975), 281–302. 20. See, in particular, the discussion of Ab.6, La Belle Accourue.

21. Henry R. Pomer, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 (Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1953); Ian Maxted, The London Book Trades, 1775–1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members (Folkstone: Dawson, 1977). There are more than a dozen “A Millar” imprints in the 1770s in the ESTC. Some of these are clearly piracies and are marked as such in the ESTC (see especially ESTC: 021760; 005160; 140070).

22. Though the names do not appear in Pomer’s dictionary, there are many items in the ESTC from the 1770s that have Robert Chapman and Alexander Duncan in the imprint, and, according to Pomer, other Chapmans and Duncans were active in Glasgow at the time.

23. See ESTC: 022921.

24. The printing of lengthy works was usually spread over long periods: The Female Spectator, at ninety-six sheets, could have taken between one and two years to print. See Spedding, Bibliography, 686–87.

25. Another, less obvious, consideration is the size of the book. Since paper was quite expensive, a lengthy work required a considerable up-front investment in paper, to say nothing of typesetting, presswork, and so on. It was partly for this reason that copyrights to substantial works were often broken up so that the expense, and the risk, was distributed between a number of copyright holders.

26. Thirty Haywood works, or parts of works, were first published at one shilling. Two-thirds of these are sixty to sixty-eight pages in length, and more than one third are sixty-four pages in length. See Spedding, Bibliography, 774.

27. Most of Haywood’s multivolume works were issued in duodecimo at three shillings per volume.

28. Richard Atkins wrote in The Original and Growth of Printing (London, 1664) that an “unlicensed Book bears Treble the price of another; and generally more Scandalous a Book is, by so much the more dear” (16). Atkins is cited by Donald Thomas, A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 51. Haywood’s two scandalous memoirs were similar in length to each volume of The Female Spectator. Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to the Kingdom of Utopia (1725–26) is three hundred pages long, and The Secret History of the Present Intriguers of the Court of Ceremonies (1725) is 356 pages. Both were published in octavo.

29. Among other reasons, librarians and collectors are more inclined to buy, keep, and record their possession of a first edition than a later edition.

30. Ab.60.1 (38 copies), Ab.60.2 (7 copies), Ab.60.3 (6 copies), Ab.60.4 (9 copies), Ab.60.5 (17 copies), Ab.60.6 (15 copies), Ab.60.7 (18 copies), and Ab.60.8 (16 copies). See Spedding, Bibliography, 458–77.


32. Christine Blouch gives a detailed analysis of Gosse’s essay and the controversy
A catalogue of useful and valuable books, which will begin to be sold on Monday, November 26, 1778, by W. Hanwell and J. Parker, in the Turk, Oxford. Oxford: Catalogues be had (gratis) at the place of sale, and of Messrs. Rivington, London, 1798, 154, no. 7359; Poole's catalogue, for 1790; comprising at least twenty thousand volumes; which are selling by J. Poole, Bookseller and Stationer, Bartgate Street, Chester (Chester, 1792), 192, no. 4893; A catalogue of books, for 1797, containing several valuable librarians, which will be sold, by John Barnes, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Print-seller and Music-seller in Leeds (Leeds, 1797), 166, no. 6893; What's sale catalogue, for the year 1784, consisting of a collection of books. In most languages, arts and sciences, many of them rare and curious, Which will begin to be sold, this present June By Luke White (Dublin, 1784), 77, no. 2129; A catalogue of books, in most branches of literature. And music, adapted to every instrument, with their prices affixed. Now selling by Anthony Edwards, No. 3, Castle-Street, Cork (Cork, 1785), 20; A catalogue of books, imported and to be sold by Henry Knese, at the London Book-Store, a little southeast of the Town-House, in Cornhill, Boston (Boston, 1775), 16; Catalogue du livre que Man manchien chez Beinard et Gallier (Philadelphia, 1784), 110.

53. Bibliotheca Smithiana, pars altera. A catalogue of the remaining part of the curious and valuable library of Joseph Smith, and of many other collections lately purchased which will be sold this day, by James Rayson (London, 1775), 172, no. 5170; Poole's catalogue, for 1792 (1792), 192, no. 4892.

54. One would expect the price to rise if demand outstripped supply and to fall if supply outstripped demand. Information on the prices charged for copies of The Female Spectator after 1800 is not available to the writer.

55. Whitehall Evening Post, February 24-25, 1756.

56. Stephen Jones, A New Biographical Dictionary: Containing a Brief Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons and Characters in Every Age and Nation, The Sec-