The Publication of Teresia Constantia Phillips’s *Apology* (1748–49)

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This article has been written to accompany Caroline Breashears’s analysis of “Paratextual Strategies in Teresia Constantia Phillips’s *Apology*” (in this issue). Although the materials that it is based on were collected independently, and the findings were also developed independently, the particular form this article takes is the result of a recognition of our differing but complementary interest in *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs. Teresia Constantia Phillips* (1748–49; hereafter *Apology*).

In my study I am primarily concerned with bibliographical matters. Phillips’s *Apology* was self-published, in eighteen parts or numbers, some of which were reprinted, and each of which were signed or authenticated by Phillips. Many numbers contained a combination of text and ancillary matter (the *Apology* contains two dedications, six addresses to the reader, and two appendices).\(^1\) Both contemporary and modern binders have been quite uncertain how to assemble these elements—some of which are quite unusual\(^2\)—and often did so incorrectly. My survey of over fifty copies of Phillips’s *Apology* has identified nineteen different configurations of the main elements that make up the first volume, seventeen of the second volume, and seven of the third.\(^3\)

Naturally, modern scholars who encounter these wildly differing, incomplete, mixed and mis-bound sets of the *Apology*—as they do on microfilm and online\(^4\)—have struggled to make sense of the text, its peritexts and epitexts (as described by Breashears).\(^5\) By providing a detailed description of the eighteen numbers that were issued by Phillips, information of when they were issued and reissued, and by providing a description of an “ideal” copy of the bound three-volume

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1 Dedications: to the Earl of Scarborough and to Henry Muilman (issued in three parts); addresses to the reader: in vol. 1 starting “We proposed . . .” and “I am at a Loss . . .”; vol. 2 starting “When we took . . .” and “Mrs. Muilman is in great Concern . . .”; vol. 3 starting “Mrs. Phillips has the Mortification . . .” and “Mrs. Phillips’s Papers . . .”; appendices: The Promised Justification, &c.—which has its own title-leaf—and an “Appendix.”

2 Both vol. 2 and vol. 3 have addresses to the reader which should be bound in the middle of the volume.

3 The results of my survey of fifty-two copies of the *Apology* appear in Appendix 3.

4 The copy of this edition on the *Early British Fiction* (EBF) and Eighteenth Century (EC) microfilm series (and on ECCO) is L [1202.h.2–4]. As I explain below this copy is both incomplete and misbound.

5 As Caroline Breashears argues, even when bound as intended, the *Apology* loses much of its “fluid, interactive” character. This is particularly evident in vol. 1. See Caroline Breashears, “Paratextual Strategies in Teresia Constantia Phillips’s *Apology*”: 8, 18, 19, 22 (Table 1).
Although advertisements only occasionally reveal details of the specific contents of individual numbers, they do contain useful information about other aspects of the publication. Further details emerge from the advertising and other printing on the blue paper wrappers that each number was issued in. And the Apology itself reveals a great deal of about the difficulties Phillips faced when writing, publishing and advertising her work. As Roy McKeen Wiles writes, Phillips “paid unremitting personal attention to the publishing of her one book” and was determined to tell and sell her story. Consequently, we are particularly well informed about the publication of Phillips’s Apology.

The reader of the Apology is told that, by 1737, Phillips had decided to “print her Case” as a “Method of Vindicating her Character” (3.49), but was unable to obtain permission to do so from one of the judges concerned. Lord Hardwicke’s opposition “was the principle [reason] why the Narrative of this whole Transaction did not appear until 1748 (3.58). Phillips preserved the materials necessary to compile her case because “it has always been [her] Intention to make it public” (3.59). We are informed that—about a decade later—“a Bookseller” asked “a Gentleman to speak to Mrs. Muilman, and make her a proposal, that if she would give him the Heads of her History, he would get a proper Person to write it,

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6The publication of Phillips’s Apology has attracted little attention. More than fifty years ago a short account of the publication, and a simplified bibliographical description, were offered in Roy McKeen Wiles, Serial Publication in England Before 1750 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1957), 143–46, 355. More recently, the context of the publication has been discussed at some length by Lynda M. Thompson, The ‘Scandalous Memoirists’: Constantia Phillips, Laetitia Pilkington and the Shame of Publick Fame (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), primarily 19–79.

7Each number—usually containing four octavo sheets, gathered in fours—was issued wrapped in a sheet of blue paper. These blue wrappers have a range of information printed on them, such as the part number, the publication date of the next number, explanations for delays, advertising copy etc. The wrapper was intended to be disposed of by the binder when the sheets that the wrapper protected were re-distributed and bound into volumes. Fortunately, in a few copies, these wrappers have been retained. A transcript of the printing on the wrapper of each number appears in Appendix 1.

8Wiles, Serial Publication in England Before 1750, 143.

9Volume and page references given in text reflect the pagination established in my bibliographical description (for which, see below). Phillips’s account of her decision—based on “the Advice of all of her Friends in general”—to “print her Case,” and her subsequent interviews with Lord Chancellor Charles Talbot (1685–1737) and Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764), appear on pages 38–60. This account is discussed in Thompson, The ‘Scandalous Memoirists’, 132–35.
and take the Whole upon himself, and give her a thousand Pounds” (1.260–61). Having “duly considered” the proposal she replied that, if Mr. Muilman “did not take some Care of her, she would instantly set about this Work” (1.261).

Preceding this passage (1.260–61) Phillips refers to a series of prior events (1.258–59) that suggest that this interview occurred in 1747 or 1748 and that the Apology was written shortly before it began publication in April 1748. The narrator explains that, “when she went, about three Years ago, to France ... she was resolved all their Dispute should have ended,” so she asked Muilman for an annuity to end their dispute, which he refused. “At last,” we are told, “she was arrested ... He suffered her to be carried to a Jail, and to lie there above two Years.” A period of “above two Years” after “about three Years ago” seems to refer to a period between six and twelve months prior to the time this passage was composed. And since this statement appears in the fifth number (issued two months after the first number appeared) it seems likely that the Apology was composed within about six months of the first number being printed. Certainly, Phillips repeated her request for an annuity, which was—“in a few Days”—refused by Muilman. Thereafter, it seems, she “instantly” set about her Apology.

Although it seems likely that Phillips drafted her own Apology—and I assume she is the author throughout this article—the text is written in “multiple voices,”10 primarily the voice of a disinterested male narrator who has unfettered access to Phillips and all documents (the narrator is introduced 1.11–18). This fact alone may have suggested to a contemporary reader that Phillips supplied “the Heads of her History” to “a proper Person” so he (or she) could write her Apology. At least one immediate contemporary suggested that this “proper Person” was Paul Whitehead—a suggestion discussed at some length by Lynda M. Thompson.11 Whatever Phillips’s role was in writing her own Apology, it is clear that she did not exchange the copyright for one thousand pounds. Instead, having composed her Apology (c. March 1748), she

applied to two eminent Booksellers for the printing and publishing this Work; they at first express’d a great deal of Willingness, and even Fondness, to undertake it, but after having (as she supposes) consulted with Mr. Muilman, they absolutely refused to be concern’d; and at last Mr. Millan, the Bookseller, at Charing-Cross,

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10 Breashears, “Paratextual Strategies in Teresia Constantia Phillips’s Apology”: 17.
11 Thompson, The ‘Scandalous Memoirs’, 27–30. Thompson is wrong that “Phillips’s authorship ... was not questioned by her immediate contemporaries” (ibid., 30). A Letter to Mrs. P———, In which some Facts in her last Number are rescued from the false Light she has put them in, and some others which she has omitted, are supply’d (London: H. Carpenter, 1749), 14, criticises Phillips for not providing a “proper Life of Miss C—— T—— P——, but only afford[ing] Hints to your good Friend Mr. W——d, to exert his Fancy on, in composing a Novel.” A Letter to Mrs. P———, was published in June 1749 (“Register of Books, June 1749,” Gentleman’s Magazine 19 (June 1749): 288 (no. 5)).
candidly told her, It was vain to offer it, for he was sure no Bookseller in London would meddle, for Fear of Mr. Muilman. (1.viii)

Having failed to find a member of the book trade to print and distribute her Apology she decided to do it herself.

Mrs. Phillips is so little acquainted with the Nature of Printing, that she thought when the Manuscript was finished, the Printing would be compleated in a few Days; and for that Reason she sent an Advertisement to the following publick Papers, viz. the London Gazette, the London Evening Post, the Daily Advertiser, the General Daily Advertiser the London Courant, and the General Daily Gazetteer. (1.v–vi)

Phillips explains that, for various reasons, the advertisement “was only inserted in the two last Papers.” Unfortunately, no copy of either paper survives from this period (early to mid-March 1748) and so we cannot recover any details of the Apology as she first intended to publish it.

After she had advertised her Apology she then tried to find a printer for it. However,

It was with the utmost Difficulty she found a Printer that would upon any Account undertake it; altho’ she took the Publication upon herself ... [one] Printer consented to print it for her in Numbers, and condescended to promise her the first Number (after being extremely press’d to be as quick as possible) in three weeks or a Month; another once in a Fortnight or three Weeks;—or the whole together in about thirteen Weeks, if he kept his Word. This is a Difficulty she never once expected; and, upon consulting her Friends what to do, they all agreed, that if the Publication was delay’d so long, the Public would never expect it; and also, that, in thirteen or fourteen Weeks, most People would be gone out of Town; both which would be the utmost Disadvantage to her; and, they were apprehensive, if she ventured to publish it in Numbers, it would be mangled and pirated by some of the

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12 This claim is repeated in later advertisements. See, for example, General Advertiser, 17 March 1749: “none of them [Booksellers] would venture to undertake it for her.”
13 The Apology was first advertised—in its present form—in the Daily Advertiser on 30 March 1748 for release on 11 April; if Number 1 was printed in three weeks, Phillips must have sent it to press c. 21 March.
14 The implication here is that “thirteen or fourteen Weeks” was a very long time to print the Apology. In fact, the opposite is true. In the few cases where it is possible to estimate the production times for longer works printed by Charles Ackers, the number of sheets printed per week ranges from one to two. The Apology was printed in three volumes comprised of 68.25 sheets octavo (24, 23, and 21.25 sheets per volume). Even if the estimated printing time was based on a book with less ancillary matter—as I demonstrated below, much of this ancillary was clearly not anticipated when production began—this is still a much higher production rate (five sheets per week) than we might expect. See “Introduction,” in D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, A Ledger of Charles Ackers, Printer of the London Magazine (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1968), 19.
mean underling Booksellers, therefore she has been in the greatest Dilemma what to do; but, as in most Cases, we endeavour to chuse the least Evil, rather than the Public should imagine she had promised such an Apology by an Advertisement only to serve a particular End, (a Report which has been industriously spread) without intending any such Thing should appear, she at last resolved to publish it in Numbers; and to prevent Piracies, she has had it regularly enter’d at Stationers-Hall. (I.ix—x)

As well as entering the first nine numbers at Stationers-Hall,\textsuperscript{15} Phillips promised (in her advertisements) to sign each number “with her own Hand” in order “to prevent Imposition.”\textsuperscript{16} She also threatened any would-be pirates “with the utmost Rigor of the Law” and offered a “Twenty Guineas Reward” to “whoever gives Information of such Piracy … upon Conviction of the Offender.”\textsuperscript{17} It seems likely that this signing was done when the work was in sheets, before the sheets in each number were folded, gathered and bound.\textsuperscript{18}

Thompson writes that Phillips “was right to fear pirate copies and spurious versions.”\textsuperscript{19} In fact, there is no evidence that any piracy of any description was ever undertaken of this work, though her portrait was pirated and a few writers definitely cashed in on Phillip’s fame/infamy. Whether Phillips’s Apology would have been pirated if these precautions had not been taken is impossible to know, but my own study of the practice of signing suggests otherwise. This type of signing-for-authentication seems to have been most often undertaken by amateurs and outsiders to the trade who, in reality, had little reason to fear piracy. The practice may be best understood as an indicator of anxiety among trade outsiders, which defines their status as outsiders,\textsuperscript{20} rather than an indicator of the need for, or efficiency of, signing to protect works from piracy. The fact that Phillips gave up entering each number at Stationers-Hall after nine parts had been issued, and that did not sign copies of the second or later editions, suggest that she eventually realised that such precautions were unnecessary.

\textsuperscript{15} Wiles, \textit{Serial Publication in England Before 1750}, 355; “no. 1 ent. Sta[tioners’] Reg[ister]. April 11, 1748 by Teresia Constantia Phillips (sole proprietor); likewise, others nos to no. 3 of vol. II ent[ered]. Oct. 29, 1748”.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Old England}, 9 April 1748.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Old England}, 30 April 1748.

\textsuperscript{18} The location of authorisation also provides evidence for the gathering and collation of sheets within numbers. In vol. 1, no. 3 and vol. 2, no. 5 the authorisation appears, not on the recto of the first leaf as the volumes were intended to be bound, but on the recto of uppermost leaf as it was sold. See Appendixes 1 and 3 for details.

\textsuperscript{19} Thompson, The ‘Scandalous Memoirists’, 32.

\textsuperscript{20} Clearly this is not true in all cases, and Edmond Hoyle’s signing of \textit{A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist} is a good counter-example. See David Levy, “Pirates, Autographs, and a Bankruptcy: \textit{A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist by Edmond Hoyle, Gentleman},” \textit{Script & Print} 34.3 (2010): 133–61.
On 30 March 1748 Phillips advertised “The First Numbers” of her Apology, explaining that “In the First Number there will be an Advertisement to the Reader [quoted above], which may She hopes, be a satisfactory Reason for her being obliged to Print it in Numbers, and the Delay of the Publication.” Readers are further informed that Phillips’s Apology “will be continued every Ten Days ‘till the whole is complete.” Such a schedule would have seen the eighteen numbers published by Wednesday 28 September 1748. Despite protestations that she would “infallibly” stick to this schedule, the final number did not appear until 28 October 1749, thirteen months later than first intended. The average gap between numbers is c. 32 days, but the actual gap varied enormously, ranging from six to one hundred and nine days. The General Advertiser repeated Phillips’s initial plan (for issuing a number every ten days) in advertisements between 30 March and 22 April 1748. The clause, and this claim, was dropped from advertisements for the second number on 25 April (and never re-appeared). Instead, this advertisement provided the publication date of the next number, a pattern that was repeated in following newspaper advertisements and on the wrappers to individual numbers. Although all wrappers provide a publication date for the next number, newspaper advertisements do so—consistently—only for the first volume. For the second volume, publication dates are offered only sporadically, and for the third volume, rarely.

21 General Advertiser, 30 March 1748.
22 That is, no. 1 (11 April), no. 2 (21 April), no. 3 (1 May), no. 4 (11 May), no. 5 (21 May), no. 6 (31 May), no. 7 (10 June), no. 8 (20 June), no. 9 (30 June), no. 10 (10 July), no. 11 (20 July), no. 12 (30 July), no. 13 (9 August), no. 14 (19 August), no. 15 (29 August), no. 16 (8 September), no. 17 (18 September), no. 18 (28 September)—the three dates in italics fall on a Sunday.
23 Phillips replied, in an advertisement published in the General Advertiser, 22 April 1748, to a letter sent her by an “Honest Tar” on 21 April, only eight days after the first number was issued. She states that “the report mentioned to be industriously spread, is entirely false; and on Monday next the second Number will be infallibly published ....” Presumably, “the report” was that Phillips would not publish her Number 2 (or all future numbers) on time.
24 Eighteen numbers were published in 578 days, an average of one every 32.1 days.
25 The date of publication, and the gap suggested by advertisements, are: no. 1 (13 April 1748), no. 2 (25 April 1748; +12 days), no. 3 (10 May 1748; +15 days), no. 4 (25 May 1748; +15 days), no. 5 (8 June 1748; +14 days), no. 6 (11 July 1748; +33 days), no. 7 (17 August 1748; +37 days), no. 8 (19 September 1748; +33 days), no. 9 (12 October 1748; +23 days), no. 10 (17 November 1748; +36 days), no. 11 (24 January 1749; +68 days), no. 12 (30 January 1749; +6 days), no. 13 (21 February 1749; +22 days), no. 14 (13 April 1749; +52 days), no. 15 (2 May 1749; +19 days), no. 16 (19 August 1749; +109 days), no. 17, which was issued with no. 18 (28 October 1749; +70 days).
26 After the first four numbers we see Phillips either failing to issue a number on the advertised date or repeatedly revising the publication date of the following number in her newspaper advertisements. For example, Number 5 was advertised on 28 May for 20 June, then 4 for 8 June (twelve days earlier than first advertised); Number 6 was
The first number of Phillips's *Apology* was advertised as “To be had at her House in Craig's Court, Charing Cross; where all Booksellers may be supplied, with the usual Allowances” (*Old England*, 9 April 1748). Importantly, this advertisement does not specify a printer or publisher (a financier or distributor), but directs buyers to “her [i.e. Phillips’s] House.” Since Phillips explains that “Booksellers may be supplied, with the usual Allowances” at the same address it was likely that Phillips was both the financier and distributor. Another advertisement, issued four days later, makes Phillips's role even clearer: “To be had only at her House … where all Booksellers and Pamphlet-shops may be supplied . . . .” It would be another year before Phillips’s exact role was spelled out in advertisements (see below).

Advertisements for the second number add “R. Griffiths, Publisher, at the Dunciad in Ludgate-Street” as a bookseller. By the time the third number was released (*Whitehall Evening Post*, 10 May 1748), Griffiths had taken over the distribution and trade sales of the *Apology*:

> The Booksellers, &c. will be supplied only by Mr. Griffiths, at the Dunciad in Ludgate-street; Of which the Trade are desired to take Notice, as no Allowance will for the future be made at Craig's-Court.

Griffiths continued in this role in advertisements for the fourth number, and began to separately advertise his involvement in publishing the *Apology* immediately before advertisements for the fifth number appeared (*General Advertiser*, 8 June 1748). Curiously, when the main advertisements for the fifth number appeared the following day, Griffiths’s name had disappeared. Once again, in Phillips's advertised on 8 June for 10 July, then 13 June for 20 July (seven days later than first advertised); and Number 7 was advertised on 6 for 8 August, then 16 for 17 August (nine days later than first advertised). It seems that Phillips eventually realised that she was creating a rod for her own back by constantly failing to meet her advertised issue dates and became increasingly reluctant to offer such dates in advance. The pattern of missed publication dates is repeated on the wrappers to individual numbers; indeed, the publication date of each number almost always first appears on the wrapper to the previous number (in the form “on [day] of [month] will be published [number]”), and this same date is repeated in newspaper advertisements. It is possible that Phillips persisted in advertising publications dates on wrappers after she had stopped doing so in newspaper advertisements because she felt it was more important to inform, and she was less exposed to criticism from, her actual readers.

27 *General Advertiser*, 13 April 1748 (italics added).
28 *General Advertiser*, 8 June 1748: “Griffiths, Publisher, at the Dunciad in Ludgate-Street, Continues to Sell Mrs. Phillips's Apology; both in single Numbers as they come out, and in compleat Sets, from Number 1, inclusive. Of whom may be had . . . .” This advertisement was repeated on 9 June—on the same day that his name was dropped from the main advertisement in the same page of the same newspaper.
main advertisement, buyers are directed to "her House in Craig's Court, Charing Cross; where the Trade may be supply'd, with the usual Allowances."

Before Griffiths began to distribute her Apology, Phillips had endured an attempt to "carry her to Newgate." In an advertisement for the second number—an advertisement that only Old England would run—Phillips explains

the House she lives in was on Wednesday the 27th [of April] surrounded by thirteen Constables, in order to carry her to Newgate, she hopes any Gentlemen who call for her Apology, will not take it amiss if the Door is not opened to them, but that her Servant is obliged to give it thro' the Window.\textsuperscript{29}

Four months later Phillips included in her Apology a transcript of a letter from "M——" dated [Monday] 2 May 1748 which refers to the events of that day.\textsuperscript{30} The letter writer explains

[I] came to your House last Wednesday [27 April], with a Pretence of wanting 150 or 200 of your Books, and received an Answer from a Gentlewoman, who, tho' she seem'd not to acknowledge it, I take to have been yourself. (2.93–94)\textsuperscript{31}

This letter suggests that the references to Phillips’s "Servant" in her advertisements were actually a ruse employed to dodge debt-collectors and officers; and that Phillips herself—unable to leave her house—sold the signed copies of each number “thro' the Window” of Craig’s Court, Charing Cross. M—— continues:

and I find my Enquiry has occasioned a printed Reference to your Bookseller, of all who require any Abatement in Consideration of taking a Number of your Apologies.

This claim, that the abatement was first offered after Phillips was beset “by thirteen Constables,” is false. However, the first “printed Reference to your Bookseller” (i.e., to Griffiths acting as a distributor for Phillips) \textit{did} occur after this event, suggesting that Phillips may have been prompted to employ Griffiths as a distributor because of the difficulty she had conducting business through a window!

When the sixth number was issued a new name appears in advertisements (\textit{General Advertiser}, 21 July 1748), although only in the part of the advertisement referring to the engraved portrait, which “is to be sold at her House, and by

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Old England}, 30 April 1748.

\textsuperscript{30} Although she did not publish the letter for over four months, Phillips had “return[ed] Thanks to the unknown Author” of this letter in a public notice in \textit{Old England} on 7 May 1748.

\textsuperscript{31} The text appears in Number 8 (Vol. 2, no. 2), which was issued 19 September 1748.

\textsuperscript{32} Phillips writes "Mrs. Muilman, who for these eighteen Months has never been six times out of her House ..." (2.243). This statement appears in Number 10 (Vol. 2, no. 4), issued 17 November 1748.
Mr. J. Millan, Bookseller, over-against the Admiralty, Charing-Cross.” A similar advertisement also appears on the wrapper to this number. Millan’s role is clearer in advertisements for the following number (General Advertiser, 17 August 1748), which “is to be had” from both Phillips and Millan. Importantly, the wrapper to this number (Number 7; vol. 2, no. 1) contains an advertisement on its rear panel for an unrelated work published by Millan (Millan’s Universal Register, 2nd ed., “correct and complete to June 2, 1748”)—suggesting that he was the publisher of the Apology.

The following two numbers were advertised in newspapers in the same way as Number 7, but the following number (the tenth; vol. 2, no. 4) was advertised initially with Millan (General Advertiser, 17 November 1748) but only one week later (General Advertiser, 25 November 1748) without him. In the later newspaper advertisements, for this number and for the rest of this volume, both the public and the trade are directed to Phillips “at her house in Craig’s Court, Charing Cross”—and Millan is seen no more. Nevertheless, advertisements by Millan appear on the wrappers of all following numbers!

When the thirteenth number was advertised, the first number of the third volume, Phillips published a lengthy attack on booksellers (General Advertiser, 17 March 1749). In her advertisement she states that she has

the strongest Reasons to suspect there is every unfair Method used to suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some of the Booksellers, tho’ she has never refused to supply them with the Allowances usual among themselves; yet nothing will content these People less than monopolizing to themselves every Thing that appears with Success in Print; therefore, tho’ none of them would venture to undertake it for her at first, none of them would now refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavour’d to be as much stifled as possible, with Intention, we suppose, to force Mrs. Phillips to dispose of it: But as she is determined never to do that, she begs the Publick will take Notice, they may be supplied at her House.

She concludes this advertisement with an appeal:

N.B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. who send them abroad, shall have the same Allowance as the Booksellers, which is near 30 per Cent. and if required, any reasonable Credit. Booksellers in any Part of England, who send their Commissions to her, shall be immediately served with the usual Advantages.

In the imprint of the first volume of her work she explained that “Such extraordinary Care [had] been taken to intimidate the Booksellers, in order to stifle this Work, that Mrs. Phillips [was] obliged to publish it herself.” Whether the London publishers were, in fact, intimidated or were averse to what they considered a poor risk,33 Phillips had to publish her Apology at her own expense. Having done so,

33Thompson argues that the greatest concerns of would-be publishers of Phillips’s Apology
she entered into arrangements with R. Griffiths and then J. Millan to distribute and sell the work, but both arrangements appear to have (quickly) either failed or faltered. Here, it seems, Phillips is accusing both publishers of endeavouring to stifle the sale of her Apology "as much ... as possible" in the hope that she would sell her copyright to them. In retaliation, she appeals to other booksellers and—beyond them—to "Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c." to help distribute her Apology, offering them both trade terms and credit.

In an address to the reader issued less than two months later (in Number 15) Phillips expanded on her accusations and added details of her ever-increasing difficulties in obtaining advertising space. Regarding the "unfair Method[s] used to suppress the Sale of her Book," Phillips explains

Now, with regard to some of the Booksellers, her Friends have gone about from Shop to Shop, without seeming to know her; and these honest Gentlemen, when asked how Mrs. Phillips's Book sells, make Answer, "It grows dull,—nobody buys it,—that indeed they cannot recommend it to their Customers," &c. &c.—This is the cold Water the low Class of the Booksellers endeavours to throw on this Work; for we would not be understood to believe, that Men of Worth and Reputation (of which there are many among the Booksellers) would be guilty of such unfair Dealings. (3.[2–3])

The final piece of evidence concerning the publication of Phillips's Apology appeared in advertisements six months after the final numbers appeared. Phillips "removed into White-Hart-Street, near Queen-Square Westminster" (Old England, 20 May 1749) after the publication of the fifteenth number (vol. 3, no. 3) and a year later announced her intention "to retire to the Country." In the same advertisement (Old England, 28 April 1750) she "desires the Public to take Notice, no Book published in her Name will be genuine, except what is signed with her own Name, and by the name of M. Lodwick." When a "A New Edition of Mrs. Phillips's Apology" appeared "In three neat Pocket Volumes, Twelves" for nine shillings (half the price of the octavo edition) the public were informed "None will be genuine that are not signed by the Name M. Lodwick"—alone. If the print run of each of the octavo numbers of her Apology was only five hundred—and it is likely to have been much higher—Teresia Constantia Phillips signed her full name about nine thousand times34 before handing over this onerous duty to M. Lodwick.

were prosecution for libel or contempt of court, or losing copyright protection on the basis that Phillips's Apology was an obscene libel. Thompson, The 'Scandalous Memoirists', 133–35.

34 Five hundred copies of each of the eighteen numbers, plus one copy of one of the two engravings, totals 9,500 signatures. This figure excludes the any reprinted numbers that were signed. Then again, many copies contain at least one number that is not signed (see Appendix 3) and the final two numbers (nos. 17, 18), being issued together, are only
As mentioned, an advertisement for the second number refers to an attempt to arrest Phillips, and notifies readers that “There shall be a particular Advertisement to the reader annexed to the third Number, with an authentic Account of this unfair Proceeding.” This is one of the few instances where the letterpress content of a number is mentioned in a newspaper advertisement.\textsuperscript{35} Five of the first nine numbers also provide a few, brief details of the contents of forthcoming numbers on their wrappers.\textsuperscript{36} However, both newspaper advertisements and advertising on wrappers discuss both the reprinting of individual numbers and—at some length—a series of engraved portraits of Phillips that were issued with the intention of being bound into copies of the Apology. I will treat these in reverse order.

In an advertisement for the sixth number (\textit{General Advertiser}, 13 July 1748) Phillips announces that

There is a Mezzotinto Print of Mrs. Phillips now in Hand, by Mr. Faber, from an Original Painting of Mr. Highmore’s, and will be finish’d in a few Days. It will be sold at her House, and by Mr. J. Millan, Bookseller, over-against the Admiralty, Charing-Cross, and no where else; and any other that may be offered to the Public will be an Imposition, there being no other Original Drawing of her extant.\textsuperscript{37}

Six days later the advertisement was changed to indicate that the print “will be publish’d on Thursday next” (i.e. 21 July),\textsuperscript{38} and on Thursday the advertisement was changed again to inform her readers that “each Print will be signed with her own Hand.”\textsuperscript{39} Copies of the first volume were thereafter advertised “with or without the Mezzotinto Print” (\textit{General Advertiser}, 17 August 1748). By the time the second volume was nearly complete Phillips was advising her readers (\textit{Old England}, 21 January 1749) that

\begin{itemize}
  \item signed once.
  \item The earliest advertisements for the first number—such as \textit{General Advertiser}, 30 March 1748—explain that “In the First Number there will be an Advertisement to the Reader, which may,” Phillips hoped, offer “a satisfactory Reason for her being obliged to Print it in Numbers, and the Delay of the Publication.”
  \item The wrapper of Number 1 informs purchasers that “Number II. of this Apology is dedicated to Henry Muilman, Esq”; Number 2, that this dedication is “To be continued”; Number 3, that this dedication is “To be concluded. And in which will come The Copies of his Letters”; Number 4—the most expansive—explains that Number 5 “will contain Extracts from Mr. Muilman’s Answers in Chancery, and other Law Proceedings.” Then there is a gap until Number 9 (vol. 2, no. 3) informs purchasers that Number 10 will continue The Amours of Tartufe. See Appendix 1 for details.
  \item A similar advertisement appeared on the wrapper to this number, which had been issued a few days earlier.
  \item \textit{General Advertiser}, 19 July 1748.
  \item \textit{General Advertiser}, 21 July 1748. In this latter advertisement the emphatic statement “and no where else” is dropped.
\end{itemize}
The Mezzotinto Print that has been published of Mrs. Phillips, was done with so much Precipitation, to prevent the Sale of one intended to be imposed upon the Public, it has not given the Satisfaction she desired; But there is now a large one, finished in the most elegant Taste; and as we make no doubt there will be Endeavours to pirate it, there will not be one sold which is not signed with her own Hand.  

This “large” print was issued at five shillings; the price of the earlier print is not advertised.

Precisely one month later, Phillips was warning her readers (General Advertiser, 21 February 1749)

that there is already a very bad Copy taken from this Print, which is intended to be imposed upon them at a trifling Price, but to prevent as far as in her Power such Imposition, Mrs. Philips promises a Reward of 10 l. to whomever will uncover the Publisher, whom she is determined to prosecute to the utmost of her Power.

On 6 March the pirates goaded Phillips with an advertisement for this “very bad Copy” in the General Advertiser—the newspaper in which Phillips’s own advertisements regularly appeared. The price of this “curious Metzotinto” was one fifth of the genuine article:

This Day is publish’d, (Price one Shilling only;) A Curious Metzotinto Print of Mrs. Terecia Constantia Phillips, done by an eminent Hand; being very proper to bind up with her Memoirs. To be had at all the Print-shops in London and Westminster. It is left to the Curious to judge the Goodness between this and the Five Shilling one.

When Phillips prepared the advertisements for the first number of the third volume (General Advertiser, 17 March 1749), she offered her own judgement on “the Goodness” of this pirated print.

The spurious Print mention’d in our former Advertisements, Mrs. Phillips gives this public Notice, to prevent Imposition, is now sold at the Printshops, and resembles her as much as it does Peter the wild Boy. The Publick will please to observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand-Writing.

Later advertisements explain (Old England, 29 April 1749) that the “spurious Print” is signed, but that the signature is printed:

The Public will please to observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand-Writing, the Counterfeits are signed by the Copper-Plates.

40 A similar advertisement appeared on the wrapper to Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5), which had was issued a few days later.
Since the original—smaller—print was the one prepared and published for buyers to bind into their copies of the first volume, when the first volume was completed (with the publication of the sixth number), the ideal copy of Phillips's Apology should contain this print rather than the "large one." But since buyers could opt not to have a print, copies without it are not incomplete. Would-be buyers are advised (General Advertiser, 17 August 1748) that copies of "The First Volume complete, or in Numbers" were available "with or without the Mezzotinto Print." If the second version of this print had not been issued, there would, therefore, be two issues of the "ideal" copy of Phillips's Apology: one with, and one without, the smaller print. And since the two issues were available simultaneously, there is no chronological precedence between them, whatever the preference might be from a collector's perspective.

However, since Phillips makes her preference for the larger—and later—print clear in her advertisements, the "ideal" copy from the point of view of the publisher was clearly for a set to contain the later print. If we consider this point alone—whether a print is present, and which print is present—there are clearly three issues of the Apology. In fact, as I will argue below, there are many more.

Copies of the first volume were available "At Mrs. Phillips's ... The First Volume complete, neatly bound, or in blue Covers, with or without the Mezzotinto Print" (Old England, 5 November 1748). A few months later the first volume of the Apology was advertised "neatly bound and gilded" (General Advertiser, 16 December 1748):

Mrs. Phillips having bound a great Number of the first Volume, any Gentleman may be supply'd with them, neatly bound and gilded, without any additional Expence [sic], but at the bare Price of the Numbers.

When the second volume was completed, advertisements (General Advertiser, 17 March 1749) offered "all the Numbers, either single or the Two First Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s."

The reprinting of individual numbers is first mentioned on the wrapper to Number 4 (issued 25 May 1748). Readers are informed that "A second edition, revised and corrected, of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Numbers, are in the Press, and will be speedily published." Over seven months later, newspaper advertisements explain that, "There being a great Demand for the first Number, it is in the Press, and will be published with all convenient Speed" (Old England, 7 January 1749). Newspaper advertisements for Number 11 announce that "All the former Numbers are now reprinted, and the Public may be supply'd with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as usual" (Old England, 21 January 1749)—an announcement that was repeated on the wrappers of Numbers 11–13 and in later newspaper advertisements. On 2 May 1749 booksellers were informed—via the printed wrapper to Number 15 (Vol. 3, no. 3)—that they should
supply themselves with any odd Numbers they want, before the 25th of next June; for after that Time, Mrs. Phillips will compleat, and bind all she has left, and will keep no single Numbers by her.

One week later, the public were similarly advised that “no single Numbers will be sold” (Whitehall Evening Post, 9 May 1749). Nevertheless, less than a year later (Old England, 28 April 1750) “All the Numbers of her Apology” were “Being Reprinted.”

From these advertisements, from a comparison of the Monash and State Library of New South Wales copies with the British Library copies of the first and “Second” edition of the Apology, and from the responses to my survey, it is clear that many numbers were indeed reprinted.\(^{41}\) If the twenty-four numbers of Eliza Haywood’s Female Spectator (1744–46) offer any guide, it is likely some numbers were reprinted more than once and others were not reprinted at all.\(^{42}\) It is likely that all octavo sets of the Apology comprise a mixture of numbers, some first edition, some reprinted. It is also likely that, while copies of the Apology with a “Second Edition” title-leaf are likely to contain a larger number of reprinted numbers, few copies with a first edition title-leaf are likely to be uniformly comprised of first-printing numbers.\(^{43}\) Since the reprinted numbers that have been identified are unevenly distributed among the three volumes of the Apology it is likely that any single or simple explanation for the pattern of reprinting will be either inadequate or actively misleading (such as, “increasing demand necessitated the reprinting of early numbers”). Without undertaking a close analysis of a substantial percentage of surviving copies—which is presently impractical—it is not possible to do more than to state that it is indeed likely that “All the Numbers of her Apology” were reprinted as claimed.

Advertising of individual numbers was halted shortly before the completion of the third volume so that this volume could be offered only in a trade binding as soon as the regular subscribers had been supplied with the final two numbers. This is in contrast with the marketing of the first volume which was offered in numbers or a trade binding. Since the first two volumes—and possibly all three

\(^{41}\) A preliminary investigation suggests that at least seven of the eighteen numbers were reprinted (nos. 1–5, 16–18); and a number of the remaining eleven may have been reprinted from standing type (indicated by the presence of either horizontal or vertical chain lines in some gatherings).

\(^{42}\) The first nine of the twenty-four “Books” that comprise The Female Spectator are identified as having been reprinted—one of them twice—in my Bibliography of Eliza Haywood (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004), 439–64. It has subsequently emerged that a tenth book was reprinted (Book 22), and that a third printing of Book 1 also occurred.

\(^{43}\) The Monash copy being a case in point. Note, because copies of the Apology with a “Second” edition title-leaf are likely to contain a larger number of reprinted numbers they have been excluded from my survey.
volumes—were issued in trade bindings “neatly bound and gilded” for six shillings per volume, as well as being issued in numbers in blue wrappers, and remained available in original and reprinted numbers for most of the publication history of the Apology, there are countless issues of this set.

Even if we consider only the binding and engravings—both of which were controlled by Phillips as publisher—there are six issues

(a) in parts, in blue wrappers, without the first engraving, or
(b) with it, or
(c) with the second engraving; or

(d) in volumes in trade bindings, without the first engraving, or
(e) with it, or
(f) with the second engraving.

Of course, since it remains unclear how many numbers were reprinted, let alone the order in which they were reprinted, there is no way of knowing how many issues there might be if we were to combine this consideration with the binding and engravings, let alone the precedence of such issues. And, since many copies of the Apology have been rebound, and most libraries have been unable to distinguished the two genuine portraits in their descriptions (to say nothing of the piracies), it is not possible to identify these characteristics any more than it is presently possible to identify the edition of each number in each copy.

Given the impossibility of presently distinguishing anything but a random fraction of the issues of the Apology I have limited the bibliographical description below to the make up of the eighteen individual numbers (in Appendix 1) and a description of an “ideal” copy of the three-volume Apology (Appendix 2) in as much as it is possible to establish such an ideal copy from the sets examined.

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One final piece of bibliographical information contained in newspaper advertisements appears, at first glance, to be a piece of misinformation. Using Phillips’s own language, we might assume it to be an “Imposition” or “an Advertisement only to serve a particular End ... without intending any such Thing should appear.”

When Number 6 was published, Phillips advertised the number itself, a mezzotint of herself by Mr. Faber (as noted above), “And the same Day will be published, Price 2s. The Two first Numbers of this Work, Translated into the Dutch Language.” This 13 July advertisement was reprinted on 15 July, then edited and reprinted on 19 July (“will be” was changed to “was”) before all reference to this Dutch translation disappeared from advertisements in the General Advertiser. No mention of a Dutch translation of the Apology appears in
the work itself, which may have suggested to the contemporary public at large—as well as to present-day scholars—that the “particular End” Phillips had in mind was to publicise a threat to carry her exposure of Henry Muilman—the “eminent Dutch Merchant” of her title—into his homeland.

That Phillips actually carried out this (seemingly wild) threat to humiliate Muilman and embarrass his Dutch relatives is clear from the account she offers of the preparation of this translation on the wrappers to Numbers 4 and 5—wrappers that were only seen by those who purchased her *Apology* in numbers, and have been seen by few people since. On the wrapper to Number 4, Phillips explains that she

> hopes the Public will excuse this Number being some Days longer in the Publication, as, by the Advice of her Friends, she is now busied with translating the four first Numbers into the Dutch Language, which she will endeavour shall be done against the next Publication, or, at least, as many of them as can be got ready.

The wrapper in Number 5 explains that Number 6 will be delayed because “the Translation, into Dutch, of the Five foregoing Numbers will take up so much more Time than was expected.” As we have seen, when Number 6 was released the publication of this Dutch translation was announced in the newspapers and immediately disappeared from view—until now. Caroline Breshears has located a copy of *Verantwoordinge over het gedrag van juffr. Teresia Constantia Phillips* at the University of Amsterdam Library.44 Issued with the imprint “Te Londen: gedrukt voor de auteur, 1748” the full title of this octavo pamphlet is: *Verantwoordinge over het gedrag van juffr. Teresia Constantia Phillips, en wel voornaamelyk het welke haar huwelyk betreft met ... Henrik Muilman voornaam koopman tot London ... Uit het Eng. vert* (see image on front cover).

The fact that this Dutch translation was planned, prepared and printed suggests—perhaps more powerfully than the narrative of the *Apology* itself—that Phillips’s *Apology* was always intended to be far more than just an *apology*: it was equal parts an apology for, and a vindication of, Phillips, as well as a warning to, and a punishment of, others.

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Appendix 1: The Individual Numbers

Number 1 (Vol. 1, no. 1)

Wrapper 1r: [rule of type ornaments] | On Monday the 25th Instant | will be Publish'd, | Number II. of this | APOLOGY. | DEDICATED TO | Henry Muilman, Esq.; | [rule of type ornaments]

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: A–H⁴; 64pp: i–x 11–64; signed on A1r (p. [i]: title page the Apology, vol. 1) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: title-leaf (A1; [i–ii]); dedication to the Earl of Scarborough (A2; [iii] iv); address to the reader ["We proposed ..."] (A3–4, B1; [v] vi–x); text of the Apology (B2–H4; 11–64)
Publication: advertised on 30 March, 1 April for 11 April; advertised 9 April for 18 April; issued Saturday 16 April 1748.
Advertisements: General Advertiser, 30 March 1748: “On Monday the 11th of April will be publish'd, The First Numbers, and will be continued every Ten Days 'till the whole is complete, Mrs Phillips's Apology. In the First Number there will be an Advertisement to the Reader, which may She hopes, be a satisfactory Reason for her being obliged to Print it in Numbers, and the Delay of the Publication. To be had at her House in Craig's-Court, Charing-Cross"; General Advertiser, 1 April 1748; Old England, 9 April 1748: “On Monday next will be published ... To be had at her House in Craig's Court, Charing Cross; where all Booksellers may be supplied, with the usual Allowances; and to prevent Impostion, each Book will be signed with her own Hand. N.B. Whoever presumes to pirate this, or any of the following Numbers, will be prosecuted with the utmost Rigor of the Law, being duly enter'd at Stationers Hall. No. II. will be publish'd on Monday the 25th Instant."; General Advertiser, 13 April 1748: “This Day is publish'd ... And will be continued every Ten Days 'till the whole is complete ... To be had only at her House in Craig's-Court, Charing-Cross; where all Booksellers and Pamphlet-shops may be supplied, with the usual Allowances"; General Advertiser, 14 April 1748; Old England, 16 April 1748; General Advertiser, 19 April 1748: “… ⇐ On Monday next will be published the second Number of this Work"; General Advertiser, 20, 21 April 1748; General Advertiser, 22 April 1748: “… "' The Penny-Post Letter came to Hand Yesterday, and the Lady begs leave to assure the Honest Tar who wrote it, that the report mentioned to be industriously spread, is entirely false; and on Monday next the second Number will be infallibly published; She wishes (it no Detriment to him) he may be detained 'till the Day ...."; Gentleman's Magazine 18 (April 1748): 192 (no. 23); “Mrs Phillips's apology. Numb 1, 2. pr. 1s. each. Griffith.”

Number 2 (Vol. 1, no. 2)

Wrapper 1r: [rule of type ornaments] | On Thursday the 12th of May next | will be Publish'd,
45 In an address to the reader issued in Number 3 (starting *I Am at a Loss* ...), Phillips writes: "the Printers of the public Papers are so terrify'd by my Adversary, it is with the utmost Difficulty and Persuasion I can prevail on any of them to take in and publish an Advertisement where my Name is mention'd; and this I have experiences no longer since than Wednesday the 27th of April last, when not one of them would take in the following Advertisement ..." (1.[1–2]). The text of the advertisement, with only minor changes, is the same as that which is printed in *Old England*, 30 April 1748. Evidently, 'not one of them' excludes *Old England*, an opposition paper which consistently supported Phillips.
Appendix 1: The Individual Numbers

Number 3 (Vol. 1, no. 3)

Wrapper 1r: (N°. III.) | [rule of type ornaments] | On Monday the 23rd Instant | will be Publisht'd, | Number IV. of this | APOLOGY. | The DEDICATION to | Henry Muiulman, Esq.; | To be concluded. | And in which will come | The Copies of his Letters. | [rule of type ornaments]

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: *−**s: b7 Q2 R–X4; 64pp: [I–14] 2x–xiv 121–64; signed on *1r (p. 1) [L, NSL, VMoU].

Contents: address to the reader ["I Am at a Loss . . ."] (*1−**3; [1–14]); dedication to Henry Muiulman [part 2] (a5 [∗∗4] b1–2; xi–xiv); text of the Apology (Q1–X4; 121–64)

Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 12 May; advertised elsewhere on 21, 25, 26, 30 April for 12 May; issued Tuesday 10 May 1748.

Advertisements: General Evening Post, 10 May 1748: "This Day was Publish'd . . . The Third Number of . . . Number IV. will be publish'd on Monday May 32 [sic, for 23]."; Whitehall Evening Post, 10 May 1748: "This Day is published . . . The Third Number of . . . Sold by the Author, at her House in Craig's-Court, Charing-Cross; and by R. Griffiths, Publisher, at the Dunciad in Ludgate-Street. N.B. As this Work will be duly entered at Stationers-Hall . . . N.B. The Booksellers, &c. will be supplied only by Mr. Griffiths, at the Dunciad in Ludgate-street; Of which the Trade are desired to take Notice, as no Allowance will for the future be made at Craig's-Court. Number IV. will be published on Monday the 23d." General Advertiser, 14 May 1748.

Note: the signature on *1r suggests that the address to the reader [I Am at a Loss . . .] was printed and gathered before the dedication to Henry Muiulman [part 2], which was then followed by the text. When bound, this address to the reader followed the second part of the dedication to Henry Muiulman—including the extra leaf a5.

Number 4 (Vol. 1, no. 4)

Wrapper 1r: (N°. IV.) | [rule of type ornaments] | On Monday the 20th Day of June | will be Publisht'd, | Number V. of this | APOLOGY. | Which will contain | Extracts from Mr. Muiulman's An- | fwers in Chancery, and other | Law Proceedings. | [rule of type ornaments] | Mrs. Phillips hopes the Public will excuse | this Number being some Days longer in the Publication, as, by the Advice of her Friends, | she is now busied with translating the four first | Numbers into the Dutch Language, which | she will endeavour shall be done against the | next Publication, or, at least, as many of | them as can be got ready. | Note, A second edition, revised and corrected, of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Numbers, are | in the Press, and will be speedily published.

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: c4 Y–2E4; 64pp: 2xv–xxii 165–220; signed on c1r (p. 2xv) [L, NSL, VMoU].

Contents: dedication to Henry Muiulman [part 3] (c1–4; 2xv–xxii); text of the Apology (Q1–X4; 165–220).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 23 May; advertised elsewhere on 10, 14 May for 23 May; issued Wednesday 25 May 1748.

Advertisements: General Advertiser, 25 May 1748: “This Day is Published .... The Fourth Number, of ....” ; General Advertiser, 26 May 1748; Old England, 28 May 1748: “... No. V. will be publish'd on Monday the 20th of June.” ; Old England, 4 June 1748: “... No. V. will be publish'd on Wednesday next.”

Number 5 (Vol. 1, no. 5)

Wrapper 1r: (N°. V.) | [rule of type ornaments] Mrs. PHILLIPS begs Leave to inform | the Publ. of this | APOLOGY | Cannot be publish'd before the 10th of July, the Translation, into | Dutch, of the Five foregoing | Numbers will take up so much | more Time than was expected. | [rule of type ornaments]

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: 2F–2N4; 64pp: 221–84; signed on 2F1r (p. 221) [L, NSL].
Contents: text of the Apology (2F1–2N4; 221–84).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 20 June; advertised elsewhere on 28 May for 20 June; advertised on 4 June for 8 June; issued Wednesday 8 June 1748.
Advertisements: General Advertiser, 8 June 1748: “This Day is Publish'd .... The Fifth Number of ... No. VI. will be publish'd on the 10th of July next”; General Advertiser, 9 June 1748; General Advertiser, 13 June 1748: “... on the 20th of July next.”
Note: When Phillips first mentioned this translation on the wrapper to Number 4 (issued 25 May 1748) she described it as a translation of the first four numbers. Here it is described as a translation of the first five numbers, but when it was released it was advertised as a translation of only the first two numbers (General Advertiser, 13 July 1748).

Number 6 (Vol. 1, no. 6)

Wrapper 1r: (N°. VI.) | [rule of type ornaments] | On Saturday the 20th of August | will be Publish'd, | Number I. | Of the Second Volume of this | APOLOGY. | [rule of type ornaments] | Mrs. Phillips begs Leave to inform the | Public, that there is a Mezzotinto Print | of her now in Hand, by Mr. Faber, from | an Original Painting of Mr. Highmore, | and will be finish'd in a few Days: It | will be sold at her House, and by Mr. J. | Millan, Bookseller, over-against the Ad- | miralty, Charing Crofts, and no where else, | and all others that may be offer'd to the | Public will be an Imposture, there being | no other Original Drawing of her extant.

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: 2O–2X4; 64pp: 285–348; signed on 2O1r (p. 285) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: text of the Apology (2O1–2X4; 285–348).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 10 July; advertised elsewhere on 8, 9 June for 10 July; advertised on 13 June for 20 July; issued Monday 11 July 1748.

Advertisements: General Advertiser, 13 July 1748: “Mrs. Phillips begs Leave to inform the Public, That last Monday, being the 11th inst. was publish’d. No. VI. of her Apology; Which concludes the First Volume. To be had at her House … And the same Day will be published, Price 2s. The Two first Numbers of this Work, Translated into the Dutch Language; when Those who want to send any Quantity abroad, shall be supplied, with the same Allowances as the Book-sellers. There is a Mezzotinto Print of Mrs. Phillips now in Hand, by Mr. Faber, from an Original Painting of Mr. Highmore’s, and will be finish’d in a few Days. It will be sold at her House, and by Mr. J. Millan, Bookseller, over-against the Admiralty, Charing-Cross, and no where else; and any other that may be offered to the Public will be an Imposition, there being no other Original Drawing of her extant”; General Advertiser, 15 July 1748; General Advertiser, 19 July 1748: “… The Mezzotinto Print of Mrs. Phillips done by Mr. Faber … will be publish’d on Thursday next. It will be sold …”; General Advertiser, 21 July 1748: “… Also this Day is published, A fine Mezzotinto Print of Mrs. Phillips … each Print will be signed with her own Hand; and any other that may be offered to the Public will be an Imposition, there being no other Original Drawing of her extant.”; General Advertiser, 25, 27, 29 July 1748; Old England, 6 August 1748; Old England, 13 August 1748: “… No. 1. of Vol. II. will be published on Monday next.”

Number 7 (Vol. 2, no. 1)

Wrapper 1r: (No. I. Vol. II.) | [rule] | Number II. of this Work will be | publish’d the 20th of September. | [rule] | Speedily will be publish’d, | The Life and Adventures of a famous Son of | Mars, beginning from his first Gallantries, | in a Centry-Box, with the Daughter of a certain | Governor, at whose Door he was plac’d as a Gen| tinel: The Contrivance and Manner of slinging his | Musket over his Shoulders, upon a particular Oc| casion, to evade the Punishment prescribed by the | Articles of War, for a Soldier’s quitting his Arms: | His gradual Ascent into High Life, (so far as he | could be trusted to crawl up the Ladder, with- | out Danger of being turn’d off) where he re- | mains in one and the same military Post above | thirty Years: His commencing Devotee: His Morn- | ing Parade to and from W****e’s Chapel, in | Company with a Maukin, something resembling an | Egyptian Mummy: Her Manner of Life: An | humorous Account of her goffing with the low | Rabble of the Neighbourhood, and her canting | Way of abusing innocent People who live near her, | without giving the least Offence. The whole | to conclude with this great Man’s Metamorphosis: | He turns old Woman, and heads a Parcel of | Rabble Boys, whom he encourages to sing bawdy | Songs, swear and riot under his Window, for the | Improvement of a young kin∫woman, whom we | shall call Miss Gape. With several remarkable | Adventures, to the full as intereting to the Public.

Wrapper 1v–2r: blank.

Wrapper 2v: Just publish’d, and sold by the Booksellers, | … [Millan’s Universal Register, 2nd ed.]
Collation: 32ll: A–H4; 64pp: [1–3] 4–64; signed on A1r (p. [1]: title page the Apology, vol. 2) [L, NSL, VMoU].


Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 20 August; advertised elsewhere on Saturday 6 August for Monday 8 August; advertised on Tuesday 16 August for Wednesday 17 August; issued Wednesday 17 August 1748.

Advertisements: General Advertiser, 16 August 1748: “To-morrow will be Published .... No. I. Vol. II. of ... to be had at her House in Craig's Court, Charing Cross; and of J. Millan, Bookseller, over-against the Admiralty. Where may be had, The First Volume complete, or in Numbers, with or without the Mezzotinto Print. * Each Number will be sign'd with her own hand as usual.”; General Advertiser, 17 August 1748: “This Day is Publish'd ....”; General Advertiser, 18 August 1748; Old England, 20 August 1748; Old England, 10 September 1748: “This Day is published .... Number I. (Vol. II.) of .... N.B. No II. is in the Press, and will be speedily published.”

Number 8 (Vol. 2, no. 2)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips's APOLOGY, | (N°. II. Vol. II.) | [rule of type ornaments] | Number III. of this Work will be | publish'd the 24th of October. | [rule of type ornaments] | The Publick may be assur'd, the History of the Son of Mars is in great Fear, and will be publish'd with all | convenient Speed. In the mean time we can— | not help giving our Readers a Letter which | was wrote to him by one of his injud' Neigh— |hours, who still continues to be so affronted | and annoy'd by the ragged Regiment he has | put himself at the Head of, that no Body can | go in or out of her House without Danger of | being mobb'd and insulted. | N. B. This ragamuffin Regiment is as ill | cloath'd and paid as any he has been Master | of; but they are intire, and always kept up | to their Number, a Particular he formerly | knew the Benefit of not being quite so exact in.

Wrapper 1v–2r: blank.

Wrapper 2v: To the Son of Mars, | SIR, | I AM so sensible how idle it is to trouble Gentlemen upon trifling | Occasions, that, however I have been provoked, I have forborne | to complain to you till it becomes a serious Matter: It is quite | beneath me to expostulate with our Neighbours; I can find a Way to deal with them that shall do me ample Justice. But when they | pretend, that a Gentleman gives them Countenance, then I know | who I talk to. But, Sir, I will first explain the Nature of my Com— | plaint. “Mrs. Clark says, that you have order'd those rude Boys to | play in the Court, and make what Noise they think fit. Pray, Sir, | have you also order'd, that they shall talk all Sorts of Bawdy and | Obscenity, hiffs, halloo, and clap their Hands, at every Body that | comes in and out of our Houfe, and read a bawdy Paper out aloud, in | the Middle of the Court? If these are your Orders, I think I ought | to be content; because as you have a Sifter, and a young Lady, a | Relation, who I suppose are modest Women, and must inevitably | hear all this Discourfe, as well as my Sifter and Niece; if it does not | shock their Ears, I will do my best Endeavours to keep mine as far | from the hearing of it as I am able: But, for my own Part, I will, | upon this Occasion, put off the Woman, and tell you plainly, that | your not discountenancing,
yes, and forbidding, them, is a tacit En- | couragement; and, I think so far below your | Character, I can scarce | believe my Eyes and Ears. If there is one Creature in the Neigh- | bourhood, that I have in any Shape used ill, or affronted, let them | complain; if I do not redress them, they will have Reafon so to do. | But, quite otherwise, I defy any one among them to lay the least | Tincture of Blame upon me; and can you, Sir, who are a | Gentle- | man, descend so low as to side with a Parcel of gossipping Women, | the very Scum of the Earth, and see them insult a Gentlewomen, and | one whose Father has so often drawn his Sword in the fame Field of | Honour with you? Your genteel Behaviour, with Regard to your | Footman, made me long doubtful of your Family having given them | Encouragement; but the Behaviour of the young Lord (who is daily | at your Houfe) laft Night, convinces me that they are counternanc'd | by you; but tell him from me, Sir, that, in the Year 1715, when | his Father was Col. P——'s Prifoner, he treated him like a Man | of Honour, and so well my Lord deferv'd it, I am sure, could he | have thought a Son of his would have encourag'd a Parcel of Mob | to infult that Col. P——'s Daughter, he would have disown'd | him for a Son. In fine, Sir, I wish I was, but for one single Day, | a Man; I would soon bring this Matter to a proper Explanation; | But, as a Lady, I think I have a Right to expect Behaviour be- | coming a Gentleman; therefore presume you will | think fit to put a | Check to the farther Infolence of this Rabble. | I am, | SIR, Your most humble Servant. | July 29th, 1748. | * Mrs. Clark is a Lady of Fafhion, and intimate Friend and | Confidant of this extraordinary Son of Mars, whose Husband employs himfelf as a | Carpenter for his Amufement.

Collation: 27ll: I–O 1 P 1 (-P4); 54pp: 65–118; signed on I1r (p. 65) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: text of the Apology (I1–P3; 65–118).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 20 September; advertised elsewhere | on 17 for 19 September; issued Monday 19 September 1748.
Advertisements: Old England, 17 September 1748: “On Monday next will be published .... | Number II. (Vol. II.) ....”; General Advertiser, 17 September 1748; General Advertiser, | 19 September 1748: “This Day is published ....”; General Advertiser, 20, 21, 22, 23 | September 1748.
Note: Although P4 was intact when Number 8 issued—and is present in the VMoU | copy—it was supposed to be excised before binding.

Number 9 (Vol. 2, no. 3)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips's APOLOGY. | (N°. III. Vol. II.) | [rule of type ornaments] | On Friday the 18th of November. | will be Publif'd, | Number IV. | In which will be continued, | The Amours of Tartufe.

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: Q–Z 4; 64pp: 119–82; signed on Q1r (p. 119) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: text of the Apology [= The Amours of Tartufe (part 1)] (Q1–Z4; 119–82).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 24 October; not advertised elsewhere; | issued Wednesday 12 October 1748.
Advertisements: *General Advertiser*, 12 October 1748: “This Day is Published .... Number III. (Volume II.) .... ’Tis. No. IV. is in the Press, and will be published the 18th of November next, in which will be continued the Armours of Tartuffe.”; *General Advertiser*, 13, 14, 25 October 1748; *Old England*, 5 November 1748: “This Day is publish’d .... Number III. (Vol. II.) of .... ... To be had at her House in Craig’s Court, Charing Cross; and of J. Millan, Bookseller, opposite the Admiralty. At Mrs. Phillips’s may also be had, The First Volume complete, neatly bound, or in blue Covers, with or without the Mezzotinto Print. Note, Each Number is sign’d with her own Hand, as usual.”

Number 10 (Vol. 2, no. 4)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips’s APOLOGY. | (No. IV. Vol. II.) | [rule of type ornaments] | On Monday the 23d of January | will be Published; | Number V. | [rule of type ornaments] | Mrs. Phillips hopes the Public will | pardon the next Publication be~ | ing fo long delay’d, her Con- | finement, and close Application | to this Work, having greatly im- | paired her Health.

Wrapper 1v–2v: blank.

Collation: 32ll: 2A–2H4; 64pp: 183–246; signed on 2A1r (p. 183) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 18 November; advertised elsewhere on 12, 13, 14, 25 October for 18 November; issued 17 November 1748.
Advertisements: *General Advertiser*, 15 November 1748: “To-morrow will be published .... Number IV. (Volume II.) ....”; *General Advertiser*, 16 November 1748: “This Day is published ... “; *General Advertiser*, 17 November 1748; *General Advertiser*, 21 November 1748: “This Day is Published, (Price 1s.) Mrs. Phillips’s Apology. Number IV. (Volume II.) ... ≈ Single Numbers that are wanted to compleat Sets may be had also, and the Trade supply’d as usual.”; *General Advertiser*, 24, 25 November 1748; *General Advertiser*, 16 December 1748: “This Day is publish’d ... Number IV. (Volume II.) ... ≈ There being a great Demand for the first Number, it is in the Press, and will be published with all convenient Speed. In the mean time Mrs. Phillips having bound a great Number of the first Volume, any Gentleman may be supply’d with them, neatly bound and gilded, without any additional Expence [sic], but at the bare Price of the Numbers. To be had at her house in Craig’s Court, Charing Cross. Where may be had, Single Numbers to compleat Sets may be also had; ma [sic, for and] the Trade supply’d as usual. Note, Each Number is signed with her own Hand.”; *Old England*, 7 January 1749.

Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips’s APOLOGY. | No. V. Vol. II. | [rule] | N. B. All the former Numbers are now | reprint, and the Public may be suppy’d | with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as | usual. | [rule] | The Mezzotinto Print that has been | publish’d of Mrs.
Appendix 1: The Individual Numbers

Phillips was done with so much Precipitation, to prevent the Sale of one intended to be impos’d upon the Public, it has not given the Satisfaction she desired: But there is now a large one, finished in the most elegant Taste; and as we make no Doubt there will be Endeavours to Pirate it, there will not be one fold which is not signed with her own Hand-writing. Price 5s. To be had at her House in Craigs Court, Charing Cross. [rule]

On Monday the 20th of Feb. will be published, No. I. Vol. III.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r–v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book-seller, near Whitehall. [twenty titles listed]


Contents: address to the reader [When we took our Leave of Tartufa ...] (*1–4; [1–8]); text of the Apology [=The Amours of Tartufa (part 3)] (211–2P4; 247–98 [299] 300–301 [302]).

Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 23 January; advertised elsewhere on 21 for 30 January 1749; issued 24 January 1749.

Advertisements: Old England, 21 January 1749: “On Monday next will be published ... Number V. (Vol. II.) of ... To be had at her house in Craig’s Court, Charing Cross. N.B. The Mezzotinto Print that has been published of Mrs. Phillips, was done with so much Precipitation, to prevent the Sale of one intended to be imposed upon the Public, it has not given the Satisfaction she desired; But there is now a large one, finished in the most elegant Taste; and as we make no doubt there will be Endeavours to pirate it, there will not be one sold which is not signed with her own Hand ...” All the former Numbers are now reprinted, and the Public may be supplied with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as usual.”; London Evening Post, 24 January 1749: “This Day is publish’d ... Number V. Vol. II. of ... But there is now a large one ... signed with her own Hand. Price 5s. ... On Monday next will be publish’d, No. VI. which concludes the Second Volume.”; General Advertiser, 23 January 1749: “… On Monday the 20th February will be publish’d, No. 1, Vol. 3.” [an error]; General Advertiser, 25 January 1749: “… On Monday next will be publish’d, No. 6.”; General Advertiser, 27 January 1749: “… On Monday next will be publish’d, No. 6, which concludes the second Volume.”; General Advertiser, 28 January 1749; Old England, 28 January 1749.

Number 12 (Vol. 2, no. 6)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips’s APOLOGY. No. VI. Vol. II. [rule] N. B. All the former Numbers are now reprinted and the Public may be supply’d with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as usual. [rule] The Mezzotinto Print that has been publish’d of Mrs. Phillips was done with so much Precipitation, to prevent the Sale of one intended to be imposed upon the Public, it has not given the Satisfaction she desired: But there is now a large one, finished in the most elegant Taste; and as we make no Doubt there will be endeavours to Pirate it, there will not be one fold which is not signed with her own |
Hand-writing. Price 5s. To be had at her Houfe in Craigs Court, Charing Crofs. | [rule] | On Monday the 20th of Feb. will be published, | No. I. Vol. III.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r–v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book—seller, near Whitehall. | ... [twenty titles listed]


Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 20 February; advertised elsewhere on [23], 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 for 30 January 1749; issued Wednesday 1 February 1749.

Advertisements: General Advertiser, 30 January 1749: “This Day is published [sic] ... Number VI. which Concludes the Second Volume of ...”; General Advertiser, 31 January, 1 February 1749; General Advertiser, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 February 1749; General Advertiser, 18 February 1749: “This Day is published ... Number VI. which Concludes the Second Volume ... N.B. On Monday next will be published the 1st Number of the 3d Volume”; [London Evening Post, 18 February 1749]; General Advertiser, 20 February 1749.

Note: It is not clear whether the blank leaf 2G4 was intended to be excised before binding, so it is retained in the collation here and below.

Number 13 (Vol. 3, no. 1)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips's APOLOGY. | No. I. Vol. III. | [rule] | N. B. All the former Numbers are now | reprinted and the Public may be supply'd | with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as | uſual. | [rule] | The Mezzotinto Print that has been | published of Mrs. Phillips was done with | fo much Precipitation, to prevent the Sale | of one intended to be impos'd upon the | Public, it has not given the Satisfaction | she desired: But there is now a large one, | finifhed in the most elegant Taste; and as | we make no Doubt there will be endea- | vours to Pirate it, there will not be one | fold which is not signed with her own | Hand-writing. Price 5s. To be had at her Houfe in Craigs Court, Charing-Crofts. | [rule] | On Wednesday the 12th of April will be published, | No. II. Vol. III.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r–v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book—seller, near Whitehall. | ... [twenty titles listed]

Collation: 30ll: A–G4 H2; 60pp: [1–3] 4–60; signed on A1r (p. [1]: title page the Apology, vol. 3) [L, NSL, VMoU].


Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 20 February; advertised elsewhere on
18 for 20 February; issued 21 February 1749.

Advertisements: *London Evening Post*, 18 February 1749: “This Day is publish’d … Number I. of Vol. III. …” [error for “On Monday next …”];\(^{46}\) *Old England*, 18 February 1749: “On Monday next will be published … Number I. (Vol. III.) of …”; *General Advertiser*, 21 February 1749: “This Day is published … No. I. of Vol. III. of … Mrs. Phillips’s Apology. To be had at her House in Craig’s-Court, Charing-Cross. Note, Each Number is signed with her own Hand. All the former Numbers are now re-printed, and the Public may be supplied with whole Sets, or single Numbers, as usual. N.B. The Mezzotinto Print that has been … finished in the most elegant Taste … The Public are desired to take Notice, that there is already a very bad Copy taken from this Print, which is intended to be imposed upon them at a trifling Price, but to prevent as far as in her Power such Imposition, Mrs. Philips promises a Reward of 10 l. to whomever will uncover the Publisher, whom she is determined to prosecute to the utmost of her Power.”; *General Advertiser*, 22, 24 February 1749; *General Advertiser*, 27, 28 February, 1, 2, 3, 4 March 1749;\(^{47}\) *Old England*, 4 March 1749; *General Advertiser*, 17 March 1749: “This Day is published … Number I. (Vol. III.) of … ⊃ Mrs. Phillips having the strongest Reasons to suspect there is every unfair Method used to suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some of the Booksellers, tho’ she has never refused to supply them with the Allowances usual among themselves; yet nothing will content these People less than monopolizing to themselves every Thing that appears with Success in Print; therefore, tho’ none of them would venture to undertake it for her at first, none of them would now refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavour’d to be as much stifled as possible, with Intention, we suppose, to force Mrs. Phillips to dispose of it: But as she is determined never to do that, she begs the Publick will take Notice, they may be supplied at her House with all the Numbers, either single or the Two First Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s. The spurious Print mention’d in our former Advertisements, Mrs. Phillips gives this public Notice, to prevent Imposition, is now sold at the Printshops, and resembles her as much as it does Peter the wild Boy. The Publick will please to observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand-Writing. N.B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. who send them abroad, shall have the same Allowance as the Booksellers, which is near 30 per Cent. and if required, any reasonable Credit. Booksellers in any Part of England, who send their Commissions to her, shall be immediately served with the usual Advantages.”; *Old England*, 18 March 1749; *London Evening Post*, 21 March 1749.

\(^{46}\) It seems likely that this advertisement was intended to be for Number 12, with an advance notice for the release of Number 13—like the advertisement that appeared in the *General Advertiser* on the same day (18 February 1749). A similar mix-up occurred in the *General Advertiser* of 23 January, which is partially corrected on 25 January, and fully corrected 27 January, the advance notice in question changing from “No. 1, Vol. 3” to “No. 6” to “No. 6, which concludes the second Volume.”

\(^{47}\) These advertisements revert to the earlier script—lacking the reward notice—which states “no doubt there will be Endeavours to pirate it” etc.
Number 14 (Vol. 3, no. 2)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips’s APOLOGY. | N. II. Vol. III. | [rule] | Mrs. Phillips having the strongest Reasons | to suspe’t there is every unfair Method used to | suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some | of the Booksellers, tho’ she has never refused to | supply them with the Allowances usual among | themselves; yet nothing will content these Peo- | ple less than monopolizing to themselves every | thing that appears with Success in Print; there- | fore, tho’ none of them would venture to under- | take it for her at first, none of them would now | refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavoured | to be as much stifled as possible, with Intention | we suppose, to force Mrs. Phillips to dispose of it: | But as the is determined never to do that, the begs | the Public will take Notice, they may be supply’d | at her House with all the Numbers, either single | or the two first Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; | and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s. | The spurious Print mentioned in our former Ad- | vertisements, Mrs. Phillips gives this public No- | tice, to prevent Imposition, is now fold at the | Printshops, and resembles her as much as it does | Peter the wild Boy: The Public will please to | observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand- | Writing; the Counterfeits are sign’d by the | Copper Plate. | N. B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. | who send them Abroad, shall have the fame Al- | lowance as the Booksellers, which is near 30 per | Cent. and if required, any reasonable Credit. | Bookellers in any Part of England who send | their Commissions to her, shall be immediately | serv’d with the usual Advantages. | [rule] | On Tuesday the 2d of May will be | published, | N. III.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r–v: BOOKS printed for ‘J. Millan, Book- | seller, near Whitehall. | … [twenty titles listed]

Collation: 32ll: I–Q4; 64pp: 61–124; signed on I1r (p. 61) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 12 April; advertised elsewhere on 8 for | 9 April; advertised 11 for 12 April; issued 13 April 1749.
Advertisements: Old England, 8 April 1749: “On Wednesday next will be published | … Number II. (Vol. III.) of ….”; London Evening Post, 8 April 1749: “To-morrow | will be publish’d … Number II. Vol. III. of ….”; General Advertiser, 11 April 1749:

48 Address to the reader (starting “Mrs. Phillips has the Mortification …”) published in | Number 15 on 2 May 1749: “there is such a Combination set up against her, by some | of the Booksellers and Printers of the Daily Papers, that it is not without the utmost | Difficulty she can get an Advertisement published … The London Evening Post received | her Advertisement for Tuesday the 11th of April [i.e., Saturday 8–Tuesday 11 April | 1749; Issue 3345], which was in the same Words with that published in other Papers; | and, by Reason as he (the Printer) pretended, of it’s unusual Length insisted upon Five | shillings, which, tho’ double the Price of an ordinary Advertisement, was notwithstanding | complied with; yet had this Printer the ingenuity to curtail the Advertisement of above | twenty Lines, and reduce it to about two only.”
“To-morrow will be publish’d …”; General Advertiser, 11 April 1749: “This Day is publish’d …”; General Advertiser, 17 April 1749: “This Day is publish’d …”

Number 15 (Vol. 3, no. 3)

Wrapper 1: Mrs. Phillips’s APOLOGY. | N°. III. Vol. III. | [rule] | Mrs. Phillips having the strongest Reasons | to suspect there is every unfair Method used to | suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some | of the Book-sellers, tho’ she has never refused to | supply them with the Allowances usual among | themselves; yet nothing will content these | People | ple less than monopolizing to themselves every | thing that appears with Success in Print; there- | fore, tho’ none of them would venture to under- | take it for her at first, none of them would now | refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavoured | to be as much stilled as possible, with Intention | we suppose, to force Mrs. Phillips to dispoze of | it; | But as she is determined never to do that, the begs | the Public will take Notice, they | may be supply’d | at her House | with all the Numbers, either single | or the two first Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; | and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s. | The spurious Print is now sold at the Printshops, | and resembles her as much as it does Peter the | wild Boy. Mrs. Phillips’s real Prints are signed | with her own Hand-Writing; the Counterfeits | by the Copper Plate only. | N. B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. | who sell them Abroad, shall have the same | allowance as the Book-sellers, which is near 30 per | Cent, | and if required, any reasonable Credit. | Book-sellers in any Part of England who sell | their Commissions to her, shall be immediately | served with the usual Advantages. | “The Trade are desired to supply themselves | with any odd Numbers they want, before he | 25th | of next | June; for after that Time, Mrs. Phillips | will compleat, and bind all she has | left, and will | keep no single Numbers by her. | [rule] | On Tuesday the 4th of July will be | published, | N°. IV.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2v–v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book- | seller, near Whitehall. | … [twenty titles listed]

Collation: 32 ll. aa4 R–Za; 64 pp. [I–8] 125–80; signed on R1r (p. 125) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: address to the reader [“MRS. Phillips has the Mortification …”] (aa1–4; [I–8]); text of the Apology (R1–Z4; 125–80).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 2 May; not advertised elsewhere; issued Tuesday 2 May 1749.
Advertisements: Old England, 29 April 1749: “On Tuesday next will be published … Number III. (Vol. III.) of … The Public will please to observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand-Writing, the Counterfeits are engrav’d.”; Whitehall Evening Post, 9 May 1749: “This Day is published … No. III. (Vol. III.) … The Public will please to observe all her’s are sign’d with her own Hand-Writing, the Counterfeits are signed by the Copper-Plates. The Trade are desired to take Notice, that after the 25th of June next no single Numbers will be sold. …”; Old England, 20 May 1749: “This Day is published … Number III. (Vol. III.) of …” Mrs. Phillips is removed
into White-Hart-Street, near Queen-Square Westminster." The Dedication to The Reader issued with this part concludes (p. [8]): “The Three following Numbers, which concludes this Work, will be published as soon as Mrs. Phillips's Health will possibly permit.”

Note: it seems likely that the gathering signed aa was intended to be bound following A1.

Number 16 (Vol. 3, no. 4)

Wrapper 1r: Mrs. Phillips's APOLOGY. | N°. IV. Vol. III. | [rule] | ☞ Mrs. Phillips having the strongest Reasons | to suspect there is every unfair Method used to | suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some | of the Book-sellers, tho' she has never refused to | supply them with the Allowances usual among | themselves; yet nothing will content these Peo- | ple less than monopolizing to themselves every | thing that appears with Success in Print; there- | fore, tho' none of them would venture to under- | take it for her at first, none of them would now | refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavoured | to be as much stifled as possible, with Intention | we suppose to force Mrs. Phillips to dispoze of it: | But as she is determined never to do that, the begs | the Public will take Notice, they may be supplied | at her House with all the Numbers, either single | or the first two Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; | and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s. | The spurious Print is now sold at the Print-hops, | and resembles her as much as it does Peter the | wild Boy: Mrs. Phillips's [sic] real Prints are signed | with her own Hand-Writing; the Counterfeits | by the Copper Plate only. | To be had at her House in White-Hart-Street, near | Queen-Square, Westminster. | N. B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. | who send them Abroad, shall have the fame Al- | lowance as the Booksellers, which is near 30 per | cent, and if required, any reasonable Credit. | Booksellers in any Part of England who send | their Commissions to her, shall be immediately | served with the usual Advantages.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r-v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book- | seller, near Whitehall. | ... [twenty titles listed]

Collation: 32ll: 2A–2H⁴; 64pp: 181–244; signed on 2A1r (p. 181) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: text of the Apology (2A1–2H4; 181–244).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 4 July; not advertised elsewhere; issued Saturday 19 August 1749.

Advertisements: Old England, 19 August 1749: “This Day is published ... Number IV. (Vol. III.) of ... .” Mrs. Phillips is removed into White-Hart-Street, near Queen-Square Westminster.; Old England, 26 August 1749: “… Numbers V. VI. which complete this Work, will be published the 13th of September.
Number 17 (Vol. 3, no. 5) [issued with Number 18]

Wrapper 1v: Mrs. Phillips's APOLOGY. | No. V. VI. Vol. III. | [rule] | Mrs. Phillips having the strongest Reasons | to suspect there is every unfair Method used to | suppress the Sale of her Book, and even by some | of the Bookellers, tho' she has never refused to | supply them with the Allowances usual among | themselves; yet nothing will content these | People than monopolizing to themselves every | thing that appears with Success in Print; there- | fore, tho' none of them would venture to under- | take it for her at first, none of them would now | refuse it; and to that End the Sale is endeavored | to be as much stifled as possible, with Intention | we suppose to force Mrs. Phillips to dispose of | it: But as she is determined never to do that, the begs | the Public will take Notice, they may be supply'd | at her House with all the Numbers, either single | or the two first Volumes bound, Price 6s. each; | and also with her Mezzotinto Print, Price 5s. | The purer Print is now sold at the Printshops, | and resembles her as much as it does Peter the | wild Boy: Mrs. Phillips's real Prints are signed | with her own Hand-Writing; the Counterfeits | by the Copper Plate only. | To be had at her House in White-Hart-Street, near | Queen-Square, Westminster. | N.B. All Merchants, Captains of Ships, &c. | who send them Abroad, shall have the same Allowance | as the Bookellers, which is near 30 per Cent, and if required, | any reasonable Credit. | Bookellers in any Part of England who send | their Commissions to her, shall be immediately | served with the usual Advantages.

Wrapper 1v: blank.

Wrapper 2r–v: BOOKS printed for J. Millan, Book- | seller, near Whitehall. | ... [twenty titles listed]

Collation: 24ll: 2l–20r4, 18pp: 245–92; signed on 211r (p. 245) [L, NSL, VMoU].
Contents: text of the Apology (211–204; 245–92).
Publication: see below.
Advertisements: see below.

Number 18 (Vol. 3, no. 6)

Contents: text of the Apology (2P1–2S4; 293–323 [324]); Appendix (A1–3; 1[1] 2–6); address to the readers [Mrs. Phillips's Papers ...] (A4; 1[7–8]).
Publication: advertised in the previous Number for 29 August; advertised elsewhere on 26 August for 13 September; issued 28 October 1749.
Advertisements: Old England, 28 October 1749: “This Day is published, (Price Two Shillings) Numbers V. VI. (which completes the Work) of ... To be had at Mrs. Phillips's, in White-Hart-Street, near Queen-Square Westminster.”; Old England, 11 November 1749; Gentleman's Magazine 19 (October 1749): 480 (no. 20): “Mrs Phillips's apology concluded.”
Appendix 2: The First Edition Bound in Three Volumes

Volume 1

AN | APOLOGY | FOR THE | CONDUCT | OF | M° Teresa Constantia Phillips, | MORE PARTICULARLY | That Part of it which relates to her | MARRIAGE with an eminent | Dutch Merchant: | The Whole authenticated by faithful Copies | of his Letters, and of the Settlement which | he made upon her to induce her to suffer | (without any real Opposition on her Part) | a Sentence to be pronounced against their | Marriage; | Together with such other Original Papers, filed | in the Cause, as are necessary to illustrate that | remarkable Story | — | Were ye, ye Fair, but cautious whom ye tryst, | Did ye but know how fabled Fools are just. | So many of your Sex would not, in vain, | Of broken Vows and faithless Men complain: | Of all the various Wretches Love has made, | How few have been by Men on Scenic betray’d? | Rowe’s Fair Penitent. | — | N. B. Such extraordinary Care has been taken to intimidate | the Bookfellers, in order to stifle this Work, that Mrs. | Phillips is obliged to publish it herself, and only at her | House in Craig’s Court, Charing Cross; and to prevent | Imposition, each Book will be signed with her own Hand.


Contents: [i] title page; [ii] blank; [iii] iv “TO THE | Earl of Scarborough, | This Number is humbly dedicated.”; [v] vi–x “[headpiece] | To the candid and impartial | READER. | We proposed …”; [vi] ii–xxii “[headpiece] | TO | HENRY MUILMAN, Esq.; | This Number is humbly dedicated.”; [I–14] “[headpiece] | To the candid and impartial | READER. | I Am at a Los …”;


Ornaments: headpiece: [v], [i], [I], [11]; tailpiece: xxii, 348; factotum: [iii], [v], [1], [11].

Variants: collation: a2 correctly signed (VMOU copy);49 running titles: iv (a2v) ‘DEDICATION’ (VMOU copy); catchword: 75 ve, [ver] (L copy); catchword: 151 hi, [his] (L, NSL copies); horizontal chain lines on gatherings a I–P (VMOU copy).

49 ESTC falsely claims, concerning L [1202.h.2–4], “Sig. A2 mis-signed I2 in vol. 1.” It is a2r that is mis-signed “I2” in vol. 1, not A2r. Likewise, it is evident that a1r, not A1r, is mis-signed in L [G.14305–07] (ESTC states “A press variant? Sig. A1 mis-signed I in vol. 1.”).
Notes: vertical chain lines. The catchword error on page x (issued in Number 1) indicates that—at the time of printing—Phillips had not planned the dedication to Henry Muilman (11 leaves [a1–5, b1–2, c1–4]; 22 pages [i–xxii]; issued in Numbers 2–4) or the second appeal to the reader (7 leaves [1–4 *1–3]; 14 pages [I–14]; mentioned in the advertisements to Number 2 and issued in Number 3). Without these additions the volume would have collated A–P4 Q4 R–2X4.

The horizontal chain lines in the VMoU copy suggest that Number 2 (gatherings a, I–P) in this copy is a reprint. The two printings of this number can also be identified by the signature error on page 2iiii (a2r)—in the NSL setting—and running title error on page 2iv (a2v)—in the VMoU setting. Since both settings contain an error, but the NSL printing is the earlier, the description of the ideal copy above is of the NSL printing, with its signature error.

Volume 2

AN | APOLOGY | FOR THE | CONDUCT | OF | Mrs. T. C. PHILLIPS. | — |
VOL. II. | — | [tailpiece] | — | — | LONDON: | Printed for the Author; and | Sold at her Houfe in Craig’s-Court, Charing-Crofts. | [short rule] | MDCCXLVIII.

THE | PROMISED JUSTIFICATION | in | Number IV. Volume II. | OF THE | APOLOGY. |
| — | [tailpiece] | — | LONDON: | Printed for the Author; and | Sold at her Houfe in Craig’s-Court, Charing-Crofts. | [short rule] | MDCCXLIX.


50 Old England, 30 April 1748: “Mrs. Phillips begs Leave to inform the Public, that as the House she lives in was on Wednesday the 27th surrounded by thirteen Constables, in order to carry her to Newgate ... There shall be a particular Advertisement to the reader annexed to the third Number, with an authentic Account of this unfair Proceeding.”

51 The pattern of gatherings with horizontal chain lines does not indicate any other reprinted numbers, since each copy seems to have a mixture of gatherings within a number that contain horizontal chain lines. So, for instance, horizontal chain lines appear in gatherings A–D, F and H of the VMoU copy of Number 13, but in A–D and G of the NSL copy.
| MRS. Muilman is in great Concern, her late Indisposition ... "; 3[7] 8–53

**Catchwords:** 20 none, 44 nitent [he], 50 However, [However,], 95 none, 182 none, 188 firefly! [furely!], 235 However, [However,], 238 none, 239 none, 240 none, 246 none, 275 Judge [f.], 276 Judge [f.], 3[6] none.

**Ornaments:** headpiece: [3], 119, 299, 3[3]; tailpiece: [1], 118, 298, 301, 3[1], 3[53]; factotum: [3], 119, 247, 3[3].

**Variants:** Tomaison: B1r: "N°. 1." (VMoU, L copies); catchwords: 17 But, [But.] (VMoU, L copies); 177 fit, [fifty] (VMoU, L copies).

**Notes:** mixed horizontal and vertical chain lines; the gatherings with horizontal chain lines are not limited to a specific number (VMoU: Q–2H, 2K–L, 2P, 3A–E; NSL: Q–2H 2O 3A 3C). It is not immediately clear how each intellectual section of this volume was either issued or intended to be bound. Undoubtedly, this explains why copies of this volume are bound in an astonishing number of ways, and why less than one third of copies surveyed are correctly bound.

*The Promised Justification, &c.* was not issued "in" Number 10 (Vol. 2, no. 4)—as stated on its title-page. Rather, the statement on the title-page seems to have been intended to mean "This is the Justification that was Promised in Number IV. Volume II." Certainly, Phillips mentions the "particular Person" who prompted her "Justification" in a passage (242–46) that was issued in Number 10 (Vol. 2, no. 4).52 *The Promised Justification, &c.* was not issued with tomaisons, so it is not clear—at first—whether it was issued as Number 11 or 12 (Vol. 2, no. 5 or no. 6). However, a passage on pages 247–48 in Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5) implies that *The Promised Justification, &c.* was the final number of the volume. The passage concerned starts: "It is now Time we should return to the Hero of our Narrative; for the two preceding Numbers we have almost lost Sight of him ... We parted from him, having just brought an Appeal from the Bishop of London's Court, to ..." This appeal was first mentioned on the final page of Number 7 (Vol. 2, no. 1; page 64), but Phillips takes her leave of the subject ("tis Time we relieve our Readers from this melancholy, wicked Scene of Perjury, Poison, Death and Litigation, and return to her domestic Matters") on page 70 in Number 8 (Vol. 2, no. 2), suggesting that the "two preceding Numbers" mention in Number 11 are Numbers 9 and 10 (Vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4). If Phillips returned to the hero of her narrative in Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5), *The Promised Justification, &c.* must have appeared in the following Number (the final Number of vol. 2). This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the tomaisons since the final seven gatherings of the primary pagination sequence are signed "N°. 5. Vol. 3."

There are two counter-indications to this conclusion. The first is that the words "The End of the Second Volume" appear on page 301 (2P4r), the final page of Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5). Another counter-indication is that

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52 In this passage we are told that the unnamed doctor—who "pretended to be her intimate Acquaintance"—assured the company at Smyrna Coffee house who were listening to a reading of Number 8 (Vol. 2, no. 2) that "he knew Mrs. Phillips to be a most infamous, bad, Woman ... [who] had once endeavoured to cheat him of Fifty Pounds, &c. &c."
the tomaison on one of the two addresses “To the Reader” (“No. 5. Vol. 3.”) indicates that it was issued in the Number before The Promised Justification, &c. (i.e., before Number 12, Vol. 2, no. 6). The explanation for these two counterindications appears to be that “The End of the Second Volume” was intended only to indicate the end of the main text sequence of the Apology and, it is for this reason also that The Promised Justification, &c. has its own title-page, pagination and signatures sequences—all of which suggest that The Promised Justification, &c. was considered to be quite separate from the Apology. Moreover, The Promised Justification, &c. carries its own end-of-volume statement on page 53 (‘G3r): “FINIS.”

Regarding the publication and placement of the two addresses “To the Reader,” the tomaison mentioned establishes that the address which starts “When we took our Leave of Tartufe …” was issued with Number 11 (Vol. 2, no. 5) and the authorisation—signature that appears on the same page (‘1r) establishes both that this was the uppermost page of Number 11 when issued and that the gathering occupied with this address (signed *) was intended to be bound in this location (between gatherings 2H and 2I). It is very unusual to have an address “To the Reader” appear in the middle of the text of the Apology—between pages 246 and 247, a couple of hundred pages after the start, and more than fifty pages before the end, of the text. However, it appears that this is precisely where it was intended to be bound.53 The top of page 247 (2I1r) is occupied with a headpiece of type-ornaments and the text of this page starts with a capital letter enclosed in a factotum. This combination of ornamentation is almost unfailingly employed at the start of each section in each volume (dedications, addresses to the reader, the start of the text of each volume and at the start of The Promised Justification, &c.). Although there is no drop-title here—another key indicator of a separate intellectual unit within a volume—it is sufficiently clear from the content of this address that it neither belongs at the start (that is, following the title-leaf) of this volume nor at the start of The Promised Justification, &c.

Volume 3

AN | APOLOGY | FOR THE | CONDUCT | OF | Mrs. T. C. PHILLIPS. | — | VOL. III. | — | [tailpiece] | — | — | LONDON: | Printed for the Author; and | Sold at her House in Craig's Court, Charings-Croft. | [short rule] | MDCCXLIX.


53 Phillips repeated this highly unusual arrangement in vol. 3.

Catchwords: 60 none, 93 Tere [There], 142 none, 180 none, [8] none, 202 meeting; [meeting:]; 210 that [Gentleman], 244 none, 26 none.

Ornaments: headpiece: [3], 61, [1], 181, [1]; tailpiece: [1], 60; factotum: [3], 61, 181, [1].

Variants: collation: 255 misnumbered as "225" (VMoU copy).

Notes: mixed horizontal and vertical chain lines; the gatherings with horizontal chain lines are not limited to a specific number (VMoU: A–D F H L–Q; NSL: A–D F–G K L–Q). The address to the reader (starting "Mrs. Phillips has the Mortification ...", issued in Number 15) is a response, in part, to difficulties Phillips faced in advertising Number 14. When bound at the start of the text (following A1—as it is in the VMoU and NSL copies) it, therefore, pre-empts difficulties that were not faced until the following two numbers had been released. In the L copy [1202.h.2–4], this address to the reader has been correctly bound between Z4 and 2A1 (pages 180 and 181); this is also where William Lowndes locates the address, though—perhaps for this reason—he describes it as a "strange and confused work." As is the case with vol. 2, where an address to the reader also appears mid-volume, the text resumes with a combination of ornamentation that signifies the start of a section: a headpiece and a factotum. We also have a textual signifier ("we parted from our Readers in the last Number, just on Mrs. Muilman's landing at Dover ...") which employs very similar language to the text which follows the mid-volume interruption in vol. 2 ("We parted from him, having just brought an Appeal from the Bishop of London's Court, ....").

Eighteen Numbers in Three Volumes

Collation: 8vo in 4s; 196 x 115mm (NSL copy).

References: ESTC: t91602; Lowndes and Bohn (1869), 4.1856b; Wiles (1957), p. 355.

Copies examined: L [1202.h.2–4, v.2 imp.]; VMoU [Swift 920.72 M953A,

56 Both appeals to the reader ("a" and 2A2.3) are missing from L [1202.h.2–4].
Appendix 2: The First Edition Bound in Three Volumes

misbound, v.2 +P4;[57] NSL [Macpherson 172–74, misbound, v.2 +P4].[58]

Copies surveyed:[59] ABu [SB 92.3 Phi T, +plate], ALC [Accession no. 578, +plate], AWn [CT 788 P563], C [S244.d.74.1–3], CFu [WG30(1748), copy 1; WG30(1748), copy 2], CYc [Elham 579–81, +plate], DT [OLS B–6–91–93], E [Abbot 41–43], Gu [Sp Coll BG44-k.1–3], Luu [Ogden PHI copy 1 1–3; Ogden PHI copy 2 1–3; Ogden PHI copy 3 1–3], MRu [1273], O [8* C42–44 Med.BS], Oa [OO.8.22, imp., nos. 12–16 only]; eGOT [8* H.misc.208/27]; CaOH [B1468–88, +plate], CLU-C [*D948 P5A761748, +plate], CsmH [132575, +plate], CSt [RBC CT788.P55 A3], Cty–BR [Bdp 280], Cty–Walpole [53 P54 748, vol. 3 imp. (nos. 13–14 only)], DeU [SpC CT788. P55A3 1748], DlC [CT788.P55A3], Fu [B P563b RBC, -vol. 3], ICN [Case E5 P5455, +plate], INU–Li [CT788. P561 A3], IU [xB P563p1 copy 1, xB P563p1 copy 2, vol. 2 only; xB P563p1 copy 3, no. 7 only], Ku–S [Brodie 69/3, no. 15 only; B15193, vol. 1 imp.], KyU [B.P.546], MH–H [Br 6316.53, +plate], Mi–C [C2 1748 Mu], MoKu [CT788 .P55 A3 1748], NbSu [CT 788 .P55, - vol. 3], NcD [RBR A–16 P563A, +plate], NHi [Y1748. Muil Apol], Nnu–F [Fales, vol. 1 imp.], NPV [920P539 539, -vol. 3], OrU [920.7.5P546p], PPL [U Eng 62102.O, vol. 1 only], TXR [WRC CT788. P55 A3, +plate], Txx Hu [CT788.P55A3 copy 1, +plate; CT788.P55A3 copy 2], Txx U [CT 788 P55 A3, copy 1; CT 788 P55 A3, copy 2, +plate; CT 788 P55 A3, copy 3].

Other copies located: L [G.14305–07], Ls [GLBR1F, imp.], Lnt [Montacute House, Somerset, vol. 1 only], Yc [XXX.E.12, vol. 1 only]; CtHT–W [CT788. P55A3], MoU [Rare CT788.P55A3], PBo [RBR CT788.P55A3 1748], TxDaM [x914.2.P563Z, -vol. 3];[60] Nu [RB 4648.47].

Reproductions: EC 5507/7, of L [1202.h.2–4]; EBF 444, of L [1202.h.2–4].

[57] In vol. 1 the additions to the preliminaries (the dedication to Muilman and the second appeal to the reader) follow A1; in vol. 2 both appeals to the reader follow 2A1.

[58] In vol. 1 the additions to the preliminaries are reversed, with the address to the reader (“1–3) preceding the dedication to Muilman (a1 c1 b2 c4); in vol. 2 the address to the reader (“4”) follows A1. This copy—in a contemporary binding, but bound with three related works—was acquired 12 May 1988 from Blackwell’s Rare Books Catalogue A88, item 532.

[59] The following four copies, reported by ESTC, are ghosts: C [Hib.7.742.17(2)], CSt [RBC CT788.P55A3, copy 2], Lu; NNPM (error for “Second” edition)—while Cty–S is an error for Cty–Walpole. Each of the following four libraries holds more copies than are reported by ESTC: IU (two extra), Ku–S (one), Txx Hu (one), Txx U (two). The following thirteen copies are not recorded on ESTC: Abu, CFu, Cyc, Dt, Gu, Lnt, Luu; CLU-C, Cty–BR, NHi; NSL, Nu, VMoU.

[60] According to Cynthia Franco, Librarian at the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, this set is missing.
Appendix 3: Survey Results

The nature of the survey

The libraries included in this survey were identified on ESTC, COPAC and Libraries Australia. An open appeal was also circulated on the EXLBRIS-List. Each library identified as holding a copy of the first edition of Phillips's Apology was contacted directly and asked to respond to nine questions placed on an online questionnaire. As a result of these inquiries a few more copies were identified and further requests sent out.

No doubt the number of copies identified, and libraries queried, could have been extended—most obviously by searching union catalogues such as NUC and WorldCat and by querying libraries that were identified as holding copies of the “Second” edition of Phillips's Apology. However, the purpose of this survey was not to compile a complete list of every surviving copy, but to obtain information from a representative sample of surviving copies, a sample large enough to support the evidence gathered from a close examination of the VMoU, NSL and L copies.

Because of the difficulty providing the information requested, and because some copies of the Apology are simply incomplete, not all libraries responded to every question. It is for this reason that I specify below the number of libraries that responded to a specific question, as well as summarising the responses. In a few cases, where the survey answer provided was clearly an error (such as, when different answers from the same library are in conflict) or where the answer provided was unclear, that answer has been ignored.

The frontispiece

Thirteen copies report a portrait frontispiece; the portraits appear to be in three sizes: 120–25mm x 97–105mm (ALc, CYc; ICN), 150–55mm x 95–106mm (ABu, Luu [copy 1]; CaOHN, CLU-C, CSmH, MH-H, NcD, TcHR) and 600mm x 390mm: TcHU [copy 1]. The second of these is reported to be signed (by ABu, NcD and TcHR).

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62 The questionnaire was posted on Survey Monkey <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/3VRWTFX> on 10 January 2011; the responses included here are all those received by 10 February 2011.
63 For many libraries—particularly those with multiple copies—this represented a considerable commitment of time. I would like to thank all of the librarians who responded to my survey. I would also like to thank, in particular, both David J. Shaw and John Bidwell for identifying copies of the Apology not on ESTC.
64 For a full list of the forty-nine copies surveyed, and the three copies examined, see Appendix 2.
65 The size of the TcU [copy 2] frontispiece was not specified.
The arrangement of the contents

Binders of Phillips's *Apology* appear to have had the most trouble with vol. 2—most copies being incorrectly bound—and the least trouble with vol. 3. But even with the latter volume, one third of copies are incorrectly bound.\

The six elements that make up vol. 1 of the *Apology* are: 1A the title leaf, 1B the dedication to the Earl of Scarborough, 1C the address to the reader [starting "We proposed ..."], 1D the dedication to Henry Muilman, 1E the address to the reader [starting "I Am at a Loss ..."], 1F the text of the *Apology*. Ten of the thirty-seven copies surveyed (of vol. 1) are bound in this way (C, Dt, E, L [1202.h.2–4], MRu, O; DLC, InU-Li, PPL, TxU [copy 3]). The remaining copies are bound in eighteen different configurations. The most common of these are 1A, 1B, 1C, 1E, 1D, 1F (ten copies) and 1A, 1D, 1E, 1B, 1C, 1F (seven copies).\

The eight elements that make up vol. 2 are: 2A, the title leaf; 2B the text of the *Apology* (pp. 3–118); 2C *The Amours of Tartuffe* (pp. 119–246); 2D the address to the reader [starting "When we took our Leave of Tartuffe ..."]; 2E *The Amours of Tartuffe* (pp. 247–301); 2F the title leaf of *The Promised Justification, &c.*; 2G the address to the reader [starting "MRS. MUILMAN is in great Concern..."]. Ten of the thirty-seven copies surveyed (of vol. 2) are bound in this way (C, Dt, CaOHM, CSmH, CTy-Walpole, KU-S [copy 2], MoKU, NBiSU, NHi, TxU [copy 1]). The remaining copies are bound in sixteen different configurations. The most common of these is 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2D, 2E (fifteen copies).

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66 Although many copies in the following account are manifestly incomplete, only single numbers (like IU [copy 3] and KU-S [copy 1]) and fragments (like CTy-Walpole [vol. 3]) have been omitted.

67 The eighteen configurations are: 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, 1F; missing 1E; copies thus: Luu [copy 2]; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1E, 1D, 1F; copies thus: ALc (but b bound after c), CYc; CaOHM, CTy-BR, KyU, MH-H, NNU-F (**4 and a**), TxHR, TxHU [copy 1]; NSL; 1A, 1B, 1C (pp. v–viii), 1E, 1D, 1C (pp. ix–x), 1F; copies thus: MiU-C (but a4 bound before a1–3); 1A, 1B, 1C, 1E; missing 1D, 1F; copies thus: KU-S [B15193]; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F, 1D, 1E; copies thus: CSmH (but duplicate "1.4 wrapped around whole quire"); 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F, 1E, 1D; copies thus: TxU [copy 1]; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F (pp. 1–64), 1D, 1F (pp. 65–120), 1E, 1F (pp. 121–348); copies thus: eGOT; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F (pp. 1–64), 1D (i–viii), 1F (pp. 65–120), 1E, 1D (ix–xiv), 1F (pp. 121–348); copies thus: CSr; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F (pp. 1–64), 1D, 1F (pp. 65–348); missing 1E, which is bound in vol. 2; copies thus: NPY; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F; missing 1D, 1E; copies thus: ABu; DeU; 1A, 1B, 1C, 1F; missing 1D, which is bound in vol. 2; copies thus: Luu [copy 1]; CLU-C, FU; 1A, 1B, 1E, 1D, 1C, 1F; copies thus: TxU [copy 2]; 1A, 1C, 1E, 1B, 1D, 1F; copies thus: Luu [copy 3]; 1A, 1D, 1E, 1B, 1C, 1F; copies thus: C Fu; CTy-Walpole, MoKU, NBiSU, NcD (plus 2B), NHi; VMOU; 1A, 1D, 1E, 1C, 1F; missing 1B, copies thus: IU [copy 1]; 1A, 1E, 1D, 1B, 1C, 1F; copies thus: ICN, TxHU [CT788.555A3, copy 2].

68 The sixteen configurations are: 2A, 2B, 2C, 2E, 2D, 2F, 2G, 2H; copies thus: MRu, KyU; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2E, 2F, 2D, 2G, 2H; copies thus: TxU [copy 2]; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2E, 2F, 2G, 2D, 2H; copies thus: VMOU; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2E, 2F, 2G, 2H; missing 2D; copies thus:
The six elements that make up vol. 3 are: 3A the title leaf; 3B the text of the Apology (pp. 3–180); 3C the address to the reader [starting “Mrs. Phillips has the Mortification ...”]; 3D the text of the Apology (pp. 181–323); 3E the Appendix; 3F the address “To the readers.” Twenty-six of the forty copies surveyed (of vol. 3) were bound in this way (ABu, AWn [with 1D bound before gathering T], C, CYc, Dc, L [1202.h.2–4], Luu [copy 2], MRu; eGOT; CaOHM, CLU-C, CSmH, CrY-BR, Dlc, IU [copy 1], KU-S [copy 2], InU-Li, MH-I-I, MiC-U-C, MoKu, NcD, NHi, NNU-F, OrU, TxHu [copy 2], TxU [copy 1 and copy 2]; NSL). The remaining copies are bound in six different configurations. The most common of these is 3A, 3C, 3B, 3D, 3E, 3F (eight copies). 69

Binding

Three sets retain the blue paper wrappers that each number was originally issued in: the ABu copy retains a complete set of these wrappers. It seems that the binder of this set removed the wrappers from each number before the contents were redistributed for binding into three volumes. The binder then bound the complete wrappers for the numbers contained in each volume at the end of that volume. 70 These wrappers are the basis of the transcriptions provided in Appendix 1. The Luu copy [copy 3] “retains its original wrappers and advertisement leaves, all on blue paper, bound in at the end”;

DeU; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2D, 2E; copies thus: CYc, O, Luu [copy 2]; eGOT; CLU-C, CSSt, CrY-BR, Dlc, ICN, IU [copy 2], InU-Li, NPV (with 1E following 2B), TxHR, TxHu [copy 1 and copy 2]; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2E; missing 2D; copies thus: NNU-F; 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H; missing 2D, 2E; copies thus: ABu, Gu (with 1D, 1E following 2A); 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2H, 2E; missing 2D, 2G; copies thus: L [1202.h.2–4]; 2A, 2B (pp. 3–8), 2D, 2C (9–118), 2E, 2F, 2G, 2H; copies thus: E; 2A, 2B, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2C, 2D, 2E; copies thus: AWn (with 1E, 1D following 2H); 2A, 2B, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2D, 2E; missing 2C; copies thus: FU; 2A, 2D, 2B, 2C, 2E, 2F, 2G, 2H; copies thus: ALC, IU [copy 1], MiC-U-C, OrU, NSl; 2A, 2D, 2B, 2C, 2E; missing 2F, 2G, 2H; copies thus: TxU [copy 3]; 2A, 2D, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2E; copies thus: Luu [copy 1]; MH-H; 2A, 2D, 2B, 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H; missing 2E; copies thus: CFu; 2A, 2D, 2C, 2E, 2F, 2G, 2H; missing 2B, which is bound in vol. 1; copies thus: NcD; 2C, 2F, 2G, 2H, 2D, 2E; missing 2A, 2B; copies thus: Oa. 69 The six configurations are: 3A, 3B (3–164), 3C, 3D (165–233), 3E, 3F; copies thus: CSst; 3A, 3B, 3D, 3C, 3F, 3E; copies thus: KyU; 3A, 3B, 3D (pp. 3–244); copies thus: DeU; 3A, 3C, 3B, 3D, 3E, 3F; copies thus: CFu, E, Gu, Luu [copy 1]; O, ICN, TxU [copy 3]; VMoU; 3A, 3C, 3B, 3D, 3E, 3F; copies thus: Oa; TxHR, TxHu [copy 1]; 3A, 3C, 3E, 3B, 3D, 3F; copies thus: ALC. 70 I would like to thank Michelle Gait, Special Libraries and Archives, King’s College, University of Aberdeen, for kindly supplying me with images of these wrappers and a description of the ABu binding. This set has “been rebound since the mid-eighteenth century,” but it is not clear when. It has “marbled brown paper boards”—which may be contemporary—with new or repaired leather spines. The books are among those donated to the University of Aberdeen by Professor A. A. Jack, a Romantic specialist, and Regius Chalmers Chair of English Literature at the University of Aberdeen 1915–38. 71 Luu [copy 3] is unusual in many respects: it is not signed and the pagination of vols. 2 and 3 is described as “different,” suggesting that it may be a mis-reported “Second” edition set.
and KU-S [copy 1]—a single number (Number 7; Vol. 2, no. 1)—"is bound in with its original blue wrapper." Unfortunately, no further information is presently available concerning these two sets.

When asked, librarians described the binding of fifteen copies as "Neatly bound and gilded" (C, CFu [copy 1], Dt, E, Luu [copy 2], MRu, eGOT, CtY-BR, DLC, FU, ICN, KyU, MH-H, OrU, TxHR) and a further ten offered descriptions that might be considered "Neatly bound and gilded" (AWn, Luu [copy 1]; Luu [copy 3], IU [copy 1 and 2], IU-Li, NcD, TxHU [copy 1], TxU [one copy]; NSL). It is not at present possible to tell which of these, if any, are in the trade binding that was advertised by Phillips.

Another fourteen copies survive in contemporary half calf and marbled boards (Gu, Lnat, O, Oa; CaOHM, CLU-C, CShM, CTy-Walpole, MiU-C, NNU-F, PPL, TxHU [copy 2], TxU [two copies])—a style of binding not mention in advertisements.

Finally, another twelve copies appear to have been rebound (Abu, Alc, CFu [copy 2], CyC, Luu [copy 2]; DeU, KU-S, MoKU, NBiSu, NHi, NPv, VMoU), though some of these bindings may be very near contemporary.

Sets bound with other works

Four of the copies reported or examined are bound with closely-related works by Phillips: 
*A Letter Humbly Address'd to The Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield* (London: Printed for the Author; and Sold at her House in White-Hart-Street, Queen-Square, 1750) is bound in with the MRu and NSL copies; *A Letter Humbly Address'd to The Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Rowlands, [1750?]) is bound in with the CLU-C and IU copies. The NSL copy is particularly interesting since it is in a contemporary binding and also contains *A Defence of the Character of a Noble Lord, from the Scandalous Aspersions Contained in a Malicious Apology* (London: W. Webb, jun., 1748) and *A Letter to Mrs. P————, In which some Facts in her last Number are rescued from the false Light she has put them in, and some others which she has omitted, are supply'd* (London: H. Carpenter, 1749)—both of which are antagonistic to Phillips, and both of which are bound between numbers of Phillip's *Apology.*

Signing

Twenty sets contain all the signatures noted in this essay (Alc, CyC, E, O; CaOHM, CShM, CSi, DLC, FU, ICN, KyU, IU-Li, MiU-C, MoKU, NcD, NNU-F, NPv, PPL, T xu [copy 1]; NSL); ten copies omit one signature (C, Gu, J, [1202.h.2–4], Luu [copy 2]; eGOT, CyY-BR, IU [copy 1], NBiSu, TxU [copy 2]; VMoU); six copies omit two signatures (CFu, MRu; CLU-C, MH-H, NHi, TxU [copy 3]); four copies omit three signatures (AWn, Dt; IU [copy 2], KU-S); one copy omits six signatures (Oa).

72 The first of these works is bound after Number 6 at the end of vol. 1, the second after Number 16 (Vol. 3, no. 4), and *A Letter Humbly Address'd* appears at the end of vol. 3.

73 Luu [copy 1] is quite unusual in omitting twelve signatures, unevenly distributed among the three volumes (those to Numbers 4–10, 13–14, 16–17), suggesting that the
Where a copy is incomplete, as with Oa (which is lacking vol. 1) or IU [copy 2] (which is lacking vols. 1 and 3), only omissions from the extant volumes have been taken into consideration. Omissions are also not noted where the leaves for the signatures concerned are lacking (as at DeU or MiU-C), or where a whole volume is unsigned. In such cases (for example, Luu [copy 3], IU [copy 1], vol. 3) it seems likely that the volume concerned is actually from a “Second” edition set.

The signatures most often omitted are those to Numbers 11 (missing in six copies), 12 (five copies), Number 3 (four copies) and Number 17 (four copies). There is no particular pattern in the remaining omissions, which are fairly evenly distributed among numbers.74

In all copies examined, and in a number that have been reported (such as CYc and KyU), Phillips’s signatures have been so severely cropped that it is clear that the sheets were signed prior to binding.

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set was made up—some years after publication—from a mixture of first and “Second” edition numbers. It has been ignored in my survey for this reason.

74 Omits no. 1 (vol. 1, no. 1): AWn; MH-H, NBiSU; omits no. 2 (vol. 1, no. 2): CTY-BR; omits no. 3 (vol. 1, no. 3): CFu; IU [copy 1], MH-H, TxAU [copy 2]; omits no. 4 (vol. 1, no. 4): KU-S; omits no. 5 (vol. 1, no. 5): AWn; VMoU; CLU-C; omits no. 6 (vol. 1, no. 6): AWn, MRu, TxAU [copy 3]; omits no. 7 (vol. 2, no. 1): Dv, Oa; omits no. 8 (vol. 2, no. 2): Oa, IU [copy 2]; omits no. 9 (vol. 2, no. 3): IU [copy 2]; omits no. 10 (vol. 2, no. 4): none; omits no. 11 (vol. 2, no. 5): CFu, Dv, Gu, L [1202.h.2–4], Luu [copy 2], Oa; omits no. 12 (vol. 2, no. 6): eGOT, Oa; CLU-C, IU [copy 2], TxAU [copy 3]; omits no. 13 (vol. 3, no. 1): C, Oa; omits no. 14 (vol. 3, no. 2): none; omits no. 15 (vol. 3, no. 3): none; omits no. 16 (vol. 3, no. 4): Dv; KU-S, NHi; omits no. 17 (vol. 3, no. 5): MRu, Oa; KU-S, NHi.